Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450

FIRST EDITION

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VOLUME 1

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Thomas Benjamin
EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450

Thomas Benjamin, Editor in Chief

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Preface

The overseas empires of Western Europe shaped the history of all of the continents and peoples of the world during the half millennium from their origins in the mid-fifteenth-century to their final dissolution in the mid-to-late twentieth-century. The colonial empires of the West—Portugal, Spain, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Italy and the United States—claimed possession at one time or another all of the Americas and Australia, ninety-nine percent of Polynesia, ninety percent of Africa and nearly fifty percent of Asia. These Western colonial powers, which together constituted less than two percent of the surface of the world, created the first maritime empires that straddled the globe. In so doing Western colonialism dispatched European colonialists to every inhabitable region, implanted and disseminated Christianity throughout the colonial world and exported the languages, laws, institutions, technology and values of the West to nearly all lands, peoples, and cultures worldwide. This political, economic, and cultural expansionism reshaped the non-European societies and cultures with which it came into sustained contact. One can easily understand that the history and very nature of Western colonialism has been a subject of great controversy and conflicting moral claims. This history is not a closed and forgotten chapter without relevance to the problems and promise of today. It remains a fascinating subject open to interpretation and vigorous debate.

The *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450* provides the most comprehensive, accessible, and international reference work about the entirety of Western colonialism from the Portuguese voyages of Prince Henry the Navigator in the fifteenth-century to the making of feature films about British colonialism in India in the twenty-first-century. The Encyclopedia presents over four hundred articles in three volumes. These articles are arranged alphabetically to assist readers in finding topics of interest easily and quickly. This work has been designed, first and foremost, as a teaching and learning resource for teachers and students. In the first volume an alphabetical list of articles is followed by the synoptic outline, which organizes all of the articles by topics and subtopics, providing readers with a map of the major subjects within the history, geography, and ideas of Western colonialism. More than three hundred maps, pictures and photographs as well as additional charts and tables appear throughout the volumes to illustrate and support the articles. Each article includes references to related articles in the three volumes and a bibliography of sources as suggested for additional reading. Readers will also find a careful selection of many of the most important documents related to the history of Western colonialism. These primary or historical sources are coordinated with the articles. Readers may explore general themes in

the articles and then read the related documents to obtain a more nuanced and in-depth understanding of the issues. There is a glossary of key terms, which provides understandable definitions and explanations of the more specialized, technical and foreign words. A comprehensive index of names, events, places, and key words is found at the end of the third volume.

The Encyclopedia is designed to provide reliable and sophisticated historical knowledge for students, teachers, general readers, and scholars. The articles in this reference work are original works of scholarship and synthesis written explicitly for this project. These articles are written by distinguished scholars and noted specialists—historians, anthropologists, political scientists, geographers, philosophers, sociologists, artists, and economists—and have been carefully reviewed and edited in a common style for easy access by all curious and engaged readers. Particularly important topics are explored in thoughtful synthetic essays of 4,000 to 6,000 words. Some of the subjects of these essays include the separate Western colonial empires such as the Portuguese, French and British Empires; the ideologies that justified expansion, imperialism and colonialism; the impact of Western colonialism on particular non-European peoples and cultures; and the modern theories that attempt to explain the phenomena of colonialism and imperialism. There are more concise articles about significant individuals, events, places, institutions, commodities, and much more related to colonialism. These articles range in size in incremental lengths from 500 to 4,000 words.

The *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450* is not only a comprehensive reference work that embraces world history during the past five centuries, it is as well an international intellectual project. The associate editors who organized and compiled this work are a diverse group whose national origins are The Netherlands, Great Britain, Nigeria, and the United States. The more than 240 contributors who wrote articles for this work are scholars who originally came from, or now live and teach in the Americas, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. Because this reference work is truly international, it is also diverse in its approach to ideas, interpretations, and intellectual problems related to the history of Western colonialism. The articles provide not simply facts and summaries of facts about the colonial past but current scholarly interpretations. Because scholars disagree about a number of issues, there is no uniformity of opinion in these articles and across these volumes. All is not confusion and chaos, however, in this field of study or in this reference work. Readers will find considerable consensus on a number of important historical developments and topics and they will discover the fewer but more difficult issues where disagreement exists and what those different and sometimes opposing interpretations are.

WESTERN COLONIALISM

As most of the articles in the Encyclopedia point out, such terms and concepts as "colonialism," and "imperialism" are far from simple and self-evident words that all scholars define in the same way. Because the history of Western colonialism and imperialism is politically, economically, and culturally relevant to contemporary issues and, therefore, controversial, these terms themselves are no less contested. Nevertheless, it is possible to provide cautious yet useful definitions. Throughout human history empires have been defined by the political domination of one or more territories by a powerful polity or state, often called an imperial metropole. *Imperial* in the English language was borrowed from the old French term *emperial,* which was derived from the Latin word *imperāre,* meaning to command, to rule and from the word *imperium,* meaning power, mastery, and sovereignty. Imperialism can be defined as the domination and rule by a strong state over a subordinate state, territory and people that exist beyond the boundaries

of the imperial metropole. Again throughout history, empires have possessed *colonies*. Once again the English word came directly or indirectly from the Latin verb *colere,* meaning to cultivate and till the land. The Romans established *colonae* as their empire expanded, including Colōnia Agrippîna or what is today called the city of Cologne, a beautiful German city on the Rhine. Colonies are dependent territories and populations that are possessed and ruled by an empire. "Colonialism" refers to the processes, policies and ideologies used by metropoles to establish, conquer, settle, govern, and economically exploit colonies. In the age of Western colonization, as well as before, colonization meant not only ruling other peoples but also sending one's own people to settle a foreign territory, or colony.

The history of Western colonialism and imperialism since the fifteenth-century has been organized and classified by historians and scholars in a number of different ways. The political scientist Professor David B. Abernethy provides one of the best or least problematic schemas. By creating a chronology of five periods, Abernethy reminds us that the history of Western colonialism was not a simple "rise and fall" nor the once standard two-stage chronology of "Early" and "Modern" European empires. Abernethy's classification demonstrates some of the complexity that accompanied Western expansion, colonialism and imperialism, contractions, and, finally, decolonization. Abernethy presents the chronology in Table 1.

In the first phase, European oceanic expansion led to the possession of a significant portion of the Americas (and claims to the entire hemisphere) through conquest and colonization, as well as the establishment of coastal enclaves and trading-post settlements on the coasts of West and East Africa, Arabia, India, China, the Spice Islands, and Japan. Western colonialism during these centuries, however, was largely an Atlantic endeavor. In the East, European traders and missionaries integrated themselves into the larger and richer economies of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. The European settler societies in the Americas during the fifty-year period from 1775 to 1825, as part of the wider Atlantic Age of Revolution, rebelled against imperial rule and established independent nation-states in the United States, the former colonies of Spanish America and Portuguese Brazil. The descendants of European colonists were not the only revolutionaries in this second phase, a time of imperial contraction. Native Americans, Mestizos, Mulattos, and African slaves rebelled as well during this period. In the French sugar island of Saint Domingue in the Caribbean, a slave rebellion in the 1790s defeated European armies and established the black republic of Haiti in 1804.

Western Colonial and Imperial Phases

Phase	Duration	Direction	Territorial focus
1	1415–1775	Expansion	The Americas
2	1775–1825	Contraction	The Americas
3	1825–1914	Expansion	Africa, Asia, the Pacific
4	1914–1940	Unstable Equilibrium	The Middle East
5	1940–1980	Contraction	Africa, Asia, the Pacific

SOURCE: David B. Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), Table 2.2, p. 24.

Table 1.

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The Extent of European Colonialism, 1939

	Great Britain	France	Belgium	The Netherlands
Area of Colonies (Square Miles):	13,100,000	4,300,000	940,000	1,100,000
Population of Colonies:	470,000,000	65,000,000	13,000,000	66,000,000
Colonial Territory of the Four Empires:				19,440,000
Colonial Population of the Four Empires:				614,000,000

SOURCE: Mary Evelyn Townsend, *European Colonial Expansion Since 1871* (Chicago: J.P. Lippincott Company, 1941), p. 19. This table does not include the Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian overseas colonies. Just prior to the Second World War the populations of all of the European colonies constituted somewhat more than one third of the total population of the world.

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Table 2.

During the third phase, what is often called the age of "modern imperialism," a new period of European expansion took off in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Europeans had long been established in trading "factories" and castles on the coasts of Africa and Asia but in the nineteenth century they used these enclaves as bases to move into the interior of these great continents and seize political control. During this phase of expansion the disparity of power between Europeans and non-Europeans grew as a result of the Industrial Revolution, which provided European empires with steamships and gunboats, repeating rifles and machine guns, railroads, new tropical medicines, as well as attractive and seductive manufactured goods. Between 1824 and 1870 the European empires added approximately five million square miles of new territory in Africa, India, Australia and New Zealand, and Southeast Asia. Between 1878 and 1913 Europeans acquired an additional eight million square miles, or roughly one-sixth of the land surface of the world.

During the fourth phase, World War I (1914–1918) and the Great Depression of the 1930s weakened Western Europe and European colonial power and legitimacy. The World War marked the end of German overseas colonialism and began the process within the British Empire of devolving power to the settlement colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The war, on the other had, led to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, which permitted the British and the French, under the League of Nations mandate system, to move into Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq. This period of unstable equilibrium saw both an erosion of European colonial power and self-confidence as well as some new imperial expansion. By 1939 the European empires had reached the zenith of their territorial and political control. Table 2 provides an accounting of four of the European empires by that year.

During the late nineteenth-century and the first four decades of the twentieth-century the rise of popular nationalist movements in colonial India, Egypt, Indonesia, Vietnam, and in other European colonies prepared the way for decolonization after World War II. European colonialism was also threatened by the rise of powerful rivals such as Imperial

Japan, Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union and the United States that sought the creation of a new international order.

World War II (1939–1945) abruptly began the last phase of Western colonialism. The war dramatically assaulted the key European imperial powers, France, the Netherlands and Great Britain, at home and overseas. Most of France and all of the Netherlands were occupied by Hitler's Germany in 1940, while Britain's cities were bombed and its once formable financial resources were bled dry. Abroad German armies threatened Egypt and Japanese armies seized French Indochina, Dutch Indonesia, and British Singapore and Malaya (as well as the American colony of the Philippines). Although German and Japanese militarism and imperialism were defeated in the war as a result of the intervention of the United States and the Soviet Union and the French, Dutch and British reestablished colonial rule in their Asian colonies after 1945, Europeans could not longer sustain foreign rule by force or collaboration. Colonial nationalists were determined to attain independence by peaceful negotiation or, if necessary, violent revolution. Thus, between 1940 and 1980 more than eighty colonies achieved their independence and were recognized as sovereign nation-states.

This brief outline of the history of Western colonialism is offered as a starting point in thinking about this vast subject. As readers explore and examine the articles in the Encyclopedia they will find the information, ideas, interpretations, and sources which will give them the tools to craft their own understanding of Western colonialism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450* has taken over three years, and the creativity and hard work of hundreds of women and men, to complete. The title page lists all of the individuals involved in this project but I would like to give special attention and express my gratitude to a few people who were indispensable to the success of this work. Hélène Potter, our publisher at Macmillan Reference, developed the idea for the project, organized the editorial board, and guided and shaped our efforts with her unmatched knowledge of the world of publishing and her great interest in history from the beginning to the end. The first Editor in Chief, B.R. "Tom" Tomlinson, Dean of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, laid the foundation of the Encyclopedia by beginning the selection of the editorial board and identifying the key themes and topics the project needed to cover. When circumstances required Tom to withdraw from this position, he asked me to take over. Jenai Mynatt, our primary editor at Macmillan has worked with the editorial board and the contributors on a daily basis. Jenai has guided and pushed this project to conclusion with amazing patience, good cheer, professionalism, and skill. Judith Culligan, our chief copy editor, fact checked, improved our grammar, and transformed hundreds of different writing styles into one clear and consistent style. Finally, Professor Dennis Hidalgo (Adelphi University and Book Review Editor, *Latin American History, H-Web*) was brought on as a consultant to help us find and recruit scholars to write articles, particularly for the more difficult topics. Dennis enthusiastically used his people and electronic communication skills to search the world for potential contributors.

My colleagues in history, the five associate editors, were indispensable in guiding the project, developing broad themes and specific entries, recommending and vetting contributors, and reading the articles that they commissioned and guiding these pieces through the process of revision and rewriting. Below are very brief bibliographies of the members of the editorial board.

Editor in Chief Thomas Benjamin is professor of history at Central Michigan University. He has published several books in English and Spanish about modern Mexico and the Mexican Revolution including: *A Rich Land, A Poor People: Politics and Society in Modern Chiapas* (1989 and 1996), *Historia regional de la Revolución mexicana: La provincia enter 1910–1929* (1996), *La Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory,*

Myth and History (2000), and *La Revolución Mexicana: Memoria, mito e historia,* 2003 and 2005). His primary interest and vision of research and writing in recent years has broadened to embrace the colonial Atlantic World. In 2001 he co-edited *The Atlantic World in the Age of Empire.* His long-awaited history of the Atlantic World, *The Atlantic World: Europeans, Africans and Indians & Their Shared History* will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2007.

Benjamin C. Fortna is Senior Lecturer in the Modern History of the Near and Modern East in the History Department at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. He is a highly respected scholar of the Ottoman Empire. He has written *Imperial Classroom: Islam, Education and the State in the Late Ottoman Empire* (2002) and has co-edited *The Modern Middle East: A Sourcebook* (2006). Professor Fortna is currently working on a history of reading and the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic.

Hendrik E. Niemeijer is Project Coordinator for the Research School for Asian, African and American Studies at Leiden University in The Netherlands. As a scholar of the Dutch East Indies Professor Niemeijer helped to create and now leads TANAP ("Towards a New Age of Partnership") which is a Dutch-Asian-South African partnership of scholars and historical archives. Professor Niemeijer is Editor in Chief of *Itinerario,* the official journal of the Forum on European Expansion and Global Interaction. He has written a history of the colonial capital of the Dutch East Indies in *Colonial Dutch Society in Batavia* (2005) and is currently working on a three-volume work on the Protestant church in the Moluccas in 1600–1800.

Chima J. Korieh is Professor of African History at Rowan University in Glassboro, New Jersey. A native of Nigeria, Professor Korieh holds degrees from the University of Nigeria, the University of Helsinki, and the University of Toronto. He has co-edited *Religion, History and Politics in Nigeria* (2005) and *Aftermath of Slavery: Transitions and Transformations in Southeastern Nigeria* (2006). His book *Peasants and Rebels: Socioeconomic Change in Colonial and Early Post Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1980,* will appear in 2007.

Anthony McFarlane is Professor of Latin American History in the History Department and in the School of Comparative American Studies at the University of Warwick, in the United Kingdom. He has published a number of books in English and Spanish about Spanish American history including *Columbia before Independence: Economy, Society and Politics under Bourbon Rule* (1993), *The British in the Americas, 1480–1815* (1994), and as co-editor *Reform and Insurrection in Bourbon New Granada and Peru* (1990). Professor McFarlane is increasingly interested in the comparative history of empires and is currently working on a book on the wars of independence in Spanish America.

Eileen P. Scully is professor of history at Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont. Professor Scully has lived and studied in Russia and Hong Kong as well as at the Harvard Law School and the Henry Dunant Institute in Geneva. She is a scholar of American and international history and has written *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844–1942* (2001). In 2005, she was the recipient of the American Historical Association's Eugene Asher "Distinguished Teaching" prize.

On behalf of Hélène, Jenai, Benjamin, Hendrik, Chima, Anthony and Eileen, and the more than 240 colleagues who contributed articles to this work, I invite readers to explore the fascinating and troubling issues and topics of exploration and expansion, colonization, resistance, slavery, evangelization, and much more in the *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450.*

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A

ABDÜLHAMID II

1842–1918

Ottoman sultan (r. 1876–1909). The reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II began on August 31, 1876, during a period of profound crisis for the Ottoman Empire. In 1878 the sultan inaugurated a new course in domestic and foreign policies that had a lasting impact on the history of modern Turkey and the Middle East.

Abdülhamid's prime foreign policy objective was to defend the empire's independence and territorial integrity. He was preoccupied with the empire's vulnerability to the influence of the European Great Powers. He feared not only military attack from without but also the Powers' "peaceful penetration" of the empire's independence and integrity from within, such as through the establishment of "zones of influence" leading ultimately to partition, as in Egypt and India. Abdülhamid's success in preserving the empire's integrity and independence for thirty years must be attributed primarily to his diplomacy. He avoided peacetime alliances with the Great Powers, maintaining an overall diplomatic stance of "neutrality" or "noncommitment." He distanced the empire from its former protector, Great Britain. He harmonized relations with the empire's traditional enemy, Russia, and initiated the longest period of peace in Russo-Ottoman relations for more than a century. He also inaugurated a close relationship with Germany in order to restrain Britain and Russia.

Abdülhamid was a staunch authoritarian. He dissolved the parliament in 1878, establishing his own absolute control over the executive organs of government. Abdülhamid was determined to control in detail the initiation and implementation of policy. He ignored the rules of bureaucratic hierarchy, exerting personal authority over provincial as well as central officials. Abdülhamid was a strong centralizer, determined to curb all tendencies toward provincial autonomy.

Abdülhamid saw Islam and Muslim solidarity, expressed in a common loyalty to the caliphate, as crucial to the empire's efforts to resist European penetration and the separatist aspirations of his non-Turkish Muslim subjects. This policy was expressed in much official deference to Islam and to religious leaders, and in an officially sponsored religious propaganda that at times assumed a "pan-Islamic" form by appealing to Muslim solidarity outside the Ottoman Empire. Abdülhamid emphasized Islam domestically in order to invoke the loyalty of his Muslim subjects—in particular non-Turkish Muslims like the Albanians and the Arabs.

The reign of Abdülhamid was one of considerable achievements in the field of social and economic reform. He continued the beneficial aspects of the Tanzimat reforms and encouraged construction of schools, railways, harbors, irrigation works, telegraph lines, and other infrastructural projects. He also encouraged improvement in finance, trade, mining, and agricultural export, as well as in education, civil administration, security, and military affairs. However, his financial caution did significantly limit the extent of his civil and economic reforms.

Opposition to his rule was led by the so-called Young Turks, a group consisting of intellectuals, students, and officers. Their chief organization, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), demanded the restoration of the parliament as a means to curb autocracy and

Sultan Abdülhamid II. *The reign of Abdülhamid II began in 1876 when the Ottoman Empire was at war with Serbia and Montenegro and facing a threat from Russia.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/ TOPKAPI MUSEUM ISTANBUL/DAGLI ORTI. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

preserve the integrity of the empire. CUP military officers staged an uprising in Macedonia in the summer of 1908. Fearing internal chaos, the sultan proclaimed the restoration of the parliament on July 24, 1908. A counter-revolution broke out in Istanbul in April 1909 against the policies of the CUP. The CUP crushed this rebellion and also dethroned Abdülhamid on April 27, 1909, falsely accusing him of having instigated the rebellion. He was placed under house arrest, which he remained under until his death on February 10, 1918.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Ottoman.*

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ABOLITION OF COLONIAL SLAVERY

From its beginnings, black slavery in the Americas proved remarkably durable. There were early religious protests against the pioneering use of slaves in the Americas, most notably by Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), but the economic benefits that soon flowed from the work of African slaves, especially after the formation of plantation societies, overcame most moral or theological complaints. Though slavery was most dominant in key areas of staple production (sugar, tobacco, rice, and later cotton), it also seeped into most corners of the colonial Americas. Domestic and urban slavery, maritime slavery, artisanal slavery, and slavery on the rural frontiers all existed, though all were economically marginal compared to plantation slavery. In Brazil, the Caribbean, the Chesapeake, and later in the U.S. South black slavery held sway, its economic centrality apparently impervious to complaints about its ethical or religious problems. Moreover, the economic benefits of slavery seemed indispensable. Although the precise accountancy of the major slave systems was unusually complex, few contemporaries doubted that here was a form of labor that defied its critics via the manifest prosperity it yielded (to everyone except the slaves of course). But all that began to change in the mid-eighteenth century.

Although early complaints were directed at the use of slave labor in the Spanish Americas, the major starting point for the antislavery movement was the Atlantic slave trade. The enforced movement of millions of Africans across the Atlantic was vast and prolonged. Over four centuries, some twelve million Africans were loaded onto ships, and more than ten million were landed in the Americas. In addition, millions of Africans were also transported north, overland, and east into an Indian Ocean slave trade. But it was the Atlantic trade that caught the eye. It lasted from the late fifteenth century until the 1860s. The huge numbers involved, and the squalid inhumanity of the prolonged oceanic crossings, inevitably attracted attention. Tens of thousands of Europeans and Americans were involved in the trade— on the ships and in European and American ports—and the grim facts of the slave ships and their human cargoes were widely known. But the commonplace horrors on the ships, which were periodically given wide publicity by news of the latest outrage or disaster, tended not to make

The legal abolition of the slave trade

Country	Date
Denmark	1804
Great Britain	1808
The United States	1808
Sweden	1813
The Netherlands	1814
France	1818
Spain	1820
Chile	1823
Mexico	1824
Brazil	1831
Paraguay	1842

THE GALE GROUP.

much political or social impact until the mid-eighteenth century onward. By then there was a growing body of opposition, in North America and Britain, against the trade.

Opposition effectively began among American and British Quakers. Though George Fox had taken a fundamental stand against slavery as early as the 1670s, it was not until the 1770s that Quaker outrage, expressed at meetings and in print, began to register. Quaker influence in the English-speaking world was out of all proportion to their numbers. They ran efficient, nation-wide campaigns, aided by their own publishers and by Quaker distribution systems. But they were also able to tap into a more broadly based theological unease about slavery, which was grounded in the newly emergent nonconformist churches, notably the Methodists and Baptists. By the last years of the eighteenth century, they were joined by a small band of Evangelicals, led most famously by William Wilberforce, within the established Anglican Church. By the late 1780s there was a broad religious dislike of slavery in Britain and North America. But in Britain it focused on (and campaigned against) the Atlantic slave trade, largely from a belief that this was the most practical of tactics. Ending the slave trade seemed more manageable than ending slavery itself.

This dissenting attack merged with a more inchoate, but no less influential body of thought that slowly emerged from the writings of Enlightenment thinkers in both France and Scotland. Montesquieu's *L'ésprit des lois* (1748) proved most influential, with its deeply ironic attack on slavery, which he considered contrary both to natural law and the public good. Though the debate about slavery was continued by the Encyclopedists, Montesquieu's writing remained the major influence on subsequent English-language abolitionists, notably Granville Sharpe (1735–1813), William Blackstone (1723–1780), William Paley (1743–1805), and Edmund Burke (1729–1797). But theoretical discussions about slavery were overshadowed by Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), which, for the first time, challenged the universally held belief that slavery was the most economically productive form of labor. Thereafter, the intellectual foundations of antislavery were secure. It was possible to attack slavery on both ethical and economic grounds. At the same time, a growing band of activists attacked slavery on religious grounds. Slavery (via the slave trade) was, by 1789, under attack from all angles.

The revolution in France in 1789 transformed everything. Firstly, it instantly sowed ideas of equality—belief in "the Rights of Man"—that utterly recast the whole debate. It also created the seismic waves that inspired the successful slave revolt in Saint Domingue, and the creation of an independent black republic in Haiti. Slavery throughout the Americas was threatened by events in Haiti, as thousands, black and white, fled to neighboring islands and to North America. Slaves themselves had, of course, been a critical element throughout the abolition debates. Slave cases in British courts, slave unrest in the islands, and the latent threat of slave unrest everywhere (confirmed by events in Haiti) was the backdrop against which abolitionist debates were played out. To add to the confusion, more and more slaves were being converted to Christianity, mainly by dissenting missionaries. Thus, by the early nineteenth century both black and white Christians had raised their voices against slavery.

The slave trade itself was ended by both Americans and the British in 1807, thereby cutting off supplies of fresh Africans flowing to the Americas. Despite this abolition, some three million Africans were shipped into the Americas after 1807, mainly to Brazil and Cuba (to man their expanding tobacco and coffee plantations). The British and the Americans, however, no longer needed the Atlantic slave trade. And when, after 1800, slaves began to be moved to the new cotton plantations in the U.S. South, they came not across the Atlantic from Africa, but from the buoyant black populations of the old slave societies in the United States. Here was an irony: at the very time slavery had come under fierce attack, and when the slave trade had been abolished, black slavery experienced a revival (in the United States, Brazil, and Cuba).

The British maintained their own Caribbean slave system after 1807. Because they wanted to understand what effect the abolition of the slave trade was having on that system, they introduced slave "registration" (a census) to check for illegal slave importations. Abolitionists, for their part, hoped that stemming the flow of new slaves would force planters to treat their existing slaves better. Despite this attempt to regulate it, slavery in the Caribbean was to be characterized by successive, and ever

British Abolitionist Emblem. *This image of a kneeling slave in shackles became the familiar emblem of the abolitionist movement in England. The first versions of the design appeared in the 1780s.* LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

more violent slave revolts (Barbados, 1816; Demerara, 182; and, most violent of all, Jamaica, 1831–1832). The revolts clearly showed that slavery would not die of its own accord. Indeed, its problems seemed to get worse. Hence, from the mid-1820s abolitionists began to press for full emancipation. Using the old, tested methods of widespread public lectures, tract-publishing, and massive petitions to Parliament, abolitionists won over more and more Members of Parliament (MPs) and Ministers. The British campaign for full black freedom also thrived on the broader domestic campaign for reform, especially for parliamentary reform. When Parliament was reformed in 1832, slavery was doomed, for many of its former supporters had lost their seats to newly elected MPs.

Thereafter, the British transmuted themselves into a fiercely abolitionist nation, demanding an end of slavery and slave trading worldwide. Using the growing power of the Royal Navy, and the influence of the Foreign Office, the British tried to win over the world to abolition. Many other nations, however, were not attracted to the idea, not least because slave trading and slavery continued to offer scope for profitable trade and business. Sweden, Denmark, and Holland had ended their slave trades by 1815. France, however, persisted until 1830, the Brazilians/Portuguese until 1850, and Spain until as late

as 1867. As with Britain, slavery in the Europeans' colonies survived longer than their Atlantic slave trades. Although revolutionary France had abolished slavery in 1794, France actually reintroduced slavery in 1802, and then did not finally emancipate its slaves until 1848.

Sweden emancipated its slaves in 1848, Denmark a year later, and the Netherlands as late as 1863. Spain, wrestling with the independence movements in its various American settlements, clung to slavery until between 1870 and 1873 in Puerto Rico and until 1886 in Cuba. Brazil finally ended slavery in 1888, although it had been long in decline there, and most slaves had been freed long before then. Of course slavery was not equally important throughout the Americas. Where it had been marginal, it was quickly ended (Chile, 1823; Mexico, 1829). In the short period between 1842 and 1855, slaves were emancipated in Uruguay, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Argentina, Venezuela, and Peru.

Slavery in the United States survived (thrived, really) until destroyed in the violence of the Civil War. The rise of Northern abolition, the pressure from abroad (notably from Britain), and the remarkable Underground Railroad did little to deflate the success of Southern slavery, which was buoyed by the global demand for cotton (channeled mainly through the mills of industrial Lancashire). There is little reason to doubt that without the Civil War, U.S. slavery would have continued.

It took a relatively short time for British and American abolitionists to end their respective slave trades, which they both did in 1807. Yet it was to take another century before slavery itself was finally ended throughout the Americas. And even then, slavery lived on, if not in the Americas, then in many other regions of the world. For their part, the British turned from slavery to a revival of indentured labor (from India) to fill the demand for labor throughout the far-flung British Empire. By 1914 the British had shipped almost 1.5 million Indians into indentured servitude.

Throughout much of the Americas, slavery was undermined by a complex mix of cultural and political forces. A transformation in cultural values was set in motion by Enlightenment thinkers, the seismic impact of the French Revolution, and above all by the Haitian revolt—and, of course, by slaves everywhere, who added their voices and actions to demands for freedom. British abolitionists, as well, exerted a remarkable and persistent pressure. Another wider, less easily defined influence was the modernizing of Western society, notably the impact of industrialization, with its emphasis on economic freedom. The precepts of Adam Smith converged with the examples of British industrial power to prove that wage labor was more efficient than slavery and unfree labor. It seemed indisputable, by the mid-nineteenth century, that
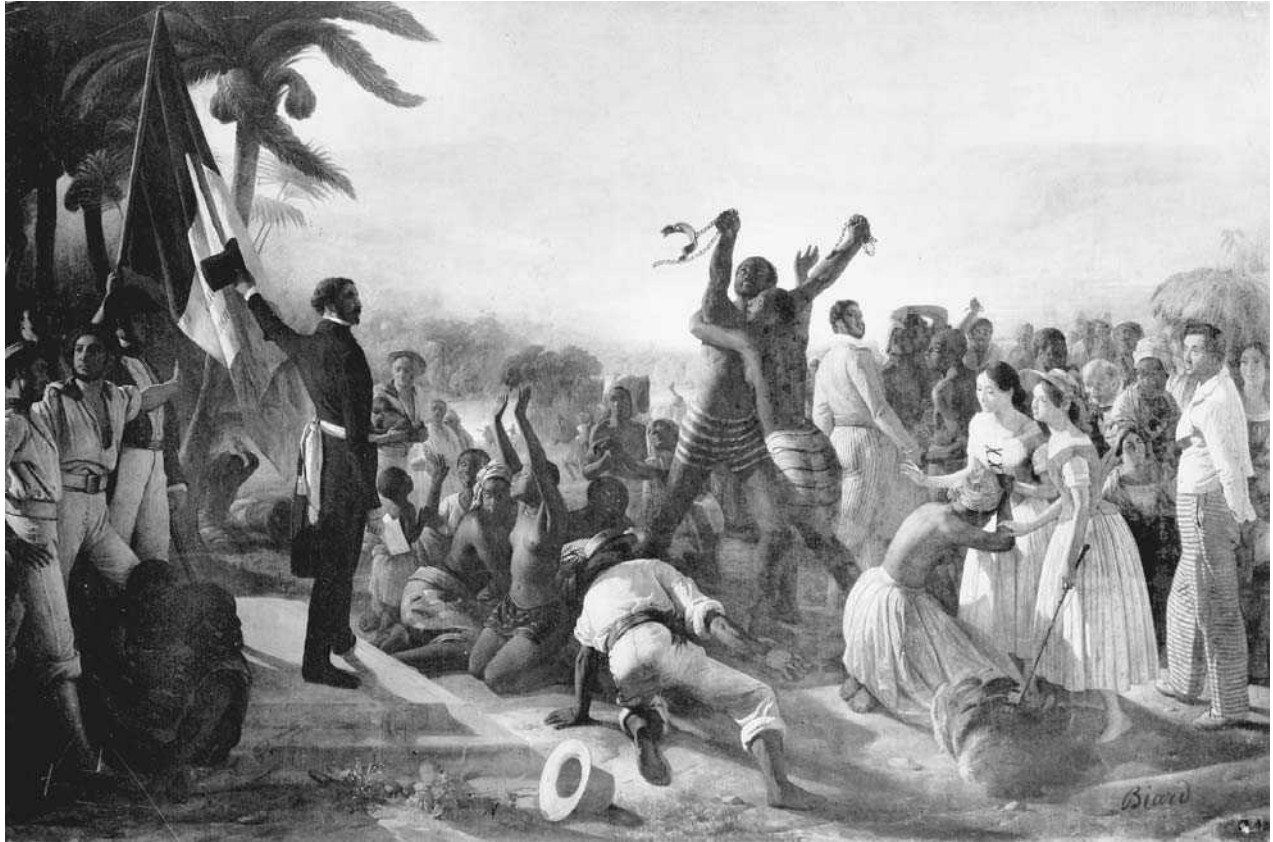
Proclamation of the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies, 23rd April 1848. *(1849), by the French painter François-Auguste Biard.* ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

free labor was more profitable (and ethically more acceptable) than slavery. Yet this did *not* seem true in the U.S. South. Moreover the cotton grown by American slaves in the first half of the nineteenth century made possible the rise and power of Britain's major industry—the cotton industry of the northwest. Thus, even in this, its last phase, black slavery continued to make economic sense in certain regions and under certain circumstances. Though U.S. slavery was Southern, it lay at the heart of American economic power. Slave-grown cotton provided the nation with its largest export by far; it steered profits, investment, and business back to Northern cities and institutions. U.S. slavery held within its powerful gravitational pull a host of other major industries and economic institutions. On the eve of the Civil War, there was little reason to feel that U.S. slavery had had its day.

In the half-century between British and Brazilian emancipation, the Americas were purged of colonial slavery. Britain, the major slave power of the eighteenth century, had become the major abolitionist power of the nineteenth century. Yet slavery had proved a really durable system (though in truth it was a series of slave

systems—it varied greatly), simply because it yielded such material benefits. Moreover, once slavery took root, it could not easily be displaced, even under changed economic circumstances. Slavery tended to take on a life of its own, and slave owners became attached to the broader culture of slave-ownership and could not imagine life without slavery. Slaves, on the other hand, derived little from the system and struggled, throughout, to escape from it, alleviate it, or bring it to an end. Across the Americas slavery had started slowly and unpredictably. It was finally brought to an end in an equally piecemeal fashion.

SEE ALSO *Haitian Revolution; Slave Trade, Atlantic; Sugar Cultivation and Trade.*

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ABORIGINES' RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY

The Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS) was formed in 1897 in the port city of Cape Coast, a hub of intellectual and political activism in colonial Ghana. The ARPS remained the voice of colonized Africans until its demise in the 1930s. The idea of forming the society had been incubated as early as 1895, but was shelved until May 17, 1897, when a meeting organized by the African intelligentsia in Cape Coast to protest the proposed Lands Bill of 1894 to 1897 culminated in the formation of the society. Thus, the main catalyst for the formation of the ARPS was the African intelligentsia's protest against the Lands Bill. Had the Lands Bill been passed, it would have allowed the colonial government to take over so-called waste or public lands.

Several developments in the preceding decades, including the lack of African representation on the Gold Coast Legislative Council, the problem of direct taxation, and the implementation of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883, contributed to the formation of the ARPS. The ARPS had been preceded by the activities of the Mfantsi Amanbuhu Fekuw (Fante National Association), led by members of the African intelligentsia, including John Mensah Sarbah, J. W. de Graft Johnson, Chief J. D. Abraham, and J. P. Brown. The Mfantsi Amanbuhu Fekuw had been founded in 1889 to promote African cultural values that were being undermined by the corrosive effects of the European presence.

Although the ARPS was an alliance between the African intelligentsia and the chiefs or the indigenous rulers, its leadership was mostly made up of educated Africans who were able to use their literacy to negotiate with the colonial government. The African intelligentsia

had the full support of the chiefs, especially from the inception of the ARPS to about 1912, when Governor Hugh Clifford effectively implemented indirect rule, which used the chiefs as the main agents of local administration. Thereafter, smarting under overt criticism from African intellectuals, the colonial government systematically marginalized them while it preoccupied itself with the promotion of the illegitimate power of the chiefs. This divide-and-rule tactic created antagonism between these educated Africans and the local chiefs.

The ARPS was led by elected officers; during its first years, its president was Jacob W. Sey, while the vice president was J. P. Brown. The society also had a secretary and a treasurer. ARPS activities were not restricted to Cape Coast; as early as 1897, the society had local branches in cities along the Gold Coast littoral regions, including Elmina, Saltpond, Winneba, and Axim. Its overall influence was felt throughout the Gold Coast, especially in districts where there was a sizeable number of African intellectuals, such as Krobo and Akuapem in the Eastern Province.

Indeed, by the first two decades of the twentieth century, the influence of the ARPS was being felt colonywide as it extended its concerns to cover problems of colonial rule, including forced labor and taxation in Asante and the Northern Territories. For much of the southern regions of the Gold Coast, the ARPS gained political ascendancy because of its ability to capitalize on publicity in the local newspapers.

Although the Lands Bill was its immediate preoccupation, the aims of the ARPS were broad and encompassing. Among other things, the ARPS hoped to make sure that various bills and colonial policies involving taxation, labor, and constitutional changes would not burden the Africans. During the early twentieth century, the ARPS occupied itself with colonial policies on education, sanitation, health, the provision of infrastructure, and imperial labor and military recruitment in the Gold Coast during World War I. The society also sought to modify or prevent the passing of several bills, including the Town Councils Ordinance of 1894 that came into force in 1904, and the Forest Bill (1907–1911). The Forest Bill can be traced to the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883. It empowered chiefs to pass local bylaws for forest preservation. This was vigorously implemented in 1907 with the passing of the Timber Protection Ordinance which sought to prevent the cutting of saplings. Eventually, the Forest Bill led to the establishment of forest reserves. The Town Councils Ordinance dealt with the levying of municipal house rates.

Some of the methods used by the ARPS included campaigns in local newspapers, namely the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* and the *Gold Coast Aborigines* in the late

nineteenth century and the *Gold Coast Nation* and the *Gold Coast Leader* during the first two decades of the twentieth century. These newspapers, read by the African intelligentsia and Europeans, including government officials, in the Gold Coast, were used as political platforms to call attention to African demands.

Additionally, the ARPS, through the instrumentality of a few Africans serving on the Gold Coast Legislative Council, was able to address the council directly. For example, on June 4 and 5, 1897, J. H. Cheetham, an African unofficial member of the council (unofficial members had no voting rights), arranged for John Mensah Sarbah and P. Awooner Renner, members of the African intelligentsia, to address the council. The ARPS also held public meetings, not only in Cape Coast but in various places where it had branch offices. Aimed at discussing national issues and strategies, the meetings were attended not only by the ARPS echelons but by ordinary ARPS members and the public at large.

Apart from various petitions issued by the ARPS, the society also sent delegations to meet with the colonial government. Most significantly, in 1898 it sent a delegation, including President Sey and other prominent members, such as T. F. E. Jones and George Hughes, to England to meet directly with British officials to discuss problems of colonial rule, especially the Lands Bill. The ARPS delegation met with Joseph Chamberlain (1836–1914), the colonial secretary, with whom they discussed the questions of land, taxation, and constitutional reform. The delegation was successful because the Colonial Office later asked the colonial government to abandon the Lands Bill and the hut tax. In 1906 another delegation led by Reverend K. Egyir-Assam was sent to England under the auspices of the ARPS to demand the repeal of the Town Councils Ordinance, though this time the Colonial Office did not grant the wishes of the ARPS.

The activities of the ARPS were not always an all-male affair. Although colonial society was dominated by men, throughout the period of colonial rule several women's groups teamed up with men or supported men in anticolonial protest politics. For example, in 1906, following the campaigns against the Town Councils Ordinance championed by the ARPS, Cape Coast market women unleashed a large-scale, well-organized protest against the ordinance when Governor John Rodger visited Cape Coast to open an agricultural show.

The ARPS has been described as a protonationalist organization because it sought not to overthrow colonial rule, but to reform it. Overall, however, the protest politics of the ARPS went beyond mere reformism. From the late nineteenth century to the immediate post–World War I period, the society gradually sowed the seeds of revolutionary nationalism not only in the

Gold Coast but in the West African region as a whole as its members contributed to the formation of the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) in 1919. More importantly, the ARPS demanded radical constitutional reforms to enable the African intelligentsia to participate in the administration of the colony.

By the mid-1930s, the ARPS was in a state of decline. In the first place, it never gained strong roots beyond Cape Coast in the Central Province. For example, the society never developed in the adjoining Eastern Province. The society also remained elitist, and its decisions were made by a few individuals at the helm of the organization. Above all, the Cape Coast elite, in spite of the rapid economic transformation and social change as well as the vigorous consolidation of colonial rule, had called for radicalization of African protests and could not disengage from the old reformist protests of the nineteenth century. Thus, by the 1930s the ARPS, having lost popular support, existed as a ghost of its former self. Indeed, in the 1920s it had been taken over by the equally elitist but broader-based and more radical NCBWA, which sought to bring about fundamental change in colonial rule.

Overall, deprived of an effective voice in the administration of the colony and its dependencies, the ARPS served as the main representative of colonized Africans. The society was able to mediate between Africans and the colonial government, thereby moderating colonial rule. Although the formation of the ARPS was due to the cumulative effects of colonial rule in the late nineteenth century, the immediate reason for its formation was the Lands Bill. Having successfully forced the colonial government to abort the implementation of the Lands Bill, the ARPS tackled other objectionable colonial policies, including forced labor, taxation, indirect rule, and the lack of African representation on the Legislative Council. It also vigorously campaigned for improvements in education, sanitation, health, and the provision of infrastructure. Above all, it served as a precursor to revolutionary nationalism not only in the Gold Coast, but in the entire West African region in the 1930s.

SEE ALSO *Nationalism, Africa.*

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ACAPULCO

Acapulco was the only true seaport on the western coast of Mexico throughout the colonial period. Situated only 400 kilometers (about 250 miles) from Mexico City and blessed with a good harbor, Acapulco was settled between 1530 and 1550 as a base for Pacific exploration. The small port's fortunes changed in 1564 when an Asian expedition sponsored by King Philip II (1527–1598) of Spain recommended the use of Acapulco as the American port for trade with the Philippines.

In 1573 the first galleon laden with Asian goods arrived in the harbor. This inaugurated the Manila trade, or "China fleet," which carried Asian wares across the ocean to Acapulco, where they were exchanged for American silver. The arrival of each fleet saw Mexico City merchants flood Acapulco to bargain for silk, spices, and other luxury goods, which traded at favorable prices as a result of chronic bullion shortages in Asia.

Increasingly after 1575, Asian merchandise arriving at Acapulco was shipped not only inland to Mexico City but to Peru, where Asian goods commanded higher prices than they did in New Spain. Indeed, by the early seventeenth century, the amount of Potosí silver flowing through Acapulco to Asia was a serious concern to the Spanish Crown, leading to the outright if ineffective banning of trade between Peru and New Spain in 1631.

A tempting target for pirates as the Manila trade grew, Acapulco was fortified in the early seventeenth century and thus escaped sacking, though the galleons themselves were vulnerable. Because the fleet arrived only once a year, Acapulco never grew to a size reflecting its importance as an entrepôt in such a valuable trade. Moreover, it went into a precipitous decline with the waning of the Manila trade in the eighteenth century, a manifestation of a generalized loss of Spanish dominance. In 1774 there were only eight Spanish *vecinos* (propertied residents) left in Acapulco. The last galleon from Manila arrived in Acapulco in 1815, signaling the end of Acapulco's prominence in transpacific trade.

SEE ALSO *Cities and Towns in the Americas; Exploration, the Pacific; Mexico City.*

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ACEH WAR

The sultanate of Aceh developed as an independent state in the fifteenth century. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the sultanate of Aceh reached the summit of its political and economic power, and was one of the largest states in the region. At this time, it had control over large parts of both the island of Sumatra in present-day Indonesia and the peninsula of Malacca in Malaysia.

In the eighteenth century, Aceh sided repeatedly with the British colonial powers in the region against the Dutch. With the Treaty of London of 1824— between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands— Aceh's independence was guaranteed against further Dutch expansion in the archipelago. However, with the growth of colonial intervention in the region, and the growing intensity of shipping through the Strait of Malacca, incidents of Acehnese piracy became more and more of a nuisance for both Dutch and British colonial authorities. This led to a change in Dutch colonial policy, in which the annexation of Aceh became an option.

The Sumatra Treaty of 1871 between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands facilitated this shift in policy. With the treaty, the Netherlands got a free hand in northern Sumatra, while the British retained economic access to Aceh. This treaty was part of a package deal— although never acknowledged officially as such—that also involved the transfer of the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast (West Africa) and a treaty for the recruitment of coolie labor in India for the Dutch colony of Surinam in the West Indies. With a free hand in Aceh, a prestigious colonial prize as well as a rich agricultural area and a repository of mineral oil, the annexation of Aceh became a priority for the Netherlands. The military struggles that took place in Aceh for forty years, from 1873 to 1913, were to be of central importance in shaping the Netherlands Indies colonial state and, eventually, the Republic of Indonesia.

The Aceh War can be divided into three phases: 1873 to 1893, 1894 to 1903, and 1904 to 1913. The first phase heralded several Dutch efforts at conquering and pacifying Aceh. In March 1873 the Netherlands Indies Army under the command of Major-General

J. H. R. Köhler attacked the capital of Aceh, Banda Aceh or Kutaraja. The idea behind the attack was to seize the sultan's fortified palace, the Kraton, perceived by the Dutch as the administrative center of the sultanate. The expedition, comprising a force of three thousand well-equipped infantrymen and artillery, was beaten back from the Kraton. Sultan Mahmud Syah (r. 1870–1874) had organized such a well-armed and determined resistance to the Dutch that the conquest of a mosque turned sour when Major General Köhler was killed there. The expeditionary force had to retreat with 56 dead and 438 wounded.

Late in 1873 a second expedition was organized with the same objectives, but also to save face. The Dutch army was even better armed this time and was put under the command of the highly experienced Lieutenant General Jan van Swieten. The force consisted of more than 8,500 men, and an additional 1,500 troops in reserve, as well as several thousand servants and bearers. Banda Aceh was captured, and the sultan was chased from the town. Sultan Mahmud Syah did not give up resistance, but rather retreated into the hills. After his death from cholera, he was succeeded by Sultan Ibrahim Mansur Syah (r. 1875–1907), who, although a figure-head, was instrumental in unifying the opposition against the Dutch.

In the early phase of the war, the Dutch grossly overestimated the power of the sultan. Aceh was not a unified state ruled by the sultan's court. Therefore, the Dutch efforts at subduing Aceh were not only militarily problematic, but also politically unsuccessful. This meant that even when the local representatives of the Acehnese state and gentry, the *uleebelang*, gave up after the death of the sultan in 1874, military resistance continued. Armed bands of peasants, connected through a common Islamic identity as well as kinship and village ties, fought a series of very successful guerrilla battles against the Dutch occupation.

Despite a precarious military situation, the Dutch government declared the war in Aceh ended in 1880. The Dutch army set up a system of sixteen forts *(benteng)* to encircle the remaining guerrilla fighters, and developed a road and tramway system to connect the forts and establish controlled zones. Within this so-called concentrated front, a specially established elite force (the Korps Marechaussee) executed counterinsurgency operations, making use of guerrilla tactics themselves. After 1893 the Dutch abandoned the strategy of a concentrated front as an unsuccessful tactic, but the elite troops continued their operations, now patrolling hotspot areas on a smaller scale with mobile columns.

Dutch efforts to establish alliances with local leaders through supplies of weapons and opium, as well as payments in money, characterized the first half of the second phase of the Aceh War (1894–1903). The best-known ally of the Dutch was the local leader Teuku Umar (1854–1899), who established an army of his own with the assistance and approval of the Dutch in 1894. However, two years later, he switched sides and turned on the Netherlands Indies Army with his force, which was armed with modern weaponry supplied by the Dutch. After a protracted campaign to neutralize Teuku Umar and his force, the Dutch army eventually chased him down and killed him in 1899.

The military officer J. B. van Heutsz (1851–1924) and government advisor and scholar of Islam Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) dominated government policy in Aceh in the late 1890s. On the basis of field research in Aceh from 1891 to 1893, Snouck Hurgronje advised strongly that the Dutch depart from a wait-and-see policy and break Acehnese resistance with force. Snouck Hurgronje promoted the view that resistance in Aceh was religious in character, led by fanatic Islamic leaders *(ulema)* who were intent on waging a holy war or jihad against the infidel Dutch. The government was hesitant, however, and only adopted Snouck Hurgronje's proposal in 1896 after several incidents.

The implementation of the new policy was in the hands of Major (later General) van Heutsz. Snouck Hurgronje pushed for van Heutsz's appointment as civil and military governor of Aceh, which appointment came about in 1898. Snouck Hurgronje was appointed as advisor for indigenous and Arabic affairs in the same year, and in this position he served as van Heutsz's second in command from 1898 to 1903.

The pacification of Aceh became a show of brute force. Exemplary in this respect is the Gayo Expedition of 1900 to 1903 under Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. E. van Daalen (1863–1930), which resulted in the deaths of about three thousand people, more than a third of whom were women and children. These terror tactics were an advanced form of the antiguerrilla tactics developed by special Dutch troops more than a decade earlier.

After 1900 the ideas of Snouck Hurgronje and van Heutsz about pacification started to diverge, with the result that the former left Aceh in 1901, although he formally kept his position until 1903. Despite their disagreements about policy, Snouck remained loyal to van Heutsz in the sense that he recommended his appointment as governor-general of the Netherlands Indies in 1904 and refused to head a commission of inquiry into the Gayo massacre.

On February 10, 1903, the sultan of Aceh surrendered to the Dutch government. Hostilities between the Dutch and the Acehnese forces had turned into a war of attrition. Van Heutsz's commandos hunted the sultan

down for years, making life impossible. The arrests of other political leaders of noble background along with their families broke the back of the official and organized opposition. Besides, van Heutsz saw a role for the sultan in a colonial Aceh.

Nevertheless, the war was not over. The last phase of the war, between 1904 and 1913, involved the continuation of guerrilla tactics against local leaders, but these were rearguard actions by the remainder of the once broad military resistance. Due to years of Dutch military presence, terror, oppression, destruction of villages and communities, and repeated forced relocation of village populations, the country was destroyed and the population psychologically broken. What Snouck Hurgronje had overlooked in his original analysis of the early 1890s was that Aceh had come under the influence of nationalism and the resistance against the Dutch was as much a social movement of ordinary people fighting for emancipation from their feudal bonds as it was a religious movement. Destroying the resistance through brute force also meant mental decay, apathy, and eventually the destruction of society. These circumstances would plague Dutch efforts to develop the area into a viable colonial province until the Japanese forced them out in 1942, as did the Indonesian authorities after independence.

SEE ALSO *Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan.*

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Michel R. Doortmont

ACHEBE, CHINUA
1930–

Born on November 16, 1930, in Ogidi (southeastern Nigeria), Albert Chinualumogu (Chinua) Achebe is one of Africa's best-known writers. Isaiah Okafor Achebe, a Church Missionary Society catechist, and his wife, Janet, named their fifth child Albert, after Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria. In college, Albert dropped his "Christian name" for his Igbo name, Chinualumogu ("may God fight for me")—Chinua, for short. He
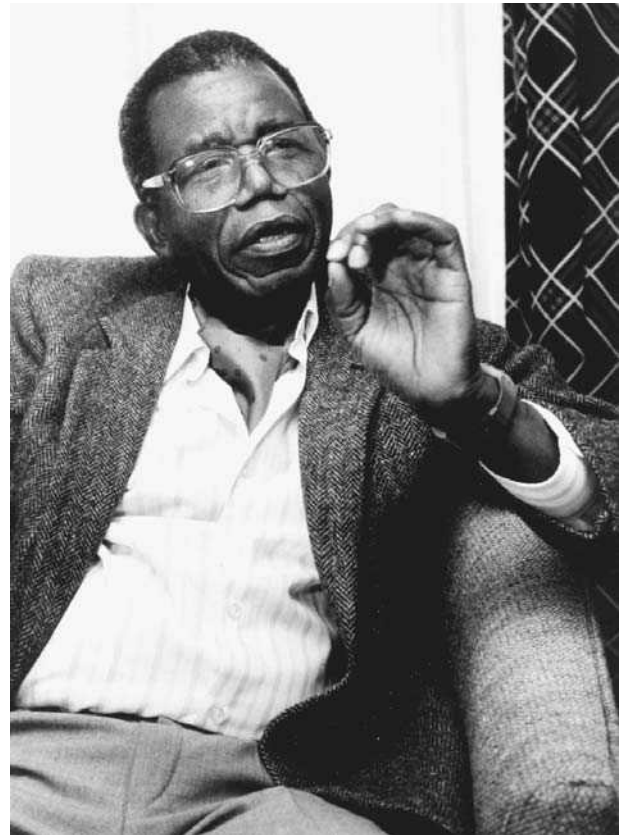
Chinua Achebe. *One of Nigeria's best-known authors, Achebe established an international reputation with his 1958 novel* Things Fall Apart, *which explores Nigeria's response to British colonialism during the late 1800s.* AP/IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

became a fighter himself through his writings—fighting to rectify the distortions in colonial narratives of Africa and her peoples in the works of writers such as Joyce Cary and Joseph Conrad; and fighting to expose and challenge what is wrong with postcolonial Nigeria—specifically, the failure of leadership.

Chinua Achebe's long, brilliant career includes many years in broadcasting, teaching, publishing, and creative writing. Rejecting the art for art's sake school of thought, Achebe insists that art has social value and function and the artist has a role to play in social change. He sees the writer as a teacher, moral voice, truth-teller, and social critic (*Morning Yet on Creation Day*, *Hopes and Impediments*, and *The Trouble with Nigeria*), and as a storyteller and a guardian of the word and memory (*Anthills of the Savannah*).

A versatile writer who has published short stories, essays, and poetry, Achebe is best known for his novels, which are written with a simplicity that is both elegant and poetic. Achebe's first and best-known novel, *Things*

Fall Apart (1958)—which takes its title from W. B. Yeats's "The Second Coming"—is set in an Igbo village of the late 1800s and captures the violence, disruption, and humiliation of colonialism. It posits the inevitability of change in cultural encounters, and argues for the necessity to negotiate and reconcile with change. His second novel, *No Longer at Ease* (1960), continues to probe the consequences of cultural collision and conflict, particularly the dilemma, ambiguity, and contradictions faced by those at the crossroads of cultures.

Achebe is a wordsmith for whom the use and abuse of language is a central concern. Not surprisingly, he joined the language question debates that exploded in African literary circles four decades ago. Disagreeing with those who insist that African writers write in indigenous languages, Achebe advocated the use of colonial languages, but in such a way that they are able to carry the weight and force of the African landscape, worldview, and imagination.

At seventy-four, Chinua Achebe speaks with the same moral clarity and writes with the same force and consistency as he did over four decades ago, when his first novel contributed to set the stage for what we know today as postcolonial literature. In 2004 Achebe was awarded Nigeria's second-highest honor, but in an open letter to the Nigerian president, Achebe turned down the honor in protest: "I write this letter with a heavy heart. . . . Nigeria's condition today under your watch is, however, too dangerous for silence. I must register my disappointment and protest by declining to accept the high honor awarded me."

SEE ALSO *Indirect Rule, Africa; Postcolonialism.*

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Obioma Nnaemeka

ACOSTA, JOSÉ DE
1540–1600

There is perhaps no more potent expression of the tense and complex relationship between the European colonial enterprise and the work of Christian missionaries than the life and writings of the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta. By the time of his death in 1600 large portions of his work were known on four continents, and in at least eight languages. Famous for writing his era's most influential treatise on the conversion of indigenous peoples of the Americas to Christianity, Acosta is also credited with forming the first of the "reductions" that laid the basis for Jesuit missions in Paraguay, for writing the first indigenous-language Catholic catechism in the Andes, and for being a forceful critic of the violent Spanish conquests of Mexico, Peru, and the Philippine Islands.

Born in 1540 to a merchant family in the town of Medina del Campo in central Spain, Acosta left home at the age of twelve to join the newly formed Society of Jesus. The Jesuits were part of a new initiative for the revitalization of European religious life begun in Italy by the Basque Ignatius of Loyola. With fewer than fifty members in the first couple of years, the Jesuits numbered in the thousands by the end of the sixteenth century and were to be found on every continent save Antarctica. At the Jesuit schools Acosta studied Latin and Greek grammar and rhetoric, classical history, and geography—all of which would deeply inform his writings

on the Indies—and at the universities of Alcalá and Salamanca, Acosta pursued studies in philosophy and theology. The Spanish universities of the time were hotbeds of controversy between *humanists* (advocates of classical learning) and *scholastics* (heirs of the medieval philosophical and theological schools)—a tension also reflected in Acosta's work.

Through his studies, Acosta became enamored with the religious revitalization work of the Jesuits. He sought to apply his humanistic education to the challenge of converting to Christianity peoples with histories, customs, and languages entirely different than those of Europe. Eager for intellectual debate, Acosta originally requested to be sent to China—the land most enigmatic to Europeans, yet known for its highly developed civilization and its rich philosophical and religious traditions. Acosta wrote to his superiors that he would willingly go where needed, but preferred to go where the people "were not too thick" and where his intellectual skills might be the most useful. Yet Acosta was not sent to mine the philosophical riches of China, but assigned to manage the troublesome Jesuit province of Peru—a Peru torn by controversies between religious and colonial administrators, and faced with the tense aftermath of the Spanish conquest led by Francisco Pizarro nearly a generation earlier.

Acosta arrived in Peru in 1569 amidst some anticipation: he was a highly respected orator and theologian, and it was also hoped that he would bring some clarity to the troubled world of newly colonized Peru. Acosta gained the first chair in theology at the new University of San Marcos in Lima, and in 1576 was elected Provincial of the Society of Jesus for the Province of Peru. He also acted as official theologian to the Third Council of Lima, which proposed reforms in religious practice and in colonial administration. As a result of these positions, he was able to travel widely throughout the Andean region and gain firsthand knowledge of the many difficulties faced by an indigenous population continually confronted with ambitious colonial administrators and often ignorant and unsympathetic priests and missionaries. Those experiences led Acosta to write what would become his three primary works: *De natura novi orbis* (on the geography of the New World and the customs and habits of its indigenous peoples), *De procuranda indorum salute* (on the evangelization of the indigenous peoples of the Americas), and *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (an expanded Spanish edition of *De natura novi orbis*).

Acosta considered his works on natural and moral history to be a preface to the more theological work on the question of conversion and its historical, political, and social preconditions. Acosta wrote that his task was to combine his experience in Peru with a rigorous study of the Holy Scriptures and Fathers of the Church—a project he fulfills in part by taking to task the early Church Fathers for their errors in understanding the natural world and their too hasty rejection of Aristotle. And yet Acosta was no Aristotelian: the great philosopher also comes in for rebuke when Acosta finds that he too was mistaken in matters ranging from geography to human customs and habits to moral philosophy. Only firsthand experience of the New World, coupled with classical knowledge, could guide proper enquiry into its natural and human diversity, Acosta argued. Combining his anthropological and theological interests, Acosta also worked to apply the thought of the Church Fathers, especially Augustine and Chrysostom, to the religious world of the Andes. The range of erudition that Acosta exhibited in these works was enormous, and his writings are replete with arguments from and allusions to the works of the Greek philosophers, Greek and Latin historians and poets, the Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church, and medieval historians, theologians, and jurists. Stylistically, his writing combined "erudition" with "eloquence" along models advanced by earlier European humanists.

In the heightened and conflicted colonial context in which he worked, Acosta's attitudes toward indigenous religions in the Americas range from moments of subtle understanding to the harsh rejection of practices he thought—following the Church Fathers—to be demonically inspired. He thus found himself perpetually engaged in debates ranging from the meaning of human sacrifice in Mexico to how to extirpate idolatry in Peru. Yet his most evocative arguments were with his fellow Spaniards. Acosta spared few harsh words and argued that the Spanish conquests were not "just wars," and that the "greatest sin" perpetuated in the Americas was the horrific violence of a conquest that enriched the Spaniards while robbing the indigenous peoples of their lives and liberty. He further argued that indigenous hostility to Christianity was not a result of their incapacity to understand it, but was a direct result of Spanish violence and the scandalous behavior of priests, missionaries, and colonial administrators who were supposed to be examples of the love of Christ.

In 1587 Acosta returned to Spain, and he published his primary works there in 1589. He continued to engage in controversies over the Spanish colonial project, and even worked to block a proposal for the conquest of China launched by Jesuits in the Philippines. For the remainder of his life he worked to train Jesuits to apply the lessons learned in the Americas to the "other Indies" of Spain itself. He was even called to investigate how missionary methods derived from Peru might be applied to the formerly Muslim population of southern Spain, in order to stave off renewed pressure for their expulsion

from an increasingly homogenous religious landscape. Hence Acosta ended his career continuing full circle the program of religious revitalization with which he began, only with the difficult experience of Peru and Mexico behind him. The argument made centuries later by post-colonial theorists that the colonial experience deeply shaped and transformed the colonizer as well as the colonized was certainly true for José de Acosta.

SEE ALSO *Peru under Spanish Rule.*

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Patrick Provost-Smith

AFGHANI, JAMAL AD-DIN AL-
1838–1897

Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani is one of the best-known political thinkers and agitators of the nineteenth-century Muslim world. He is known for his calls for modernization and pan-Islamic solidarity, which he saw as the means by which the Muslim world could strengthen itself in its struggle against European aggression. Although he usually claimed to be an Afghan, making possible a Sunni identity in the majority Sunni Islamic world, overwhelming primary evidence shows that he was born and raised as a Shi'i in Iran. In adolescence he went to the Shi'i shrine cities of Iraq for further education and then to India, where he was during the 1857 revolt, which probably contributed to his lifelong anti-British stance.

Afghani went to Afghanistan for the only time in 1866; there he tried to convince the emir to fight the British, but in 1868 he was expelled by a new emir. He then went to Istanbul and was again expelled after giving a talk comparing prophets with philosophers. His most fruitful years, 1871 to 1879, were spent in Egypt, where he gathered a group of young disciples, several of whom became important, especially Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905). He preached a rationalist and modernist Islam that adapted the teachings of various Greek-influenced medieval Islamic philosophers. After being expelled from Egypt he went to Hyderabad, India, where he wrote several articles and a treatise known as the "Refutation of the Materialists." From there he joined Muhammad 'Abduh in Paris, where they edited the newspaper *al-'Urwa al Wuthqa,* distributed throughout the Muslim world. Afghani also published in French his answer to Ernest Renan's "Islam and Science," in which Afghani was portrayed as an unorthodox rationalist.

From France Afghani went to England and then Iran, where he made two stays in 1886 to 1891, during which he agitated against the state's granting of numerous concessions to foreigners. Between the two stays in Iran he went to Russia to agitate against the British. Afghani's activities in Iran brought about his forcible expulsion to Iraq, where he played a part in getting the leading Shi'i cleric to support a major, successful Iranian mass movement against the concession of all tobacco transactions to a British subject. After a trip to London, Afghani accepted Sultan

Abdülhamid's invitation to Istanbul, where at Abdülhamid's behest he wrote Shi'i clerics to urge them to recognize the sultan as the leader of Islam. The sultan kept Afghani in a "gilded cage," as Afghani was not allowed to publish or leave Istanbul. In 1896 an Iranian disciple, saying he was inspired by a visit to Afghani, assassinated Naser al-Din Shah. Afghani died of cancer in 1897.

Afghani was impressive as a teacher and fiery speaker. He was one of the first to provide popular arguments for modernizing and unifying the Muslim world and against capitulation to foreigners, especially the British. Though he was not especially orthodox, his combination of religious language with activist politics has made him attractive to many in the Muslim world who reject the more gradualist and compromising approach of intellectuals like 'Abduh. The ambiguity and variety of his record have made him appealing to many different schools of Muslim thought up until the present day. His ideas were often similar to those of the earlier Young Ottomans, but his travels, activities, and writing in Arabic and Persian, not Turkish, made him much better known in the Muslim world.

SEE ALSO *Abdülhamid II.*

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Nikki Keddie

AFGHAN WARS

When the British Indian army invaded Afghanistan during the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838–1842), the country was a mere shadow of the mighty and feared Kingdom of Afghanistan of the eighteenth century. The demise of the Afghan state resulted partly from internal reasons, but it was mainly due to the loss of its traditional source of income—namely, raiding the wealthy neighboring lands of India and Iran. Both the Sikhs of the Panjab in the east and the Qajars of Persia in the west had managed to repel the Afghan assaults. As a result, the Afghan king, whose position among the Afghan tribes had never been strong, lacked the means to pay and bribe his subjects, and central authority virtually disappeared. The weak Afghan state was consequently perceived as vulnerable to outside influence.

FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR

The First Anglo-Afghan War resulted from British fear of growing Russian influence in Central Asia and the subsequent threat to Great Britain's Indian possessions. Since the eighteenth century, Russia had pushed its domain southward into the Caucasus and South Central Asia. This marked the start of the so-called Great Game, the struggle between the British and the Russians for control of the Indo-Afghan mountains.

The strife between Britain and Russia came to a head in November 1837 when the Russians supported their ally, the Iranian king, in his attempt to take the city of Herat from a local Afghan leader. The British regarded the Russian presence in the area as a serious threat and tried to force the Iranians and their Russian advisors to withdraw. The British succeeded in doing so in September 1838 following their naval attack on the island of Kharq in the Persian Gulf.

Before the Iranian withdrawal the British tried to convince the Afghan leader in Kabul, Amir Dust Muhammad Khan (1793–1863), not to side with the Iranians and Russians. Instead, they wanted him to conclude a treaty with their allies, the Sikhs. The Afghans could never accept such a demand, since they were still sensitive about the Sikh occupation of parts of the former Kingdom of Afghanistan, including Peshawar (1818) and Kashmir (1819). Although Dust Muhammad Khan had no intention of siding with the Russians, the British authorities decided he was a liability and needed to be replaced by another Afghan leader more amenable to British interests.

In the summer of 1838 the British asked the Sikhs and the former Afghan king, Shah Shuja (ca.1792–1842), to confirm their earlier agreements concerning the return of Shah Shuja to Kabul. On October 1, 1838, Lord Auckland (George Eden, 1784–1849) issued the *Simla Manifesto*, which called for the removal of Dust Muhammad Khan and the reinstatement of Shah Shuja. British troops, supported by Sikh units, occupied much of Afghanistan, including Kabul, during the spring and summer of 1839 and put Shah Shuja on the Afghan throne. The British were initially successful, but later were confronted by local resistance throughout the country. Eventually the British were forced to evacuate their cantonment in Kabul and start their famous "retreat from Kabul" in January 1842.

Most of the sixteen thousand troops were either killed or taken prisoner. Shah Shuja was killed by his own subjects in Kabul. The British quickly reoccupied Kabul in the summer of 1842, but it was clear that they could never hold Afghanistan without heavy costs. The British now wanted a relatively strong Afghanistan that was friendly to them and that would resist the Russians. The decision was made to withdraw permanently and to allow Dust Muhammad Khan, whom the British now

Afghan Highlanders, 1879. *During the Second Anglo-Afghan War, Afghan soldiers wore kilts in imitation of British Highlander troops from Scotland, whose skills the Afghans admired.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

regarded as the only Afghan leader with enough influence to build up central control and pacify the country, to return from exile and regain the Afghan throne.

In the ensuing years the British maintained a policy of "masterly inactivity," without any interference in the affairs of the Afghans. However, during this time British dominion spread to the foot of the Afghan mountain passes, including the town of Peshawar. Simultaneously, Russian influence in South Central Asia also spread. Tashkent was occupied in 1865, Samarqand in 1868, and the emirate of Bukhara was made into a Russian protectorate in 1869, while Khiva fell in 1873 and Kokand in 1876. The weakened state of Afghanistan seemed destined to fall, either to the British or the Russians.

SECOND ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR

In 1874 a new government in London, led by Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), adopted a more aggressive stance in India and appointed a strong-minded governor general. In an atmosphere of growing tension, a Russian delegation, apparently uninvited, visited Kabul in July 1878. The British issued an ultimatum asking for equal rights of access to Kabul. When this ultimatum was rejected, the British crossed the border and thereby started the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–1879).

The Afghans were quickly defeated, and the war was concluded with the Treaty of Gandamak (May 29, 1879). The treaty included the stipulation that Afghanistan would remain an independent nation, but would conduct its foreign policy via the British rulers in India in lieu of regular subsidies and a British guarantee regarding the security of the country.

In the summer of 1879 a British embassy under Major Pierre Louis Cavagnari (1841–1879) was sent to Kabul, but shortly afterwards (September 1879), it was wiped out by an angry Afghan mob. The British felt compelled to occupy Kabul, but again realized that a

Khyber Pass Border Crossing. *British soldiers stand guard at the Khyber Pass, which connects present-day Pakistan with Afghanistan, during the third Anglo-Afghan War in 1919.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

permanent occupation of the country was too costly. British troops eventually withdrew from Afghanistan in 1881, leaving behind a young and ruthless ruler, Abdur Rakhman Khan (ca. 1844–1901). Under the protection of the British and under the stipulations of the Treaty of Gandamak, Abdur Rakhman Khan quickly modernized the country and built up central authority.

The relationship between the Afghans, British, and Russians was initially precarious. In 1885 the Russians defeated an Afghan garrison in Panjdeh, in the northwest of the country. This led to considerable tension. Eventually the British refused to help the Afghans, although they were obligated to do so. The relations with the Russians slowly improved after a treaty was signed that demarcated the northwestern borders of the country. In later years the complete borderline of Afghanistan was chartered by British officers; often in full cooperation with the Russians. Afghanistan was made into a buffer state separating British India from Russia.

THIRD ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR

The Great Game came to an end in 1907 when the Russians and British signed the Anglo-Russian Convention, thereby dividing their respective political and commercial spheres of interest in Iran and Afghanistan. Complete independence only came to Afghanistan in 1919 with the Third Anglo-Afghan War.

Following the collapse of Russia and World War I, the Afghans wanted their full independence, which the British were reluctant to grant. Although the Afghans proved no match to the British, the latter did not want to fight another war. After about one month and the bombing of the emir's palace in Kabul, the British agreed to the Peace Treaty of Rawalpindi (August 8, 1919), which was followed by the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of November 22, 1921. This treaty stipulated the complete independence of Afghanistan.

SEE ALSO *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in the Middle East; British India and the Middle East.*

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The African National Congress (ANC), the oldest black political organization in South Africa until it became multiracial in the 1990s, was founded on January 8, 1912, in Bloemfontein by chiefs, representatives of African peoples and church organizations, and other prominent individuals. The aim of the ANC was to bring all Africans together and to defend their rights and freedoms in a then racially divided South Africa.

The ANC was formed at a time of rapid change in South Africa. The organization began as a nonviolent civil rights group, but its tactics and strategy changed over time. The discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 transformed not only the social, political, and economic structure of South Africa, but the racial attitude of whites towards blacks. The contestations over mining rights, land, and labor gave rise to new laws that discriminated against the black population. Laws were designed to force Africans to leave their land and provide labor for the expanding mining and commercial agriculture industry. The most severe law was the 1913 Land Act, which prevented Africans from buying, renting, or using land except in the so-called reserves. Many communities or families lost their land because of the Land Act. Millions of blacks could not meet their subsistence needs off the land. The Land Act caused overcrowding, land hunger, poverty, and starvation.

The political activism of the ANC dates back to the Land Act of 1913. The Land Act and other laws, including the pass laws, controlled the movements of African people and ensured that they worked either in mines or on farms. The pass laws also stopped Africans from leaving their jobs or striking. In 1919 the ANC in Transvaal led a campaign against the passes. The ANC also supported a militant strike by African mineworkers in 1920. However, there was disagreement over the strategies to be adopted in achieving the goals set by the ANC. Some ANC leaders disagreed with militant actions such as strikes and protests in preference for persuasion, negotiation, and appeals to Britain. But appeals to British authorities in 1914 to protest the Land Act, and in 1919 to ask Britain to recognize African rights, did not achieve these goals.

In the 1920s, government policies became harsher and more racist. A color bar was established to stop blacks from holding semiskilled jobs in some industries. The ANC did not achieve much in this era. J. T. Gumede (1870–1947) was elected president of the ANC in 1927.

He tried to revitalize the organization in order to fight these racist policies. Gumede thought that communists could make a contribution to this struggle and he wanted the ANC to cooperate with them. However, in 1930, Gumede was voted out of office, and the ANC became inactive in the 1930s under conservative leadership.

The ANC was very prominent in its opposition to apartheid in the 1940s. The formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944 gave the organization new life and energy, and transformed it into the mass movement it was to become in the 1950s. The leaders of the Youth League, including Nelson Mandela (b. 1918), Walter Sisulu (1912–2003), and Oliver Tambo (1917–1993), aimed to involve the masses in militant struggles. They believed that the past strategy of the ANC could not lead to the liberation of black South Africans.

The militant ideas of the Youth League found support among the emerging urban black workforce. The Youth League drew up a Programme of Action calling for strikes, boycotts, and defiance. The Programme of Action was adopted by the ANC in 1949, the year after the National Party came to power on a pro-apartheid platform. The Programme of Action led to the Defiance Campaign in the 1950s as the ANC joined with other groups in promoting strikes and civil disobedience. The Defiance Campaign was the beginning of a mass movement of resistance to such apartheid laws as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and Bantu Education Act, and the pass laws.

The government tried to stop the Defiance Campaign by banning its leaders and passing new laws to prevent public disobedience. But the campaign had already made huge gains, including closer cooperation between the ANC and the South African Indian Congress, and the formation of a new South Africa Colored Peoples' Organization (SACPO) and the Congress of Democrats (COD), an organization of white democrats. These organizations, together with the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), formed the Congress Alliance.

The Congress Alliance called for the people to govern and for the land to be shared by those who work it. The alliance called for houses, work, security, and free and equal education. These demands were drawn together into the Freedom Charter, which was adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown on June 26, 1955. The government claimed that the Freedom Charter was a communist document and arrested ANC and Congress Alliance leaders and brought them to trial in the famous Treason Trial. The government tried to prove that the ANC and its allies had a policy of violence and planned to overthrow the state.

Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, February 28, 1999. *South African president Nelson Mandela (left) stands with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at a campaign rally in Soweto, South Africa. Mbeki succeeded Mandela as head of the ANC in 1997 and as president of South Africa in 1999.* **PER-ANDERS PETTERSON/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

The struggles of the 1950s brought blacks and whites together on a larger scale in the fight for justice and democracy. The Congress Alliance was an expression of the ANC's policy of nonracialism. This was expressed in the Freedom Charter, which declared that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. But not everyone in the ANC agreed with the policy of nonracialism. A small minority of members, who called themselves Africanists, opposed the Freedom Charter. They objected to the ANC's growing cooperation with whites and Indians, whom they described as foreigners. They were also suspicious of communists who, they felt, brought a foreign ideology into the struggle. The differences between the Africanists and those in the ANC who supported nonracialism could not be overcome. In 1959 the Africanists broke away and formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Anti–pass law campaigns were taken up by both the ANC and the PAC in 1960. The massacre on March 21, 1960, of sixty-nine peaceful protestors at Sharpeville, near Johannesburg, brought a decade of peaceful protest to an end. The ANC was banned in 1960, and the government declared a state of emergency and arrested thousands of ANC and PAC activists. The following year, the ANC initiated guerrilla attacks. In 1964 its leader, Nelson Mandela, was sentenced to life in prison and the ANC leadership was forced into exile.

The ANC went underground and continued to organize secretly. An underground military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe or Spear of the Nation, was formed in December 1961 to "hit back by all means within our power in defense of our people, our future and our freedom." The ANC continued to be popularly acknowledged as the vehicle of mass resistance to apartheid in the late 1970s and the 1980s. In spite of detentions and bans, the mass movement took to the city streets defiantly. In February 1990, the government was forced to lift the ban on the ANC and other organizations and signaled a desire to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the South African problem.

At the 1991 National Conference of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, who was released from prison in 1990, was elected ANC president. Oliver Tambo, who

served as president of the ANC from 1969 to 1991, was elected national chairperson. The negotiations initiated by the ANC resulted in the holding of South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994. The ANC won these historic elections with over 62 percent of the votes. On May 10, 1994, Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the president of South Africa. Thabo Mbeki (b. 1942) succeeded Mandela as head of the ANC in 1997 and as president of South Africa in 1999.

SEE ALSO *Apartheid; Mandela, Nelson.*

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AFRICAN SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS

Slavery, a fairly universal development across many of the world's ancient and early modern societies, took myriad forms reflecting a number of variables within a given historical setting. The enslavement of both Native American and African peoples in the Americas was no different, in this respect, from previous developments. Yet slavery in the Americas was exceptional as the transatlantic slave trade developed concurrently with a nascent capitalist system that touched much of the Western world. During this transformation, older forms of slavery—where enslavement was often a temporary status mediated by tribal customs or protective legal codes— were transformed into an institution in which the enslaved were marked as chattel, that is, personal property, and of inferior racial status.

THE INTRODUCTION OF AFRICAN SLAVERY

Spain and Portugal led Europe's initial efforts to colonize the Americas and first introduced African slavery to the hemisphere. Given their late medieval history, both powers were uniquely suited for experimenting with African slavery in the Americas. While the institution of slavery declined in importance throughout much of Europe following the collapse of the western half of the Roman Empire during the fifth century CE the institution was revitalized in Iberia (the peninsula now occupied by Spain and Portugal) with the invasion of the Moors in 711 and the intermittent Christian campaign to retake

lost territory over the subsequent seven centuries. As Christian and Muslim kingdoms collided and competed with one another, raids and warfare led to the occasional enslavement of captives and subjugated populations.

The Portuguese Crown completed its campaign of reconquest by the mid-thirteenth century, which led within a few decades to a shift of commercial aspirations and the crusade impulse into the Atlantic. Portuguese maritime activity involved the exploration of the western coast of sub-Saharan Africa and various uninhabited Atlantic islands (e.g., Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes). The Portuguese sought to tap into the lucrative, preexisting trade network of the West African coast, bringing to Lisbon cargoes of ivory, peppers, gold, and some African slaves.

European demand for enslaved Africans during the fifteenth century was relatively small compared to later developments and probably exerted a negligible influence on sub-Saharan slave markets. The impact of the slave trade was soon noticeable in Iberia, however; by the start of the sixteenth century, several thousand enslaved and freed people of African descent resided in such Iberian cities as Lisbon and Seville. The expulsion of the Moors from the Christian kingdoms of Spain took longer, but Spanish ships soon joined their Portuguese counterparts in plying the Atlantic. Spanish efforts concentrated on the conquest of the Guanches, the original inhabitants of the Canary Islands, at the close of the fifteenth century.

Following earlier Portuguese precedent, particularly on Madeira, plantations were established to cultivate sugar for the insatiable European market. Throughout these Atlantic islands, and eventually São Tomé off the African coast, various enslaved groups were shipped to the plantations, including conquered Moors from Spain, the Guanches of the Canaries, and finally Africans purchased along the western coast of Africa. These initial experiments with sugar plantations and imported African slaves served as a harbinger for later developments in the Americas.

THE CARIBBEAN

While the Portuguese developed trade relations along the western and central African coast, Spain benefited from the fortuitous discovery of the American hemisphere through its support of the Genoese navigator Cristóbal Colón (Christopher Columbus, 1451–1506). Columbus made landfall in late 1492 in the Lesser Antilles and eventually Hispaniola (the island comprising the modern nations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic). While he famously searched for the "Great Khan" of China, Columbus also sought potential commercial opportunities for his royal sponsors, including the traffic of Indian slaves. He noted the servile and peaceful nature

Slave arrivals in the Americas, 1451–1870

1451–1600	274,000
1601–1700	1,341,100
1701–1800	5,729,100
1801–1870	2,902,400
Total	10,247,500

SOURCE: For the period 1451 to 1700, Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 268; for the period 1701–1870, David Eltis' revision of Curtin's figures, Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1989).

THE GALE GROUP.

of the Arawak inhabitants of the Caribbean, who might be coerced into laboring in the gold mines that he rightly guessed would be discovered on Hispaniola.

Spanish colonization of the Caribbean began in earnest with Columbus's second voyage in 1493. Discipline and work were concepts difficult to instill in a colonist population seeking fortune and a quick return home. Spanish-Indian relations thus turned sour as colonists demanded greater access to native labor and provisions. A version of the Iberian *encomienda*, through which non-Christians were placed under the vassalage of a Christian lord, was adapted to the Caribbean context to satisfy these demands. In its various guises, the *encomienda* would serve as the initial instrument for tapping indigenous labor and goods as the Spanish expanded their control over new lands and peoples.

Old World diseases and exploitation decimated Hispaniola's native population, spurring colonists to begin raiding much of the Caribbean basin for substitute labor. Such actions were commonly justified by the Spanish perception of the existence of hostile, man-eating Caribs (from which the term *cannibalism* originates). Slave raiding emptied out the Bahamas by 1513, while the military conquest of Puerto Rico in 1508 and Cuba in 1511 supplied even larger numbers of war captives.

This initial experimental phase raised profound questions for Spanish jurists concerning the nature of the colonial enterprise, Spanish obligations to autochthonous groups, and eventually a rationale for importing African slaves. Spain's initial claim to sovereignty over the Americas rested largely on a series of papal bulls (decrees) and treaties promulgated after the return of Columbus's first voyage to the New World. Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) had effectively divided the world into two spheres of influence, providing Spain a monopoly over most of what would become the American continents while setting aside Africa and the Far East for rival Portugal. This decision, however, rested upon the moral obligation of the crown to evangelize newly discovered pagan peoples and to establish a protective tutelage over them.

These early ideological underpinnings of the colonial enterprise brought significant consequences for how the Spanish monarchy approached its indigenous subjects and the topic of slavery. Facing a demographic catastrophe in its Caribbean colonies by the second decade of the sixteenth century, the crown responded with decrees that restricted conditions for waging "just war" against hostile Indians and limited enslavement to known cannibals. Enforcement proved difficult, however. The invasion of Central America in 1500, for example, led to a half century of Indian slaving that resulted in the export of tens of thousands of captives out of the region. In response to the precipitous decline of indigenous groups throughout the mainland, the so-called New Laws of 1542 banned definitively Indian slavery, although the practice persisted well into the eighteenth century in precariously held frontier zones in northern Mexico, Chile, and Argentina. As the legality of Indian slavery became more nebulous and their numbers dwindled, the demand for compliant labor took a different direction.

The introduction of slaves of African descent to the Americas took place within this larger juridical conversation regarding the crown's obligations to the indigenous population. Small numbers of black slaves had been present since the earliest stages of the colonization of the Caribbean. Originating from Iberia, many of these individuals were considered *ladino*, a term indicating they had assimilated elements of Hispanic culture and spoke Spanish. Concerns regarding the presumed fragility of the New World's population, coupled with a desire to maintain the economic viability of the Caribbean colonies, led to an escalation of African slavery as a replacement for various forms of coerced indigenous labor. Simultaneously, with the opening of the transatlantic slave trade in the 1530s through the Portuguese-held trade factory of São Tomé off the African coast, a growing number of Africans were shipped to the New World who had very little or no Hispanic acculturation. They were called *bozales*.

MESOAMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA

Spanish colonization and African slavery took an enormous step forward with the conquest of mainland indigenous societies, beginning in 1521 with the fall of the Aztec state in central Mexico and that of the Inca in the Andes in 1532. While success is often attributed solely to Spanish conquistadors, slaves and freedmen of African

Slave Populations in the Americas, ca. 1770

Region	Slave Population	Total Population
Spanish America	290,000	12,144,000
Brazil	700,000	2,000,000
British Caribbean	428,000	500,000
British North America	450,000	2,100,000
French Caribbean	379,000	430,000
Dutch Caribbean	75,000	90,000

SOURCE: Adapted from Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London: Verso, 1988), p. 5.

THE GALE GROUP.

descent played a crucial role as auxiliaries and porters. Despite their contributions to these campaigns, few "black conquistadors" received significant compensation for their efforts, spurring many to participate in further conquests in more marginal zones of Central and South America, or to accept minor positions in newly established cities.

Colonial exploitation in these core areas rested on coerced but nominally free Indian labor. As they had in the Caribbean, Spanish settlers turned to the *encomienda* as the principal motor of enrichment and economic development. Preexisting tribute and labor levies inherited from the conquered native polities enabled a fairly rapid transition to a new colonial regime. Indian tributaries were to provide the Spanish elite with marketable goods and new urban zones with foodstuffs. While some forms of indigenous slavery existed prior to the arrival of Europeans and carried over into the early colonial era, most Indian labor was organized and channeled through indigenous lords and their subject communities via the *encomienda.*

State labor drafts of indigenous tributaries began to overshadow the private *encomienda* by the second half of the sixteenth century. This was particularly the case once significant deposits of silver were discovered starting in the 1540s in sparsely populated zones (northern Mexico and the high Andes of Bolivia).

African slavery complemented Indian labor from the very inception of these mainland viceroyalties. Slaves were particularly important in urban economies, filling various labor niches as skilled artisans, truck gardeners, and household servants. Early colonists also considered slaves effective foremen of their Indian tributaries, which helped give rise to a reputation of blacks as abusive and threatening to native people, an image that only recently has been challenged and at least partly debunked.

African slavery in Spanish America accelerated after the mid-sixteenth century due to two principal factors. First, the indigenous population of newly conquered areas suffered a demographic catastrophe similar to that which had befallen the Caribbean. As the tributary population declined due to disease and exploitation, and the demands of the Spanish sector expanded due to its own demographic growth, colonial entrepreneurs and the state again looked to replace the Indian laborers with African slaves. The fortuitous union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns (1580–1640) provided the colonies a more reliable source of slaves that coincided with the nadir of indigenous population levels.

African slavery reverted to a more supplemental role in Mesoamerica and the Andes during the second half of the seventeenth century as Spain and Portugal split politically and the native population began to recover. The Spanish maintained the so-called *asiento* (monopoly contract), however, which licensed select European powers with access to the coast of Africa to transport and market slaves in Spain's American ports of entry.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese discovery of Brazil in 1500 opened up additional possibilities for colonization and African slavery. Unlike the populous societies Spain conquered in Mesoamerica and the Andes, the Portuguese encountered stateless, semi-sedentary groups living along the coast in a near incessant state of tribal warfare. Brazil was considered a less promising opportunity than the lucrative trade networks the Portuguese were tapping into along the coast of Africa and later in the Indian Ocean and Far East. The colonization impulse was therefore dampened for several decades in Brazil, while early Portuguese-Indian relations centered on the relatively peaceful Brazil wood trade.

Efforts by the French to initiate their own colonies in Brazil (between 1555 and 1615) compelled the Portuguese Crown to sponsor a more serious colonization effort that eventually centered on sugar cultivation in the northeast. Planters tried to gather Indian men, either voluntarily or not, to supply the necessary labor, but encountered serious difficulties. Decimated by disease and facing a harsher labor regime than they were accustomed to, native laborers fled the plantations in droves. Further complicating matters were indigenous attitudes that associated agricultural work with women. Planter demands for labor led to a deterioration in tribal relations and an escalation in frontier violence.

The relative proximity of Brazil to advanced agricultural societies in Africa made feasible the decision to seek alternative labor. During the early seventeenth century, African slaves replaced Indian workers as the principal motor of plantation production throughout the Brazilian northeast. Nevertheless, raids into the Brazilian interior

for Indian slaves continued. Of these efforts, the most famous were the *bandeirantes* of the southern city of São Paulo, themselves a multiethnic and polyglot group, who opened up territory deep in the continent for later settlement by the Portuguese.

Over the course of the seventeenth century, northern Europeans began encroaching on territories claimed by Spain and Portugal and experimenting with African slavery. Of particular significance were the Dutch, who revolted against Spanish rule in 1572 in a protracted conflict that eventually embroiled the Portuguese. Founded in 1621, the Dutch West Indies Company sought over the next two decades to wrest away from Portugal its sugar zones in Brazil and slaving ports along the African coast.

Although the Dutch were ousted from Brazil in 1654, the interim period proved decisive in the subsequent development of American slavery. Dutch planters who had gained expertise in the production of sugar and its mill technology began colonizing Caribbean islands (Barbados, Martinique, and Guadeloupe) as early as the 1640s. Like Brazil, much of the Caribbean remained vulnerable to colonization efforts by Iberia's imperial rivals. Joining the Dutch were increasing numbers of British and French planters who benefited from their nations' own efforts to gain a foothold on the African slave trade. By the eighteenth century, this multinational experiment ended Brazil's dominance of the international sugar market while also drawing significant numbers of African slaves to the region.

NORTH AMERICA

Labor demands in British North America also fostered the growth of an African slave population. Until the late seventeenth century, however, labor demands throughout much of the American eastern seaboard were met through a combination of family members, indentured servants, and only a scattering of African slaves. This initial "charter" generation of slaves tended to be drawn from those already living in this emerging Atlantic world, and like the early *ladinos* of the Spanish colonial world, these individuals benefited from a familiarity with diverse European languages, cultures, and institutions. Often working in small numbers and alongside white servants and even their masters, the social distance between enslaved and free was smaller than that which would develop under the plantation regime. While brutality and coercion were not absent, the possibility existed for manumission and some degree of social mobility through market participation, the purchase of land, and affiliation with Christian churches.

Similar to developments in the Hispanic world, the transition to a plantation system throughout much of the North American colonies (e.g., tobacco in the Chesapeake and rice and indigo in South Carolina) by the early eighteenth century led to a predominance of African-born slaves and fewer opportunities for manumission or social mobility for those already freed. For half a century, the slave population in these zones was characterized by the retention of African languages, culture, and religion before being outpaced by the gradual development of an African-American generation with its own culture, informed by both its ancestral roots and that of the European colonists.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Slavery also continued to evolve in much of Latin America. New commercial opportunities, such as cacao in Venezuela, produced variations in the plantation model. Despite its decline relative to the Caribbean plantation systems, Brazil remained the single largest destination for African slaves. As the sugar industry suffered from international competition, new demands for African slaves emerged.

Indian slave raiding by the *bandeirantes* led to the discovery of gold and diamond mines in the interior of central Brazil in 1693 to 1695 and in 1729 respectively. Miners, slaves, and royal tax collectors followed in the wake of these bonanzas, stimulating the creation of new urban zones and market demands. Extraction took two principal forms. In some areas, large gangs of supervised slaves worked in placer mines created through elaborate and costly hydraulic works and sluices. Those with less capital established agreements whereby largely unsupervised slaves prospected in return for a share of the findings.

Within decades, a substantial freed population emerged as slaves were able to purchase their freedom from the surpluses they retained. Similar developments occurred in areas of Spanish America, such as the gold mines of the Chocó (the Pacific coastal lowlands of modern Colombia). African slaves were preferred over intransigent Indian groups, leading to an increasingly African and freed population by the end of the eighteenth century.

As these examples suggest, the impact of the slave trade varied widely across space and time given the diverse conditions of different regions of the New World. Despite an early prominence in the traffic of bondsmen, the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, for example, remained heavily indigenous due to the vast size of the pre-Hispanic population, even after the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collapse. While slavery persisted as an institution, over time it played a diminishing role in the lives of most individuals of African descent. High rates of manumission and interracial sexual unions led to

an African-based population creolized in culture and with free people outnumbering the enslaved.

Where the indigenous population was initially much thinner, the demographic results varied. In what became the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776 (comprising mostly modern Argentina), both the European and African presence was sparse. Nevertheless, the port of Buenos Aires continued to contain a discernible black population well into the nineteenth century. In the Spanish Caribbean, in contrast, Puerto Rico and Cuba witnessed a dramatic rise in slavery during the eighteenth century, which left a pronounced African presence that persists to the present day. Much of Brazil and parts of British North America, which contained lower population densities than Mesoamerica and the Andes, also developed discernible African-based (and creolized) populations by the end of the eighteenth century.

CONDITIONS FOR SLAVES IN THE AMERICAS

The relative numerical strength of African populations throughout the Americas was in turn shaped by each region's relationship to the Atlantic slave trade. Estimating the volume of the trade remains a difficult and contentious exercise. Philip Curtin (1969) offered the first systematic scholarly effort to measure the slave trade, concluding that as many as 11.8 million Africans were shipped to the Americas and approximately 9.4 million reached its shores.

Since Curtin, other scholars have tested his analysis, suggesting various revisions. The tentative consensus today is that some 11 million slaves left Africa over the course of three and a half centuries. Of this number, about 15 percent (over 1.5 million) may not have survived the infamous Middle Passage, a horrific experience marked by inhuman conditions of transport, insufficient food, and disease. Mortality rates incurred from the point of capture in the African interior to transfer to a slave ship along the coast may have been even higher, suggesting the tremendous toll on human lives that slave trafficking exacted.

The vast majority of slaves (around 10 million) were shipped after 1660 following the expansion of the sugar plantation complex, with regions most associated with this regime receiving the largest number of slaves. Thus, between 1662 and 1867 Brazil obtained some 40 percent of all slaves shipped to the Americas, while the British, French, and Spanish Caribbean combined received over 47 percent of the total.

A better understanding of the historical contours of the Atlantic slave trade has allowed scholars to examine more closely what happened to African cultural practices, languages, and beliefs under American slavery. To summarize a complex discussion, historians dispute the extent to which

African culture carried over and persisted in the Western Hemisphere. Stanley Elkins (1959), building on the work of Frank Tannenbaum (1947) and others, posited that slavery was so extreme and brutal an experience in the capitalistic regimes of British America that those held in bondage were essentially stripped of their previous identities.

This position has fallen out of favor. The debate today revolves more around the issue of cultural survival versus creolization. On the one hand, some scholars have pointed to the experience of the Middle Passage and bondage as leading to a blurring of African cultural divisions and the creation of a unique African-American culture that borrows from a diverse set of origins. Others have countered that various regions of America tended to draw slaves from distinct zones of Africa, which resulted in a concentration of individuals from similar cultural backgrounds for generations, reinforcing African rather than creolized cultures.

Scholars who emphasize the continuities of African culture in the Americas often point to the profound demographic impact of slavery to support their position. Slave populations throughout the Americas tended to depend upon continued imports from Africa since slave mortality rates usually outpaced birth rates. Indeed, it has long been noted that the only significant exception to this rule was the antebellum United States, although the reasons for this fact are complex and still only partially understood. Part of the problem involves the skewed gender ratios of the slave trade itself, which favored young adult males. Scholars are divided whether this was due more to the market demands of American planters or a refusal of African merchants to sell female slaves, who were highly coveted in domestic slave markets.

Clearly, though, a separate issue involved the appalling conditions under which most slaves lived. While disease did not spare owners, slaves were much more vulnerable due to the poor nutrition, abysmal living conditions, and extreme work hours that characterized their daily existence. Critics within the Brazilian Catholic Church, for instance, often berated planters who would rather pay for a new African slave than assume the costs involved in the proper care of those already owned. Unproductive infants and young children likewise required years of maintenance before they could begin to compete with the productivity levels of newly acquired adults shipped directly from Africa.

The issue of rising enslaved birth rates in the United States, and the reasons for why it seems to have been so exceptional, relates to another point of contention in the comparative history of American slavery. In the 1940s Tannenbaum argued the treatment of African slaves in Latin America was better than in British America. He suggested that centuries of contact with Moors and

Africans had provided Spain and Portugal with a relatively humane system of laws and attitudes concerning the treatment of slaves and racial difference, arising from legal and cultural sensibilities that northern Protestant countries lacked given their more isolated historical development. Iberian law, based on Roman precedent, recognized the human personality of the slave, placed constraints on the owner's ability to dole out punishment, and offered the possibility for manumission through self-purchase or the release from service upon the owner's death. The regulatory power of the Catholic Church, which likewise recognized the humanity of the enslaved, made for a decidedly different slave system than that of Protestant colonies.

While it is true that Iberian colonial law and institutions offered a modicum of concern for African slaves, the reality was more problematic, as the absence of American-born slave populations throughout much of Latin America might attest. Legal protection, for one matter, was rarely proactive and always inconsistently enforced. In contrast to Tannenbaum's effort to distinguish systems of slavery across broad cultural divides, more recent scholarship tends instead to emphasize other determinant factors related to the particular economic roles slavery fulfilled in a given colony or region. Throughout most slave societies, for example, treatment and living conditions declined in situations where slavery became the dominant institution and economic pressures for profit were most severe. In contrast, where slavery played a less important economic role, levels of coercion and abuse might be less extreme.

The evolution of slavery in Cuba is a good example of this phenomenon. Long a backwater of the Spanish empire, Cuban agriculture (tobacco, sugar, coffee, and livestock) rested on a mix of free and slave labor. In 1763 the island was seized by England and underwent a rapid transformation as a result of an opening up of international trade. The Spanish continued these efforts after retaking the island, and as a result Cuba was transformed into a major plantation-based economy with a typically oppressive labor regime based on the use of slave gangs. What had changed in Cuba, in other words, was the economic regime rather than the cultural or legal framework theoretically guiding slave-owner relations.

While slavery was undoubtedly an oppressive system, those held in bondage often sought to resist or minimize its pernicious influence on their lives. Resistance began during the Middle Passage itself, which witnessed numerous revolts on slave ships. Bondage in the Americas also offered its own range of opportunities for slaves to oppose the will of owners and overseers. Acts of passive resistance, such as work slowdowns, the destruction of property, or theft, are common throughout the historical record.

Escape was also an early and persistent tactic that slaves employed to resist oppression. Plantations located along frontier zones or inaccessible terrain offered potential safety for those who could reach it. The phenomenon of flight could take on an individual or temporary dimension, or become a permanent and collective act of resistance. The famed community of Palmares in Brazil, for example, endured for decades (1630–1697) despite repeated efforts by the Portuguese to crush it militarily. Elsewhere, imperial frontiers offered the possibility of freedom. Runaway slaves from South Carolina and Georgia, for example, found sanctuary in Spanish Florida, where they formed free communities and militias that supported the defense of St. Augustine.

Less frequent were slave rebellions in which violent resistance to the regime took a collective dimension. The potential for such an outbreak was never far from the minds of owners and state authorities alike, although actual instances are probably outnumbered by alleged discovered conspiracies. Whether instances of the latter were actual plots or simply the paranoid fantasies of slave-owners remains uncertain and no doubt depended on the individual case. Armed resistance at a collective level did occur, however. The 1835 revolt in Bahia, Brazil, by Muslim slaves is one notable example, as is the more famous and ultimately successful slave revolt that culminated in Haitian independence (1791–1804).

Finally, slave resistance contributed significantly to the eventual abolition of slavery over the course of the nineteenth century in various American republics. The activities of abolition societies, the Underground Railroad, and regiments of freedmen who fought in the American Civil War (1861–1865) are perhaps the best known examples. Like their brethren to the north, slaves participated in the wars of independence in mainland Spanish America (1808–1821), often in response to the promise of freedom. The abolition of slavery in much of Spanish America during the 1840s and 1850s was encouraged not only by the enforcement of the British ban of the slave trade and the transformation of domestic economies, but also by the actions of slaves and freed people alike, who fought and clamored for the rights promulgated in the republican constitutions of the era.

But legal freedom, although a tremendous achievement, did not ensure parity or full citizenship despite the efforts and political mobilization of freed people in the fledgling American republics. Indeed, the legacy of slavery and the racism it had fostered remained pressing concerns in postabolition societies, as it does in today's

continuing struggle for equality and civil rights across the American hemisphere.

SEE ALSO *Abolition of Colonial Slavery; Export Commodities; Haitian Revolution; Mining, the Americas.*

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Andrew B. Fisher

AFRIKANER

The first Afrikaner(s) were settlers, mainly of Dutch origin, who established themselves in the Cape of Good Hope region. Their descendants controlled South Africa for a long time and were the architects of the racist system that prevailed there until the 1990s. Initially, the Afrikaner were known as *Boers,* a word that means "farmer," "peasant." The Afrikaner speak Afrikaans, a language derived from Dutch with some contributions from German and French, the latter a legacy of the Huguenots who sailed to Africa in the seventeenth century to escape Europe's religious wars. Traditionally, the great majority of Afrikaner have been members of the Dutch Reformed Church, one of the pillars of Afrikanerdom. Afrikaner identity was formed through a gradual indigenization that dissolved connections with the former motherland: hence the choice to use terms for themselves and their language that signaled that their destiny as individuals and a nation was rooted in Africa.

BEGINNINGS

The first Dutch community in the Cape was set up by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 under the command of Jan van Riebeeck, who was instructed to build a fort and a resupply station for ships traveling to and from Batavia (present-day Indonesia), the headquarters of Dutch possessions in Asia. In principle there was no intention to establish a colony, but increasing food needs and the favorable climate pushed settlers to farm and occupy more land. While extending settlements and spreading farther afield, the Boers encountered the

communities of Bantu-speaking farmers. Much more developed and intimidating than the Khoikhoi and San—cattle-breeders and hunter-gatherers living in the region around the Cape, whom the Afrikaner had easily outnumbered—the Bantu formed a barrier to further Afrikaner expansion. The eighteenth century saw warfare on the border of Afrikaner-controlled territory that precariously divided whites and blacks. The Afrikaner expanded their possessions across the Fish River at the expense of the southern Nguni (Xhosa). Because the metropolitan power was far away and its representatives almost absent, the Boers developed a unique culture centered on independence, patriarchal authority, and firm hierarchization (the agricultural economy was based on slave labor and most of the servants, artisans, and laborers were slaves). They believed themselves to have been charged with a semi-divine duty to civilize Africa. The turning point in the history of the Afrikaner was the occupation of the Cape by the British during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1806 Britain replaced Holland as the colonial power and nine years later the occupation of the Cape was ratified at the Congress of Vienna.

THE GREAT TREK

Despite their common European background, rural Dutch and urban English settlers were separated by a cultural divide. This was bound to have great political significance. The British were not willing to let the Afrikaner manage their affairs autonomously and shaped the institutions of the country in a way that the Afrikaner found odious and untenable. The abolition of slavery was the final affront to Afrikaner habits. In order to escape obtrusive British administration, the Boers decided to resettle outside the colonial boundaries. The massive emigration northeastward that resulted, carried out in organized groups with ox-driven wagons, is known in Boer mythology as the Great Trek. It is conventionally dated to 1838. The Boers' aim was to establish a new motherland. After battling and expropriating resources from the black tribes they encountered, the Voortrekkers founded two republics: the Transvaal or South African Republic (with Pretoria as the capital city) and the Orange Free State (with its capital in Bloemfontein). In the iconology of the civil religion constructed by Afrikaner, the Great Trek was the *revolution*: the liberation from British imperialism and the advent of a new nation.

However, Cape authorities and arch-colonial lobbies both in Britain and in Africa were determined to wipe out the Boer republics, daringly founded in a region under the paramount influence of the British. The conventions British emissaries signed with the Transvaal Voortrekkers in 1852 and with the representatives of

the Free State in 1854—the latter a formal recognition of Afrikaner independence—were just a postponement of the unavoidable collision, ultimately precipitated by the discovery of the diamonds of Kimberley and of the immense gold fields in the Witwatersrand (Transvaal). In 1870 the European population of the territories occupied by the Voortrekkers numbered about 45,000. The republics' autocratic regime was soon seriously challenged by an industrial and urban boom and by the flood of cosmopolitan Europeans in search of fortune. The British backed the claims of foreigners (Uitlanders) over the franchise and other rights of Afrikaners and thus caused a dispute with President Paul Kruger of Transvaal, champion of Afrikaner nationalism and inflexible warden of an anachronistic regime reserved for a pure elite of "founders." The outcome was full-fledged war.

Hostilities erupted in 1899 after Kruger, wanting to act before the arrival of fresh troops from India and Europe, delivered an ultimatum to the British government. In spite of the resolute heroism of the Boer army and the Boer people in general (women and children were amassed in camps by the British in order to separate fighters from their family and social environment), British military forces succeeded in defeating the Boers. The Boer republics ceased to exist with the Treaty of Vereeniging, signed in 1902; Transvaal and Orange merged with the Cape Colony and Natal was absorbed into the South African Union under British control. The Anglo-Boer (or South African) War marked the end of the petty Boer nationalism personified by Kruger. It signaled the birth of a new Boer consciousness, one better suited to coping with development and modernity. The blacks, not the British, were now the enemy of the Afrikaner; for their part, the British accepted the revision or abrogation of the few rights enjoyed by black Africans as the price of ending the devastating war.

FROM APARTHEID TO DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

The *volk* (the Afrikaner nation) survived the military catastrophe: in their self-conception, if the British were the colonial officials and owners of the mines, the Afrikaner were the authentic representatives of the soul of unified South Africa. The sophisticated and multifaceted apartheid regime—the system of racial segregation and discrimination imposed by the Afrikaner's Nationalist Party after its victory in the 1948 elections—was a sort of apotheosis in the story of a people supposedly elected by God to carry out a very special mission in Africa. D. F. Malan was the first of a series of Afrikaner leaders (including H. F. Verwoerd, B. J. Vorster, P. W. Botha, and others) committed to creating Afrikanerdom by crushing or subduing black

Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria, South Africa. *Pretoria's Voortrekker Monument, designed by Gerard Moerdijk and inaugurated in 1949, honors the original Afrikaner settlers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.* © **JOSE FUSTE RAGA/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

African aspirations to liberty, equality, and power. The British segment of South Africa's white population never fully endorsed the rationale for this extreme form of racism (though racism as a system was significant to the growth of South African capitalism), but they were unable to or did not really want to combat apartheid. All the heads of government and state in South Africa were Afrikaner from 1910, when independence was proclaimed, up to Nelson Mandela in 1994, when apartheid was formally abolished. The year 1994 also saw the country's first universal elections and the triumph of the African National Congress (ANC), the party that had built the antiracist movement by mobilizing black Africans and people of any race who rejected racism. After 350 years of colonialism, the ANC's victory established majority rule for the first time in South Africa's history.

SEE ALSO *African National Congress; Apartheid.*

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Giampaolo Calchi Novati

ALBUQUERQUE, AFONSO DE
1453–1515

Afonso d'Albuquerque, known as "the Great," was born in Alhandra, near Lisbon, Portugal, and died at sea off Goa, India. He was the second governor of India, who laid the foundations of the Portuguese Empire in the Orient.

Albuquerque was the second son of the senhor of Vila Verde. His ancestors and those of his wife, Dona Leonor de Meneses, served the Portuguese kings John I (1357–1433) and Edward (1391–1438) in high and confidential offices, and he himself served ten years in Morocco under Afonso V (1432–1381), John II (1455–1495), and Manuel I (1469–1521), where he gained early military experience crusading against Muslims. Albuquerque was most prominent under John II, but his reputation rests on his service in the East.

When Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) returned to Portugal in 1499 from his pioneering voyage to India, King Manuel straightaway sent a second fleet under Pedro Álvares Cabral (ca. 1467–1520) to open relations and trade with the Indian rulers. The Muslim traders who had monopolized the distribution of spices asked the *zamorin*, or Hindu prince of Calicut, for assistance against the Portuguese. His dependency, the raja of Cochin, on the Malabar Coast, however, welcomed the Iberians. In 1503 Albuquerque arrived with his cousin Francisco to protect the ruler of Cochin, where he built the first Portuguese fortress in Asia and placed a garrison. After setting up a trading post at Quilon, he returned to Lisbon in July 1504, where he was well received by Manuel and could participate in the formulation of the Portuguese policy toward Asia.

In 1505 Manuel appointed Dom Francisco de Almeida (ca. 1450–1510) the first governor in India, with the rank of viceroy. Almeida's main aim was to develop trade and aid the allies of the Portuguese. Albuquerque left Lisbon with Tristão da Cunha (1460–1540) in April 1506 to explore the east coast of Africa. In August 1507 he build a fortress on the island of Socotra to block the mouth of the Red Sea and cut off Arabic trade with India. After that, Albuquerque captured Hormuz (Ormuz), an island in the channel between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, to open the European-Persian trade. The fortification at Hormuz had to be abandoned because of differences with his captains, who departed for India. Albuquerque, left with only two ships to Socotra, continued to raid the Arabic coasts.

King Manuel appointed Albuquerque to succeed Almeida at the end of his term, though without the rank of viceroy. When Albuquerque reached India in December 1508, Almeida had crushed the improvised sea force of Calicut, but a navy from Egypt had defeated and killed his son. Almeida insisted on remaining in power until he had avenged his son's death; to prevent any interference, Almeida decided to imprison his successor, Albuquerque. Almeida succeeded in defeating the Muslims off Diu in February 1509, and in November, with the arrival of marshal Fernando Coutinho from Portugal, he finally turned his office over to Albuquerque.

Albuquerque's plan was to assume active control over all the main maritime trade routes of the East and to establish permanent fortresses with settled populations. He realized that it was better to try to supplant the Muslims. With the assistance of a powerful corsair named Timoja, he took twenty-three ships to attack Goa, long ruled by Muslim princes. Albuquerque occupied this city in March 1510, but was forced out of the citadel by a Muslim army in May. In November he took Goa

again after a final assault. The Muslim defenders were put to the sword.

After this victory over the Muslims, the Hindu rulers accepted the Portuguese presence in India. Albuquerque used Goa as a naval base against the Muslims. He also diverted the spice trade to Goa, and used the city as a base for supplying Persian horses to Hindu princes. By marrying his men to the widows of his victims he would give Goa its own population. The village's communities, under a special regime, would assure an abundance of supplies and merchandise.

After providing for the government of Goa, Albuquerque embarked on the conquest of Malacca, on the Malay Peninsula, the immediate point of distribution for spices in the East. He took this port town in July 1511, garrisoned it, and sent an ambassador to the king of Siam to open trade. He also sent ships in search of spices to the Banda Islands and the Moluccas.

In the meantime, Goa was again under heavy attack. Albuquerque left Malacca in January 1512 and came to Goa's relief. Having resecured the city, and after establishing a licensing system to control the movement of goods, Albuquerque set off for the Red Sea with a force of Portuguese and Indian soldiers. Because Socotra was inadequate as a base, he attempted to take Aden, but his forces proved insufficient. He thereupon explored the Arabian and Abyssinian (Ethiopian) coasts. Returning to India, he finally subdued Calicut, hitherto the main seat of opposition to the Portuguese.

In February 1515 Albuquerque again left Goa with twenty-six ships bound for Hormuz, gaining control of part of the island. He fell ill in September and returned to Goa. On the way he learned that he had been superseded by his personal enemy, Lope Soares de Albergaria. Albuquerque died embittered onboard the ship before reaching his destination.

Albuquerque's plans derived from the crusading spirit of John II and others. He did not allow himself to be diverted from his schemes by considerations of mercantile gain. His boldest concepts, such as turning the Persians against the Turks or ruining Egypt by diverting the course of the Nile, may have been superhuman, but perhaps his achievements were as well.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Portuguese; Goa, Colonial City of.*

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Arnold van Wickeren

ALCOHOL

Alcohol has a long history predating European colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa. African traditional drinks include first and foremost the thick, cloudy grain beers of the savannah areas of East Africa and southern Africa and the Sahelian zone, and the palm and banana wines of the higher rainfall areas, especially in Central and West Africa.

TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION IN AFRICA

The indigenous alcoholic drinks of Africa were fermented and usually of low ethanol content—between 2 and 4 percent. The grain-based beer production and consumption in rural areas was highly seasonal, whereas the supply of palm wine would have been continuous throughout the year. Traditionally, the pattern of ceremonial festivities and drinking occasions rotated around the agricultural cycle. Many family and community celebrations, such as weddings and puberty rites, would have been deliberately scheduled to take place in the post-harvest period when the availability of ingredients for alcohol production was assured. A successful grain harvest was a cause for celebration and the giving of thanks to the ancestors. Alcohol could appear out of season at other occasions, such as funerals. Given alcohol's close association with ancestors, it was not surprisingly a feature of wakes.

Traditionally, alcohol drinking to the point of intoxication was considered primarily the privilege of male elders, who held the highest status in Africa's rural communities. The drinking of low-ethanol alcohol, which was woven into special community-wide ceremonies and occasions marking life-cycle passages, constituted an intensely social event.

Fermented alcoholic beverages also provided basic food and drink. Men were more likely to consume their grain intake in the form of beer than women and children. However, traditional forms of thick, cloudy sorghum and millet beers veer toward the boundary between alcohol and nutritional gruel. Women and children drank the nutritious gruel. Furthermore, these beverages provided liquid refreshment in places where the water supply was unsafe.

ALCOHOL USE IN AFRICA DURING THE COLONIAL ERA

Onto this localized pattern of community-based alcohol production and consumption, Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, and German, as well as Danish and Swedish, slave-trade activities in Africa expanded the world trade in distilled liquor. Distilled liquor was an ideal long-distance trading good, capable of being stored for exceptionally long periods, little damaged by climatic fluctuation, and eagerly demanded in a wide range of foreign lands. In effect, alcohol served as a currency in early European trading, conquest, and labor recruitment.

The slave trade and European alcohol importation were intricately entwined. European mercantile interests introduced parts of the African continent to strong distilled alcohol and recreational drinking habits that were divorced from community ritual contexts. Alcohol was traded primarily with chiefs and merchant elites, and the drinking of imported spirits was generally restricted to coastal areas or navigable river routes. Thus, at a very early stage, these parts of Africa became part of the global market for alcohol under an economic regime of unfettered free trade.

Along the Gold Coast, imported spirits became prevalent during the seventeenth century and, according to foreign travelers, were incorporated into rituals by the eighteenth century. Hair, Jones, and Law's 1992 study of the letters of a French slave trader, Jean Barbot, reveal the multiple utilities of spirits. Besides trading French brandy for slaves, the brandy served as a tribute payment and a lubricant for trade negotiations, helping European traders gain bargaining advantage. The ship's crew drank it liberally as well, so its inclusion in the hold was never in vain, even when, as on one unexpected occasion, Barbot found that the English traders who preceded him had swayed local demand in favor of Barbados rum.

Beyond West Africa, seventeenth-century records of the Dutch East Indies Company at the Cape of Good Hope reveal that their African slaves were issued a daily glass of brandy in the belief that it would increase their alertness. After the abolition of slavery, tots of spirits and, later, wine were used as a method of payment for manual labor. Attitudes of the day embraced the notion that

South African Sorghum Beer. *Traditional forms of thick grain beers provided basic nourishment and refreshment throughout the savannah areas of East Africa and southern Africa, even after Europeans began importing distilled spirits. In this photograph, a Zulu cook in South Africa ladles a sorghum mixture into a calabash to make beer.* © **ROGER DE LA HARPE; GALLO IMAGES/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

alcohol had medicinal benefits. European traders and employers complained about the market sale of alcohol, fearing that public drunkenness and disorder could threaten social stability, but the desire for public regulation of alcohol did not coalesce into any systematic legal control.

The end of the nineteenth century saw a glut of so-called trade spirits on the world market. These consisted primarily of cheaply produced potato schnapps that had been the staple drink of peasants throughout much of continental Europe. As the Industrial Revolution absorbed Europe's rural populations, their drinking tastes gravitated toward smoother grain schnapps and beer. New markets were sought just as Africa was being colonized. Traders based in Hamburg and Rotterdam acted with alacrity, finding a receptive market in West Africa. They even managed to circumvent import duties to penetrate the booming South African market by shipping their schnapps via Portugal.

Alcohol played a significant role in mobilizing wage labor on a continent with no legacy of wage labor and where acute labor scarcity prevailed. In effect, alcohol provided the lever for labor recruiters to pry self-sufficient agrarian societies open, and it served as an expedient means for employers to attract and hold their workforce, given their limited need for cash. By the 1880s Portuguese wine and spirit imports in Mozambique had helped mold a proletarianized workforce whose dependence on alcohol was readily recognized as an asset across the border in South Africa. The Transvaal gold mines, rapidly expanding their labor force, eagerly recruited such workers.

TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION

Khama III (d. 1923) of Bechuanaland (later Botswana) was notable as a traditional leader who took a firm stand against the trade in bottled spirits. The mining concession he granted in 1887 stipulated the ban of such imports. Temperance concerns began to be expressed, bolstered by local merchants interested in diverting some

of the cash spent on drinks at mining canteens to the purchase of their commodities.

However, it was mine owners themselves who decisively threw their weight behind tighter controls. The poor productivity and high absentee rates of a drunken labor force were expensive, as well as posing a threat to civil order in frontier mining settlements where effective police control was lacking. At the turn of the twentieth century, heavy investment in deep-level mining necessitated a more disciplined and productive labor force. Mine owners radically altered their position, forsaking their financial interests in canteen alcohol sales. Bigger financial stakes beckoned, and they began pressing for total alcohol prohibition.

They did so in an atmosphere of increasing British imperial sympathy for the temperance cause. British empire builders Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) and Frederick Lugard (1858–1945) joined ranks with Christian missionaries to advocate tighter alcohol controls, despite the inevitable loss of alcohol import duties that such a position would entail. Colonial economies had the onus of being financially self-sustaining, and many West African colonies relied heavily on the fiscal flow of alcohol import duties.

At the Berlin Conference of 1884, the dominant European powers of the day had mutually agreed to partition sub-Saharan Africa amongst themselves, but the issue of the lucrative alcohol trade that had been fostered during the preceding three centuries was left as unfinished business. As palm oil and other agricultural commodities replaced slaves as the region's major exports, more Africans gained access to cash, facilitating the expansion of alcohol imports into West Africa.

Prohibition groups felt that the "white man's burden" was to prevent Africans' alcoholic overindulgence and moral degeneration. They successfully pressured the European powers attending the Brussels Conference of 1890 into establishing an alcohol prohibition zone between the latitudes 20° north and 22° south across the continent. In this zone, the signatory governments agreed to ban the importation and distillation of liquors where their use did not already exist.

The significance of an international treaty was more symbolic than real in curbing African access to alcohol. South Africans and most West Africans accustomed to imported alcohol were not included in the ban. Prohibition did not extend to the non-African population anywhere on the continent, so imports per se did not cease, making leakages of supply common, especially in northern Nigeria, where the ban was implemented to accommodate the predominately Muslim population.

Minimum duty rates were set, and a secretariat in Brussels was established to monitor the controls without

powers of enforcement. Following World War I, the international moral crusade of alcohol prohibition gave way to political pragmatism. Alcohol control represented an overconcentration of too many conflicting emotions and economic interests to be tackled by the League of Nations' prudent international civil service cadre.

International intervention had given colonial governments scope to institute policies that rewarded or punished segments of the population with differential alcohol access according to their attainment of "civilized" behavior in the eyes of colonial officialdom. Alcohol control served as a signposting on the rungs of the colonial social hierarchy based on race and class; it amounted to a "division of leisure," the reverse side of the colonial division of labor.

Broadly, the policies of the higher-latitude beer-drinking and spirit-drinking European colonial nations like Britain and Germany differed from those of the more southern wine-drinking French and Portuguese, who were far less influenced by the temperance movement. France and Portugal accommodated the possibility of cultural assimilation and class advancement by making wine and beer available to Africans who could afford to purchase it. Alcohol access in British and German colonies was more punitive in nature, pivoting on a stark racial distinction between Europeans and Africans. Africans in the British colonies of East Africa and southern Africa were not allowed European drinks, defined as wine, clear beer, and bottled spirits. In southern and South Africa, the racial content of alcohol policy was reinforced by the presence of a large white settler population. The rural/urban divide among Africans was ignored: urban Africans were assumed to have "unrefined" rural tastes.

NEW PATTERNS OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION IN AFRICA

Generally, most rural agricultural production consisted of low-alcohol beers and wines. Limitations on brewing to conserve staple food crops and prevent famine were commonly incorporated into native authority bylaws. Home brewing was left to the jurisdiction of local native authorities.

Local brewing recipes were changing as new crops and foods were adopted. Throughout much of East and southern Africa, higher-yielding maize edged out lower-yielding indigenous sorghums and millets, nudging the importance of maize forward in alcohol production and encouraging the discovery of faster brewing techniques. Brewing became more commercialized with women producers at the center of the growth of alcohol as a cottage industry, first in urban areas and later throughout rural Africa. Women's illegal brewing was often highly beneficial to family provisioning at the microlevel.

Evidence suggests that alcohol consumption increased during colonial rule with a proliferating array of alcoholic drinks, widening availability, and increasing alcoholic strength, while the proportion of the population drinking and the amount they drank on an annual per capita basis rose. In the process, the purpose of drinking gradually transformed from public ceremonial celebration at which relatively few imbibed, to a communally-shared leisure pastime in which broader sections of the community participated. Drinking took on new temporal dimensions. Previously alcohol had been limited by seasonal supply. Now the market offered year-round availability.

At the turn of the twentieth century, sugar became readily available in towns, and its ethanol-enhancing properties were quickly exploited, spreading to rural areas as well. Fermented sugar drinks boosted alcohol contents to between 6 and 8 percent, offering value for the money for those desiring intoxication. It was these new experimental drinks, concentrated in the urban areas, rather than the traditional rural brews, that colonial officialdom endeavored to curb.

At the same time, distillation techniques were expanding, fanned in West Africa by the attempts of colonial governments to curtail or ban importation of European distilled drinks like gin and whiskey that had been a feature of the area since the transatlantic slave trade. In East and southern Africa, distillation techniques were often introduced by worldly-wise returning soldiers or contract laborers who appreciated the get-drunk-quickly quality of the beverages produced. This occurred despite the dangers of producing alcohol with sometimes suspect ingredients and relatively primitive equipment that, under the pressurized conditions of the distilling process, was liable to explode. The production of distilled drinks was generally banned in rural and urban areas on health and safety grounds.

The colonial state had a strong fiscal interest in alcohol, dating back to early colonial penetration. In Nigeria, import duties on alcohol provided about half of the state's fiscal revenue. Gradually, domestic alcohol production displaced imports, and other forms of liquor taxation had to be devised. The difficulty of licensing and collecting taxes from alcohol producers in the ubiquitous informal sector led some governments to embark on state production. Interventionist states, notably those of southern Africa, favored the erection of production and distribution monopolies. The South African beer hall became a model for urban beer distribution in the region during the first half of the twentieth century. Revenues were used by the state to finance the building of the apartheid urban infrastructure in the name of African welfare.

In connection with this move, governments embarked on production of officially authorized brews. To ensure the market for their product, the state outlawed local cottage alcohol production, subjecting women brewers and distillers to campaigns of harassment. The aim was to produce a beer that African drinkers, particularly male laborers in urban areas and mining compounds, would be willing to drink, but that had a relatively low alcohol content and was nutritious like home brews. South Africa pioneered this effort, and other southern African colonies followed. By contrast, in Francophone Africa the manufacture of beer by private enterprises was more pronounced.

Over time, the heavy drinking patterns of southern African waged laborers, first cultivated then repressed by state and market forces, coalesced into a drinking subculture with its own momentum. In South Africa, a strong temperance movement supported by an emerging class of Christianized, educated Africans emerged in the early twentieth century in reaction to it. Middle-class black township women in Johannesburg voiced concern about the association between male drinking and the role of "lower-class" women brewers and prostitutes.

In the twilight years of colonial rule, the racist basis of the colonial divisions of labor and leisure were increasingly challenged. Resistance to state regulatory control of alcohol surfaced. In northern Rhodesia, the beer hall boycotts of the 1950s made alcohol an overt political issue. As nationalist pressures mounted, bans on Africans drinking "European liquor" were lifted in one colony after another.

A political victory for African nationalism, the consumption of nontraditional manufactured drinks was also an economic victory for the embryonic African elite, catalyzing conspicuous consumption, which marked the line between the rapidly rising affluence of the civil service cadre and the rest of the population. National independence had arrived with alcohol production and consumption patterns taking on new contours of African self-determination.

SEE ALSO *North Africa; Slave Trade, Atlantic; Sub-Saharan Africa, European Presence in; Sugar Cultivation and Trade.*

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Deborah Fahy Bryceson

ALGERIA

Algeria's significance in the history of Western colonialism can be seen in four stages. In Algeria the transition from medieval and early modern (in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries) to modern and contemporary interactions (in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) between Europe and the southern Mediterranean is particularly visible. Algeria was the scene of both the beginning (1830) and the end (1962) of the second French colonial empire. Algerians experienced both a more far-reaching colonial rule than was imposed elsewhere in the Middle East and North Africa, and a more protracted and bitter struggle for decolonization. From the 1950s into the 1970s Algeria was a model of national liberation and third-world self-assertion, and then a striking example of the disintegration of these projects since the 1980s.

THE OTTOMAN REGENCY

Algeria was politically unified within its principal modern boundaries as a province of the Ottoman Empire. Declining North African dynasties and the expansion of Spanish and Portuguese power in the early sixteenth century produced regional instability in which conflicts between European and Muslim powers in the Mediterranean were still thought of as continuations of medieval holy wars. An adventurer from the Aegean, Khayr ad-Dīn (d. 1546), known to Europeans as Barbarossa, received support from the Ottoman sultan Selim I (1467–1520) to fight the Spanish and their local allies in North Africa, and established himself at Algiers as governor general of North Africa in 1517. He removed local dynasties in eastern and western Algeria and defeated Charles V (1500–1558), the Holy Roman emperor, before Algiers in 1541. The Ottomans exercised a nominal sovereignty over the province.

After 1587 governors from Istanbul were named to three-year postings, but they became dependent on the military garrison (*ocak*) of Algiers and the ruling council of notables. From the 1670s the *ocak* combined with the guild of privateer captains (*ta'ifat al-ra'is*), who controlled the major part of the city's income, to appoint the ruler with the Turkish title of *bey*, effectively an autonomous sovereign. Although troops still came from Turkey in exchange for tribute every three years, the regency was beyond effective Ottoman control. The economy was based on agriculture and arboriculture by the peasantry (approximately half of the population), livestock raised by nomadic and seminomadic groups, as well as maritime and overland trade and privateering.

Algerian piracy, the main theme of colonial European depictions of the regency, was most successful in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and declined in the eighteenth. From the sixteenth century onward, trading relations with the Netherlands, Britain, and France increased, with European companies establishing commercial presences under capitulation agreements, which accorded special privileges to European consuls and their protégés. In the eighteenth century Algeria was an exporter of grain to Europe—the 1827 diplomatic incident that provided the pretext for the later French

invasion originated in a dispute over payments due to Algiers for grain shipped to supply French armies in the 1790s.

CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION

The French expedition of 1830, conceived as a foreign adventure to relieve domestic political pressure, quickly decapitated the Ottoman regime in Algiers and installed a military government. Hesitation over policy in Algeria remained, however, into the 1840s. Treaties concluded with the Algerian leader, the Emir 'Abd al-Qadir (1808–1883), in 1834 and 1837, limiting the territory under French occupation, but hostilities resumed in 1839, lasting until 'Abd al-Qadir's surrender in 1847. In 1848 Algeria was declared an integral part of French territory. Civilian colonization expanded; from around 56,000 in 1850, the European population reached some 130,000 in 1870, owning 765,000 hectares of land, up from some 115,000 hectares in 1850.

Over the same period, the Algerian population declined from an estimated 3 million in 1830 to an official total of some 2.3 million in 1856, and 2.1 million by the end of the wars of conquest and armed resistance in 1872. The Algerian population grew again, however, in the 1870s, and by the 1920s had reached around 5 million, against a European population of around 800,000. By the mid-1950s just fewer than 1 million Europeans dominated the country and Muslim Algerians numbered almost 9 million. The political regime that developed from 1871 onward reflected the tension between the belief in a French Algeria and the demographic insecurity of the colonial settlers; Algerians were considered French nationals, but not full-fledged citizens, and Muslims' electoral rights were consistently limited to preserve minority rule.

A series of attempts at reform began after World War I (1914–1918), in which some 200,000 Muslim Algerians served in French uniform, and of whom some 98,000 became casualties. The Algerian electorate was expanded, and from 1919 to 1936, politics in the colony revolved primarily around reform proposals by a series of Algerian leaders. At the same time as the development of this liberal and professionally based loyal opposition, which argued for Algerians' emancipation within the framework of a reformed French state, there also emerged, among the community of migrant workers established since World War I in France, a radical nationalism aimed at separation and independence.

In 1926 the first nationalist organization with a program demanding Algerian independence, the Étoile Nord-Africaine (ENA), or North African Star, was formed in Paris. At the same time as the most significant of the liberal reform projects, advanced by the antifascist Popular Front government in 1936, became stalled in the national assembly, the ENA leader, Messali Hadj Hajd (1898–1974), began to organize the radical nationalist movement in Algeria. The reform programs ultimately failed to restructure the guiding logic of the colonial system. Until 1944 special repressive legislation—the native code (*régime de l'indigénat*)—criminalized various activities not otherwise illegal under French law, if committed by Algerians.

When parity of parliamentary representation was eventually granted after 1944, Algerians elected the same number of representatives as the European community one-eighth their numbers, and elections up until 1951 were rigged by the administration. The persistence of this repressive system, and massive reprisals against the Algerian population by settler militia and the military after an abortive insurrection at Sétif and Guelma in eastern Algeria on May 8, 1945, prepared the ground for the resort to arms by militant nationalists.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The nationalist movement created in France in the 1920s gained in popularity through the 1940s. The political organization, the *Parti du people algérien* (PPA), or Algerian People's Party, created a paramilitary wing, the *Organisation spéciale* (OS), in 1947, to prepare an armed insurrection. On November 1, 1954, former OS members launched a coordinated series of attacks across Algeria and announced the creation of the *Front de libération nationale* (FLN), or National Liberation Front. Denounced as bandits and terrorists by the French authorities, the FLN set about creating a generalized insecurity among Algeria's Europeans and simultaneously began to construct a counter state to assume power in the name of the Algerian nation. By persuasion and coercion, the FLN gained the upper hand in Algerian opinion, shown by the massive popular demonstrations of December 1960. No mass insurrection occurred, however, after the orchestrated violence of August 20, 1955, when the local peasantry and FLN guerillas killed 71 Europeans in Philippeville (now known as Skikda).

The repression after Philippeville killed over 1,000 Algerians according to official estimates (the FLN claimed 12,000 dead); the cycle of violence thus marginalized remaining moderate forces. The counterinsurgency war eventually involved collective reprisals against civilians, and the systematic use of internment, torture, and summary executions. By the war's end, some 300,000 Algerians had become refugees, 400,000 were in prison or detention camps, 8,000 villages had been destroyed, and some 3 million people forcibly relocated from the countryside into regroupment centers. Some 300,000

An Algerian Cafe. *A French colonist receives a shoeshine at a small cafe in Oran, Algeria, during the 1890s.* ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Algerians were killed (the official Algerian figure would be 1 million or 1.5 million). The FLN's most spectacular offensives, at Philippeville and in the Battle of Algiers (1956–1957), were also military defeats, and by late 1959, the French army had largely regained control of Algerian territory.

The political situation created by the war and the FLN's successful international diplomacy, however, made a negotiated solution inevitable. Brought to power by the army in May 1958, as the savior of the empire after the Algerian crisis precipitated the collapse of the government, Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) insisted that France would win the war, but, by late 1961, ultimately recognized the need to disengage from Algeria. De Gaulle's negotiations were opposed by French Algerian ultras, who formed the paramilitary *Organisation armée secrète* (OAS) to resist decolonization by force of arms. The end of the war was marked by violence between the Gaullist authorities, the OAS, and the FLN. In the Évian accords of March 1962, a

cease-fire was agreed, and Algeria became independent later that same year on July 5.

ALGERIA AND THIRD WORLD REVOLUTION

Fighting continued in the first months of independence between rival FLN factions struggling for power. The revolutionary provisional government was ousted by Ahmed Ben Bella (b. 1918), who became Algeria's first president in September 1962 with the support of the army. Ben Bella's presidency saw the establishment of a bureaucratic single-party state against which other founding nationalist leaders became dissidents. A spontaneous workers' self-management movement, though adopted as policy, was bureaucratized and power effectively centralized. In response to purges of the regime, however, the army under Defense Minister Houari Boumédienne (1927–1978) overthrew Ben Bella in a coup d'état on June 19, 1965. Already an icon of third-world self-assertion through its revolutionary war and under the charismatic

Ahmed Ben Bella. *Ahmed Ben Bella, shown here in the early 1960s, fought against colonial France as a leader of the Algerian National Liberation Front. In 1963 he became the first president of independent Algeria.* AP IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Ben Bella, Algeria under Boumédienne became the standard-bearer of the third worldism of the 1960s and 1970s.

A statist development program based on hydrocarbon revenues (first tapped in 1958) established an economic infrastructure whose basic industries achieved an average annual growth rate of 13 percent from 1967 to 1978. Foreign holdings were progressively nationalized, culminating in the takeover of 51 percent of French oil interests in 1971. At the nonaligned states' Algiers summit in 1974, Boumédienne called for a new international economic order in which developing nations should control the extraction, processing, and pricing of their own natural resources. In the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and a member of the Arab steadfastness front opposed to the separate Egyptian peace with Israel in 1978, Algeria maintained a revolutionary and anti-imperialist foreign policy stance. Domestically, dissidence was curbed and the military-security apparatus remained the regime's backbone, with

the FLN party reduced to a powerless administrative instrument. An official nationalist unanimity articulated around Arab-Islamic cultural identity and the mythologizing of the armed struggle as the foundation of the state dominated the public sphere in education and the media.

At the death of Boumédienne in 1978, Chadli Benjedid (b. 1929) became president, and the socialist economic project was precipitately abandoned. State-managed enterprises were dismantled and the ambitious hydrocarbon-led development plan initiated in 1976, and projected to 2005, was cancelled. The growth of middle-class consumption and retreat of state management did not, however, lessen dependence either on oil exports or on food imports, which grew to crisis proportions with the collapse of world oil prices in 1985 and 1986. Annual average gross domestic product (GDP) growth declined from 15 percent between 1978 and 1984 to 3 percent in 1986. Factional struggle between Benjedid and an old guard opposed to market-led reform intensified. In October 1988 riots broke out in Algiers and other cities, signaling the onset of a generalized political crisis.

CIVIL VIOLENCE SINCE 1988

Benjedid hoped to maintain power and push through economic reforms while pluralizing political competition. Constitutional amendments in 1989 allowed for the creation of political parties; municipal elections were held in 1990 and legislative elections in 1991. This sudden opening of politics was most effectively capitalized upon by the Islamist movement, tapping into popular frustration as well as piety and articulating a utopian Islamic solution presented as having been the true aim of the war of independence. When the *Front islamique du salut* (FIS), or Islamic Salvation Front, swept the first round of parliamentary elections in December 1991 with 81 percent of contested seats (but only 24.6 percent of the registered electorate), the military intervened, forcing Benjedid's resignation and the suspension of the electoral process. The repression of the Islamists was met by the radicalization of the fringes of the movement and the emergence of extremist armed groups between 1992 and 1994. Through 2000 between 100,000 to 200,000 Algerians are thought to have been killed in the resulting violence.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism.*

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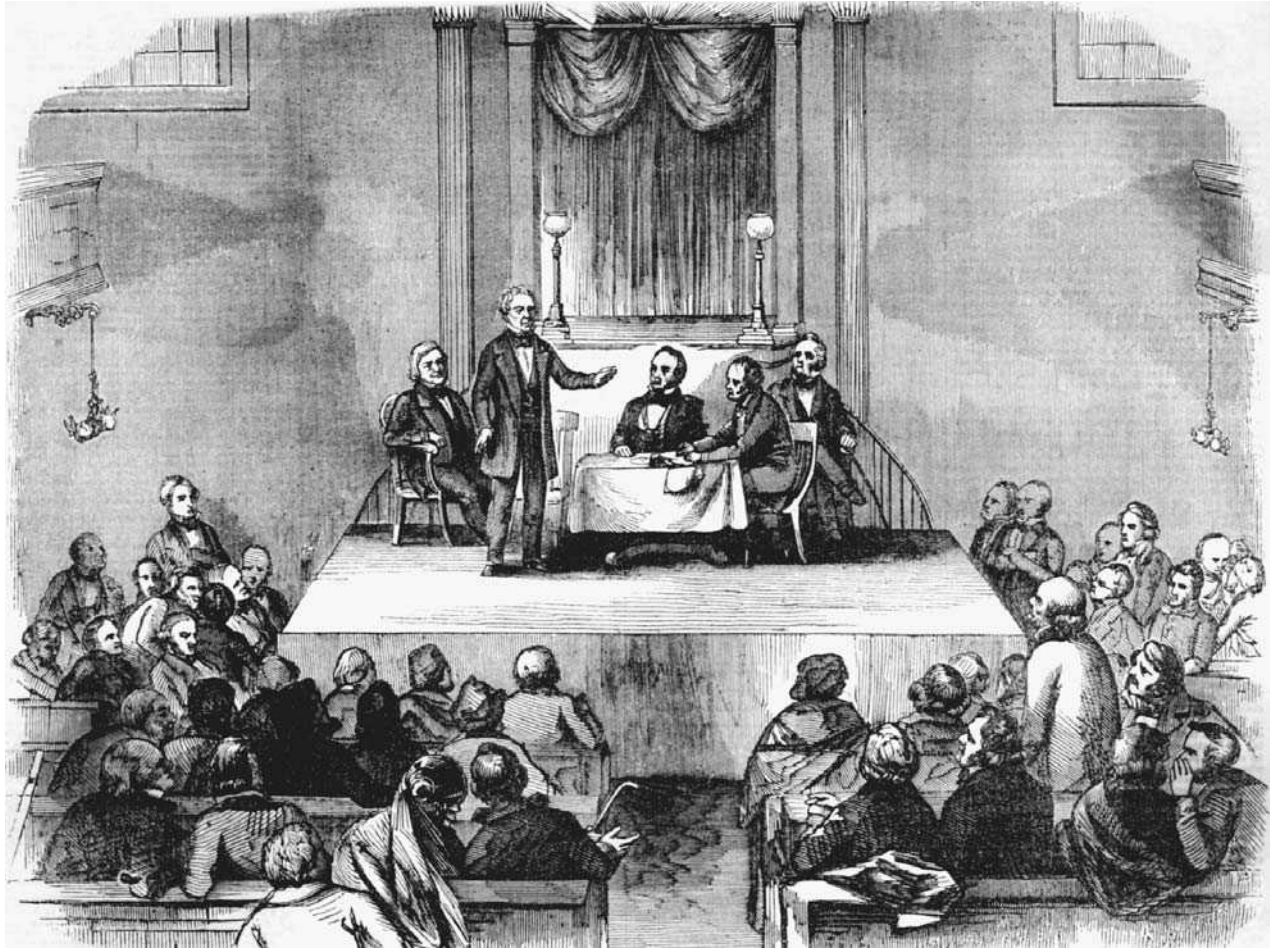
A Meeting of the American Colonization Society. *This nineteenth-century engraving depicts a meeting in Washington, D.C., of the American Colonization Society, formed in 1817 by prominent Americans to promote the repatriation and settlement of free blacks in Africa.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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James McDougall

AMBOINA
SEE *Moluccas*

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

The American Colonization Society (ACS), formed in 1817, actualized aspirations of some African American leaders who supported repatriation and settlement of free blacks in Africa

African American participation in the American Revolutionary War did not yield anticipated results—emancipation and justice. Two main schools of thought, migration and integration, competed as solutions to the conditions of blacks in America. Black leaders like James Forten (1766–1842) and Paul Cuffe (1759–1817) supported migration to Africa, and in 1815 Cuffe transported thirty-eight African Americans to Sierra Leone.

The ACS was formed in 1817 by prominent Americans whose ranks included Supreme Court justice Bushrod Washington (1762–1829), Presbyterian clergyman and educator Robert Finley (1772–1817),

Congressman Charles Marsh (1765–1849), and lawyer and writer Francis Scott Key (1779–1843). It was also supported by President James Madison (1751–1836), Henry Clay (1777–1852), and others. In 1820 the ACS acquired a parcel of land from a local chief on Sherbro Island near Sierra Leone, and in 1821 sent the first batch of eighty-six freed slaves on the ship *Elizabeth* to the new settlement. Sherbro Island and its swampy surroundings exacted a high mortality rate on the African American settlers.

To save the colonization project from collapse, the ACS sent Eli Ayres to look for a healthier site for the settlers. With the help of naval Lieutenant Robert F. Stockton (1795–1866) and the armed schooner *Alligator*, Ayres navigated the coast of Sierra Leone and Liberia in November 1821. The two men selected territory around Cape Mesurado in Liberia as the site for the new settlement. Through persuasion and threat of force, they obtained land from the Bassa people. Ayres and the remnant of the colonists at Sherbro moved to Cape Mesurado. However, fever and conflicts with the local people made life difficult for the settlers, and Ayres and some of the colonists returned to Sierra Leone.

In August 1822, a ship carrying immigrants from Baltimore (including recaptured Africans) arrived at Cape Mesurado under the leadership of Jehudi Ashmun (1794–1828), a Methodist missionary, as the new ACS representative and colony leader. Disease and problems with the local people continued to plague the settlement. On November 11 and November 30, 1822, the colonists fought against the local people, but a peace treaty later ushered in peace and stability.

In 1823 to 1824 some of the colonists rebelled against Ashmun, accusing him of unfair allocation of town lots and rations. The conflict forced him to flee. The following year, Eli Ayres took over from Ashmun. Ayres surveyed the land around Monrovia, Liberia, and distributed some of it to the colonists. Ill with fever, Ayres returned to the United States, to be replaced by Ashmun, who restored order in the new settlements. Stricken with disease himself, Ashmun left for the Cape Verde Islands to recuperate, leaving Elijah Johnson (1780–1849) in charge.

At Cape Verde, Ashmun met Reverend Ralph Gurley (1797–1872), who "with full power from the United States Government" was to look into the conditions of the new settlement and help set up a system of government. Ashmun returned to the colony with Gurley, and the two men worked on a constitution for the colony, which was later adopted. Gurley returned to the United States in August 1822, leaving Ashmun in charge of the colony. Ashmun continued to work in the colony for five years, until his departure for the United States on March 25, 1828. He died later that year.

By 1830, the ACS had settled 1,420 African Americans in the new colony. In 1838 colonies established by United States slave states in Liberia (the Virignia Colonization Society, the Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, and the Maryland State Colonization Society had all established colonies) merged with the colony of the ACS to become the Commonwealth of Liberia. In 1839, it adopted a new constitution and named Virginian merchant and successful military commander, Joseph Jenkins Roberts (1809–1876), lieutenant governor. He became the first African-American governor of the colony in 1841. In 1847, the colony of Liberia declared its independence.

The ACS itself struggled along for several years and became moribund in the decade before the civil war, but not before many auxiliary societies had seceded from the parent organization. In 1964 the ACS was formally dissolved due partly to the objections of African Americans and abolitionists, partly to the scale of repatriation and the expense involved, and partly to the difficulty of finding new settlements for the large African American population.

SEE ALSO *Liberia; Sierra Leone.*

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Edmund Abaka

AMERICAN CROPS, AFRICA

The Columbian Exchange left significant marks on African history and society, arguably nowhere more than in the introduction of American food crops, which occurred within the context of Portuguese trade in slaves and commodities and the development of a broader Atlantic economy. Subsequent increase in the cultivation

of these crops is inseparable from population growth and the development of commercial agriculture. Today, though pre-Columbian African crops such as rice, sorghum, and millet continue to be important on the continent, American crops have eclipsed them.

MAIZE

Claims have been made for the pre-Columbian origin of maize, either as an indigenous crop or as evidence of earlier contact between Africa and the Americas. However, despite lack of precise evidence for the dating of maize's introduction, most scholars concur that maize was introduced in the sixteenth century either by the Portuguese or by trans-Saharan Arab traders. The Portuguese required cheap, storable, and local food sources to support the slave trade, and maize served this need, becoming the principal food of slave ships. The crop's spread in the sixteenth century is poorly mapped, though contemporary reports suggest a fairly wide diffusion and growing adoption by Africans. African horticulture was amenable to experimentation, allowing intercropping and therefore the dedication of part of a garden plot to new crops. The advantages of maize over African crops such as sorghum and millet were soon recognized by African agriculturalists; maize can be eaten immature, gives higher yields, renders more calories per acre, and is less prone to bird damage. By the seventeenth century the crop had spread to interior sites including the Congo Basin and Senegal River Valley, and there are also reports of its cultivation in East Africa. Maize is generally reckoned to have enabled population expansion; certainly it enabled the slave trade, both by providing a cheap food source to feed slaves and, possibly, because crop failures produced displaced and saleable populations. Maize also had political implications; for example, it furthered the hegemony of groups such as the Asante of Ghana. Travelers' reports from the eighteenth century confirm the spread of maize deep into the interior of western Africa. By the end of the 1800s maize was found virtually everywhere in sub-Saharan Africa with the exception of Uganda. Its current status as the core dietary staple in much of eastern and central Africa, however, was a later development enabled by the growth of large-scale commercial farming. The history of maize in Africa is thus a narrative of growth from its origins as a cheap food linked to the slave trade to its current status as (perhaps fragile) mainstay of many African diets.

MANIOC (CASSAVA)

Manioc or cassava is another American crop whose importance continued to grow from the sixteenth century to the twentieth. Like maize, manioc was originally introduced by Portuguese traders as a food suitable for feeding slaves and spread quickly with the growth of the trade in human beings. Native to tropical America, manioc is well suited to tropical African conditions, as it tolerates poor soils, resists drought and locust attack, and stores well. Its superiority to maize in these regards led to its supplanting that crop in tropical regions where maize gained early acceptance, such as the south-central Congo Basin. However, manioc spread more slowly; despite cultivation in Angola in the sixteenth century, there is no contemporary evidence for manioc planting on the Guinea Coast. Nonetheless, by the seventeenth century manioc was spreading through west central Africa. Adoption was slower elsewhere; anecdotal reports of manioc poisonings in East Africa may suggest good reason for greater caution. Indeed, despite widespread Amerindian development of toxin-eliminating processing techniques, in Africa manioc was sometimes fed to slaves in a minimally processed form. Overall, however, manioc produced declines in infant mortality in African communities and increased the possibility of survival during times of drought. Like maize, manioc thus furthered population increase but did not completely end the cycles of drought and crop loss that often led to the sale of individuals into slavery. Thus this "agricultural revolution" enjoyed an ironic symbiosis with the slave system. Manioc's spread continued after the eighteenth century and into the modern era. Though manioc has not experienced a recent dramatic growth in cultivation as seen in the case of maize, manioc is the most widely planted crop in tropical Africa, the continent's second most important food crop, and a cherished cultural tradition despite its foreign provenance. Tropical Africa is the world's leading producer of manioc, which remains at the core of Africa's hopes for food self-sufficiency and economic growth.

OTHER CROPS

Other American crops were introduced during the period of Portuguese trade, though the exact circumstances of their introduction are even more clouded than those surrounding the introduction of maize and manioc. American groundnuts or peanuts were introduced and became an important source of protein as well as an important cash crop for small producers; tomatoes, avocados, squash, beans, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and chilies had varying impacts on the diet of different regions, and were all enthusiastically adopted in the cuisines of West Africa. Sweet potatoes, however, have had greater impact than any of these crops, in some places attaining the status of a staple crop and contributing significantly to total caloric intake.

The introduction of American crops continued into the modern period in the context of global market competition in the agricultural sector. In the nineteenth century, vanilla was introduced to Madagascar, which is

Cassava Processing in Madagascar. *A man dries cassava in a village near Betioky in Madagascar in 2000. The cassava plant, which is native to South America, was brought to Africa by Portuguese traders.* © **JEREMY HORNER/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

today a much more significant producer than vanilla's Mesoamerican homeland, though it is facing vulnerability to new sources of competition. Cacao was introduced to West Africa at the end of the nineteenth century to compete with American production; though the region is now the largest producer of cacao, its cultivation has brought deforestation and vulnerability to fluctuations in the world market. Cacao production has also revived the association of American crops with slavery, as child slavery has recently been reported in Ivory Coast cacao plantations. American crops have thus had an ambivalent history in Africa; they have been central to the sustenance of the African population, but have also often been associated with a more general history of domination.

SEE ALSO *Cacao; Commodity Trade, Africa.*

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Jacqueline Holler

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

All real revolutions, from England in the 1640s to Iran in the 1970s, destroy one set of human arrangements and create another. Such revolutionary leaders as Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) in England, Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) in America, Maximilien Robespierre (1758–1794) in France, Simón Bolívar (1783–1830) in South America, V. I. Lenin (1870–1924) in Russia, Mao Zedong (1893–1976) in China, Fidel Castro (b. 1926) in Cuba, and the Ayatollah Khomeini (1900–1989) in Iran would have understood one another, whatever their differences. All these men's revolutions transformed their societies. None created heaven on earth.

Yet the American Revolution seems problematic. Was it about equality, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? How, then, to explain the "drivers of Negroes" among its leaders and the spread of slavery across their American republic? Was it radically transforming, even though it started from an urge to conserve? Was the transformation it wrought within Americans' minds, or in how they lived with one another? Was the revolution a national liberation, "one people" separating "the political bonds that have connected them with another," as Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence? Until independence, most white Americans regarded themselves as British and the driving issue had been no more than the terms on which they were to be treated as British subjects. Even war did not change that question at first.

Unquestionably the revolution was anticolonial. Alexander Hamilton (1755/57–1804) caught that dimension perfectly in the eleventh *Federalist* paper (1787). "Europe," he wrote, "by force and by fraud" had "extended her dominion over.... Africa, Asia, and America" and "consider[ed] the rest of mankind as created for her benefit." But even this dimension is problematic. Hamilton's prescription was not general liberation. It was that his own people should "aim at an ascendant in the system of American affairs."

George Washington (1732–1799) already had congratulated those people on having made themselves "lords" of their own "mighty empire." He and his successors declined to assist Francisco de Miranda (1750–1816), Simón Bolívar, and José de San Martín (1778–1850) in their efforts to liberate Spanish America from colonial rule. These early American leaders also shunned independent Haiti. The Monroe Doctrine (1823) asserted United States primacy in Western Hemisphere affairs, and the United States went on to seize one-third of Mexico.

What difference did the American Revolution make to the colonial world? That question is best approached around two dimensions. One dimension is space, the whole territory that one Treaty of Paris defined as British in 1763 and another Treaty of Paris redefined as American two decades later. That territory stretched from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River and from the Great Lakes–Saint Lawrence Basin to Florida. Native people, the progeny of white settlers, and slaves all dwelled within it. The second dimension is the terms on which those people "belonged," first to Britain and then to America.

Two themes, liberty and subjection, had underpinned the American sense of British belonging. British liberty had meant not equal rights but rather an uneven tissue of privileges and immunities that went with the kind of person one was, and with the community to which one belonged. Some Britons had the suffrage in parliamentary or colonial elections. Some communities, including counties, boroughs, manors, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the College of William and Mary, had their own representatives in Parliament or the local assembly. Britons in America also had the privilege, or liberty, of owning slaves. Britons at home did not. All were subject to the king-in-Parliament. George III (1738–1820) was not an absolute ruler. But together with the House of Lords and the House of Commons he could make laws to bind all Britons, including colonials, "in all cases whatsoever." So said Parliament in 1766. Moreover, the king's protection and laws covered all, from the Prince of Wales to the meanest person, at least in theory.

White colonials had accepted that London could run their external affairs. Parliament set the terms of their commerce with Britain, with one another, and with the non-British world. The king appointed colonial officials and could veto colonial laws, all for the sake of fostering British wealth and keeping that wealth within British boundaries. The colonies prospered. By 1770 one-third of the British merchant fleet had been built in colonial shipyards, and one-seventh of the world's iron came from American smelters. White colonials believed

Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man. *This copy of a 1774 mezzotint attributed to Philip Dawe illustrated what the British saw as the unruly behavior of American colonists. It depicts Bostonians forcing tea down the throat of John Malcolm, a customs official who has been tarred and feathered, with the liberty tree and the Boston tea party in the background.* **ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

they were fully British, without much questioning or doubt.

Yet inequalities abounded. North American colonials could not, for example, refine their iron beyond its crudest stage, so that British metallurgy could flourish. The needs of West Indies sugar planters counted more than those of North American refiners and distillers, so there were severe taxes on non-British sugar and molasses. The king wanted revenue without worrying about Parliament; taxes on Chesapeake tobacco provided it. By the mid-eighteenth century, some colonials, such as Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), were praising North America's rising glory, seeing no contrast with British glory as a whole. But London officials were beginning to see a rival, particularly in the mostly free-labor, non-plantation colonies of the North.

Native Americans gave London more worry. White colonials wanted Indian land, but the Indians were strong enough to resist, both by playing the imperial game and, if necessary, by outright war. Indians were important in

defeating France during the long struggle for North American mastery. But when the French withdrew in 1763, native people set out to drive Europeans back from the Great Lakes country. The brief war called Pontiac's Rebellion failed, and British posts remained at Niagara, Fort Pitt, and Detroit. But Britain did proclaim that colonial expansion had to stop, which infuriated colonial speculators. In 1774 Britain decreed that its appointed government in conquered Quebec would have jurisdiction over the Ohio Country. In effect, the Indians had forced their own terms of belonging on the British.

Underpinning all disputes were issues about the very nature of the British Empire. Metropolitan Britons were moving toward the idea of a unitary state, in which colonials were subordinate and their institutions were mere conveniences, like local councils "at home." But to colonials, their assemblies were local parliaments, existing by right and beyond the British Parliament's control. Pressed on the matter, they would have seen the monarchy not as unitary but rather as composite, with the monarch ruling each province on its own terms, much as James I (of England, r. 1603–1625) and VI (of Scotland, r. 1567–1603) and his successors had ruled over two separate kingdoms until the Act of Union in 1707. Indians would have agreed. They were allies, not subjects at all.

But London was determined to rule. Its attempts between 1764 and 1773 to tax the colonists for the sake of their own defense and administration provoked massive protest. Britain's attempts to regulate Indian affairs for the sake of frontier peace provoked resentment all around. The problem of slavery was emerging too, in no simple way. Certain that their slaves could reproduce themselves, Virginia planters tried to cut off the obnoxious trade to Africa, only to meet a royal veto. Jefferson made that a grievance in his draft of the Declaration of Independence.

Yet "Somerset's Case" (1771–1772) seemed to put the highest British authorities on the side of liberty, at least within Britain, as slaves in America learned. In his decision, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield described slavery as "so odius" that only a positive law could enact it. Britain had no such positive law of slavery. Mansfield's decision acquired an exaggerated reputation as having abolished slavery within England. It did not actually do so, but it did mean that slave owners could not forcibly export the slaves elsewhere, as James Somerset's owner had tried to do. When the Earl of Dunmore (John Murray, 1730–1809), governor of colonial Virginia, and British general Henry Clinton (1730–1795) offered the king's freedom to slaves "pertaining to rebels," they rallied. But others found their freedom on the American side. The issue of slavery was thus brought alive, but it did not fit

with the principal concerns of those who led the rebellion against Britain, nor with their notions of liberty.

By July 1776, enough white colonials agreed on independence to make it politically necessary and militarily possible. Severing the tie to Britain raised the problem of organizing a new order. Americans would be republican; that was clear. Whether they would be a single nation or fourteen linked republics (counting Vermont, which broke free of New York) was less certain.

Not the least of their problems was the complex overlay of lines that rendered colonial-era maps exercises in confusion. Virginia went a long way toward resolving that problem in 1781, by ceding a claim that had included most of what now is the Midwest. Two years later, the peace treaty ceded all British claims south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River. As a result, the emerging United States was rich with land, if it actually could establish control over the land.

Decolonization meant a transfer of sovereignty, and one aspect of sovereignty was the exclusive right to deal with aboriginal people. Even before independence, the Continental Congress and the separate states were jockeying for the right to acquire Indian land. As a consequence, both Congress and the states established colonial relations of their own with Indians who supposedly belonged to them. Not until the implementation of the Constitution of the United States in March 1789 was the matter resolved in Congress's favor. In each case, the goal was to acquire as much Indian land as possible and transform its meaning and use.

Congress established a lasting pattern with its three "Northwest Ordinances." Two, in 1784 and 1787, worked out a new system of white colonies, to be called *territories* and having the right to advance to full statehood and membership in the Union. In that way Congress solved the problem of inequality between the thirteen colonies and their distant metropolis on which the British Empire had foundered. The Ordinance of 1785 established the land grid that is visible on any flight over the Midwest. What had been Indian country would be divided into perfect squares. Sales of the land would bring revenue. Grants would pay off former soldiers. Separate ownership would foster civic individualism. Easy sale would allow owners to cash in capital gains. Indians would be forced to retreat, and retreat again.

In large terms that is precisely what happened, and in large terms the political and economic transformation of western land underpinned the emergence of the United States as a capitalist society. In the long run, the change pointed toward the breakup of family patriarchy and stable communities. The final result was the Homestead Act of 1862, which made public land available for free, to women and men alike. But until the Civil War (1861–1865), land south of the Ohio River was available to slave owners.

The attempt of the Cherokees to establish a quasi-independent republic failed in the face of determination by the state of Georgia and President Andrew Jackson (1829–1837) that all Indians had to go and all Indian land had to be open for development. North of the Ohio River, Jefferson's vision of an "empire of [white] freedom" did approach reality. But below the river the "Cotton Kingdom" took shape. To the extent that the fusion of slavery, racist thought, and plantation economics was a legacy of the colonial era, the South remained colonial. Yet both developments were direct consequences of the Revolution. Resolving that contradiction would require a second revolution, far more bloody than the first. But the destruction of slavery was no greater a transformation than the changes that the earlier revolution had set in motion.

At the point of independence the new states were half-formed, ill-defined societies hugging the seaboard. Fifty years later, the United States claimed sovereign rights as far as the Pacific Ocean and exercised real control well beyond the Mississippi. There had not been a single bank in America at independence; by 1826 a full if ramshackle financial system existed, able to control the disposition of both foreign and domestic capital. New York State's Erie Canal crossed what had been the land of the Six Iroquois Nations, linking the Great Lakes directly and easily to New York City. Other states were planning to emulate the Erie's success, not only with canals but with good highways and railroads. After a shaky start, a factory system was flourishing between Maine and Delaware, creating two new social classes, industrialists and workers. In a very real way, the United States had succeeded at forming a metropolitan society in its own right. Its white male political society was reaching the stage that the contemporary French observer Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) would describe and analyze as "Democracy in America."

Yet as with all revolutions, independence had produced as many problems as it had resolved. A blanket American liberty, supposedly evenly spread, had replaced the patchwork of British liberties. Equal citizenship had replaced uneven subjection as the dominant political metaphor, but the citizenship of slaves was nil and that of free black people and white women remained unequal. Chief Justice John Marshall (1755–1835) would shortly define tribal Indians as "domestic dependent nations," possessed of rights, but not of the right to seek redress in the federal courts, with consequences that still remain unresolved. The revolution had been real, as Washington Irving's (1783–1859) fictional Rip Van Winkle found when he awoke from his long sleep into a world that he

did not recognize. But no more than any other had the American Revolution succeeding in creating a perfect society.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, British.*

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Edward Countryman

AMERICAN SAMOA

Samoa is an archipelago of islands situated in the South Pacific. The western islands of the archipelago, including Upolu and Savai'i, comprise the present-day independent nation of Samoa. The eastern islands comprise the present-day U.S. Territory of American Samoa since the 1899 Treaty of Berlin division of Samoa, at which time Germany and the United States divided Samoa, while giving up interest in Fiji to Great Britain. During World War II, American soldiers in Samoa outnumbered Samoans, and greatly influenced their relations with the outside world. Pago Pago Airport accommodates U.S. military aircraft daily and at its U.S. Army Reserve Base Samoan soldiers are trained for the Middle East and other American military endeavors.

The chiefs of the islands of American Samoa, under influence of the U.S. Navy commandant of the Pacific based in Pago Pago, signed documents of cession as unincorporated territory of the United States in 1900 when Tutuila and Aunu'u Islands were ceded, and in 1904 when the Manu'a group of islands, or Ofu, Olosega, and Ta'u islands, were ceded, including Rose Atoll and Swain's Island. The U.S. Navy leveraged its takeover of the copra industry, with promises of protection from land speculation, and the support of the Congregationalist Church, against the sustainability and sovereignty interests of local chiefs, especially the Tui Manu'a Elisala, the former sovereign of Manu'a. In the 1950s Chief Tuiasosopo urged the establishment of a legislature, the Fono of American Samoa, and helped stop a U.S. Department of Interior attempt to incorporate the territory. In the 2001 and 2003, the United States attempted to have the U.S. Territory of American Samoa removed from the United Nations' list of nations to be decolonized, stating that American Samoa is "not a colony" (Governor Tauese, *Samoa News,* 2001).

In the distant past, Samoa was ruled by a group of women paramount chiefs, including Nafanua and her niece Salamasina. These women and their talking chiefs helped formalize growing Samoan protocols of governance called the *fa'amatai*, and courtesies of language and relationships called the *fa'asamoa*. These protocols govern the way families relate, especially within the *fono* or council, maintaining localization and decentralization of governance in the Samoa Islands, in times of sovereignty or colonization. Although the United States has claimed that territorialization of American Samoa protects the *fa'asamoa*, the *fa'asamoa* is as well maintained or even stronger in independent Samoa, while the practice of *fa'asamoa* often dissolves colonial borders between Samoans.

SEE ALSO *Missions, in the Pacific; Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Dan Taulapapa McMullin

ANGLO-BURMESE WARS

Three wars were fought between Burma and the British colonial empire during the nineteenth century.

THE FIRST ANGLO-BURMESE WAR OF 1824–1826

From the end of the eighteenth century the Burmese king Bodawpaya (r. 1782–1817), steadily expanded his realm westward. At the same time the British gained territorial control over Bengal and elsewhere in India. In 1784 Bodawpaya attacked and annexed the kingdom of Arakan on the coast of the Bay of Bengal and brought his frontier to what would become British India. Arakanese rebels operating from within British territory created a tense situation on the Anglo-Burmese border, resulting in frequent border clashes. The Burmese threatened invasion if the British failed to stop rebel incursions from their territory.

From the late eighteenth century the kingdom of Assam to the North of British Bengal was in decline. The kingdom covered the Brahmaputra valley from the Himalayas to the entry of the river into the plains of Bengal. Rival groups at the Assamese court turned both to the British and the Burmese for assistance, leading to a British expedition in 1792. In 1817 turmoil at the Assamese court led to another request for assistance and this time Bodawpaya sent an invading army. The Assamese were defeated and a pro-Burmese premier was installed.

Two decades earlier Bodawpaya had invaded Manipur, a kingdom set in a small valley to the west of the Chindwin River, and installed a puppet prince. In 1819 the Manipur Prince asserted his autonomy from the Burmese court by not attending the coronation of Bagyidaw, Bodawpaya's successor. The Burmese invaded again and stationed a permanent garrison in Manipur. Manipur would now form a base from which further Burmese military expeditions into Assam would be conducted. In 1821, following years of local unrest, Bagyidaw sent general Mahabanula with a 20,000-person-strong army across the mountains to consolidate Burmese rule

in Assam. In 1823, with Assamese resistance largely broken, Mahabandula set up his base at Rangpur and began his attacks on Cachar and Jaintia. The British in turn declared Cachar and Jaintia a protectorate. British Bengal was now hemmed in on its northern and eastern borders by the Burmese Empire.

In January 1824 Mahabandula assumed command in Arakan and started on a campaign against Chittagong with the ultimate goal to capture Bengal. In response, on March 5, 1824, the British declared war on Burma from their headquarters at Fort William in Calcutta. The British plan was to draw away Mahabandula's forces from the Bengal frontier by performing a large-scale sea-borne invasion of Lower Burma. The attack on Rangoon, lead by Sir Archibald Campbell, completely surprised the Burmese and the city was taken on May 10, 1824 without any loss to the invaders. The news of the fall of Rangoon forced Mahabandula to a quick retreat. The British force in Rangoon had meanwhile been unable to proceed upcountry because it did not have adequate river transports. After having been resupplied after the monsoon Campbell continued the operations and in 1825 at the battle of Danubyu Mahabandula was killed and the same year Arakan, Lower Burma, and Tenasserim were conquered.

After a second battle the way to the Burmese capital, Amarapura, lay wide open. Campbell now possessed adequate river transport and rapid progress was made up the Irrawaddy. British peace terms were so staggering that not until the British army arrived at Yandabo, a few days' march from the Burmese capital, did the Burmese accept the terms. After the peace of Yandabo the Burmese had ceded to the British Arakan, Tenasserim, Assam, and Manipur. An indemnity in rupees, equal to 1 million pound sterling, was paid to guarantee removal of British troops from Lower Burma.

THE SECOND ANGLO-BURMESE WAR OF 1852

The inglorious defeat of the Burmese in the first war did not provoke a change in attitude toward the British. Successive Burmese kings went so far as to revoke the treaty of Yandabo and treated representatives of the governor-general with contempt. After quelling rebellions in Lower Burma in 1838 and 1840, King Tharrawaddy staged on a visit to Rangoon in 1841 a military demonstration that caused great alarm with the British in Arakan and Tenasserim. King Pagan, who had succeeded Tharrawaddy in 1846, concentrated his energy on his religious obligations and left the day-to-day government to his ministers. In Rangoon this meant that an unbending Burmese administration combined with profit-hungry British traders created a volatile atmosphere. In 1851 tension erupted and a minor incident between the

King Thibaw and Queen Supayalat of Burma. *The king and queen of Burma are pictured along with the queen's sister at their palace in Mandalay, Burma, in the 1800s. Thibaw reigned from 1878 to 1885, when the British forced him from the throne.*
© HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

governor of Rangoon and two British traders resulted in the Governor-General Dalhousie sending three warships with a request for reparations to Rangoon.

Although the Burmese complied with Dalhousie's demands, the situation in Rangoon spiraled out of control when the British commodore leading the naval squadron felt the new governor of Rangoon had treated him unjustly. The commodore blockaded the port, destroyed all warships in the vicinity of Rangoon, and took a ship belonging to the Burmese Crown. War was now imminent. Dalhousie sent the Burmese a further ultimatum demanding compensation for the preparations for war. When the ultimatum expired on April 1, 1852, the British had already landed in Lower Burma.

This time the British arrived well prepared, with adequate supplies and sufficient river transports. In a few days 'time Rangoon and Martaban were taken. When the Burmese offered no further resistance

Dalhousie decided to occupy large areas of Lower Burma, mainly comprised of the former province of Pegu, in an effort to link up Arakan and Tenasserim and create a stable and viable new colony. Without waiting for a formal treaty with the Burmese, Dalhousie proclaimed the annexation of Lower Burma on December 20, 1852. At the Burmese court a peace party overthrew King Pagan, and a few months following the annexation of Lower Burma a new king, Mindon, was crowned. In peace talks King Mindon tried in vain to recover the rich teak forests that had been taken by the British.

THE THIRD ANGLO-BURMESE WAR OF 1885

During the late 1870s, at a time when France was consolidating its hold over Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, politicians and officials in Britain and India began considering intervention in what was left of the Burmese

kingdom. They feared French influence in Burma and viewed with suspicion Burmese missions to European capitals. At the same time the British became increasingly interested in the possibility of trading with China via Burma. Some officials even viewed Burma as a "highway to China." The Burmese economy, once jealously guarded by mercantilist kings, was laid open to British trade.

The unbridled expansion of British commerce meant, however, that Burmese concessions to British merchants never went fast and far enough. British traders developed great interests in the trade of rubies, teak, and oil from northern Burma. In commercial treaties of 1862 and 1867 an informal empire was imposed in Burma. The Burmese Crown, in the last years before the start of the third war, adopted a policy aimed at developing friendly relations with Britain's European rivals, including France and Italy. In 1878, following the death of King Mindon, his son Thibaw succeeded to the throne. After another commercial dispute in 1885 and amidst fears of growing French influence in Burma, Lord Randolph Churchill, secretary of state for India, decided to invade Upper Burma and depose Thibaw. The war began on November 14, 1885, and a fortnight later, after an almost bloodless campaign, the capital Mandalay was surrounded and the king surrendered. Thibaw was sent into exile in India and the British took control of Burma.

SEE ALSO *Burma, British; Empire, British.*

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Stephan van Galen

ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

For centuries, the rivalry between Russia and Great Britain in the Middle East was a major factor in geopolitics. The decline of the Ottoman Empire beginning in the 1700s had brought up what became known as the *eastern question*: The term does not refer to a single question but to a variety of issues, including the instability of European territories that were part of the Ottoman Empire. The term *great game*, known in Russia as the *tournament of shadows*, refers to the Anglo-Russian rivalry

with regard to Iran (Persia), Afghanistan, and northern India. Both Russia and Great Britain took measures to gain influence in southeastern Europe, in the Middle East, and in Central Asia.

THE EASTERN QUESTION

The Ottoman Empire was at the height of its power during the seventeenth century, annexing wide parts of central Europe. The Ottoman defeat at Vienna by Austria and Poland in 1683 brought expansion toward the west to a sudden halt, and the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) forced Ottoman rulers to cede most of the empire's central European possessions, including Hungary. Although the Ottoman Empire was thereafter no longer a threat to Austria, tensions with Russia were growing.

The introduction of the eastern question is commonly dated to 1774, when the Russo-Turkish War (1768–1774) ended in defeat for the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of Kuçuk Kainarji (July 21, 1774) established Russia as the major power in the Black Sea region. Furthermore, the treaty was interpreted by Russia as permission to act as the protector of Orthodox Christians living under the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787 to 1792, Empress Catherine II (1729–1796) of Russia sought an alliance with the Holy Roman emperor, Joseph II (1741–1790). The two powers agreed to partition the Ottoman Empire, thereby alarming other European powers, especially the United Kingdom, Prussia, and France. The Treaty of Jassy (January 9, 1792) ended the war with and confirmed Russia's increasing dominance in the Black Sea region.

The positions of the European powers relative to the Ottoman Empire became clearer during the early nineteenth century. The power most directly involved was of course Russia, whose major concerns were control of the Black Sea and access to the Mediterranean. Russia was eager to acquire exclusive navigation rights for its merchant fleet and warships while denying these privileges to other European powers. Less important was Russia's role as the protector of Orthodox Christians in the Balkans.

Russia's plans with regard to the Ottoman Empire were strongly opposed by Austria, which had once been the major European opponent of the Ottoman Empire. However, Austria considered Russia's advance along the Danube River in central and southeastern Europe to be a major threat and feared that a disintegration of the Ottoman Empire into individual nation-states would foment nationalism among ethnic groups within the empire. Austria therefore worked to maintain the unity of the Ottoman Empire. This position was similar to that of the British, who regarded the rise of the Russian

Empire to be a threat to the security of British colonial possessions in India. Britain was also concerned that Russian control of the Bosporus Strait could threaten British domination of the eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, the fall of the Ottoman Empire would undermine the traditional balance of power in Europe.

The Treaty of Tilsit (1807) established an alliance between France and Russia: When Russia agreed to aid the French emperor Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) in a war against Britain, the Russian czar was to receive in return the Ottoman territories of Moldavia and Wallachia, known as the Danubian Principalities. If the Ottoman sultan refused to surrender these territories, France would join a Russian attack against Turkey and both powers would divide the Ottoman possessions among themselves.

This alliance, which would have left Britain, Austria, and Prussia almost powerless, was dissolved by Napoléon's invasion of Russia in 1812. After Napoléon's defeat, the representatives of the victorious powers met at the Congress of Vienna, but failed to take action relating to the integrity of the decaying Ottoman Empire. Thereafter, the eastern question became a Russian domestic issue that was of less importance to the other European powers.

The eastern question again became a major issue when the Greeks declared independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, a development that made a Russian invasion of the Ottoman territory more likely. Viscount Castlereagh (Robert Stewart, 1769–1822), the British foreign minister, and Count Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859), the Austrian chancellor, convinced Czar Alexander I (1777–1825) to maintain the "Concert of Europe," a spirit of collaboration that had arisen after Napoléon's defeat. The Holy Alliance, which had brought together Russia, Austria and Prussia in an effort to continue peaceful cooperation after the Vienna Congress did not take decisive action in Greece.

Alexander's successor, Czar Nicholas I (1796–1855), choose to intervene in Greece. In order to prevent Greece from becoming a Russian vassal state, the United Kingdom and France became involved, while Austria did not. Ottoman sultan Mahmud II (1785–1839) was outraged by the interference of the European powers and denounced Russia as an enemy of Islam. Russia declared war against the Ottoman Empire in 1828, but was unable to resolve the eastern question because the other European powers did not intervene. The Treaty of Adrianople (1829) allowed Russian commercial vessels access to the Dardanelles, a strait in northwest Turkey, and enhanced Russian commercial rights in the Ottoman Empire.

The Greek war ended when Greece was granted independence by the Treaty of Constantinople (1832). Shortly after the war, a new conflict emerged in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman governor in Egypt, Mehmed Ali (1769–1849), had consolidated power in Egypt and set out to gain independence from the sultan. His well-trained *nizami* army overran Syria, captured the port of Acre (now part of Israel) after a six-month siege, and advanced into Anatolia in Turkey. By this point, it had become obvious that Mehmed Ali might overthrow the reigning Osmanli dynasty and seize control of the Ottoman Empire.

Czar Nicholas offered the Ottoman sultan military aid, which was accepted. The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (July 8, 1833) promised mutual assistance, but a secret clause exempted the Ottoman Empire from sending military forces. Instead, the Ottoman leaders would close the Dardanelles to all non-Russian ships when Russia was at war. The treaty was met with suspicion in Britain and France, for both powers feared that Russia had gained freedom of action to send warships through the Dardanelles.

Russian intervention led to a peace agreement between the sultan and Mehmed Ali. In the peace of Kutahya (1833), the Egyptian viceroy agreed to withdraw from Anatolia; in compensation, he received the territories of the Hijaz and Crete. In 1839, however, war broke out again. When Sultan Mahmud II died that year, his son and successor, Abdülmecid I (1823–1861), ascended to the throne in difficult times. The forces of Mehmed Ali had defeated the Ottoman armies, and the Ottoman fleet had been seized by Egyptian insurgents. Although France continued to support Mehmed Ali, Russia, France, and Great Britain intervened in the conflict to prevent the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In 1840 the European powers settled on a compromise in which Mehmed Ali agreed to make a (nominal) act of submission and was granted hereditary control of Egypt.

Although the collapse of the Ottoman Empire had been prevented, control of the Dardanelles remained at issue. In 1841 Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and the United Kingdom agreed on the reestablishment of the "ancient rule," according to which the strait would be closed to all warships with the sole exception of the sultan's allies during times of war. With the acceptance of the Strait Convention, Czar Nicholas I abandoned his effort to reduce the Ottoman sultan to a state of dependence on Russia. Instead, Russia returned to plans to partition Ottoman territories in Europe.

Although the Ottoman Empire was no longer dependent on Russia, it continued to rely on the European powers for protection. Despite many attempts at internal reform, the decline of the Ottoman Empire continued, rendering Turkey the "sick man of Europe," as it came to be known. Its dissolution was considered inevitable.

The Plight of Turkey. *This cartoon, printed around 1900, shows the position of Turkey relative to Europe and its colonies in the Middle East at the turn of the century. Turkey is surrounded by Austria, depicted as an eagle with two heads; Russia, seen as a crowned bear; and Britain, shown as a rotund man straddling Corfu and Malta and restraining Egypt, a lion, with a leash.*
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The Revolutions of 1848 in Europe moved the eastern question from the center of attention. Russia could have taken the opportunity to attack the Ottoman Empire, while France and Austria were occupied with internal affairs. Russia did not take this action, however; instead, Nicholas committed his forces to the defense of Austria. Nicholas deemed that the goodwill established in 1848 would allow him to seize Ottoman possessions at a later date.

After the suppression of the revolution in Austria, a joint Austro-Russian war against the Ottoman Empire seemed imminent. The sultan had refused to repatriate Austrian rebels who had found asylum in Turkey. When Austria and Russia withdrew their ambassadors, France and the United Kingdom dispatched their fleets to protect the Ottoman Empire. To avoid military confrontation, Austria withdrew its demand for the surrender of fugitives.

During the 1840s, British leaders expressed growing fears of Russian encroachment on Afghanistan and India, and they tried to find opportunities to obstruct the Russian advance. Britain found a pretext in the protection of Christian holy places sites in Palestine, then part of the Ottoman Empire. Eighteenth-century treaties had

given France the responsibility of protecting Roman-Catholics in the Ottoman Empire, while Orthodox Christians were to be protected by Russia. Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christian monks had disputed possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and Sultan Abdülmecid was unable to satisfy the demands of both sides. In 1853 he adjudicated in favor of the French and the Catholics.

The sultan had been committed to protecting the Christian religion and holy sites, but after the decision in favor of the French, Czar Nicholas I sent an emissary, Prince Aleksandr Sergeyevich Menshikov (1787–1869), to negotiate a new treaty. Menshikov was to negotiate a treaty that allowed Russia to interfere whenever it considered the protection of Christians inadequate. At the same time, the British government sent its own emissary, Lord Stratford Canning (1786–1880), who managed to convince the sultan to reject the Russian treaty by pointing out that it would compromise the independence of the Porte (the Ottoman government). Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), the British prime minister during part of the 1860s and 1870s, later blamed the outbreak of war on actions taken by British premier Lord Aberdeen (George Hamilton Gordon, 1784–1860) and Lord Stratford, which led to Aberdeen's forced resignation shortly thereafter.

When Nicholas learned of the failure of Menshikov's negotiations, he seized the pretext of the sultan's failure to protect Christian holy places, and sent armies into Wallachia and Moldavia, where Russia was acknowledged as the guardian of Orthodox Christianity. Given Russian involvement in suppressing the 1848 revolution, the czar was convinced that the European powers would not object strongly to his annexation of two neighboring provinces.

To maintain the security of the Ottoman Empire, both the United Kingdom and France sent fleets to the Dardanelles. Despite attempts at diplomacy by Austria, France, Prussia, and the United Kingdom, a diplomatic solution proved impossible. While Austria and Prussia tried to continue negotiations, Ottoman armies attacked the Russian army near the Danube. In response, Russian warships attacked and destroyed the Ottoman fleet at the Battle of Sinop on November 30, 1853, thereby opening way for Russian troops to land and supply their forces easily. This alarmed Britain and France, causing them to step forth in defense of the Ottoman Empire. After Russia ignored an Anglo-French ultimatum to withdraw, Britain and France declared war.

Czar Nicholas had presumed that, in return for support in 1848 Austria would side with Russia, or at least remain neutral in the Crimean War (1853–1856). However, Austria regarded the presence of Russian troops in the Danubian Principalities to be a major

threat, and supported British and French demands for Russian withdrawal from the region. Furthermore, Austria refused to guarantee neutrality. The original cause for the war was eliminated when Russia withdrew from Moldavia and Wallachia, but France and the Untied Kingdom were determined to use this opportunity to finally address the eastern question.

Therefore, the European allies proposed the following conditions for the cessation of hostilities: Russia should give up its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities, and abandon all claims granting Russia the right to interfere in Ottoman affairs on behalf of Orthodox Christians. Furthermore, Russia must agree to a revision of the 1841 Strait Convention and guarantee free access to the Danube. The czar rejected these conditions, and the Crimean War proceeded.

Nicholas's successor, Alexander II (1818–1881), began peace negotiations in 1856. In the Treaty of Paris, he agreed to four points: Russian privileges relating to Moldavia and Wallachia were transferred to the European allies as a group, and warships were to be barred from the Black Sea. Russia and the Ottoman Empire further agreed not to establish military or naval arsenals along the Black Sea coast. On these grounds, all the European powers agreed to respect the territorial integrity and the independence of the Ottoman Empire.

The eastern question was thus temporarily settled—until France was defeated in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. The French emperor Napoléon III (1808–1873), eager for British support, opposed Russia over the eastern question, although Russian interference in the Ottoman Empire did not threaten French interests. After the establishment of the Third French Republic in 1870, France abandoned its opposition. Russia now denounced the Black Sea clauses of the 1856 treaty, and reestablished a fleet in the Black Sea.

When in 1875 Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Bulgaria rebelled against the Ottoman sultan, Europe's great powers considered an intervention necessary to prevent war in the Balkans. The "League of the Three Emperors" (Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia) stated their mutual stance toward the eastern question in the Andrássy Note (named after the Hungarian statesman Count Gyula Andrássy [1823–1890]), which stipulated the following: To avoid widespread conflict in southwestern Europe, the sultan must institute a number of reforms, including the granting of religious liberty to Christians in Ottoman territories; to ensure appropriate reforms, a joint commission was to be formed. The Andrássy Note, which was approved by the United Kingdom and France, was submitted to the Porte. Sultan Abdülaziz (1830–1876) agreed to the proposal on January 31, 1876, but Herzegovinian leaders rejected it.

Before representatives of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia could take further action, the Ottoman Empire faced major internal struggles that led to the deposition of the sultan. His successor, Murad V (1840–1904), was deposed after only three months because of mental instability. He was followed by Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842–1918).

The Ottoman treasury was empty by this time, and the sultan faced insurrections not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in Serbia and Montenegro. In August 1876 the Ottoman armies crushed the insurgents, but widespread rumors of atrocities against the civilian populations shocked the public. While Russia considered entering the war on the side of the rebels, delegates of six European powers (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and the United Kingdom) held a conference in Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey). Their proposals were repeatedly rejected by the Ottoman sultan.

Russia secured Austro-Hungarian neutrality with the Reichstadt Agreement of July 1876, which stated that territories captured during the war would be partitioned between Russia and Austria-Hungary, with control of Bosnia and Herzegovina going to Austria-Hungary. On April 24, 1877, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire.

Although the United Kingdom feared Russian threats to British dominance in Central Asia, Britain did not intervene. After the defeat of the Ottoman forces in February 1878, peace was established with the Treaty of San Stefano, which greatly increased Russian influence in southeastern Europe. After large-scale British intervention, revisions of the peace treaty were negotiated at the 1878 Congress of Berlin. The new treaty adjusted the boundaries of the newly independent states (Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro) and divided Bulgaria into two separate states (Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia). Bosnia and Herzegovina nominally stayed within the Ottoman Empire, but control was transferred to Austria-Hungary.

In 1908 the so-called Young Turks, a broad-based political organization that opposed the absolute rule of the Ottoman sultan, led a rebellion against Abdülhamid II and deposed him a year later. Under his successor, Mehmed V (1844–1918), political and constitutional reforms were instituted; the decay of the Ottoman Empire, however, continued.

Austria-Hungary took advantage of Ottoman weakness by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria-Hungary secured Russian approval for the annexation by declaring support for a treaty that granted Russian warships the right to pass through the Dardanelles and the Bosporus straits. Serbia sought Russian assistance against Austro-Hungarian plans, but Russia could not comply because it had not recovered from the devastating effects of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). After Austria-Hungary announced its annexation on October 6, 1908, Russia declared that it would seek access to the Dardanelles. This move was strongly opposed by France

and the United Kingdom, who were not directly concerned with the annexation in itself.

During the Balkan Wars (1909–1912), the Ottoman Empire finally lost most of its European territories. In an effort to keep power in Ottoman hands, regain some of the lost territories, and challenge British authority over the Suez Canal, the Ottoman Empire allied itself with the Central Powers, led by Austria-Hungary and Germany, during World War I (1914–1918).

In the early years of the war, the Ottoman Empire had successes: The Allies were defeated in the Battle of Gallipoli in Turkey in 1915, and in Iraq and the Balkans, and British landing attempts were repulsed. In the Caucasus, however, the Ottoman Empire lost several battles. Russian forces proceeded in a line from Lake Van in eastern Turkey to the cities of Erzurum and Trabzon in the north. During the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Ottomans took back control of these areas, but the empire was ultimately defeated by the Allies by the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire was defeated by the Allies. The Armistice of Mudros (1918) and the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) formally established the partition of the Ottoman Empire, and led to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1923.

PERSIA AND THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY

In 1722 Peter I ("the Great," 1672–1725) of Russia invaded Persian territory as part of his attempt to gain domination of Central Asia. At the same time, Ottoman forces successfully besieged the Persian city of Isfahan. Persia was able to weather the invasions, but the Safavid rulers were severely weakened, and the last Safavid shah was executed in 1722.

During the 1730s and 1740s, Nadir Shah (1688–1747) consolidated the Persian Empire, drove out the Russians, and launched campaigns against the Central Asian khanates. Shortly after his death, however, the empire fell into decline. Persia was not prepared for the expansion of European empires in the late eighteenth century. The country was sandwiched between the growing Russian Empire in Central Asia and the expanding British Empire in India. Because of the growing importance of India, Great Britain regarded Persia as an important region in the defense against Russia, first against France and later against the Russians. When the French failed to support the shah in Persia's war against Russia, the shah ousted the French from their advisory position and replaced them with the British. The British, however, tried to appease the Russians rather than support their ally. Facing quick Russian advances in Central Asia, British attitudes were changing.

Although Persia was never invaded, it became more and more economically dependent on Europe. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 formalized British and Russian spheres of interest and dominance over economic development in the area.

During World War I, Persia was drawn into the periphery of the war because of its geographically strategic position. To prevent the Ottomans from taking control of Persian oilfields, Britain sent military forces to Mesopotamia. In 1916 fights between Russian and Ottoman forces reached Persian territory, where Russia had gained more and more influence. In the wake of the Russian Revolution, however, most of the Russian armies collapsed. In addition, Persian civilians were starving after years of deprivation and war. After the war, Persia became a tool in the political battles of other empires. Although Reza Shah Pahlavi (1878–1944) seized power and established a new dynasty in Iran, Britain and the Soviet Union remained influential in the region well into the early years of the Cold War.

AFGHANISTAN

In the early nineteenth century, British India and the frontiers of Russia were separated by about 2,000 miles (about 3,220 kilometers). There were no trade routes, and the great cities along the old Silk Road, such as Bukhara, Khiva, Merv, Tashkent, and Chimkent, were forgotten. The territory was unmapped, even though both czarist Russia and Qing-dynasty China promoted surveying and cartographic projects in Central Asia during the eighteenth century in projects intended to secure state boundaries and control nomadic populations. Russian maps of that time gave yet another image—they reflected knowledge about Central Asia, but they were not based on detailed surveys.

Russian efforts to gain control over major portions of Central Asia were reinforced in the early eighteenth century. In 1717 Czar Peter I sent a Russian expedition to Khiva, but the Russians were slaughtered there. Shortly after the death of Peter, a story arose that he had commissioned his heirs to take possession of Constantinople and India as the keys to world domination. To subdue and control the Kazakh tribes, the Russians built the fortress of Orenburg (north of the Caspian Sea). At the same time, Persians and Afghans invaded India, where British influence was growing steadily. Czarina Catherine considered a plan to impede this growing influence, but it was never implemented.

When Russian attempts to consolidate the southern frontier began to collide with the increasing British dominance of the Indian Subcontinent and adjacent territories, the two powers engaged in a subtle "game" of imperialistic diplomacy, exploration, and espionage throughout Central Asia. However, the conflict never broke out into open warfare.

In May 1798, Napoléon's invading fleet set out for Egypt and India. The French fleet was defeated by Admiral

Horatio Nelson (1758–1805) of Britain, and the threat to British India was thus eliminated. To deal with growing British influence along the southern border, Czar Paul I (1754–1801) proposed a Russian-French invasion of India. The Russian forces were sent to India in 1801, but they were recalled after the death of the czar.

At the same time, a British diplomatic mission approached the Persian shah and signed two treaties. However, when Russian troops besieged Yerevan in Armenia (then part of Persia) in 1804, Britain did not take action.

The Russian position in the "game" was further strengthened by a peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire. In the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), Russia gained free passage through the Dardanelles and trading privileges. The Russians gained further privileges when the sultan gave Russia exclusive access to the Dardanelles after Russian forces protected the Ottomans against an attacking Egyptian army in 1833. Furthermore, the reconciliation with the Ottoman Empire gave Russia greater flexibility in Central Asia.

Meanwhile, the Circassians from the Caucasus region found British support for their cause of independence from Russia. In addition, Dost Mohammad (1793–1863), the leader of Afghanistan, approached Russia in 1835 for help in recapturing Peshawar from Ranjit Singh (1780–1839), the Sikh ruler of Punjab and an ally of Britain.

From the British perspective, Russian plans for territorial expansion toward the south threatened to destroy the "Pearl of the Empire," India. When Russian troops set out to subdue khanate after khanate, British observers expressed concern that Afghanistan might become the base for a Russian advance into India. The British therefore initiated the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838–1842), in which Britain tried to impose a puppet regime in Afghanistan. Both sides suffered heavy losses, and the attempt to annex Afghanistan to British India failed. Instead, rival Afghan tribes join forces to fight the British, and Dost Mohammad returned to the throne in 1843.

Dost Muhammad expanded Afghan territory by adding Balkh and Baldakhshan in 1855 and Heart in 1863. Nevertheless, Russia continued to advance steadily toward Afghanistan, formally annexing Tashkent in 1865 and Samarkand in 1868. Although the British government enforced a policy of "masterly inactivity," Afghanistan increasingly became the focus of Anglo-Russian tensions.

Tensions were renewed in 1878, when Russia sent an uninvited diplomatic mission to the Afghan ruler Sher Ali (1825–1879), the son of Dost Mohammad. Britain responded by immediately demanding acceptance of a British diplomatic mission in Kabul. When Sher Ali rejected Britain's appeal, British troops crossed the border, thereby launching the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–1879). British operations, however, were nearly as disastrous as in the First Anglo-Afghan War forty years earlier, and Britain was forced to pull out of Kabul in 1881. Abdur Rahman Khan (ca. 1844–1901) remained on the Afghan throne. He agreed to let Britain maintain its foreign policy, but managed to consolidate his position by suppressing all internal rebellions, thereby bringing much of Afghanistan under central control.

In 1884 the Russian seizure of Merv brought about the next crisis, the Panjdeh Incident. Russia claimed all the territory of the former ruler of Merv and fought Afghan troops over the oasis of Panjdeh. When direct military conflict between Russia and Britain seemed inevitable, the British accepted Russia's capture of Merv. Without consulting with the Afghans, the Joint Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission agreed that the Russians would also retain Panjdeh. The agreement designated a northern frontier for Afghanistan along the Amu Dar'ya River.

While Russia concentrated on the Far East and the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway and the naval base of Port Arthur (Lüshun, China), Britain focused its efforts on Tibet, with mixed results. On August 31, 1907, the Anglo-Russian Convention fixed the boundaries of Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. Persia was divided into spheres of Russian interest in the North and British interest in the southeast, keeping the Russians away from the Persian Gulf and the Indian border. The 1907 convention finally brought the so-called classic period of the "great game" to an end: Russia accepted British control over Afghan politics as long as Britain did not change the regime. Britain, for its part, agreed to maintain the current borders and discourage any Afghan attempts to encroach on Russian territory.

When the 1917 revolution nullified all of Russia's existing treaties, the second phase of the "great game" ensued. After the assassination of Afghan emir Habibullah Khan (1872–1919), his successor, Amanullah Khan (1892–1960), declared full independence for Afghanistan and attacked the northern frontier of British India. In the Third Anglo-Afghan War (1919), there was little room for military gains, and the Rawalpindi Agreement of 1919 resolved the stalemate: Britain granted Afghanistan self-determination in all foreign affairs.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan signed a treaty of friendship in 1921, according to which the Russians provided aid in form of technology, military equipment, and money. Nevertheless, relations between Russia and Afghanistan were tense because many Afghans wished to regain the oases of Merv and Panjdeh, while Russia wanted to extract more concessions from the treaty arrangement. By this time, British influence in Afghanistan was waning, and Britain feared that Amanullah was slipping out of their sphere of influence.

As a response to the Afghan-Russian treaty of 1921, Britain imposed sanctions because British leaders realized that Afghanistan aimed to control all the Pashtun-speaking groups on both sides of the Durand Line (the border between Afghanistan and British India, which had been settled in an agreement signed on November 12, 1893 by the Afghan representative Amir Abdurrahman Khan and the British representative Sir Henry Mortimer Durand). Amanullah responded to British sanctions by taking the title of king *(padshah)*. He also offered refuge for Indian nationalists in exile and for Muslims fleeing the Soviet Union. The Afghan ruler's reforms proved insufficient, however. Amanullah was not able to strengthen his military power quickly enough, and he was forced to abdicate. His brother, who succeeded him, was also forced to abdicate shortly thereafter. A new leader emerged, Muhammad Nadir Shah (1883–1933), who ruled Afghanistan from 1929 until he was assassinated in 1933.

Both Russia and Britain turned the situation to their advantage, the British by helping Afghanistan create a professional army, the Soviets by securing aid against a Uzbek rebellion. World War II (1939–1945) brought a temporary alignment of British and Soviet interests. During the war, the Allied Powers pressured Afghanistan into removing a large German nondiplomatic contingent. Afghanistan initially resisted, but the period of cooperation brought the second phase of the "great game" to an end.

In the early stages of the Cold War, when the United States displaced Britain as a global power, a new phase of the "great game" evolved. The United States took measures to secure access to oil and other resources in the Middle East, and to contain the Soviet Union. In the military, in security, and in diplomatic communities, the term *great game* continues to be used to frame events in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Central Asian states. American diplomat Zbigniew Brzezinski's *The Grand Chessboard* (1997), for example, explored this new version of the "great game."

SEE ALSO *Abdülhamid II; Afghan Wars.*

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Monika Lehner

ANTI-AMERICANISM

Anti-Americanism, understood as habitual aversion to all things American as opposed to impartial criticism, started in the eighteenth century with the gloomy narratives of natural scientists.

THE THEME OF DEGENERATION

The Dutch scholar Cornelius de Pauw (1739–1799) sounded the alarm in 1768: America's unhealthy climate produced poisonous plants and degenerated animal species. As for the indigenous inhabitants, de Pauw's harsh description of them as lazy, dim-witted, and cowardly calls to mind the philosopher Thomas Hobbes's (1588–1679) "nasty, brutish and short" existence in the state of nature rather than the lofty image of the noble savage.

With the successful outcome of the American Revolutionary War, however, concerns about nature or indigenous peoples faded in favor of the exciting image of a society modeled upon European enlightened ideas. In 1777 the French philosopher Condorcet (1743–1794) merged de Pauw's gloom with enthusiasm for the American experiment and declared that the discovery of America had been a disaster to which the 1776 revolution brought the remedy. Thenceforth, anti-Americanism became a discourse aimed exclusively at social and political developments in the United States. Throughout the nineteenth century, it cast the theme of decay into the frame of disappointment and found the Americans guilty of lowering the potentially uplifting pursuit of happiness to the vulgar level of the vacuous pursuit of profits. Disillusionment, like familiarity, breeds contempt; disdain for the "Yankee" prompted large sections of the European public to back a presumably polished and debonair Confederate South in the American Civil War, despite "the peculiar institution" of slavery. After the victory of the Union, a disturbing appetite for domination came to complement vulgarity and greed as distinctive features of the American character, now entirely assimilated to the Yankee. Derision turned to fear.

SOCIALIST DISINTEGRATION AND MONSTROUS CAPITALISM

The somehow snobbish disparagement of American lowbrow pursuits merged with a new brand of left-wing anti-Americanism born out of frustration with the downward spiral of socialism in America. Countering pervasive anti-Yankee prejudices, philosophers Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) insisted that, as the most advanced capitalist country in the world, the United States had to be seen as a laboratory for socialism, the next stage of social development. Consequently, that American socialism evolved in "prodigious zigzags" (Engels) rather than in a neat upward progression paralleling capitalist development mystified all European socialists.

Many made the journey to the United States to decipher the riddle formulated in 1906 by the German sociologist Werner Sombart (1863–1941): "Why is there no socialism in America?" The answers combined disinterest in abstract thinking, an intellectual deficiency deemed characteristic of the American mind, with the narrow policies of bread and butter pursued by trade unions at the expense of the loftier goal of defeating capitalism. As in the case of Enlightenment ideals, America's failure to live up to its role of successful laboratory for a new social order bred disappointment and contempt. The American worker, the French writer Urbain Gohier (1862–1951) concluded, grew fat, a bourgeois in all but name ("well fed, well clothed and . . . even clean") while the robust tactics of the American unions illustrated obtuse materialism, not revolutionary foresight.

On the other hand, European readers were entertained with rags-to-riches sagas of American robber-barons uninhibited by the traditional norms of European patriarchal capitalism. The rapid soar from obscurity to dizzying heights and of individuals like the Vanderbilts and the Hearsts, the worrisome reports on the merciless nature of American capitalism, of risky financial speculations, and cut-throat competition, led to the image of the American capitalist as evil incarnate. Writers of all stripes excoriated the "trust system," run by coarse-mannered billionaires who managed to corrupt even capitalism itself. Turning Marx's theory of progress on its head, American capitalism dragged society backwards into a grotesque form of technologized feudalism instead of pushing it forward. In short, everything in the United States grew into a monstrous aberration, and that included American idealism.

After the decisive American intervention in World War I, the United States became the senior partner among the diplomatic delegations who gathered at Versailles to decide the fate of post war Europe. Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) presented a program for reshaping European geography and political arrangements on the basis of democratic reform and the right of each people to self-determination. Wilson's blueprint, the famous fourteen points, as well as his conviction that Europe's best hope for the future was to follow America's lead, inspired anxiety and contempt, the opposite of the reaction he expected. At best, European leaders and opinion makers marveled at Wilson's naiveté and self-assurance. At worst, his forceful idealism seemed just another example of the American aptitude for distortion, this time applied to European politics. Furthermore, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) curtly diagnosed the American president with paranoia. By extension, the entire American society came into focus as a huge madhouse, for the famed analyst declared that in any other country such an individual would have been institutionalized. Echoing Freud, the French nationalist writer Charles Maurras (1868–1952) warned Europeans against a superpower where money talks and lunatics become presidents. At stake was again degeneration but in its modern form, psychopathology. "America went from barbarism to degeneration without the usual interval of civilization" quipped France's president Georges

An Anti-American Protestor in Korea. *South Korean riot police block a protester holding a poster of U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice during a rally in Seoul on March 20, 2005. Rice was meeting with South Korean officials to discuss nuclear armament in North Korea.* © **YOU SUNG-HO/REUTERS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Clemenceau (1841–1929) in a one-liner that captured perfectly the tone of anti-American sentiments.

In the 1930s cupidity, authoritarianism, and degeneration combined seamlessly to add an anti-Semitic note, whereby Uncle Sam morphed into Uncle Shylock, Shakespeare's eponymous Jewish usurer, and the United States an "abomination" where Jews and Yankees reigned together.

EVIL DIVERSIFIED

The ugly American and the ugly American state, as the most glaring examples of the misdeeds of capitalism, naturally took their place in the Soviet anticapitalist discourse. The Soviet Union also portrayed the United States as the sole aggressor during the Cold War, in view of its well-established reputation for "Yankee" belligerence and domineering impulses.

Soviet propaganda resonated with the soaring unofficial anti-Americanism in Western Europe, where governments were closely allied with the United States. Communist, socialist, and fellow-traveler organizations in the West shared the ideological beliefs of the Soviet government, and therefore propagated the same images of the United States as a desolate land ravaged by capitalism. Considering the postwar political alignments, the Western European Left also had the task of eliminating American influence on the continent. The American presence was felt especially through the Marshall Plan, a comprehensive program of targeted investments, run by American economic advisers, aimed at rebuilding the European economies on the basis of free market policies. Such policies, coupled with the requirement that countries who accepted the program implement multiparty democracy, made the Soviet Union and its satellites reject this and any American aid. Self-righteous campaigns against the Marshall Plan, especially in France, claimed to unmask the evils hidden behind the benign facade of friendly assistance. According to these critics, the main program of American aid only sugarcoated the wholesale

takeover of Europe by American moguls and had to be regarded as nothing but a Trojan horse of the worst kind of capitalism.

The Marshall Plan also came under attack from the Right for stifling national creativity, market forces included, in favor of American models of development. At stake was the very soul of Europe, from authentically civilized lifestyles to intellectual sophistication, all of which risked succumbing to the mind-numbing onslaught of American mass culture. Writers of all persuasions relished sharing with their readers nightmarish images of the artificial and dull world created by technology and productivity, incidentally the chief issues raised by the Marshall Plan. The novelist Georges Bernanos (1888–1948) proposed, only half-jokingly, that "the civilization of machines" be put on trial at Nuremberg. Imprisoned in an industrialized universe obsessed with efficiency, comfort, and high-tech gadgets, the United States presented the sad spectacle of technologically altered humanity. This particular form of degeneration affected all aspects of American life, from the acquiescent conformism that passed for democracy to the characterless art amassed in large but uninspiring museums, as French author Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986) suggested. This train of thought culminated with the call issued by famed French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) to cut all ties with Europe after the execution of convicted spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg: "Beware, America has the rabies! Let's cut all ties which attach us to her, lest we shall be in turn bitten and infected ourselves" (*Libération*, June 22 1953).

Even when acknowledged, American prosperity with its corollary, American optimism, was to be dreaded as an indication of intellectual degradation. From all perspectives the United States came across as an "abomination" and a menace to the civilized world. This agreement of principle, often expressed in the media, gave anti-Americanism a mass audience and created the popular images of Americans as rich, naive, but authoritarian and violence-prone ignoramuses who were now largely taken for granted. On the academic side, the philosopher Jean Baudrillard furthered the analysis of degenerated humanity steeped in technological efficiency by arguing that the United States had achieved the supreme act of distortion: it had counterfeited reality itself and had itself become a "simulacrum."

America's status as supreme imperialist power is another outcome of the ideological battles of the Cold War. Having practiced its greedy, self-interested policies on the defenseless countries of Latin America, with the known results of economic backwardness and political tyranny, the United States felt ready to take on the rest of the world after emerging victorious from World War II.

The next victim was Europe, as explained by the left-wing discourse, fortified by antimaterialistic and nationalistic brands of anti-Americanism coming from other ideological quarters. By the 1950s it became a cliché that, under the guise of liberation, the "Yankees" had reduced the entire segment of Europe in the American zone of influence to the humiliating status of colony.

Coming in the midst of anticolonial movements, this reading of the postwar settlement turned the United States into a common universal foe. That the imperial powers in the third world were in fact various European countries mattered less than the urgency of resisting, together, American imperial designs. In this view, what it could not conquer militarily the United States was poised to control deviously by flooding the entire world with various American gadgets, foodstuffs, or movies.

Interestingly, accusations of imperialism grew stronger when the United States took resolute anti-imperialist positions, as it did during the Suez Canal crisis in 1956. The United States was then suspected of lording over both Europe and the third world through the system, perfected in the aftermath of World War II, of disguising instruments of dependence into the appearance of support. The Vietnam War brought additional arguments to this line of thinking and made anti-Americanism and anti-imperialism interchangeable concepts all over the world.

The end of the Cold War left the United States the sole superpower. The familiar themes of degeneration, greed, aggressiveness, and, more recently, imperialism combined with fear of the nations's unmatched military power put an American face on globalization. Well-publicized attacks against McDonald's outlets in France, similar to the anti-Coca-Cola campaigns of the 1950s, merely adapt the themes of the anti-American discourse of the Cold War to contemporary concerns.

It is not just that American-dominated multinational companies, reminiscent of the prewar "trust system," control the economy and corrupt the politics of the entire planet; American consumer goods suffocate other cultures, distort natural lifestyles, and pervert local tastes, going as far as endangering the health of hapless consumers everywhere. In short, American movies make people stupid and American foods make people sick; consequently, Americanization does not mean just American domination, it means regressing to the dismal level of American cultural degeneration and social absurdity.

Such anxieties are only exacerbated by the exceptional diversity and de facto multiculturalism of contemporary American society, which appears to many as the reality for the future. Aggressive, aloof, and self-assertive in spite of being "a world in itself" as many

worried observers note, the United States is failing once more in its role as laboratory for the future order of things.

The belief that with the attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States only got its comeuppance was expressed in most parts of the world, from Arab countries, where large segments of the public received the news with unconcealed glee, to university halls in Western Europe, where somber conferences on the roots of terrorism invariably found these roots in America. The conspiracy theory blaming the whole event on secret American and Israeli machinations found sympathetic audiences in France, Germany, and the Arab world.

The 2003 American invasion of Iraq raised the anti-American discourse to yet unattained heights. Publishers churned out work after work updating the essential American characteristics of greed, violence, obtuseness, and, less damning but no less dangerous, dimwitted naiveté, while vast popular demonstrations across all continents designated the United States as a danger to all humanity.

André Glucksman, a rare opponent, distilled this pervasive mindset into an axiomatic formula: "there is no evil but the evil caused by America," a conviction, it should be added, more or less openly linked with America's support for Israel. Glucksman and a few other writers (Jean-François Revel from the French Academy, for instance) detect a psychological factor in the gleeful diabolization of the United States. With the collapse of the balance of fear established by the Cold War, in the face of the perplexing threat of terrorism and imminent destabilization, it is reassuring to draw all anxieties back to the superpower of the times. The well-rehearsed patterns of anticapitalism and anti-imperialism, reinforced by time-honored cultural stereotypes, provide a certain level of comfort every time they help to rationalize the current global angst as a function of that familiar evil, America.

Judging by these developments, anti-Americanism will continue to be part of both the intellectual and the popular discourse for many years to come, although not at the same level of intensity everywhere. Unlike criticism leveled at given American policies, anti-Americanism is an emotional discourse, activated by American policies, but disinclined to discern fact from stereotype. As such, anti-Americanism is more reflective of the societies that produce it than of American realities. That France is one of the main producers of anti-American literature while such literature is quite rare in Italy and practically absent in Poland, for instance, reflects certain particularities of these countries' political and cultural identity.

Anti-Americanism relies and will most likely continue to rely on the recurrent themes of degeneration, greed, and aggressiveness, sometimes with surprising results. Thus French author Emmanuel Todd argued in *After the Empire* (2003) that the United States has in fact collapsed already and is waging wars out of fear that its impotence might come to light. Put into perspective, this argument brings the theme of degeneration to its logical conclusion. Degeneration, the ill that de Pauw had already detected in America's natural environment, has successively consumed the American character, humanity, and very reality, and will ultimately destroy its self-aggrandizing power. Despondency in the face of America's panoply of evils can thus be alleviated by the knowledge that the United States will in the end succumb to the very poison with which it has infected the whole world.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism; Empire, United States.*

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Doina Pasca Harsanyi

ANTICOLONIALISM

Western colonialism has engendered anticolonialism from the beginning of the age of European expansion. All empires, in fact, have provoked local and indigenous defiance, backlashes, and resistance throughout human history. The conquest, domination, exploitation, and rule of neighboring and distant peoples and their lands by a powerful and often alien polity, by their very nature, has time and again produced many different kinds of challenges, opposition, and violence.

Beginning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the overseas colonies of western Europe met resistance, and created resistance, by the native peoples in the Americas, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Pacific. Indigenous opposition and resistance, however, were rarely a simple matter of non-Europeans rejecting European governance, order, or culture. Overseas imperialism and colonialism also produced a tradition of

A Protest Against Globalization, Colonialism, and the United States. *An antiglobalization protestor marches in Paris in November 2003 during the annual European Social Forum.* © ANTOINE SERRA/IN VISU/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

intellectual critique, criticism, and condemnation within the West itself. Western anticolonialism was based upon various and evolving objections, stemming from moral, religious, humanitarian, economic, and political concerns and interests.

The immigrant settlers of Europe's overseas colonies in time developed their own anticolonial critiques that led, in the Americas most particularly, to resistance, rebellion, and revolutions creating independent states. Anticolonialism contributed to, and was a product of, nationalism and the struggles to create new identities for the peoples of Europe's overseas colonies. Indeed, true anticolonialism—that is, the theoretical and active resistance to colonial rule with the objective of overthrowing imperial control and establishing independent, national states—became nearly indistinguishable from nationalism in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia by the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

There are a number of entries devoted to anticolonialism and indigenous and settler nationalist and independence movements in the Americas, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, East Asia, and the Pacific in this encyclopedia. There are, as well, several entries that describe

and analyze Western thought regarding colonialism. This entry, as a result, does not retrace all of these historical developments, nor does it reconsider the history or historiography of anticolonial thought. Although this entry presents no all-embracing theory to explain anticolonialism, it does identify, describe, and classify the broad patterns of anti-Western anticolonialism of the past five hundred years in an effort to translate an extraordinarily complex historical phenomenon into an understandable and useful analysis.

Although anticolonial thought and action has existed for many centuries, indeed, for millennia, the concept "anticolonialism" is quite recent. The word *colonialism* did not appear in an English dictionary until the mid-nineteenth century. Although theorists in the past have emphasized the difference between colonialism and imperialism, writers and even historians today often use these concepts interchangeably. Following the lead of political scientist David Abernethy, *empire* is defined as a state (metropole) that dominates and legally possesses one or more territories beyond its boundaries (colonies). *Imperialism* refers to the process of expansion and conquest necessary in the construction of an empire. The

territories seized, dominated, and possessed by the imperial state are *colonies*. "Colonialism," writes Abernethy, "is the set of formal policies, informal practices, and ideologies employed by a metropole to retain control of a colony and to benefit from control" (2000, p. 22). Anticolonialism is a broad concept that includes every kind of opposition—from political thought to popular violence—against imperialism and colonialism.

Defiance, opposition, and resistance to European expansion, conquest, and colonization by indigenous communities, organized groups, disparate "mobs," states and empires, and slaves took different forms and sought different outcomes. The most significant and widespread kinds of indigenous resistance over the five centuries of Western colonialism were the following:

1. Preexisting indigenous polities, states, and empires used violence to defend their people, land, autonomy, and power against Western expansion.

2. Popular nativist uprisings were often violent reactions to the interference by, or imposition of, Western colonists, institutions, and customs, which often came in the form of militant or missionary Christianity.

3. African and Creole slaves revolted against, primarily, the plantation and the master class.

4. In all colonies, protest uprisings and movements appeared to highlight colonial injustice, and often specific abuses and impositions, in order to provoke concessions, reform, and improvements. These ameliorative protest uprisings and movements challenged colonial regimes but did not attempt to destroy or defeat them.

5. State builders, often nationalists or nationalist movements, organized violence against colonial regimes to defeat them and create new states governed by leaders from the majority indigenous population.

When historians examine specific uprisings, revolts, rebellions, and insurrections, the artificial boundaries of these categories begin to bend and collapse. The Hidalgo Revolt (1810–1811) in central Mexico was a popular nativist uprising against "whites" and the wealthy, but it was also a genuinely anticolonial—that is, anti-Spanish—rebellion intended to establish Spanish-American and popular self-government in Mexico, if not an independent nation-state in time. There were, of course, many more kinds of indigenous resistance to Western colonialism, both violent and nonviolent, than the five described above. These five forms of resistance, however, represent the basic models that dominated the non-Western responses to Western colonialism.

In most parts of the world, the expansion of European empires came into direct conflict with existing indigenous states and empires. The Spanish defeat of the armies of the Inca Empire and the occupation of the imperial capital of Cuzco in 1536 was the beginning, not the end, of serious organized resistance to Spanish encroachment in the central Andes. Less than a year later, a massive Inca rebellion besieged the Spaniards in Cuzco and attacked them in Lima. Although the siege was broken, in 1538 the defiant Inca leader Manco Inca had two armies in the field and had organized local rebellions across the Andes. The Inca army in the northern Sierra fought the Spaniards for eight years. Manco Inca and his successors retreated to the remote eastern Andean site of Vilcabamba and defended the restored neo-Inca state until 1572.

In southern Africa, the expansionist Zulu kingdom and empire came into conflict with Dutch colonists (Boers), and then the British colonial state, in the nineteenth century. For more than fifty years the Zulu fought the Boers and the British until their defeat and "conquest" in 1879. The Zulu, nevertheless, rose in rebellion in 1906.

A quite distinct and more widespread form of resistance was nativist uprisings, popular indigenous reactions against colonial exploitation and the imposition of Western culture, religion, and governance. The Tzeltal Revolt of 1712, a Maya uprising against the Spanish in southern Mexico, aimed to kill or drive out of the province all Spaniards, mestizos, and mulattos and establish a new Indian Catholic society and kingdom. The Indian Revolt of 1857 in India and the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900 were popular explosions of violence against Christian missionaries, local converts and collaborators, and "foreign devils" in general.

Slave revolts in the Atlantic world from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century—violent uprisings by enslaved Africans for many centuries and, later, by Creole African-Americans—attacked one of the most important economic institutions and social systems erected by Western colonialism. In the numerous assaults against the plantation system and its masters, and against the degrading, exploitive, and violent slave system itself, African and Creole slaves attacked colonialism or colonial rule indirectly and inadvertently. Rebel slaves used violence to respond to violence and injustice. Rebels sought revenge, escape, return to Africa, the creation of a new society, and, occasionally, the extermination of the slave-owners and their like.

Wolof slaves revolted against the Spanish in Hispaniola in 1521. Across the Atlantic, a slave revolt beginning around 1544 in the Portuguese island colony of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea produced a

settlement of free Africans who continued to fight the Portuguese. These Angolares (originally, slaves exported from Angola) raided plantations and burned fields and sugar mills, and in 1574 attacked and largely destroyed the city of São Tomé. In 1595 a leader named Amador led a slave army of five thousand men and women that burned or destroyed some seventy sugar plantations on the island.

Over the next four hundred years, there were many hundreds of major slave revolts and insurrections in the Americas. The massive slave insurrection that began in 1791 in France's richest colony, Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) became transformed into an organized military campaign led by the ex-slave Toussaint L'Ouverture (1743–1803) that defeated Spanish, British, and French armies. In 1804 the black generals established the independent nation-state of Haiti, the second new state in the Americas and the first modern state ever created by a slave insurrection.

Ameliorative protest uprisings and movements employed violence against the colonial regime or its officials, but also nonviolent methods of protest and resistance, such as demonstrations, riots, strikes, petitions, and more. Many, if not most, of the village uprisings in colonial Mexico were provoked by specific abuses or perceived threats and ended when colonial officials promised to act upon the grievances of villagers. As William B. Taylor, a historian of colonial Mexico, notes, community outrage was directed against local officials, the tax collector, or the parish priest. "Villagers in revolt generally did not make the connection between their grievances and the colonial system as a whole" (1979, p. 134).

In the Gold Coast, the British colony in West Africa, the Aborigines' Rights Protective Society (ARPS) was formed in the 1890s to appeal to, and it was hoped to influence, British public opinion against the colonial authorities on the spot. The colonial government began a program to transform property rights and relations. The ARPS, formed by traditional chiefs working with African lawyers educated in Britain, organized the first colonywide protest and sent a delegation to London that succeeded in getting legislation that protected their land rights.

In the wake of the French conquest of Algeria in the 1830s, the Muslim Sufi order of the Qadiriyya in western Algeria provided the religious and political legitimacy for a resistance movement. In 1834 'Abd al-Qadir (1808–1883) became the head of the order and fought tribal authorities and the French to expand his authority. Within three years, the French recognized 'Abd al-Qadir's authority and the sovereignty of the Qadiriyya state over two-thirds of Algeria. In the 1840s conflict with the French—that is, with the more technologically advanced French army—led to the defeat and surrender of 'Abd al-Qadir in 1847.

In the Egyptian colony of Sudan, the *Mahdi* (a messianic Muslim leader) Muhammad ibn-Abdallah began a campaign in the 1880s to create an independent theocratic state. The campaign took advantage of Egypt's turmoil and weakness in the face of French and then British intermeddling. In 1883 the forces of the Mahdi destroyed the ten-thousand–strong Egyptian army. General George Gordon (1833–1885) went to Khartoum, Sudan, to evacuate Egyptians, but was besieged and killed in 1885. The middle Nile Valley was controlled by the Mahdist state, thereafter, it seemed, for more than a decade. In 1898 an Anglo-Egyptian army invaded the Sudan and met the Mahdist army at Omdurman on the banks of the Nile River. The British forces, armed with Maxim (machine) guns, repeating rifles, and gunboats, killed and wounded tens of thousands of Mahdist dervishes. After the five-hour battle, only forty-eight British soldiers were killed. The Mahdist state was overthrown as the British Empire took control of Sudan.

Anticolonialist nationalist revolts of the twentieth century were remarkably successful. A nationalist Egyptian uprising in 1919, followed by mass demonstrations, prodded the British to grant independence in 1922. Within three months of the assignment of the mandate of Iraq by the League of Nations to Britain 1919, the "Great Arab" insurrection in the new country began. The Arabs of Iraq had reasons of their own to oppose British colonialism, but the Communist International (or Comintern, a Soviet-led revolutionary organization), trying out its anticolonial legs, employed propaganda in an attempt to add fuel to the fire: "In your country there are eighty-thousand English soldiers who plunder and rob, who kill you and violate your wives!" (quoted in Kiernan 1998, p. 191). Over the next seven years, the British occupation faced not only Arab resistance but also Kurdish insurrection, which began in 1922. At the end of 1927, Britain recognized the independence of Iraq under the sovereignty of King Faisal (1885–1933) and in 1932 Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations.

Indochina (today Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) was not brought under effective French colonial rule until the 1880s and 1890s. However, at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920), which established the terms of peace after World War I ended in 1918, Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) and other Vietnamese nationalists were attracted by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson's (1856–1924) call for national self-determination and the possibility they might negotiate some degree of self-

government and autonomy with the Great Powers. The Vietnamese spokesmen, like those from India, Egypt, Senegal, and other colonies, were ignored.

Back in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh and other nationalists formed the Communist Party in 1925; the party organized an uprising in 1930. The repression that followed kept order until a revolt erupted in 1940. After this uprising was crushed, Ho Chi Minh and other nationalists in 1941 established a united front of various parties and resistance groups called the Vietminh. At the conclusion of World War II (1939–1945), following the Japanese surrender in Hanoi, the Vietminh declared the independence of Vietnam. The French, however, unwilling to give up control of the colony, sent an army to Vietnam and fought the Vietminh from 1946 until 1954, when a garrison of sixteen thousand French and African soldiers at Dien Bien Phu surrendered to a superior Vietminh force. In that same year, a French-Chinese agreement, accepted by the Geneva Conference on the Far East (1954), divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel. The Communist Vietminh government took control of the northern section and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. France then granted independence to South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

These five distinct kinds of indigenous resistance to Western colonialism disguise a social complexity that characterized the establishment and maintenance of colonialism itself. Colonialism was not something that was imposed from outside or that operated with the collusion of forces inside; it was a combination of both developments. Anticolonialism, in a similar way, was resistance to the outside imposition, as well as a contestation of political authority, among indigenous leaders, groups, regions, and classes within a colony.

The Indian Revolt, or Great Rebellion, of 1857 to 1859 began as a mutiny of Indian soldiers or *sepoys* who served the British East India Company. The sepoys of the Bengal Army protested their pay and conditions. Once British rule began to waver in the north, towns, artisans, and peasants rose up in rebellion to restore, at least symbolically, the Mughal Empire. The British defeated the rebellion in large measure because large sections of the Indian army, the Ghurkas and Sikhs in particular, remained loyal. When Delhi fell to "British" forces, most of those forces were Indian.

The Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900 was both an anti-Manchu and an anti-Western rebellion. "Boxers," a secret society, were Han Chinese nationalists who opposed the "Manchu" Qing regime and foreigners, particularly missionaries and businessmen, who supported the regime.

Table 1 provides a list of important anticolonial rebellions and slave revolts of the past five hundred years.

It suggests the great geographical diversity and temporal persistence of anticolonial struggles around the world. This list, however, is far from definitive and complete. Scholars of colonized peoples, furthermore, have emphasized that peasants, slaves, women, and other relatively powerless groups have employed "weapons of the weak"—that is, everyday forms of resistance, such as shirking, theft, sabotage, arson, and flight—to resist, recoup, or survive colonialism. While these "quiet" and often clandestine forms of resistance have rarely entered the history books, they have, according to James C. Scott (1985), constituted the greatest part of peasant politics.

The long and bloody history of resistance to Western colonialism that is suggested by the names and dates in Table 1 influenced Western political and social thought from the sixteenth century to the present. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, European encounters with other peoples and lands prompted philosophical debates about the nature of humans and the moral responsibility of Christian monarchs and colonizers to the "barbarians" and "savages" they encountered, conquered, and ruled. A number of sixteenth-century Europeans, such as Antonio de Montesinos, Thomas More (1478–1535), Desiderius Erasmus (ca. 1466–1536), Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), Alonzo de Zorita (1512-1585), Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), Philippe de Mornay (1549–1623), and José de Acosta (1539–1600), opposed war and violent expansion, and in particular criticized Spanish colonial excesses and abusive policies, but they never rejected the imperial project. Some French Protestants, and more English and Dutch Protestant critics, seized upon the discourse of the Spanish critics and created the "Black Legend," an exaggerated reprimand of Spanish colonialism.

Not all western European writers in the seventeenth century, however, were anti-Spanish, and very few criticized, let alone opposed, their own nation's imperial projects. A number of French Catholic philosophers and missionaries in the seventeenth century praised Spanish attempts to legislate protections on behalf of Native Americans in their New World kingdoms. By the 1660s, the English dramatist John Dryden (1631–1700) romanticized the Spanish conquest of Mexico in his play *The Indian Emperor* (1665).

By the mid to late eighteenth century, a number of prominent European and American thinkers and politicians not only criticized the abuses and excesses of Western colonialism, but for the first time challenged "the idea that Europeans had any right to subjugate, colonize, and 'civilize' the rest of the world" (Muthu, 2003, p. 1). Such Enlightenment philosophers and writers as François-Marie Arouet, known as Voltaire (1694–1778), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), Denis

Non-European rebellions, resistance movements and slave revolts

Date	Leadership/People	Event
Phase 1: Expansion, 1415-1773		
1490s	Hispaniola (Sp.)	Taino Chieftain's Revolts
1521	Hispaniola (Sp.) Mexico (Sp.)	Wolofs: Slave Revolt
1540s	Mexico (Sp.)	The Mixtón War
1520s–1540s	Yucatan (Sp.)	Yucatec Maya Resistance
1540s–1550s	Brail (Por.)	Potiguar, Caeté & Tupinambá: Resistance and Wars
1550s–1600	Northern Mexico (Sp.)	The Chichimeca War
1567	Bahia, Brazil (Por.)	Indian Slave Revolt
1595	São Tomé (Por.)	Amador: Slave Revolt
1622	Virginia (Br.)	Powhatan Confederation Attack
1637	Connecticut (Br.)	Pequot War
1673	Jamaica (Br.)	Slave Revolt
1680–1692	New Mexico (Sp.)	Pope: Pueblo Rebellion
1712	Chiapas (Sp.)	Tzeltal Rebellion: Maya Revolt
1731	Louisiana (Fr.)	Samba: Slave Revolt
1733	St. Johns (Dm.)	Slave Revolt
1734–1738	Jamaica (Br.)	Cudjoe: Chief of Trelawny Town: First Maroon War
1739	South Carolina (Br.)	Stono Rebellion: Slave Revolt
1742–1750s	Peru (Sp.)	Juan Santos Atahualpa
1760	Jamaica (Br.)	Tacky's Revolt: Slave Revolt
1761	Yucatan (Sp.)	Canek: Maya Uprising
1763–1766	North America (Br.)	Pontiac's Rebellion
Phase 2: Contraction, 1775-1824		
1777	Upper Peru (Sp.)	Tomás Katari: Aymaras
1780–1783	Peru-Upper Peru (Sp.)	José Gabriel Condorcanqui (Tupac Amaru II Rebellion)
1791–1804	Saint Domingue (Fr.)	Toussaint L'Ouverture: Slave Rebellion
1795	New Granada (Sp.)	Slave Revolt
1795	Demerara (Da.)	Slave Revolt
1795–1796	Jamaica (Br.)	Second Maroon War
1810–1811	Central Mexico (Sp.)	Miguel Hidalgo: Popular Uprising
1811–1815	Mexico (Sp.)	José María Morelos: Continuation of the Hidalgo Uprising
1816	Barbados (Br.)	Slave Revolt
1823	Demerara (Br.)	Slave Revolt
Phase 3: Expansion, 1824-1912		
1825–1830	East Indies (Dt.)	Prince Dipangara: Java War
1831	Jamaica (Br.)	Slave Revolt
1831	Virginia (US.)	Nat Turner: Slave Revolt
1832–1847	Algeria (Fr.)	Abd el Kader: War of Resistance
1835	Brazil (Por.)	African Muslim Slave Revolt
1838	South Africa (Br.)	First Zulu War
1843–1847	New Zealand (Br.)	First Maori War
1857–1859	India (Br.)	The Indian Mutiny
1865–1872	New Zealand (Br.)	Second Maori War
1860–1890	North America (US.)	Sitting Bull & Crazy Horse: Sioux Wars
1862–1872	North America (US.)	Cochise: Apache War
1865	Jamaica (Br.)	Morant Bay Rebellion
1871	Algeria (Fr.)	Kabyle Revolt
1879	South Africa (Br.)	Second Zulu War
1882–1885	Sudan (Egpt/Br.)	The Mahdi: Islamic Revolt and War for Independence
1891–1894	German East Africa	Mkwawa Rebellion
1895	Madagascar (Por.)	Red Shawl Uprising
1896	Ethopia (Ind.)	Italian Defeat at Adowa
1896–1897	Southern Rhodesia (Br.)	Shona and Ndebele Rebellion
1899–1900	India (Br.)	Birsa Rising
1900	China (Ind.)	The Boxer Rebellion
1899–1902	Philippines (US.)	Emilio Aguinaldo: Philippine Insurgency
1899–1920	Somaliland (Br.)	Muhammad Abullah Hassad: Resistance Movement
1899–1905	Somaliland (It.)	Muhammad Abullah Hassad
1904–1907	South-West Africa (Gr.) (Nambia)	Nama & Herro Revolt: resistance to German settlers
1905–1906	East Africa (Ger.) (Tanganyika)	Maji Maji: Popular Uprising
1906	South Africa (Br.) (Natal)	Zulu Revolt
1908, 1912, 1918, 1925	Panama (Pro.)	Social and Political "Unrest": US. Military Intervention
1912–1918	Libya (Fr.)	Sanussi Sheikhs

[continued]

Table 1. THE GALE GROUP.

Non-European rebellions, resistance movements and slave revolts [CONT]

Date	Leadership/People	Event
Phase 4: Unstabe Equilibrium, 1914–1939		
1915	Nysaland	John Chilembwe
1920	Mesopotamia (Br.)	'The Great Iraqi Revolt'
1921-26	Morocco (Sp.)	Abd el-Krim: Berbers' Rif War
1925-26	Morocco (Fr.)	Rif War against the French
1922-31	Libya (Fr.)	Sanussi Sheikhs
1930-31	Vietnam (Fr.)	VNQDD: Yen Bay Uprising
1930-32	Burma (Br.)	Saya San
1930s-48	Palestine (Br.)	Arab and Jewish Revolts
Phase 5: Contraction, 1940–Present		
1945-49	East Indies (Dt.)	Independence War
1946-54	Vietnam (Fr.)	Ho Chi Minh: Independence War
1947-60	Madagascar (Por.)	Independence Rebellion
1948-56	Kenya (Br.)	Mau Mau Rebellion: Kikuyu People
1954-61	Algeria (Fr.)	FLN: War for Independence
1961-75	Angola (Por.)	Independence War
1962-75	Mozambique (Por.)	War for Independence led by FRELIMO
1963-75	Guinea-Bissau (Por.)	Amilcar Cabral: Independence War
1972-79	Rhodesia (Ind.)	Robert Mugabe: Civil War
1979-1989	Afghanistan (Ind.)	Anti-USSR Insurgency
1994-Present	Chechnya (Ru.)	Anti-Russian War
2003-Present	Iraq (Ind.)	Anti-United States & Coalition Insurgency

Abbreviations: Br. British Colony, Dn. Danish, Dt. Dutch, Fr. French, Ger. German, Ind. Independent, Por. Portuguese, Pro. Protectorate, Ru. Russia, Sp. Spanish, US. United States, USSR. Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

SOURCES: This table is based on Table 13.1, "Colonial Rebellions by Indigenous or Slave Populations," in David B. Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires*, 1415–1980 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 308–309. Using Abernethy's template, data from other sources have been added to this table: See C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004); Jeremy Black, *Europe and the World,* 1650–1840 (London: Routledge, 2002); *Chambers Dictionary of World History* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 2005); Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *A Historical Guide to World Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Susan Schroeder, ed., *Native Resistance and the Pax Colonial in Colonial New Spain* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

Table 1. [CONT]. THE GALE GROUP.

Diderot (1713–1784), Abbé Guillaume-Thomas Raynal (1713–1796), Richard Price (1723–1791), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Joseph Priestly (1733–1804), Thomas Paine (1737–1809), Marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794), Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), and others rejected imperialism and colonialism for a number of different reasons. For Diderot, European imperialism had been a disaster for non-European peoples in terms of war, oppression, and slavery and had, in addition, corrupted Europe itself. Many of these anti-imperialist Enlightenment writers opposed European imperialism and colonialism on the basis of the idea that all the world's different peoples were human and therefore deserved respect and fair treatment. Not only did these thinkers accept the concept of shared humanity, they shared the idea that non-Europeans were peoples of culture (as were Europeans), not savages or "natural" humans, and that their cultures were not necessarily

better or worse than the oppressive, corrupt, and violent societies of Europe.

Thomas Jefferson, the American philosophe, wrote in the Declaration of Independence in 1776 "that all men are created equal," and as a consequence governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." Jefferson's shattering of the moral underpinning of colonialism was complemented by Alexander Hamilton's (1755/57–1804) American anticolonialism expressed in *The Federalist* over a decade later:

The world may politically, as well as geographically, be divided into four parts, each having a distinct set of interests. Unhappily for the other three, Europe, by her arms and by her negotiations, by force and by fraud, has, in different degrees, extended her dominion over them all. Africa, Asia, and America, have successively felt her domination. The superiority she has long maintained has tempted her to plume herself as

the Mistress of the World, and to consider the rest of mankind as created for her benefit. (Hamilton, 1787)

This state of affairs, according to Hamilton, will no longer be tolerated. "Let Americans disdain to be the instruments of European greatness!"

Not all, or even most, Enlightenment philosophers and writers, of course, opposed imperialism and colonialism. Eighteenth-century political thought was complex and even contradictory regarding certain issues. Anti-imperial and anticolonial writings, like the antislavery tracts of the eighteenth century, were profoundly novel and uniquely Western. Both intellectual critiques were founded upon centuries of Western thought and, in particular, nearly three centuries of observing, listening to, and writing about non-Europeans. Antislavery arguments, political campaigns, and diplomatic and military actions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade and the emancipation of all bondsmen in the Americas. The anti-imperial and anticolonial discourse of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, while undoubtedly significant over the long term, was followed by a new wave of European imperial expansion and annexation in the nineteenth century. The great political thinkers of the nineteenth century—conservatives, liberals, and radicals—generally accepted the arguments on behalf of imperialism.

Even Karl Marx (1818–1883), who argued that Western colonies were often set up in rich and well-populated countries for the specific purposes of plunder, thus providing Europe with "primitive" or "original" accumulation of wealth and capital, could not deny the historical necessity and advantage of colonialism. "In actual history," Marx wrote in 1867, "it is a notorious fact that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, in short, force, play the greatest part" in this accumulation (1867/1990, p. 874). As was true for many of his contemporaries, however, Marx viewed European colonialism as an indispensable element of world progress. Colonialism was an important modernizing force, noted Marx, part of "the process of transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode" (1867/1990, pp. 915-916).

Marx's twentieth-century intellectual heirs—Marxists, communists, neo-Marxists, dependency and world-systems analysts, postcolonialists, and others—had little difficulty condemning imperialism and colonialism. Karl Kautsky (1854–1938), Rosa Luxemburg (1870–1919), and V. I. Lenin (1870–1924) in the early twentieth century redirected "Marxist" thought against capitalist imperialism and colonialism. In 1920 Lenin's Comintern in Moscow offered a systematic program for global decolonization.

Liberal anticolonial principles were as influential during the twentieth century as Marxist ones. In 1918 President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed his "Fourteen Points" in a message to the U.S. Congress as a plan to end World War I. In his fourteenth point, Wilson suggested the creation of an association of nations to facilitate the sovereignty and independence of all nations based upon self-determination. The Fourteen Points encouraged a number of colonial leaders, including Ho Chi Minh, to attend the Paris Peace Conference and present petitions for autonomy and independence. The Atlantic Charter, a declaration of principles issued by U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) in 1941, echoed Wilson's Fourteen Points and called for the rights of self-determination, self-government, and free speech for all peoples.

Anticolonial leaders and movements in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere during the twentieth century drew upon elements of both liberal and Marxist anticolonial thought. Anticolonial movements generally spoke the rhetoric of liberalism (freedom, self-determination, self-government, individual rights, and so on) when discussing politics, and the rhetoric of Marxism (equality, economic development, social rights, and so on) when discussing social and economic problems. Twentieth-century anticolonial thought was also saturated by the development of nationalism and the use of history to help create or invent national identities. The great anticolonial movements of the century, it is not surprising to note, were nationalist movements: the African National Congress, the Indian National Congress, the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies, the National Congress of British West Africa, and others.

In the past, historians have argued that the anticolonial movements of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East—of the so-called third world—adopted the liberal and Marxist anticolonial critiques, the ideas and forms of nationalism, and even rational, narrative history from the West. There is little doubt that there was substantial borrowing. As more and more non-Western historians are exploring their national histories, however, they are learning that their form of anticolonialism was not simply a "derivative discourse." Indian historian Partha Chatterjee argues that as colonized, Anglicized, Bengali intellectuals were schooled in Western statecraft and economics, they also worked to create through schools, art, novels, and theater an Indian aesthetic sphere that was distinctively Indian. "The bilingual intelligentsia," writes Chatterjee, "came to think of its own language as belonging to that inner domain of cultural identity, from which the colonial intruder had to be kept out" (1993, p. 7).

Other historians have charged that anticolonialism, or at least the history of anticolonialist struggles, has focused too much on elites and intellectuals. Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973), leader of the independence movement of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, in the late 1960s and the early 1970s realized that genuine anticolonialism is the "cultural resistance of the people, who when they are subjected to political domination and economic exploitation find that their own culture acts as a bulwark in preserving their *identity*" (1973, p.61).

Anticolonialism, in violent actions and in formal thought, and in the hands, pens, and movements of non-Europeans as well as Europeans and Americans, has a history that is long, complex, and still being debated and written. There are many interesting questions but few easy answers.

SEE ALSO *American Revolution; Anticolonial Movements, Africa; Anticolonialism, East and North Africa, Asia and the Pacific; Anticolonialism, Middle East; Creole Nationalism; Enlightenment and Empire; Enlightenment Thought; Imperialism, Free Trade; Imperialism, Liberal Theories of; Imperialism, Marxist Theories of; Modern World-System Analysis; Spanish American Independence.*

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ANTICOLONIALISM, EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

European colonialism in East Asia developed in a piecemeal fashion, launched as it was against the centralized hereditary dynasties of China, Japan, and Korea. Likewise, there were discontinuities in the West's colonization of the Pacific, where vast stretches of ocean, rather than dense populations and ingrained traditions, complicated the task of projecting and consolidating Western military and administrative authority.

Japan's colonial history is unique in East Asia. Initially an object of Western colonial aspirations, Japan became a major colonial power in its own right. Its strong central government and martial ruling class resisted Western encroachments in the 1860s, and in response to the Western threat undertook a massive program of industrial and scientific modernization. Its key national goal was the creation of a modern military. This project soon sparked Japan's own colonial expansion in both East Asia and the Pacific. Beginning with neighboring islands, including Ryukyu and the Kurile chain in the 1880s, Japan's fledgling empire grew following its naval victories over China in 1895 and Russia in 1905 to 1906. Japan acquired first special rights and then full colonial authority over Taiwan, Korea, and the Pescadore Islands, as well as the profitable trading

advantages already enjoyed by the Western Powers at China's "treaty ports." After Germany's defeat in World War I, Japan acquired virtually all German territories in the Far East and the Pacific.

Japan portrayed its expansion as Pan-Asianism, a development that would limit Western imperialism, but anticolonialism developed in all of Japan's possessions. The most extensive opposition developed in Korea, where Japan established a military protectorate in 1905. In the following years urban Korean nationalists organized strikes and street demonstrations, which were forcibly broken up by Japanese police and military forces; some 12,000 Korean were killed. Despite Japan's complete domination of civil affairs and communications, small pockets of resistance persisted. After World War I, continuing Japanese oppression and the influence of Wilsonian ideals of political self-determination provoked the "March First Movement," an explosion of anti-Japanese resentment and Korean nationalism culminating in strikes, protests, and boycotts involving over two million Koreans. Japan's military reacted, crushing its unarmed opponents. Modest reforms were introduced, however, including improved access to education for Koreans, tolerance of moderate Korean newspapers, and the development of a small Korean film industry. In the 1920s Japan intensified its demands on Korean farmers, exporting all rice surpluses to Japan. During the 1930s, Korean industries were reorganized to supply Japan's expanding military. World War II brought continued political oppression and greater deprivation: Grievances over food shortages and inflation were exacerbated by Japan's policy of kidnapping Korean women, sending them overseas with Japanese military forces, and maintaining them as sexual slaves, known as *comfort women*, for Japan's soldiers. Underground anti-Japanese movements, particularly the Korean Workers' Party, a Communist group, gradually gained adherents during the war, but only Japan's final surrender in September 1945 allowed Korean nationalists, both Communists and democrats, to make plans for postcolonial Korea.

Anticolonialism in Taiwan was less widespread. A rural-based resistance movement briefly developed immediately following Japan's seizure of the island in 1895. During a brutal campaign that cost thousands of lives on both sides, Japanese troops occupied most of the island by the end of the year. A small guerrilla force survived in Taiwan's mountainous interior for another thirty years, occasionally launching harassing attacks on Japanese properties. Most of Taiwan's population passively accepted Tokyo's authority. A short-lived "home rule" movement emerged in 1914, as war broke out in Europe, but colonial officials ignored its demands, focusing instead on manipulating Taiwan's agricultural

economy to supply Japan's requirements, especially for sugar. However, during the 1930s a small aboriginal mountain tribe, angered by the seizure of its ancestral lands, launched the "Musha Rebellion," which was quickly overcome when Japanese aircraft and artillery slaughtered the tribe. Taiwan reverted to China after Japan's defeat in World War II, but after the Chinese civil war of the late 1940s it was ruled by a pro-Western government, once again politically isolated from the mainland.

Among Germany's territories lost to Japan in World War I were several possessions in China, including the strategically valuable Liaodong Peninsula on the Yellow Sea. Rich in mineral resources, with China's second-busiest port at Dalian (Dairen), the territory controlled water-borne traffic to northeastern China. Sparked by fury at the Chinese government's capitulation to Japan's demand for the peninsula, a vehement anticolonial protest campaign soon enveloped all of China's major cities and many of its eastern provinces. This "May Fourth movement," which coincided with the 1919 anti-Japanese upheaval in Korea, involved mass demonstrations, strikes, anti-Japanese boycotts, and attacks on Japanese businesses and property. Launched by radical students, it sparked a new awakening of Chinese nationalism, and drew on anticolonial sentiments stoked by decades of foreign intrusion into China. Not only Japanese, but also British, French, and American assets were threatened or attacked. Anti-Japanese agitation was particularly strong, and continued into the early 1930s. The May Fourth movement spawned new political parties that called for China to "stand up" to foreign imperialism, including the Chinese Communist Party, which was founded in 1921 and eventually seized power in China in 1949.

In 1914 to 1915 Japan seized Germany's territorial possessions in the Pacific, meeting little native resistance. A military government was established at Truk for all of Japan's new island territories, and after the war the Japanese language and Japanese education systems were introduced. The docile population of Micronesia, for example, readily accepted Japan's construction of sugar plantations and mining industries. Tokyo initially placated local chieftains and respected traditional landholding patterns, but during the 1930s tens of thousands of Japanese laborers migrated to Micronesia. Native clans' common lands were seized, and anticolonial sentiments intensified. During World War II anti-Japanese natives aided American forces, acting as aircraft spotters and laborers, and building affinities with America that lasted into the postwar era.

In the late nineteenth century the widely scattered archipelagoes of the Pacific had been the objects of

intense competition among the Western powers, which needed coaling stations for their Pacific naval fleets. Britain, France, Germany, and the United States all seized islands throughout the Pacific, becoming more aggressive as profitable new industries took shape, including cash crop plantations, commercial fishing, and mining. For example, the United States recognized the commercial and strategic value of the sovereign nation of Hawaii and moved to wrest informal control of the islands from the British. Hawaii's monarchy and its population accepted America's growing influence and then American rule with resentment, but only minimal resistance. Most native populations in the Pacific followed the Hawaiian model of accommodating rather than fighting colonial authority. However, the combination of military occupation, foreign laws, and economic manipulation occasionally provoked resistance. In New Caledonia, for example, France encountered stiff opposition. Armed clashes in 1878 to 1879 between French troops and native Melanesians resulted in hundreds of deaths, as local people disputed the imposition of French law, land seizures, the desecration of sacred sites, and the arrival of thousands of convicts at a newly created penal colony.

In the 1920s a wave of anticolonial resistance developed across the western Pacific. Militant Indian immigrant laborers in Fiji were silenced by Australian naval vessels and troops from New Zealand. In Western Samoa, then administered by New Zealand under a mandate from the League of Nations, local chieftains organized the Ola Mau a Samoa (the Firm Opinion of Samoa) movement, known as *Mau*, which pressed for Samoan self-determination; its leaders were arrested and interned in prison camps. In December 1929 colonial police fired into a crowd of Samoans, killing Mau leader Tupua Tamasese Lelofi and eleven others. The Mau movement also influenced the population of American Samoa, but violence was forestalled by allowing local chieftains more autonomy over land and property disputes.

Nonviolent anticolonialism characterized most of the Pacific. In British Nauru in the early 1920s, low-wage phosphate miners threatened to strike, citing environmental damage and monopoly prices charged by the company store. Strike leaders were arrested and police were called out. However the British "resident," London's official on the scene, ordered the release of the dissident leader, Timothy Detudamo, and allowed workers to organize their own cooperative store; he also arranged for the mining company to enlarge the trust fund that would pay for land reclamation. A similar strike threatened by agricultural workers on Tonga in 1921 was also resolved without violence when British

officials provided slight wage increases. The Americans' "island-hopping" strategy during the Pacific war brought many Pacific islands under United Nations or American authority, allowing paths to peaceful decolonization to develop in many island nations.

SEE ALSO *Decolonization, East Asia and the Pacific; East Asia, American Presence in; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire, British, in Asia and Pacific; Occupations, the Pacific; Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in; Self-Determination, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Laura M. Calkins

ANTICOLONIALISM, MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

In many parts of the Middle East and North Africa, resistance to the imposition of colonial rule appeared almost immediately after the first attempts to establish colonial regimes. Examples include the revolt led by 'Abd al-Qadir in Algeria in the 1840s, the Mahdist revolt in the Sudan, the rebellion of 'Umar Mukhtar in Libya, more than two decades of tribal resistance to French rule

in Morocco, the Iraqi rebellion of 1920, the Syrian revolt of 1926 to 1927, and the Palestine rebellion of 1936 to 1939. In Egypt, a nationalist uprising in protest against the stringent fiscal provisions laid down by Britain and France was the pretext for British military intervention in 1882.

Between the early nineteenth century and the outbreak of World War I (1914-18), much of the area along the southern shore of the Mediterranean between Morocco and what is now Turkey came under different forms of European colonial rule. Thus France began the conquest of Algeria in 1830, took over Tunisia in 1881, and (in partnership with Spain) took over Morocco in 1912. Britain occupied Egypt in 1882, formalizing the occupation by the declaration of a protectorate in 1914, and Italy began its conquest of Libya in 1911.

With the exception of Morocco, the entire region either had been, or still was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, at least nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, a multiethnic entity that had been in existence since the late thirteenth century and that collapsed at the end of World War I. While the Ottomans cannot be accurately regarded as an "imperial power," it is nevertheless the case that in spite of the Tanzimat reforms (ca. 1839–1876), one of whose principal purposes was to extend full citizenship to all Ottoman subjects, all the empire's Christian provinces in southeastern Europe became independent states in the course of the nineteenth century as a result of more or less bitter struggles to assert their individual ethnolinguistic identities. In contrast, regardless of their ethnicity, the overwhelmingly Muslim population of the Arab provinces continued to regard the (Turkish) Ottomans as the "natural defenders of Islam," with the result that, contrary to most earlier received wisdom, most of the Middle East was little affected by the ideology of Arab nationalism until World War I.

On the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula, Britain's concern to keep the route to India safe and open led to the signing of a series of treaties with various local rulers between the 1820s and 1916, under which the rulers generally agreed not to grant or dispose of any part of their territories to any power except Britain. In return, British recognition confirmed the ruling families of the Gulf emirates in the positions they have continued to hold until today. In 1839 Britain annexed Aden and turned it into a naval base. "Exclusive" treaties were signed with the tribal rulers of the interior, and in 1937 the area was divided into the port and its immediate hinterland (Aden Colony) and the more remote rural/tribal areas (Aden Protectorate). Principally because of their remoteness and their apparent lack of strategic importance, central Arabia and northern Yemen were never colonized.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, the empire's remaining Arab provinces were assigned to Britain and France as mandates from the newly created League of Nations, with Britain taking responsibility for Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan, and France taking responsibility for Lebanon and Syria. The guiding principle of the mandate system was that the states concerned should remain under the tutelage of the mandatory power until they were able to "stand alone," a period that, although not specified, was viewed as not being of indefinite length. The mandate period was relatively short-lived; Britain left Iraq in 1932, France left Lebanon and Syria in 1945 to 1946, and Israel was created from the former Palestine mandate in 1948.

A number of factors are crucial to understanding the various manifestations of anti-colonialism in the Arab world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the first place, the colonial period in the Middle East coincided with movements of "renewal" throughout much of the wider Islamic world; similar phenomena can be observed in the Indian subcontinent, West Africa, Central Asia, and Southeast Asia. Some movements clearly were, or became, "reactions to colonialism," but one of the most influential, that of the Wahhabis in the center of the Arabian Peninsula, both predated colonialism in the region and originated in an area relatively distant from any direct colonial activity. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such renewal or reform movements spread out over a wide geographical area. Some, like the Sanusi jihad, based in Saharan Libya, later the backbone of resistance to Italian colonization, exhibited an organizational form similar to that of the Sufi orders, based on a far-flung network of *zawiyas,* or lodges; others were urban-based, and often grouped around traditional centers of Islamic learning, while yet others were millenarian. Thus in the 1880s the Sudanese Mahdi (ca. 1844–1885) preached that he was the divinely appointed regenerator of Islam, and consciously imitated the life and career of the Prophet. The renewal movements were by no means always sympathetic to, or even tolerant of, one another; thus Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Sanusi (1844–1902) was at pains to point out that the Sudanese Mahdi was not entitled to claim either the leadership of the universal Islamic community or a transcendental relationship with the Prophet Muhammad, and Wahhabism (when not checked by more prudent political considerations) has tended to exhibit considerable intolerance toward other manifestations of Islam.

The Islamic reform movements contributed to the growth of anti-colonialism in a number of different ways. One of their effects was to draw a battle line between those rulers and elites in the Islamic world who were

prepared to make forms of accommodation with European colonizers and those sections of the community who were not. Thus 'Abd al-Qadir (1808–1883), the leader of the tribal jihad against the French in Algeria, sought and made use of a *fatwa* (legal opinion) from the *mufti* of Fez, which stated that those Muslims who cooperated with non-Muslims (i.e., the French) against other Muslims could be considered apostate or having abandoned one's religion, and could be treated as such if defeated. In contrast, later in the nineteenth century, Ba Ahmad, the influential chamberlain for the first few years of the reign of the Moroccan sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz (1894–1908), believed his only recourse was to buy off or otherwise accommodate the French, who were making incursions into southern Morocco from both Algeria and Senegal. This policy alienated many influential religious and tribal leaders, who were bitterly opposed to the Commander of the Faithful giving up "the lands of Islam" to foreign invaders; some of them considered that this made him illegitimate, and in consequence transferred their allegiance to a more combative, and, it must be said, quixotic, leader, Ma'al-Aynayn.

An important effect of colonialism was to hasten the disintegration of long-established social and economic relations based (generally, though not exclusively) on a subsistence economy that was superseded by the often far harsher dictates of the market. The precolonial world was no egalitarian paradise, but, for example, the confiscation or purchase of land by colonists in North Africa and by Zionists in mandatory Palestine, and the formation of large landed estates in Syria and Iraq as a result of the establishment—generally with the encouragement of the colonial authorities—of regimes of private property under the mandates, often resulted in cultivators either being driven off the land or their status being reduced from "free peasants" to serfs. Incorporation into the world market to a far more all-embracing extent than before, and the simultaneous pressure to cultivate cash rather than subsistence crops, often forced peasant households to migrate to an uncertain and generally near destitute existence in slum settlements on the edges of the major cities.

Finally, as far as twentieth-century resistance to colonialism is concerned, such movements as arose inevitably partook of the general experience of modernity in their day. This included assertions of national or ethnic identity, often easier to promote and maintain in the face of an alien colonizing "other," as well as new forms of communication and organization. Thus the press, the radio, political parties, professional associations, and labor unions all provided a variety of opportunities for disseminating ideologies of anticolonialism. To these must be added the example of Germany in the 1930s, as a previously fragmented state that had turned its recent

unification into a means of challenging the old colonizers, Britain and France, as well as, for much of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the example of the Soviet Union as the home of a new form of social and economic organization, under which a previously archaic feudal regime was being transformed into an egalitarian welfare state. Of course, such visions were especially attractive to those who had not experienced the realities of daily life under these regimes.

Provided certain flexibility is adopted, it is possible to identify the major templates of anticolonial resistance, which varied according to the nature of the colonizing process. The Algerian case is probably the most extreme, because of the extent of the devastation caused by the colonization process over a period of some 130 years. In the months after the conquest of the city of Algiers in July 1830, the French military began to encourage the settlement of French *colons* (settlers) in the city's rural hinterland. At the time, Algeria was, if only nominally, an Ottoman province, and had no developed indigenous political structures. Local leaders in the west of the country turned first to the Moroccan sultan, but the French warned him not to interfere. The leaders then turned to the Sufi orders, the only bodies with an organizational structure, and Muhi al-Din, the leader of the Qadiriyya order, and his shrewd and energetic son, 'Abd al-Qadir, were asked to lead a tribal jihad against the French.

Between 1832 and 1844 'Abd al-Qadir managed to keep the French at bay with an army of about ten thousand. Initially, he achieved this by making agreements with the French that recognized his authority over certain parts of the country, but by the 1840s the French had decided on a policy of total subjugation, and 'Abd al-Qadir, defeated at Isly in 1844, eventually surrendered in 1847. By this time the European population, which was mostly concentrated in the larger towns, had reached over one hundred thousand. In the 1840s the French had begun a policy of wholesale land confiscation and appropriation, and there were a number of local uprisings in protest. The settlers had influential allies in Paris, and throughout the nineteenth century the indigenous population faced the gradual erosion of most of their rights. The last major act of resistance until the war of 1954 to 1962 was the rebellion in Kabylia in 1870 to 1871, led by Muhammad al-Muqrani. For a while, al-Muqrani's army controlled much of eastern Algeria, but they were no match for the better-equipped French troops. After the defeat of al-Muqrani's rebellion (he was killed in battle in May 1871) the local communities involved were fined heavily and lost most of their tribal lands.

The Algerian national movement was slow to develop in the twentieth century, because the tribal aristocracy had been defeated and there was no former

indigenous governing class or emerging business bourgeoisie (as in, say, Morocco or Tunisia, not to mention Syria and Lebanon). A significant and fairly vocal minority of Algerians felt that France had brought them into the modern world, and they thus wanted to become "more French," that is, to enjoy the same rights as the French in Algeria without having to give up their Islamic identity. This tendency, generally called *assimilation*, was represented by Ferhat Abbas (1899–1985), a pharmacist from Sétif, who sought to become a member of the French Chamber of Deputies. The first strictly nationalist movement, the Étoile Nord-Africaine (later the Parti du Peuple Algérien), initially connected with the French Communist Party, was founded by Messali Hadj (1898–1974) in 1926, and recruited among Algerian workers in France. Yet another tendency was represented by Ahmad Ibn Badis (1889–1940), who asserted the Muslim nature of Algeria and sought to reform Algerian popular Islam through the Association of Ulama.

From the 1930s onward, rapid urbanization fueled Algerian resistance to France. By the end of World War II (1939-45) it was hoped that compromises could be worked out that might deflect violent nationalism, but the European community in Algeria's dogged insistence on hanging on to its privileges meant that these hopes soon evaporated. Ferhat Abbas's movement soon became insignificant, and ibn Badis's death in 1940 meant that the Association of Ulama lacked influence, which left Messali Hadj dominating the field, with supporters among Algerian workers in France as well as in Algeria. However, his organization was regarded as too moderate, and a splinter group, the Organisation Secrète, seceded from it in the mid-1940s. Its members included such major revolutionary figures as Ahmed Ben Bella, Ait Ahmad, Didouche Mourad, Mohammed Boudiaf, and Belkacem Krim. This group subsequently launched the "Algerian revolution," or war of national liberation, on November 1, 1954; it lasted until 1962, when Algeria became independent. Over the eight years, between 1 and 1.5 million Algerians, and 27,000 French were killed. The struggle proved intensely divisive, especially as more Algerian Muslims fought on the French side than in the Algerian army.

In the cases of Tunisia, Egypt, and Morocco, the decision of Britain and France to take over the reins of government (in 1881, 1882, and 1912, respectively) was at least partly precipitated by local opposition to the draconian financial measures that the European powers had insisted local governments impose in order to repay debts contracted on the various European money markets. The ruler of Tunisia, Ahmad Bey (r. 1837–1855), made strenuous efforts both to modernize Tunisia and to assert its independence from Istanbul, and he had been aided substantially by France in the latter objective.

By the time of his death Tunisia had a modern army and navy, largely thanks to the efforts of his treasurer, Mustafa Khaznadar (1817–1878). In 1861, much to the discomfort of Tunisia's new ruler, Muhammad al-Sadiq Bey (r. 1859–1882), and under great pressure from Khayr al-Din (ca. 1823–1890)—the reform-minded finance minister and prime minister who was also Khaznadar's son-in-law—Tunisia adopted a constitution and a modern (that is, generally secular) legal system under which the *bey's* prerogatives were considerably limited.

These "reforms" were better received in the outside world and among the sizeable local European community than within Tunisia, where a rural uprising (against the new legal system and the new taxes) was put down with considerable brutality in 1864. As happened in Egypt at much the same time, the contracting of substantial foreign debts (generally incurred from the building of infrastructure and the use of European consultants—officers, engineers, and so forth) and the general mismanagement and corruption associated with the loans, meant that the country found itself increasingly at the mercy of its foreign creditors. Tunisia declared bankruptcy in 1869, Egypt in 1876. The efforts of the Tunisian prime minister Khayr al-Din to balance the budget were no match for French colonial ambitions, which were eventually realized when in May of 1881 the *bey* was forced to accept a protectorate under the terms of the Treaty of Bardo. By 1892 four-fifths of cultivated lands were in French hands.

The situation in Egypt was very similar; the additional taxes imposed as a result of British and French administration of the public debt, initiated in 1876 essentially to ensure that the bondholders got their money back, eventually gave rise to a nationalist movement. Many nationalists had the additional grievance that the government of Egypt was conducted by a clique widely perceived as "foreigners," that is, a Turco-Circassian aristocracy consisting of the descendants of Muhammad Ali and their courtiers. Another interesting component of the rebellion led by Ahmad Urabi between 1879 and 1882 was the emphasis on restoring Egypt fully to the bosom of the Ottoman Empire. One of the peculiarities of the colonial situation in Egypt was that although relatively large numbers of foreigners resided in the country, they could not be described as *colons* in the French North African sense, because they lived mostly in the cities and engaged in commerce or in other service occupations. In addition, most of them were not citizens of the occupying power; only 11 percent of the foreign population of Alexandria was British in 1917.

In spite of a succession of strong rulers for much of the nineteenth century, Morocco was also unable to

avoid colonial penetration, first economic (imports of tea, sugar, candles, and cotton cloth; and exports of wool, cereals, and ostrich feathers) and then military. The first major confrontation between locals and Europeans occurred between 1859 and 1860, when Spain besieged Tetouan. A month later, Spain demanded an indemnity as the price of withdrawal, and although the terms were punitive, half the indemnity was paid within two years. This was not done without great hardship, particularly from the imposition of additional nontraditional agricultural taxation, which caused considerable unrest. There was also a massive devaluation of the currency and a near universal switch to foreign coinage. Like Tunisia and Egypt, Morocco gradually moved from a state of general economic self-sufficiency to dependence on the world market. In addition, Morocco became dependent on foreign loans and declared bankruptcy in 1903. Largely to preempt German colonial efforts, France and Britain signed the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904, under which Britain recognized France's preeminence in Morocco and France formally accepted the British occupation of Egypt. Franco-Spanish occupation of Morocco was formalized in 1912.

In November 1914, partly as a result of public pressure and partly as a result of miscalculations by those responsible for the decision, the Ottoman Empire entered the war on the side of the Central Powers (Austria-Hungary and Germany), fighting France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia. Iraq was invaded immediately by British Indian troops, who eventually took Baghdad in 1917 and were in control of almost all the territory of the modern state by the end of the war. Palestine and Syria were invaded from Egypt at the end of 1917 with similar results. The long-term consequence was the end of the empire and the foundation of the independent Turkish Republic in 1923, and the division of the former Arab provinces of the empire into separate nation states. Two of these, Yemen and what became Saudi Arabia in 1932, were more or less independent; in the Fertile Crescent, five new states—Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan—were established as mandated territories of the newly created League of Nations.

A great deal of ink has been spilt throughout the better part of the twentieth century in fruitless, and largely pointless, attempts to assess what the political ambitions and aspirations of the inhabitants of the eastern Arab world might have been had they somehow been left to their own devices. The major factor muddying the waters has been the claim of the Hashemite family, represented by themselves and their admirers as the standard bearers of Arab independence, to have been cheated out of their just due by British perfidy. While the charge of British perfidy is not without merit, the Hashemites's claims somehow to represent "the Arabs" cannot stand

up to serious scrutiny. In all probability, given that it was only in early 1918 that the prospect of an Allied victory came to look increasingly ambiguous, the more politically conscious inhabitants of the Fertile Crescent gradually came to the conclusion that if the Ottoman Empire was to disappear, they would favor an arrangement under which they would rule themselves; only a very few saw advantages in accepting the rule of minor potentates from the Hijaz. Even fewer were enthusiastic at the prospect of European, especially French, colonial rule, given what was known about French rule in North Africa.

For a variety of reasons, therefore, British and French mandatory rule in the Levant and in Iraq faced a fair degree of resistance. Substantial numbers of Syrians had tried to persuade the Turks to return to Syria after the establishment of Faysal's Arab kingdom in October 1918, and were not to be reconciled to Faysal for several months. In Iraq, parts of which had been under British occupation and administration since the end of 1914, a major uprising broke out against British rule in the summer of 1920, organized by some former members of Faysal's entourage in Syria (the French would send Faysal into exile in July 1920), prominent Baghdadi notables, some senior *mujtahids* (religious scholars) from the Shiite holy cities of Karbala and Najaf, and, at the latter's instigation, tribal leaders and tribesmen from lower Iraq. British administration ceased to function outside the towns throughout most of the summer and early autumn, and there were moments when it seemed at least possible that British forces would be obliged to leave, especially when the scale of expenditure and the commitment of manpower became the subject of serious criticisms in the British press. Tribal revolts, partly against British semicolonial rule and partly against the British-sponsored Iraq government, occurred regularly in southern Iraq (the last major uprising there was in 1935, three years after the end of the mandate), and of course the Kurds of northern Iraq, who had originally been promised autonomy, remained in a state of more or less constant rebellion against Britain's, and later Baghdad's, refusal to grant it.

In Syria/Lebanon, the French faced similar opposition: although Faysal (1883–1933; king of Syria, 1918–1920, king of Iraq, 1921–1933) had by no means been universally popular, the provocative and often brutal nature of French rule was acutely opposed for much of the mandate. In the first place, Lebanon, considerably enlarged by the addition of areas traditionally considered parts of Syria, was constituted by the French as a separate state. What remained of "Syria" was then further divided into three administrative units: One included the four main cities of Aleppo, Hama, Homs, and Damascus; one was for the minority groups the Druzes and the Alawites; and the third was the *sanjak* (district) of Alexandretta,

Algerian Independence Campaign. *Men in Algiers drink coffee on June 17, 1962, in front of a wall painted with a command to vote for independence in the upcoming referendum.* **AFP/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

which the French eventually ceded to Turkey (in violation of the terms of the mandate) in 1939. The thinking behind the divisions was that the religious minorities living mostly in the rural areas would become bound to France by "ties of loyalty and gratitude" for having "saved" them from the domination of the Sunni majority, who were considered to be infected by the virus of Arab nationalism. The extent to which this plan failed can be gauged by the fact that the Druze area in particular was the source of some of the most vigorous opposition to the French, and that the rural minorities frequently made common cause with the people of the cities against their colonizers and occupiers.

The major revolt of the mandate period began in the Druze area, under the leadership of the Druze notable Sultan al-Atrash, in 1925. Starting off as a tribal uprising against the French administration of the Jabal Druze, it became a national revolt when al-Atrash was joined by a number of Damascene notables, particularly 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shahbandar (1880–1940) and his People's Party, who called for national independence. Although the uprising was defeated in 1926, it eventually led to some relaxation in French policy, in that the French showed themselves prepared to countenance a constitution and the gradual withdrawal of French troops. Negotiations continued well into 1928, and the nationalists were successful to the extent that a national assembly was elected and asked to draw up a constitution for Syria.

In time, most of the anticolonial movements of the twentieth century developed into urban-based mass movements. They were often led by charismatic leaders, perhaps most notably Habib Bourguiba (1903–2000), who led the Tunisian Neo-Destour Party between 1934 and the country's independence in 1956, and remained president until 1987. Allal al-Fassi (1910–1974), leader

of the Istiqlal Independence Party, might have played a similar role in the history of Morocco, but in 1953 the French exiled the sultan, Muhammad V (r. 1927–1961), to Madagascar. As a result, the rallying cry of the national movement became the return of the sultan from exile, which led in turn to the sultan/king retaining his position as ruler after Morocco's independence in October 1956 and the virtual eclipse of the "secular" political parties.

In Egypt, a kind of independence was achieved in 1936, but, as in Iraq and Syria, the national movement went through two stages. In the first stage, some limited powers (in fact all powers in the case of Syria) were handed over to local elites. In Egypt and Iraq this arrangement involved a degree of power-sharing with the former colonial rulers, which gradually became increasingly intolerable to wide sections of the population. However, given the balance of forces, it was not possible to break these links by democratic means, that is, by voting in a political party or coalition that would thus have a mandate to end the relationship. Thus a second stage was necessary, in which a determined group within the military seized power, destroying, in the process, the admittedly fairly rudimentary institutions of parliamentary government that the colonial powers had put in place. In this way, first Mohammad Naguib (1901–1984) and then Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) took power in Egypt in 1952, and 'Abd al-Karim Qasim (1914–1963) in Iraq in 1958. A similar but more complex process took place in Syria, although the "old social classes" still ruling in 1961 had long severed any links they may have had with France.

The final and highly anomalous instance of anticolonialism in the Middle East is Palestine, unique among its immediate neighbors in that it was a settler state. The text of the Palestine mandate included the terms of the Balfour Declaration (1917), in which Britain as mandatory power undertook to facilitate the setting up of a "national home for the Jewish people." In 1922 there were 93,000 Jews in Palestine and about 700,000 Arabs; in 1936 there were 380,000 Jews and 983,000 Arabs, and in 1946 there were about 600,000 Jews and 1.3 million Arabs; thus the Jewish population increased from 13 to 31 percent over a period of twenty-four years. Anticolonialism took different forms, principally opposition by both Arabs and Zionists to British policy, which they tried to combat in different ways, and Arab opposition to Zionism. The Palestine rebellion of 1936 to 1939 was mostly a peasant insurrection against colonial rule and the Zionist settlers; by February 1947 a war-weary Britain no longer felt able to sustain the mandate and submitted the problem to the United Nations. In November the United Nations recommended that Palestine should be partitioned into an Arab state and a Jewish state. By December fighting had already begun between the two

states. By May 1948 some 300,000 Palestinians had fled, and on May 14 David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973) proclaimed the state of Israel, after which a ragbag of Arab armies and the poorly organized Palestinian resistance forces tried to deflect the Zionists, to little effect.

Opposition to colonial rule and colonial settlement was fairly widespread throughout the Middle East and North Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and it took a variety of forms, both rural and urban, organized and spontaneous, religious and political, with greater or lesser degrees of coherence. In addition, as in any colonial situation, reaction to colonial rule covered a wide spectrum, with resistance at one end, acquiescence in the middle, and collaboration at the other end. Some members of the colonized population rebelled, some collaborated, but the majority acquiesced, at least for most of the time. In the nationalist historiography of the colonial period, the struggle for colonial freedom or national independence is often characterized in a fairly monochrome manner, with the brave freedom fighters ranged against the brutal colonial authorities. The "achievements" of colonialism have long been open to question, and the divisions and chaos of the postcolonial world make the value of the colonial legacy more questionable as time passes. Nevertheless, it is also important to understand the complexity and multifaceted nature of anticolonialism, and the venality and corruption of so many of the competing, often warring, factions. It is also important for national maturity, and increasingly for national reconciliation, that such uncomfortable truths should be boldly confronted rather than willfully ignored.

SEE ALSO *Independence and Decolonization, Middle East; Secular Nationalisms, Middle East.*

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Peter Sluglett

ANTICOLONIAL MOVEMENTS, AFRICA

Anticolonial movements in Africa were responses to European imperialism on the continent in the late nineteenth century and the greater part of the twentieth century. African responses to colonial rule varied from place to place and over time. Several forms of both armed and nonviolent resistance to colonialism occurred. Nonviolent forms of anticolonialism included the use of the indigenous press, trade unionism, organized religion, associations, literary and art forms, and mass migrations. Various African states used one or several of these nonviolent forms of anticolonialism at one time or another, but what is significant is that most of them resorted to armed resistance or cataclysmic actions to safeguard their way of life and sovereignty.

African resistance to colonial rule may be divided into four phases. The first was African responses to the colonial conquest itself. This occurred from about 1880 to 1910. The second phase spanned 1914 to 1939, the period of the consolidation of colonial rule. The third phase ran from the end of World War II (1939–1945) to the attainment of independence between the early 1950s and the 1980s. The final phase may be broadly categorized as African responses to neocolonialism—that is, their bid to redefine not only their relationships with the former colonizers, but also their efforts to deconstruct negative images associated with the continent.

Apart from its tendency to fall into these phases, anticolonialism in Africa differed from place to place and over time. The littoral states that had longer contact with Europeans, usually since the fifteenth century (e.g., the Fante of Ghana), and in some cases had experienced acculturation and social change, tended to initially accommodate colonial rule. But this changed dramatically when they realized that colonial rule was not as beneficent as they had assumed. Conversely, the interior peoples, largely non-Christians whose contacts with Europe were comparatively evanescent, resisted the colonial conquest by deploying vigorously militant forms of anticolonialism.

The Islamic areas in Africa—for example, French West Africa and the North African states—resisted colonial rule more than areas where indigenous African religions were the norm. The Islamic areas were influenced by the Muslim doctrine that recognized Euro-Christianity as an infidel entity, indeed, the antithesis of Islam. Hence, compared to non-Islamic Africa, anticolonial efforts in the Islamic regions were more vigorous, militant, and prolonged

Additionally, the nature of African anticolonialism depended on whether the colony was a settler or nonsettler one. Settler colonies were colonies with a large number of resident migrant Europeans. These developed, for example, in Kenya and Algeria. In such colonies, the European settlers were directly involved in the administration of the colony. In contrast, nonsettler colonies were colonies that lacked large numbers of permanent European settlers, such as Nigeria and the Cameroon. Overall, anticolonialism efforts in the settler colonies tended to be more violent and prolonged than those in nonsettler areas because the European settlers were not willing to allow Africans to regain their independence. In Algeria, for example, about one million Africans perished because of the tenacity of resistance adopted by the French settlers.

ARMED RESISTANCE

The first phase of African resistance to colonial rule from about 1880 to 1910 was broadly characterized by several forms of militant anticolonialism in which military resistance was the norm. Most African states took up arms to safeguard their independence during this period. The idea that it was only centralized states that took up arms against the European aggressors, as some researchers have argued, is no longer tenable. Even kin-based, noncentralized societies, such as the Tiv of Nigeria and the Tallensi of Ghana, resorted to militant forms of resistance. In southern Africa, the Chikunda, Chokwe, and Nguni, all noncentralized societies, also resorted to military resistance.

Numerous other African states and societies resorted to armed resistance: for example, in West Africa, Lat Dior, the ruler of Cayor (in present-day Senegal), confronted the French from 1864 to 1886; the Baule of the Ivory Coast put up spirited resistance against the French from 1891 to 1902; the Asante of Ghana engaged the British in several wars during the nineteenth century and

went to war against them again in 1900 to 1901; and the Fon of Dahomey (now Benin) fought against the French from 1891 to 1902. In addition, the Yoruba state of Ijebu fought against the British in 1892, while the Sokoto Empire in Northern Nigeria confronted the British from 1899 to 1903. The most celebrated military resistance to colonialism in West Africa is credited to Samori Ture (ca. 1830–1900), a Muslim leader in the Madinka Empire, who engaged the French in protracted armed resistance from 1882 to 1898.

East Africa was also a theater of armed resistance to colonial rule. The Swahili coast of Tanzania under the Muslim leader Abushiri engaged the Germans from August 1888 to December 1899. The Hehe people of Tanzania fought against the Germans from 1891 to 1894; when the Hehe leader, Nkwana, realized the futility of resistance, he committed suicide. Similarly, armed resistance broke out in northern and northeastern Africa. Egyptians rose up against the British in 1882, while the Sudanese confronted the British from 1881 to 1889. Somalis confronted the multiple forces of the British, Italians, and the French between 1884 and 1887. In the northern arc of the continent, the Libyans, Tunisians, and Moroccans fought against the French, the Italians, and the Spanish.

In sum, overwhelming numbers of African states and societies resorted to military resistance in an effort to safeguard their independence. In the end, the European-led armies carried the day. This is not to say that Africans did not put up spirited resistance. Indeed, if one considers the duration of individual resistance, there is evidence to suggest that African armies, in spite of their limited military technology, fought bravely and were able to prolong their resistance to the dismay of the European aggressors. This was especially true in cases where Africans possessed comparatively unlimited military resources, martial prowess, and unbridled determination. The resistance of Samori Ture of the Madinka Empire, who fought the French in West Africa in the late 1800s, illustrates this point best.

Ture had a well-organized, professional infantry and cavalry that were further divided into battalions, each of which played different roles in battle. Additionally, Ture, unlike some other African leaders, was able to equip his armies with modern weapons. For example, by 1893, he had amassed about six thousand Gras repeater rifles. He equipped his troops by selling gold and ivory, which were abundant in his empire. He also benefited from his region's vast population, which enabled him to recruit large numbers of soldiers for his armed forces. Compared to most African armies, Ture had larger military forces. By 1887 the size of his infantry ranged from 30,000 to 35,000 troops, while the cavalry was about 3,000 strong.

In addition, Ture's army had skilled workers who repaired and even improved European-made guns.

Above all, Ture was a capable leader and a skilled general. His scorched-earth strategy and his tactic of initiating intermittent military skirmishes allowed Ture to determine when he wanted to fight instead of when the French were ready to fight. This approach enabled him to prolong his resistance against the French. In order to make his policies more effective throughout the seventeen years of military campaigns against the French, he moved the base of his empire and army from region to region. He covered several thousand miles from French West Africa to the northern reaches of Ghana. This process of migration enabled Ture to expand his empire by conquering some African states along the way. For example, between 1895 and 1896, he conquered the Abron and Gyaaman kingdoms, as well as parts of Gonja, all in northern Ghana. Such military conquests significantly added to Ture's ability to replenish his resources. Eventually, he was captured by the French in 1898 and exiled to Gabon, where he died in 1900. Ture's French adversaries wrote that to the end he was a man of honor.

If Samori Ture is remembered for his prolonged resistance to the French, Emperor Menelik II (1844–1913) of Ethiopia is celebrated for having decisively humiliated Italy in 1896 at the Battle of Adwa. There are several similarities in the way that Ture was able to prolong his resistance against the French and how Menelik was able to defeat the Italians. First, both had well-trained, disciplined, and well-equipped professional armies. Menelik also imported large quantities of guns from France and Russia. By 1893 the Ethiopian forces had 82,000 rifles and twenty-eight canons. At the decisive Battle of Adwa, Menelik's forces numbered over 100,000 compared to Italy's approximately 17,000 men. Geography also played to the advantage of Menelik and Ture because they knew the terrain of battle better than their European adversaries. In contrast, while the French assiduously pursued Ture and his mobile army, the Italians blundered by assuming that the Ethiopian armies, like those of other African states, could be easily defeated.

In the end, it was only Ethiopia that was able to decisively defeat a European power, Italy, to maintain its independence. However, from 1935 to 1936 the Italian fascist leader Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) occupied Ethiopia in revenge for the humiliating defeat that Italy suffered in 1896. The Italian occupation stimulated African nationalism and Pan-Africanism because many Africans, including diasporic Africans, believed that Ethiopia was a symbol of African resilience and independence. Some historians have even suggested that had it

not been for the outbreak of World War II, the seething disenchantment unleashed by the Italian occupation could have served as a watershed for decolonization in Africa.

Several factors explain the success of the European-led armies in Africa. The paramount reason was the superiority of European military technology. As the famous lines of English author Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953) attest, "Whatever happens, we have got / the Maxim gun, and they have not" (*The Modern Traveller*, 1898). By the later part of the nineteenth century, military technology in Europe had developed considerably. It was this technological advantage that accounted for the ability of the Europeans to conquer not only Africa, but other parts of the world. Those African societies, such as Ture's, that could muster large forces and equip their armies to a level comparable to the Europeans, were able to put up the greatest degree of anticolonial resistance.

Another reason for the success of European armies in Africa is that most African armies were not professional, but were mobilized in the event of war. Thus they lacked systematic training, military discipline, and the martial prowess to withstand the well-equipped, disciplined European-led armies. Most African armies were mobilized when events dictated that colonialism was imminent, but African enthusiasm and dedication could not withstand the technological superiority of the European forces.

Few African states and societies engaged in mutual assistance to fight the forces of colonialism. One exception involves the cooperation of Ture and King Prempeh I (1872–1931) of Ashanti in the late 1890s during the final stages of Ture's resistance to the French. In general, however, Africans failed to unite against the European aggressors. Some commentators refer to this fact as evidence of the extent of local crisis and the contending political polarities in Africa on the eve of the colonial conquest. The evidence does not support this contention, however. It is based on the erroneous view that precolonial Africa was a monolithic state, and therefore all of Africa could have united in anticolonialism. Rather, precolonial Africa was made up of a multiplicity of states with different political systems. Not surprisingly, some African states, such as the Fante of Ghana, even assisted the British against Ashanti because throughout the nineteenth century, the Fante had struggled against the forces of Ashanti hegemony. The idea of Pan-Africanism had not yet developed among African states on the eve of the colonial conquest, which helps explain the lack of political unity among African states at the time.

The first two decades of the twentieth century also witnessed militant forms of anticolonialism against forced labor, forced cultivation of crops, land alienation, and taxation. In Tanganyika (now part of Tanzania), for example, the German colonial authorities' harsh demands for cotton cultivation, forced labor, and taxation unleashed the Maji Maji Rebellion in 1905. The rebellion, led by Kinjikitile Ngwale (d. 1905), an indigenous prophet, was organized across ethnic lines and involved over twenty different ethnic groups inhabiting an area of 10,000 square miles (about 25,900 square kilometers). Other such rebellions included the peasant revolts in Madagascar in 1904 to 1905 and 1915; the Mahdi revolts in Sudan from 1900 to 1904; a vigorous protracted rebellion in Somaliland from 1895 to 1920; and the Egba revolt in southeastern Nigeria in 1918. Armed uprisings during this phase were not only responses to the political economy of colonial rule, they were also efforts to overthrow colonial rule. The latter rationale explains why colonial regimes brutally suppressed such anticolonialism, as exemplified by the brutal response of the Germans to the Maji Maji Rebellion, in which more than 75,000 Africans were killed.

NONVIOLENT ANTICOLONIAL STRATEGIES

Realizing the futility of armed resistance in the face of the European possession of superior military technology, Africans adopted new strategies, one of which was mass migration. This involved communities, groups, and individuals migrating from theaters of objectionable colonial politics to areas where their independence could be safeguarded. It has been suggested that this strategy of anticolonialism was common in the French, Belgian, German, and Portuguese colonies because of arbitrary exploitation based on forced labor, taxation, forced cultivation of certain crops, and military recruitment, among other things.

Mass migrations could be seasonal, occurring, for example, during periods of forced labor recruitment in the dry season. Such migrations could also be episodic, occurring during periods of taxation, as when fifty thousand Africans fled from the Zambezi Valley to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi) between 1895 and 1907. Colonial forced labor and military recruitment during both world wars also stimulated mass migrations; for example, in 1916 and 1917, more than two thousand people migrated from the French Ivory Coast to neighboring Ghana.

Permanent mass migrations occurred in situations where European settlers seized African lands and then forced the Africans to become laborers and landless peasants. In Kenya, for example, the Kikuyu, who lost their ancestral territory in the so-called white highlands to European settlers, migrated en masse to burgeoning urban centers like Nairobi in search of employment. In the Belgian Congo, Africans suffering from the predatory

policies of European companies, whose main aim was profit by any means, migrated to neighboring districts. The importance of mass migration as a vehicle of anticolonialism is that it freed Africans from the claws of colonialism and at the same time rendered certain colonial policies ineffective.

Although armed resistance was the norm, other forms of confrontation, which have been compositely described as peaceful or diplomatic, occurred. Diplomacy was employed, for example, by King Jaja (d. 1891) of Opobo in the Niger Delta and King Prempeh of Ashanti. Prempeh, convinced that negotiations with the colonial government in the Gold Coast (Ghana) would remain fruitless, sent an embassy to the British government in London. The delegation left on April 3, 1895, arrived in England on April 24, 1895, and remained in London until December of that year. But the British government failed to meet with the Ashanti delegation, and instead British forces in the Gold Coast attacked and subjugated Ashanti in 1896. This action culminated in a final military showdown in 1900, when Yaa Asantewaa (d. 1921), the Queen of Edweso in Ashanti, decided that in order to redeem their independence, the Ashanti had to go to war against the British. Eventually, the British efforts to subdue Ashanti materialized in 1901 when the British-led armies emerged victorious.

Independent Christian churches and variants of syncretic Christianity generically termed *millennial* movements or *Ethiopianism* also served the anticolonial agenda of Africans. Christianity was seen as a pathfinder for colonial rule and European hegemony, both of which undermined the African way of life. This way of life included, for example, the spectrum of African rites of passage, namely, indigenous ceremonial rites that underscored birth, naming, puberty, marriage, and death and funerals. The European attack and denigration of African culture through the ideological artery of Christianity forced Africans to distill Christianity in order to render it more amenable to their way of life.

The millennial movements and other anticolonial religious movements thrived in an environment of apocalyptic vision, divine intervention, divination, and healing espoused by leaders such as Nehemiah Tile, who founded the Tembu Church in South Africa in 1884; Willie J. Mokalapa, who founded the South African Ethiopian Church in 1892; Reverend John Chilembwe and his Providence Industrial Mission in Malawi in 1900; and Wade Harris, who lead the millennial movement in the Ivory Coast in 1915. These religious movements involved a synthesis of European Christianity and indigenous African religions. For example, members practiced Christian liturgies along with spirit possession

derived from indigenous African religions. Moreover, Old Testament prophetism became synonymous with African forms of divination. These millennial and other movements exemplify the way that Africans grappled with objectionable aspects of Christianity and succeeded in grafting the useful aspects of it onto their indigenous worldview and ontology.

Overall, these religious movements empowered Africans by restoring faith in African religions and cultures, which had been placed in the vortex of colonial rule. More significantly, some of these movements became powerful anticolonial movements as well. Chilembwe, for example, used his Providence Industrial Mission to spread his views that colonialism was an anathema to the Bible and Christianity. Consequently, in January 1915 he organized a revolt against the colonial system, and was eventually persecuted by the colonial authorities.

Another form of peaceful anticolonialism that began in the nineteenth century and continued throughout the colonial period, was the use of indigenous and foreign-based newspapers to promote anticolonial views. The London-based Pan-Africanist newspaper *African Times,* for example, became an anticolonial platform. In the Gold Coast, James Hutton Brew founded the anticolonialist *Gold Coast Times* in 1874. Black South Africans presented their views in *Imvozaba Ntsundu* or *Native Opinion*, established in 1884 by J. T. Jabavu and published in both English and Xhosa. Others periodicals with an anticolonialist bent included *The Lagos Weekly Record,* founded in Nigeria in 1891, and the *Nigerian Chronicle,* established in 1908.

The life spans of these newspapers differed: Some lasted several years, while others survived for only a few months. The Gold Coast, for example, had about twelve newspapers from 1874 to 1919. The African intelligentsia used the press to question objectionable colonial policies. This occurred more in West Africa, North Africa, and southern Africa than in Central Africa and East Africa. Barred from serving on the legislative councils and from participating in colonial administration because of their anticolonial views, the African intelligentsia used the press to articulate anticolonialism.

The use of the indigenous press as a political platform can be divided into phases. The first period, from about the 1870s to the 1920s, can be conveniently described as reformist anticolonialism because the objective of the African intelligentsia was not to overthrow colonialism but to better it. They attacked colonialism for the following reasons: the lack of African representation on legislative councils, brutalization of Africans, forced labor, taxation, lack of educational opportunities,

and indirect rule that allowed illiterate indigenous rulers to govern educated African intellectuals.

In the aftermath of World War I (1914–1918), African intellectuals intensified their anticolonialist activities through the medium of the press. Several conditions help explain the revolutionary change in the African intelligentsia's attitude toward colonialism at this time. First, after the war the colonial powers, especially France and Britain, systematically implemented vigorous colonial policies aimed at maximizing exploitation to make up for losses incurred during the war. Second, the forceful winds of the Pan-African movement reshaped the anticolonial perspective of intellectuals in Africa. Finally, social changes, especially in urban centers, fueled the anticolonial movement: Rapid population growth and urbanization provided mass support for the evolving anticolonial constituencies.

The African intelligentsia also used societies, clubs, and associations as vehicles for the dissemination of anticolonialism. In 1912 South African blacks formed the South African Native National Congress. The congress became instrumental in challenging the Native Land Act of 1913, which had dispossessed Africans of their lands. In addition, the formation of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS) in 1888 was directly associated with the colonial government's effort to take over what it considered to be public lands. The ARPS campaigned in local newspapers, in particular the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* and the *Gold Coast Aborigines*, both in the late nineteenth century, and the *Gold Coast Nation* and the *Gold Coast Leader* during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Apart from various petitions issued by the ARPS, in 1898 the organization sent a delegation to England to meet directly with British officials. The delegates wanted the British government to address various problems of colonial rule, especially the Lands Bill. The delegation was successful because the British government's Colonial Office asked the colonial government to abandon both the Lands Bill and the hut tax. In 1906 another delegation was sent to England under the auspices of the ARPS to demand the repeal of the Town Council Ordinance, though this time the Colonial Office did not grant the wishes of the ARPS.

Apart from the questions relating to land that led to the formation of anticolonial associations, other exigencies of the colonial situation also resulted in the founding of clubs and associations. In Senegal, the Young Senegalese Club fought for better working conditions. In Malawi, the North Nyasa Native Association, founded in 1912, and the West Nyasa Native Association, established in 1914, agitated for better working conditions and educational reforms. The Egyptian pan-Islamist writer

Shiekh Ali Yusuf founded the Hizb al-Islah al Dusturi (Constitutional Reformers) in 1907, while the intellectual Mustafa Kamil founded the Nationalist Party, also in 1907. Both organizations campaigned for the independence of Egypt. These political organizations, formed during the late nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century, paved the way for the revolutionary nationalism that would emerge in the 1920s and would crystallize in the 1930s and 1940s into vigorous independence movements.

Some of the political associations of the early decades of the twentieth century cut across colonial frontiers. The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), for example, was founded in the Gold Coast by J. E. Casely Hayford in 1919 to 1920. Its membership was elitist, constituting mostly African intellectuals. The NCBWA, unlike earlier associations, had a regional base: it represented four English-speaking colonies—Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia. Thus, by embracing several colonies, the organization combined the idea of national unions based on specific colonies with Pan-Africanism. The NCBWA worked for political representation, the establishment of municipal corporations, and the promotion of higher education, among other things.

The achievements of the NCBWA were long term rather than immediate. The NCBWA gained political concessions from colonial governments, including the Clifford Constitution of Nigeria (1922) and revised constitutions in Sierra Leone (1924) and Ghana (1925). The NCBWA also contributed to the formation of radical political parties: NCBWA leader Herbert McCauley formed the Nigerian National Democratic Party in 1923, while Wallace Johnson is credited with founding the West African Youth League in 1938. In the long term, the activities of the NCBWA radicalized the African intelligentsia's stand against colonial rule.

Pan-Africanism also served as an agency of anticolonialism. It was a global movement, championed by various organizations and individuals who believed that all people of African descent shared a common identity and shared their struggles against the vestiges of slavery, racism, and colonialism. The proponents of the Pan-African movement included Liberian Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912), W. E. B. DuBois (1868–1963) of the United States, the Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), and J. E. Casely Hayford of the Gold Coast (1866–1903). The aim was to bring all peoples of African descent together to discuss the inequalities facing Africans worldwide.

A series of Pan-African congresses were held during the interwar years. The last conference, held in Manchester, England, in 1945, was attended by several future leaders of independent Africa, including Kwame

Nkrumah (1909–1972) of Ghana. From the Pan-African movement grew a nationalist idea that empowered Africans to address colonialism. For example, in the course of the independence struggles in Africa, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, Nkrumah organized a series of Pan-African congresses in Accra, Ghana, aimed at empowering other African nationalist leaders to overthrow the colonial yoke.

The changing landscape of colonial economies also provided opportunities for African anticolonialism. During the 1920s and 1930s, the import-export trade in Africa was dominated by expatriate firms. Due to the monopoly these firms exercised, they were able to dictate not only the prices of African cash crops, but also those of goods imported from Europe. The monopolization of commerce by expatriate traders and firms not only had an impact on local farmers, it also had adverse effects on the fortunes of African merchants, in particular, the great tradition of African merchant families, which had been crucial in the import-export trade since the precolonial period.

This situation resulted in new forms of anticolonialism. Some African societies boycotted European goods and also refused to sell their cash crops to expatriate traders. For instance, in response to price-fixing by Europeans in 1921, rural Transkei women in South Africa boycotted European goods. Similarly, in Ghana a spate of boycotts of European goods and refusals to sell cash crops to expatriate firms occurred periodically from 1920 to 1937. This form of anticolonialism intensified during the worldwide Great Depression of the 1930s, when prices of cash crops fell sharply while those of imported goods increased astronomically.

Indeed, the economic downturn in the 1920s and 1930s provided opportunities for rural peoples who had used armed resistance in the nineteenth century to stage boycotts and holdups in opposition to colonialism. During the same period, rural peoples increasingly teamed up with residents of urban areas to seek redress for injustices in the colonial economic systems. They objected to policies that resulted in rural communities receiving poor prices for their crops, while those living in urban areas experienced escalating costs of living due in part to increasing prices for imported goods.

Trade unionism or organized labor formed another area of economic anticolonialism when African workers, both men and women, joined forces to demand better working conditions from their European employers. African laborers staged strikes and boycotts to support their demands. In 1890 workers on the Dakar–Saint Louis railway lines went on strike in Senegal. In 1891 Dahomian women working in the Cameroon also resorted to a strike. In Mozambique, a series of strikes

organized by African employees of the Merchants Association in 1913, train workers in 1917, and railroad technicians in 1918 rocked the local economy. In South Africa, sewage and garbage collectors staged a strike in Johannesburg in 1917. In fact, throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and the postwar period, trade union activities formed a vital part of African anticolonialism. For example, railway workers' strikes occurred in French West Africa in 1946 and 1947, and in Tunisia the colonial police killed thirty-two and wounded about two hundred Tunisian trade unionists who were agitating for labor reforms.

Trade union activism was instrumental in the eventual decolonization of Africa. By resorting to demonstrations, boycotts, and strikes, trade unions were able to bring the injustices associated with the colonial system to the attention of a larger anticolonial audience. Additionally, their organizational abilities, which cut across class, religious, and ethnic lines, benefited the anticolonial movements. Most significantly, some of the leaders of the labor unions also assumed the leadership of revolutionary anticolonial movements. Both Siaka Stevens (1905–1988) of Sierra Leone and Sékou Touré (1922–1984) of Guinea were labor leaders who became leaders of their liberated countries.

From about the 1930s forward, new kinds of political organizations emerged that were more forceful and revolutionary than those that existed in earlier decades. The new political parties were no longer interested in reforming the colonial system, but aimed to overthrow it. The New-Destour Party in Tunisia, founded by Habib Bourghiba in 1934; the *Istiqlal* (Independence) Party, founded in Morocco in the late 1930s; the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, launched in 1944; and Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party, founded in Ghana in 1949, all championed anticolonialism.

A rapid population growth beginning in about the 1930s provided mass support for the new political parties. In addition, the well-educated African middle class played an important role by rallying others to the cause of the independence movements. There was a considerable number of primary- and middle-school dropouts who had besieged urban centers in search of employment. Because of the inherent hardships and deprivations of urban settings, they latched on to the grand promises of anticolonial campaigners and offered their support for decolonization.

Rapid urbanization during the colonial period created opportunities for interaction among different ethnic groups. Unlike the early period of resistance to colonial conquest, Africans on the eve of decolonization presented a formidable united front in their quest for

decolonization. Furthermore, the return of African soldiers who participated in World War II brought new political insights to the decolonization movements. For example, in Ghana it was the revolutionary actions of the former servicemen in 1948 that contributed to popular discontent against the British colonial government. Overall, local anticolonial trends, which had developed in different forms in various places, reached fruition in the 1950s, enabling Africans to overthrow colonial rule.

TOWARD INDEPENDENCE: POSTWAR ANTICOLONIALISM

Several global developments in the aftermath of World War II paved the way for decolonization. In 1941 Winston Churchill (1874–1965), the British prime minister, and American president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) signed an agreement that became known as the Atlantic Charter. The agreement stipulated that at the end of the war, the Allied nations could determine their own political destinies. Roosevelt insisted that the agreement should be applied universally. As a result, African and Asian nationalists capitalized on the promise of the Atlantic Charter to argue for political independence.

Additionally, the two major colonial powers in Africa, France and Britain, had been weakened considerably by the war. Indeed, had it not been for assistance from the United States, their fortunes at the end of the war would have been worse. However, the United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers that emerged after the war, were determined to dismantle colonialism in Africa. This development was enhanced during the ensuing Cold War, when the Soviet Union gave material and ideological support to African nationalists in their effort to gain independence.

Furthermore, the creation of the United Nations in 1945 benefited anticolonialism. The human rights doctrine of the United Nations challenged the inequalities inherent in the colonial situation. More importantly, African and Asian countries used the forum of the General Assembly of the United Nations to articulate and internationalize their anticolonialism campaigns. Finally, the independence of Asian countries in the late 1940s and early 1950s served as a precedent for Africans. Thus, in the postwar period, a mixture of local and international events unleashed the powerful winds of anticolonialism in Africa that culminated in decolonization.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, neocolonialism exists in myriad forms in Africa. These are exacerbated by the Western media's propagation of negative images of the African continent that are undoubtedly vestiges of the colonial system itself. For this reason, various African states have adopted policies to reconstruct the image of the continent. These strategies include changes in school curricula, the establishment of institutes of African studies, artistic production, and literary and populist movements, all wrapped in powerful ideologies.

Finally, actual decolonization took several forms. Nonsettler colonies like the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria used constitutional methods, sometimes marked by occasions of militancy and violence, to achieve decolonization. Ghana, for example, pursued decolonization through a constitutional process involving political parties, but there can be no doubt that the revolutionary actions of soldiers on February 28, 1948—the so-called 1948 Riots—constituted a major turning point in the country's relentless march for independence. The "riots" started in Accra, the colonial capital, and were occasioned by two incidents. The first occurred when a British senior police officer ordered his men to open fire on unarmed former servicemen who were intent on marching to Osu Castle, the seat of the colonial government, to present a petition to the governor. The second event was a reaction to an anticipated nationwide drop in the prices of European goods that failed to materialize. The disturbances, which lasted seventeen days, resulted in the deaths of twenty-nine people, left 237 injured, and destroyed property estimated at two million British pounds. In this case, popular agitation forced the hand of the colonial government to grant political concessions. More significantly, the riots energized political parties to campaign for decolonization. This occurred on March 6, 1957, when Nkrumah's Convention People's Party won the day.

The decolonization period also witnessed armed resistance, which occurred in such settler colonies as Kenya, Algeria, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. In all cases, Africans took up arms against stubborn colonial regimes that were bent on staying put. Unlike Ghana and other nonsettler colonies, the main issue of contention in the settler colonies was land. For this reason, much of the revolutionary fervor that underscored the movement for independence came from landless peasants, such as the Mau Mau in Kenya, who rebelled in the 1950s. The cost was enormous because the Europeans in Africa—for example, the Portuguese in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, the British in Kenya, and the French in Algeria—resorted to extreme measures, such as aerial warfare, to suppress African resistance. In Algeria, about one million Africans were killed. Although the futility of resistance loomed, Africa's settler colonies eventually won independence, but only after protracted, costly wars with the European colonizers.

CONCLUSION

African anticolonialism began with efforts to safeguard African independence and ways of life. By the early

1900s, armed resistance had failed, but Africans continued their anticolonial efforts by using other methods. Indeed, by the early 1900s the indigenous press had become an invaluable tool for anticolonialists. The trend was fueled by the political changes ushered in by the Pan-African movement. The African intelligentsia thus moved their stake from reform activism to revolutionary anticolonialism.

From about the second decade of the twentieth century, the colonial powers vigorously implemented administrative policies that had an impact on Africans. Economic exploitation nursed an alliance between the African intelligentsia and the native chiefs, as well as between rural and urban Africans. During the interwar years, the activities of Pan-Africanists and the formation of viable political parties served to question the essence of colonialism. In addition, rapid population growth, urbanization, and educational attainments before World War II engendered mass support for nationalist parties. Finally, the effects of World War II propelled the forces of African anticolonialism and nationalism to greater heights by placing Africans on the pathways of eventual decolonization.

SEE ALSO *Ashanti Wars; Decolonization, Sub-Saharan Africa; Maji Maji Revolt, Africa; Mau Mau, Africa; Nationalism, Africa; Nkrumah, Kwame; Pan-Africanism.*

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Kwabena Akurang-Parry

APARTHEID

Apartheid (*ap-ar-taed*) is an Afrikaans word meaning "separation" or literally "apartness." It was the system of laws and policy implemented and enforced by the "white" minority governments in South Africa from 1948 until it was repealed in the 1990s. As the idea of apartheid developed in South Africa, it grew into a tool for racial, cultural, and national survival.

While apartheid became official state policy only in 1948, its social and ideological foundations were laid by the predominantly Dutch settlers in the seventeenth century. Apartheid's body of laws, arising from legislation passed in the years following the 1910 unification, helped define it as a legal institution enforcing separate existence for South Africa's races. Not until the late 1980s did it crumble under pressure from international condemnation and Nelson Mandela's appeal to freedom and democracy in South Africa. Nevertheless, the ultimately failed system was one many Afrikaners *and* Europeans in southern Africa believed in, and it is important to appreciate how this racial and cultural policy developed.

The arrival of the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 ushered in the first wave of colonial change for the region. As the relationship between Europeans and Africans developed, the VOC came to expect cooperation and subjugation from its Khoikhoi and Khoisan neighbors. Relations had been fairly equal at first, but a growing European population, as well as the requirements of foreign trade, increased demand upon the native Africans for resources, including the Khoikhoi's prized cattle. This demand could not be met, and native ranchers who formerly held contracts with the company were forced into its service. In addition to cattle trading, cattle rustling also occurred on both sides, and the company began fencing off VOC property, physically separating itself from African neighbors and thereby introducing the first racial divisions. Africans were still allowed within company boundaries, but only if they were slaves or there to conduct business.

This process continued to intensify, and over time Africans found themselves increasingly dependent upon the VOC for survival. They adopted European customs and came to be dominated by European ideas and culture. Regardless of these changes and the fact that many settlers intermarried with the Khoikhoi, the Europeans did not consider the Africans to be equal. Moreover, these developing notions of apartheid were not limited to Euro-African relationships. The VOC could be a stern taskmaster. It expected its workers to labor strictly in the interest of company venture. Over time, however, some of the more entrepreneurial employees yearned for a life apart from their service to the VOC. They felt the urge to

A Segregated Lavatory in South Africa. *A group of men stand in front of a lavatory in apartheid-era South Africa with separate entrances for "European" and "non-European" men.* © IAN BERRY/MAGNUM PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

settle down and raise families, and while the company allowed them to develop plots of land beyond the company boundaries, the VOC vigorously sought to contract with them for agricultural products. The wealthier *freeburghers*, as these independent farmers were called, managed to win the choicest contracts, leaving their poorer neighbors distrustful of the VOC's methods. Corruption among company officials, and the need to tax and administer the freeburghers, further inflamed tensions already growing between the two camps.

Added to this were the cultural ramifications of the presence of a developing freeburgher community. As more employees and settlers arrived at the Cape, neo-Calvinism took root, enabling the VOC-recognized Dutch Reformed Church to build a local following. Cape Town had developed into a frontier community, with a varied population and myriad ideas. The more devout Calvinists were offended by a culture not aligned with the teachings of the church, and sought an existence separate from the debauchery of the growing town.

This moral conflict, combined with the Calvinist belief in a pure, divinely selected society, influenced many to leave. Administrative corruption also drove settlers out, and so the Cape settlement spun off new communities. One cannot understate the importance of this need to exist apart from the larger society. People were driven to create lives free from outside oppression in any form. Religion certainly played an important role, but so did this frontier mentality that space and opportunities were unlimited.

Britain's arrival to the region only enhanced this dynamic culture of separateness. After revolutionary France aided Dutch liberals with the creation of the Batavian Republic, Britain moved to protect the Cape from republican Dutch and French annexation. The Cape was an ideal refueling stop on the way to India, and France's acquisition of it would have been a strategic blow to Britain's naval supremacy. Britain's presence was only temporary, however, and the new administrators found it more efficient to maintain the established VOC methods of control. Britain quit the Cape in 1803 after making peace with France, but returned again in 1806 and established itself as the de facto power in the region. A formal assumption of control followed in 1814.

With its reappearance in 1806, Britain introduced its own administrative system, one that proved much more efficient than the VOC's. Tax revenues increased, and as a result more settlers, or *Boers* (farmers), considered themselves to be at the mercy of an oppressive power. The British also introduced a circuit court system (the Black Circuit) that brought justice to the outlying regions, specifically to those settlers who had removed themselves from the confines of Cape Town. It also brought justice to the Africans, who began to bring suit against their employers for wrongdoing.

For many settlers, the circuit court was a violation of their rights. This violation was reaffirmed in 1815 when a farmer, Frederick Bezuidenhout, was charged with assaulting his servant. He resisted arrest and was shot. When his brother attempted to raise a rebellion, the British hanged him and four accomplices. For the Boers this British response was clear proof that they could not be trusted, especially as they had sided with the Africans. Such an act was impossible to fathom for a people who believed in racial purity and superiority. Already the British had aided the Xhosa in their ongoing wars with the Cape settlers. Now it appeared that the authorities were dispensing African justice.

It was in this way that the relationship between the Boers and the British developed throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Although many Boers left the Cape during the period of the Great Trek (1835–1843), Britain's reach extended into settlements in Natal and north of the Orange River. In the 1850s Britain recognized the establishment of the two Boer republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal. This did not stop the British from meddling in Boer affairs, however, and by 1902 the opponents had fought two wars, the second of which (1899–1902) cost Britain over £200 million and opened a seemingly permanent rift between the two cultures.

The Boers, by then known also as the Afrikaners, began to refer to a "century of wrong," citing ongoing British oppression, as well as the fresh wounds caused by the war and the British concentration camps. Once again, Afrikaner culture was threatened. However, the British government in Westminster recognized the danger in imposing harsh peace terms upon the Boers. The government wanted a peaceful empire. In addition to paying for the damage caused in the war, therefore, the British put off any discussion of African suffrage and civil rights until self-government was established. At that time, South Africans themselves could decide the suffrage question.

While the Cape maintained its theoretically color-blind franchise law, the Afrikaner territories opted for racial domination. Upon establishing the Union of South Africa in 1910 (a sovereign imperial dominion),

Afrikaners finally were in control of their own destiny. In the coming decades apartheid would become increasingly formalized. Its future depended upon the path that Afrikaner politics and culture would follow, and the 1920s and 1930s witnessed the battle between the moderates and the conservatives for state control.

Jan Smuts, a one-time Transvaal state attorney and commando leader, had become a great friend of Britain. As prime minister, Smuts favored a pragmatic state administration, choosing to work with the empire for the benefit of South Africa. More conservative Afrikaners believed a complete separation from Britain was essential, but the moderates held sway, and South Africa supported Britain in the two World Wars. Many of the conservatives, if not openly hostile to Britain, assumed a position of neutrality, although there were those who identified with National Socialism's racial theories.

The moderation disappeared in 1948 when Daniel Malan's Reunited National Party defeated Smuts's government. Malan appealed to those Afrikaners who believed it was time that South Africa concentrated on its own development. Moreover, Smuts had loosened controls upon the flow of African labor to aid the war effort, and Malan now focused upon the evils of race mixing and the threat to a stable Afrikaner labor force. The new government formally enacted apartheid as state policy in 1948, and there followed a series of legislation targeting the non-white community.

Legislators envisioned a pure society, and drew on notions of unity and racial exclusivity when drafting new apartheid legislation. Laws promoting these principles were not new, for the 1913 Land Act stipulated who could and could not own certain lands. After the 1948 election, however, such legislation provided the new infrastructure of the Afrikaner state. The population was recategorized under the Population Registration Act of 1950, which spawned the issue of a new list of documents, and the creation of official, nationally recognized racial groups (*White*, *Coloured*, *Asian*, *Bantu*, and *Others*). With racial separation came physical separation as well, culminating in the Group Areas Act in 1950. The Group Areas Board identified zones based on race, clearing specific areas of families and entire communities for use by other groups. No longer would different races live in the same neighborhoods.

Movement between towns and cities had been required prior to the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act (1952), but the new legislation mandated birth, residency, employment, marriage, and travel permits for all Africans. In 1953 the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act ensured that all services available to Afrikaners were also available to the other races. Although "separate but equal" was the theory, the reality was a

Daniel François Malan (1874–1959). *Malan, the prime minister of South Africa from 1948 to 1954 and one of the primary architects of the apartheid system, appeared on the cover of the May 5, 1952, issue of* Time *magazine.* **TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

marked difference in the quality and cleanliness of amenities. This reality was made painfully obvious in the Bantu Education Act (1953). The government provided race-specific educational institutions, along with curricula designed to meet racial needs. In the Afrikaner state, necessary topics of study included Afrikaans and Christianity.

Apartheid reached the epitome of its influence under H. F. Verwoerd's leadership (1958–1966). As prime minister, Verwoerd pulled South Africa out of the Commonwealth, declaring the state a republic in 1961. He introduced the Homeland or "Bantustan" system, whereby the South African government recognized self-governing, and eventually fully independent, African states within the nation's borders. Verwoerd took to heart the notion of separateness, and he preached a message of two streams of development, with the Afrikaner and African societies existing equally (in theory) and independently of each other. Often it was the less desirable land that comprised the newly independent African states. In 1971 the government completed the process with the Black Homeland Citizenship Act, which rescinded homeland residents' South African citizenship.

Although Verwoerd hoped that delegation of civil authority would free Afrikaners from managing millions of Africans, thereby helping to bring about that elusive, purely Afrikaner society, the Bantustans would serve to undercut the government's power in the years to come. Moreover, Verwoerd's death in 1966 signaled the beginning of apartheid's slow decline. While the system still had another two decades of life, it was increasingly undercut by an emerging progressivism.

Apartheid's peak in the 1960s coincided with the dissolution of European empires. The 1960s was the "decade of independence," and apartheid appeared increasingly as a tired, discredited system. Even as African colonies elsewhere in Africa prepared for sovereignty, the white South African government was arresting African nationalists, including Nelson Mandela, and trying them for treason. Nationalist organizations, such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), espoused socialism, reinforcing the National Party's argument that it was defending the state against militant revolutionary elements. This was an effective argument in a society traditionally concerned with white domination of the labor market. That African nationalism had become an increasingly divided movement in the 1950s and 1960s only made the National Party's job easier. The division, however, also forced a conversation among African nationalists, who began to hone their message in the 1970s.

Apartheid's last hurrah came in the mid-1980s under P. W. Botha (prime minister, 1978–1984; president, 1984–1989). He wavered between a reluctant acceptance that the white-dominated state could not last in its current form, and a last-ditch battle to resurrect apartheid's exclusive culture. Botha faced Afrikaner liberals, African nationalists, and foreign governments on the left, and disenchanted reactionaries on the right. The latter were leaving the National Party to join the Conservatives. Botha held the advantage in the mid-1980s, however, for African nationalists continued to face internal divisions over their movement's direction. Moreover, homeland leaders wanted nothing to do with African nationalism, because it threatened their sovereignty within apartheid South Africa. As the ANC attempted to undercut its opposition, Botha imposed a state of emergency in 1985 to contain a growing African insurgency. Boycotts and work stoppages had the desired effect, however, and, combined with the power of foreign sanctions, began to bring about the collapse of the apartheid government.

President F. W. de Klerk (president, 1989–1994) replaced Botha in 1989 and attempted to introduce limited reforms to improve conditions for minorities

without removing Afrikaners from positions of power. Negotiations with the ANC proved that approach to be unrealistic, and de Klerk found himself forced by internal and external pressure to release Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990. As Paul Kruger symbolized the Boers' steadfastness, so did Mandela personify the African struggle. It was Mandela and the ANC, and not de Klerk, who had the political momentum. The last vestiges of apartheid crumbled as the ANC guided the terms of the negotiations. Mandela was both adept and reasonable, seeking not to punish the Afrikaners, but rather to enable Africans to assume their rights as the majority population. Mandela's election to presidency in April 1994 sealed the fate of apartheid.

Although it is identified with white oppression in South Africa, apartheid also defined the Afrikaner struggle to maintain racial and cultural purity in a harsh land. The Boers competed with everyone, even themselves, to live the life in which they believed.

SEE ALSO *Afrikaner; Boer Wars.*

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Jeffrey Lee Meriwether

ARABIA, WESTERN ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN

From the fifteenth century onward, the Arabian Peninsula has attracted significant foreign interest. Its location between large empires first made it a strategic trade route; later, in the twentieth century, the discovery of oil also made the region an important source of wealth. The significance of oil to industrialized countries in the early- and mid-twentieth century turned the Arabian Peninsula, and even the states surrounding it,

into an area of vital importance and thus subjected the region to a great deal of foreign influence. Early on, industrial companies in the West were the only available sources of the technical and mechanical expertise necessary to tap the immense oil reserves; agreements with Western companies, however, led to the companies' increased political influence, to economic ties to Western governments, and to dependence on Western military support. Oil and the connections it brought to Western states have proven to be both a blessing and a curse for the states of the Arabian Peninsula. Oil revenues have allowed countries to develop basic state infrastructure, improve educational opportunities for citizens, and provide healthcare and other services to their populations. At the same time, disagreements over the question of how much Western influence should be allowed in the region have increased tensions within the populations of the Arabian Peninsula.

THE RISE OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

The Arabian Peninsula, a landmass situated between Europe, Africa, and Asia, has served as an important commercial hub from as early as the sixth century. Since that time, Arabia acted as a principal center for trade between the Middle East, Africa, China, and Europe. Many of the most luxurious goods in the world passed through the hands of Gulf merchants before reaching their final destinations. The regions within the peninsula produced valuable products as well: Coffee traveled outward from what is now Yemen, and from the eastern coast of Arabia came valuable pearls of the highest quality. Transit trade generated some of the largest revenues in the Arabian Peninsula. Arabian merchants and tribal leaders collected taxes in exchange for safe travel and provided economic services to those traveling through.

In 1498, however, Vasco da Gama discovered the water route around Africa, which subsequently allowed European businessmen to circumvent the expense of traveling through the Ottoman and Persian empires, thus diminishing the Arabian Peninsula's significance as trade center. This development coincided with a commercial revolution in Europe, which gave rise to a mercantilist system and brought European merchants to the forefront of the world economy. The combination of improved travel and increased wealth aided in Europe's expanding economic influence outside of Europe, most notably in India. From the sixteenth century onward, the primary value of Arabia in the eyes of European merchants became its proximity to Indian trading routes.

Beginning in the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese, Dutch, and French each made forays into the Arabian Peninsula. The Portuguese came first,

conquering the south and east coasts of the peninsula in order to monopolize trade routes from India. They were quickly forced out by the Safavid Empire in 1602 with the help of the British, who then chartered their East India Company and established a stake in securing the region for themselves. The French and Dutch India Companies soon followed. The subsequent two hundred years were characterized by struggles between the Safavids, Europeans, and local Arab rulers for control over the Arabian coastlands and seas.

The most important contest between the Arabs and Europeans arose out of competition for trade between the British and the Qasimi tribes located in what is now the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The Qawasim (the plural of Qasimi) maintained an extensive fleet of approximately nine hundred ships, which they used for trade and warfare. Throughout the eighteenth century, they maintained important trade connections in the Persian Gulf. As the British East India Company expanded into the north and west of the subcontinent, however, it attempted to extend British power into the Gulf region, bringing it into direct contact with Qasimi traders. War broke out between the two naval powers and continued to rage until 1809, when the British succeeded in occupying Ras al-Khaimeh and severely damaged the Qasimi's maritime strength. This was followed by a similar British expedition to Ras al-Khaimeh in 1820 that obliterated what remained of the Qasimi navy.

As a result of their defeat, the tribes of the southern and eastern Arabian coasts became inextricably linked to the British, both politically and economically. The tribal leaders along the Gulf Coast of Arabia signed a series of treaties with the British in 1820 and 1861. The first treaties were General Treaties of Peace, which established peace between the leading sheikhs of Ras al-Khaimeh, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm al-Qaiwain, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and Bahrain. Between 1835 and 1853 some of these Gulf States signed peace treaties under British auspices to prevent disruptive warring amongst themselves; after 1853 this peace was made permanent by the Perpetual Maritime Treaty. Bahrain joined the trucial agreement in 1861. From the mid-nineteenth century until the final British withdrawal from the region in 1971, these tribal kingdoms came to be known collectively as the Trucial States.

The port city of Aden, located on the southwestern tip of the peninsula, also came under an indirect form of British rule after the British captured it in 1839. Aden's significance to British security and trade in India increased when the Suez Canal opened thirty years later. In 1937 Aden became the only crown colony on the peninsula, and its status as such lasted until 1944.

Striking Oil in Masjed Soleyman in Persia, circa 1900.
Iran's first oil wells were drilled in the early 1900s in fields near Masjed Soleyman. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the British further involved themselves in Gulf affairs. They helped settle a family dispute in Zanzibar that resulted in Oman's separation from that state and made Oman almost entirely dependent upon Great Britain for economic survival. In order to avoid coming under Ottoman domination at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Kuwait and Qatar joined the British Trucial System as well; the British, then, had gained significant influence over the eastern Arabian Peninsula.

The western and interior regions of the Arabian Peninsula, however, remained outside of Western purview until the British supported Sharif Husayn of the Hijaz in his Arab Revolt against the Ottomans in 1915. Husayn failed to garner widespread Arab support following the war and proved incapable of defending his position on the west coast of Arabia against the rising power of the Wahhabi movement led by Abd al-Aziz ibn Sa'ud in the peninsula's interior. In 1924 Sa'ud and the Wahhabis defeated Husayn. Three years later, the newest government in Arabia signed the Treaty of Jiddah with the British, which recognized the Sa'ud family as the

Microsoft Executive Steve Ballmer in Dubai, April 25, 2005. *Ballmer (right), the chief executive of the American software company Microsoft, chats in Dubai with Sheik Mohammad bin Rashid Al Maktoum, the crown prince of Dubai and defense minister of the United Arab Emirates. Microsoft and the Dubai government signed an agreement to develop software applications.* **AP IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

ruler of the Hijaz and the expansive Nejd plateau and affirmed Great Britain's sovereignty in the Gulf.

OIL AND ARABIA

Prior to the discovery of oil in the region, the Arabian economy was quite diversified. Coastal towns and oases that received enough rainfall produced a variety of fruits, vegetables, and cereals; tribes along caravan routes continued to provide goods and services to traveling merchants, or dealt in animal husbandry. The Saudi government also continued to collect substantial revenue from pilgrims traveling to the Hijaz, while fishing, trade, and the pearling industry sustained the states along the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

The collapse of the world economy after 1929, however, had a heavy impact on Arabian economies. Saudi Arabia's currency, which was linked to the British pound in 1931, suffered as a result of the devaluation of the pound. The depression also limited the demand for luxury goods, which nearly devastated the pearling industry in the Gulf; this was further compounded by a concurrent shift in world preference to Japanese cultured pearls. By the early 1930s the only economy not enduring the full effects of the world economic crisis was that of Aden, which managed to buoy its economy through considerable sales of sea salt to the British Empire. The economic historians Roger Owen and Sevket Pamuk noted that in 1937 Aden supplied half of the Empire's demand for that product.

British, American, and Japanese companies mitigated some of the economic pressure in the region, however, when they began expressing interest in oil exploration in several of the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia. With the exception of Kuwait, oil concessions were signed between the individual rulers of the states and one of two companies: Standard Oil Company of California (SOCAL) and the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC). The Anglo-Persian Oil Company and Gulf Oil made arrangements with the ruling family in Kuwait.

These larger companies then each established regional companies within each of the Arab states. SOCAL in Bahrain formed the Bahrain Petrol Company, for example, and SOCAL's branch in Saudi Arabia became the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO). The IPC formed Petroleum Development Qatar and Petroleum Development Trucial Coast on the Gulf Coast.

The first concessions to oil companies were made in Bahrain in 1930, followed by concessions in Saudi Arabia in 1933, Kuwait in 1934, Qatar in 1935, and Oman in 1937, as well as in four of the smaller Trucial States in 1938 and 1939. Oil concessions took the same general form throughout the region. They provided the ruler with an immediate sum of money as prepayment of initial royalties, an annual fee until oil was discovered, and subsequent royalty payments for the duration of the concessionary agreement; in exchange, the company received exclusive exploratory and extraction-related rights. These arrangements were intended to remain in effect for lengthy periods of time, sometimes up to seventy-five years, as was the case in Kuwait and Qatar.

The bulk of the large oil discoveries in the region came at the end of the 1930s, just on the verge of World War II. As a result, Saudi Arabia was the only country to develop oil extraction facilities before the war, and it was able to collect large revenues by 1939. Kuwait began to reap the benefits of its oil deposits in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and Qatar began exporting oil in 1949; Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ras al-Khaimeh, and Oman had a later start, only beginning to export oil in the 1960s. The presence of oil raised the level of the Arabian Peninsula's significance in Western eyes, particularly for the United States. In the 1940s the U.S. government began providing Saudi Arabia with economic subsidies, which continued to grow throughout the decade. By 1945 the United States had applied pressure upon Great Britain to reduce their subsidies to Saudi Arabia by half. When the British government withdrew from its last bases in the Trucial States in 1971, the United States became a hegemonic political influence, which it remains at the start of the twenty-first century.

Even with the rapid influx of wealth, however, the Arab states were not yet capable of providing the necessary infrastructure to support the large engineering projects and great number of employees that oil extraction projects required. In the case of Saudi Arabia, ARAMCO undertook the building of roads, hospitals, schools, and other basic public services as well as irrigation projects to provide food. These activities bound some of the most basic elements of everyday life to the oil companies.

Control over oil production and oil prices remained in the hands of Western oil companies throughout the 1930s and well into the 1960s. In the 1950s the British,

American, and Anglo-Dutch oil companies produced around 90 percent of the world's oil outside of the Soviet Bloc. The predominance of Western oil companies in the region elicited criticism from other Arab states in the Middle East that was inspired by the radical anti-Western ideologies of the 1960s. In response to this pressure, several of the states in the Gulf established national oil companies, such as the Kuwait National Petroleum Company and the Saudi General Petroleum and Mineral Organization. These new companies loosened some of the hold that American and British companies in particular maintained over oil production, but Western-based companies maintained firm holds on the majority of the oil production.

They also regulated oil prices internally rather than by following market forces. From 1951 through 1971 these companies paid a fixed price, between $1.75 and $1.80 per barrel, to the rulers in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. In the 1970s, however, the oil-producing companies were able to gain some control over oil prices through their membership in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Companies (OPEC). OPEC had been established in 1960 as a multinational organization designed to coordinate oil production and prices especially through the setting of production quotas, though it did not become an important player in the oil market until the 1970s. Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates (formed in 1971 from the lesser Trucial States) all joined the organization. Arab membership in the organization had some extreme consequences for the world oil market in the 1970s. The Arab-Israeli War in 1973 led Arab oil-producing companies to boycott sales to Western countries that had supported Israel during the war, causing oil prices to rise to more than $11 per barrel. The revolution in Iran produced similar consequences, and oil prices rose to $32 per barrel. Since that time oil prices have remained relatively stable, with the exception of price increases caused by the two American wars against Iraq in 1990 and 2003.

WESTERN INFLUENCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In spite of its oil wealth, the Arabian Peninsula remains heavily dependent on Western powers for its economic and defense needs. The states in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia have been unable to institute effective defenses alone, forcing them to rely on British, and later, American governments for their military needs. The states in the Arabian Peninsula have, at times, spent more than 10 percent of their GDP (Gross Domestic Product) on military equipment and bases. Their attempts to build up defenses have also been supplemented with an increasing number of permanently stationed foreign troops numbering between the thousands and tens of thousands. American troops used military facilities in Bahrain

following the Iran-Iraq war, and maintained air bases in Qatar, Oman, and the UAE. American military presence in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait has grown exponentially following the Desert Storm action in 1990 and the 2003 American invasion of Iraq. U.S. military involvement in the region has led to domestic instability in many of the states on the peninsula. Some of this can be attributed to resentment over American support for Israel. The two American wars in Iraq were also immensely unpopular and contributed to strained relations between some regional governments and the United States.

The states of the Arabian Peninsula are similarly reliant upon economic investment both in and from the West. Some experts have noted that 60 percent of Saudi Arabia's investments abroad are tied up in U.S. ventures. International economic development agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank Organization, have also pushed the countries in the Arabian Peninsula to improve their governmental and business climates to bring in more foreign investments.

Attracting diverse foreign investments has been especially important for countries like the United Arab Emirates (UAE), which is due to run out of oil in the early part of the twenty-first century. Many of the new development projects in the region have remained linked to U.S. and Western businesses. Dubai, the second-largest emirate in the UAE has begun to develop economic strategies in technology-related fields in order to maintain economic growth following the depletion of its reserves. In 2000 the ruler launched the Dubai Internet City, a free-trade zone and e-commerce center that provides office buildings and inexpensive employees, as well as medical and education facilities. The project has succeeded in attracting large business clients, such as Microsoft, IBM, CISCO, and Canon, among others. Most of these companies are based out of the United States and Europe.

As economic and political relations between the West and the states in the Arabian Peninsula have increased, so has Western scrutiny of the region via the media. American movies and news coverage have raised questions in the West about the legitimacy of Arab governments in the Gulf region and about women's rights, among other topics, and have often presented skewed or exaggerated images of the Arab societies. Such representations, combined with the visible presence of Western economic, military, and even popular culture in the Arabian Peninsula, have generated resentment and frustration among Arab governments, which continue to balance their economic interests and social and cultural values with the West's increasing demands for reform.

SEE ALSO *British Colonialism, Middle East; Oil.*

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ART, EUROPEAN

All empires in human history have glorified their victories and triumphs in the visual arts—painting, sculpture, and architecture. The Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and others have raised monuments to their imperial cities and states. Republican and imperial Rome, the great exemplar of the later European empires, raised statues, arches, and columned monuments to glorify military victories, conquering emperors, and the city and empire itself. Romans also created triumphal paintings to depict historical events and celebrate victories, conquests, and the cult of the emperors. In their imperial expansion, the Romans came to appreciate, expropriate, and copy the art of peoples and cultures they conquered. The Romans were particularly influenced by Greek sculpture and architecture. Relief sculpture carved into triumphal arches, victory columns, and statues of emperors glorified both the imperial throne and the empire. The Arch of Titus, dedicated in 81 CE in Rome, immortalized the successful conquest of Jerusalem in the year 70. The relief panel, *Spoils from the Temple of Jerusalem*, showing Roman troops carrying trumpets, the menorah, and the golden table from the temple, dramatizes one of the most important motivations of all empires.

One of the characteristics of premodern empires around the world was their tendency to assimilate the more advanced cultures of peoples and civilizations they conquered. The European empires of the early modern and modern ages, on the other hand, showed little interest in or appreciation of the cultures and arts of their subject peoples and, indeed, the rest of the world. In time this would change. By the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century, many artists in the Western world would become captivated by the vernacular and formal arts of the Americas, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, and would, as a result, transform the visual arts of the West.

European imperialism and colonialism influenced Western art in three fundamental ways. First, the imperial powers, monarchs, and patrons created paintings, sculpture, and architecture to glorify their expansionist, imperialist, and idealistic objectives. Second, the expansion of European power and settlement around the world spread European traditions of painting, sculpture, and architecture to colonies in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Finally, European trade and contact with the rest of the world brought non-European luxury goods, aesthetic values, and arts to the West—as well as Western artists to the colonies—which gradually came to influence, in various ways, the course of Western art.

Portuguese architecture began to reflect its overseas expansion in the reign of King Manuel I, "the Fortunate" (1469–1521), creating what has come to be called the Manueline style of architectural ornamentation. This *estylo manuelina* incorporated nautical and maritime motifs, such as sea monsters, shells, nautical rope, and much else. One of the monuments of the Manueline style is the Jerónimos Monastery in Lisbon, which was built to glorify and commemorate the voyage of Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) to India. The sumptuous main entrance features several carved figures, including one of Henry the Navigator (1392–1460), the royal prince who promoted the African voyages of discovery and trade in the fifteenth century. The Jerónimos Monastery came to hold the tomb of Gama, as well as that of Luís de Camões (ca. 1524–1570), the great national poet of Portugal's age of discovery.

The Spanish Empire began its self-glorification with a painting by Ajejo Fernañdez (1475–1545), *The Virgin of the Navigators* (ca. 1535), a work designed for the altarpiece of the chapel of the Casa de Contratación (the House of Trade) in Seville. The painting depicts a devotional image of the Virgin Mary in which the Madonna shelters Spain's Indies fleet and its great navigators—Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521), and one of the Pinzón brothers, as well as King Ferdinand (1452–1516) and indistinct Indians and Africans. The Virgin of the Navigators is standing astride the new Iberian Atlantic world. It is a painting that indicates the success of Spain's imperial mission and the glory of Spain's Holy Faith, *La Santa Fé*, with the substantial enlargement of Christendom.

During Spain's great age of imperial glory in the sixteenth century, there were few civic monuments and little statuary sponsored by royal patronage. The portal of the University of Salamanca (completed in 1529) raised the imperial arms of Charles V (1500–1558) beside those of Ferdinand and Isabella (1451–1504). The Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial of King Philip II (1527–1598), a religious retreat and royal palace, the greatest architectural project of the age, demonstrated the grandeur and power of the Spanish Habsburgs. Philip had his throne room decorated with the beautiful Renaissance maps of the Spanish realms in Europe and the Americas taken from Abraham Ortelius's (1527–1598) *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Theater of the World, 1588), an atlas of hand-colored engravings.

Two centuries later, the Royal Palace in Madrid was used as one of the best stages to glorify the monarchy and empire. In the throne room, the ceiling fresco, *The Wealth and Benefits of the Spanish Monarchy under Charles III* by the Venetian artist Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770), presented one of the great allegorical works of European art. This room was the center of the palace and the symbolic center of the empire: the various Spanish imperial possessions were visible from the throne. This fresco shows the loading of a ship with the treasures of the American continent, and in the foreground two Native Americans are shown throwing themselves in front of the ship, symbolizing the conquest of the Americas by Spain. On the exterior façade of the Royal Palace stand sculptures of the Inca and Aztec emperors—Atahualpa and Moctezuma—captured by Spanish conquerors in the early sixteenth century as a prelude to the conquest and destruction of their realms. Philip V (1683–1746) commanded the erection of these large statues of the vanquished to stand as symbols not only of the power of Spain but also of the new Age of Enlightenment. These sculptures presented these Native American emperors as great and honorable kings, worthy to stand alongside the statues of Spanish kings.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic expressed its rising power and wealth in the Amsterdam Town Hall (Het Stadhuis), one of the largest architectural undertakings of the early modern era. The exterior statuary on the roof pediments showed, on one side, the Dutch Atlas bearing the weight of the globe and, on the other, Amsterdam receiving the tribute of the four continents. This latter allegory, one of the classic images of the age of European colonialism,

represented the non-European world naturally subordinate to Europe, and the world's wealth and resources the inevitable fruit of European commerce and empire. In the greatest room in the greatest building of the Dutch Republic, the Burgerzaal (the "town hall" or public gallery), the Dutch Republic was placed in the center of a marble-inlaid world map that covered the entire floor. Not unlike the other expansionist European empires, even the modest and mercantile Dutch were moved to "acts of elaborate self-congratulation" (1997, p. 223), as the historian Simon Schama put it, in ceremonies, architecture, sculpture, and—indeed—most of the visual arts.

During the Dutch "golden age," the seventeenth century, Dutch painters created a substantial body of marine art, sea paintings, that depicted naval battles, great fleets, specific ships, and everyday shipping and commerce. Ludolf Backhuysen's *The "Eendracht" and a Dutch Fleet of Men-of-War Before the Wind* (early 1670s) gives a heroic representation of the Dutch fleet with its flagship, the *Eendracht* (Unity). Historical paintings of the sea battles with the Spanish and the English, returning fleets from the East Indies, and great ships of battle were extremely popular among patrons and public institutions in the Netherlands and reflected and promoted Dutch pride in naval and commercial preeminence.

The British similarly glorified their empire in murals, history paintings, sculpture, architecture, and even royal coaches. In the Commissioner's House of the Royal Navy at Chatham Dockyard is a large painting on the ceiling of the main staircase. Completed around 1705, this painting shows Mars receiving a crown of shells from Neptune, while in the foreground stand figures that symbolize Peace, Plenty, Justice, and Charity. The figure of a majestic Neptune was significant to onlookers of the age because it was a symbol of the Royal Navy's mastery of the sea. More than a century later, Queen Victoria's (1819–1901) residence on the Isle of Wight, Osborne House, also had an allegorical fresco above the main staircase. William Dyce's *Neptune Resigning the Empire of the Seas to Britannia* (1847) reveals the figure of "Britannia" receiving the crown of the sea from Neptune. Britannia, and Britain's seaborne empire, is also accompanied by three figures that both produced and were benefits of global empire: Industry, Commerce, and Navigation.

Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, the British created imperial history painting, a tradition that portrayed and glorified the great and symbolic events in the creation of the British Empire. From Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolf* (1770), to Arthur William Devis's *Death of Nelson* (1805), and *The Death of* (1844–1925) *General Gordon, Khartoum, 26 January*

1885 by G. W. Joy, artists created a cult of heroism that glorified and promoted patriotic imperialism. Empires and their rulers found myriad and varied ways to glorify empire. King George III (1738–1820), for example, had England's best artisans make one of the most remarkable royal coaches in the age of horse-drawn vehicles. This colossal four-ton coach topped by three gilded cherubs symbolized the British kingdoms of English, Scotland, and Ireland. Over the four wheels were gilded sea gods that suggested that Britannia ruled the four oceans of the world. "It was as though the very grandeur, wealth, and weight of the British Empire," wrote historian David McCullough, referring to this great golden coast pulled by eight horses and accompanied by six footmen, "were rolling past" (2005, p. 4).

During the first three centuries of European empire and colonialism, the imperial monarchies, metropoles, and elite patrons employed the visual arts to justify and glorify empire. Imperial themes, particularly nonclassical and nonmythological imperial themes, or references to oversea colonies, however, were relatively few and unimportant. France's Louis XIV (1638–1715), the "Sun King"—Le Roi Soleil—perhaps the greatest patron of art in European history, collected Renaissance sculpture and paintings of classical legends and history, sponsored frescos of the glories of the king himself, ordered statuary of the ancient gods and Roman emperors, and so much more. Very little of this enormous artistic patronage and creation had to do directly with French overseas imperialism and colonialism.

Louis XIV's commission and construction beginning in 1678 of the Palais de Versailles, an enormous complex of palaces and gardens, was Bourbon France's statement of grandeur much like El Escorial was the symbol of the power and glory of Philip II's Spain. The king's chief minister warned that such construction, which by the mid-1680s required 36,000 laborers and some 6,000 horses, would bankrupt the treasury. Louis continued to build, however, and filled the palace with the finest tapestries of France; hundreds of specially commissioned paintings; dozens and dozens of statues, busts, great vases, and other kinds of sculpture; and thousands of articles made of silver and gold, many of these inscribed and struck with the symbols of the king. The peerless Hall of Mirrors (the Grand Galerie, also called the Galerie des Glaces due to the seventeen windows and seventeen arched mirrors) was 73 meters (239.5 feet long), and on the ceiling Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) painted the mythological symbols of the triumphs of France over Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany. By the early eighteenth century, Versailles and its gardens became the model for royal and noble palaces from Moravia to England. "Not since the extension of ancient Latin culture through Western Europe," wrote Will and Ariel

PHILHELLENISM

Philhellenism, literally, the "love of Greek culture," is an intellectual movement rooted in a growing interest in classical art and architecture that developed in Europe and England during the late 1700s. This Neoclassicism, fueled by the discovery of the ruins at Pompeii and the arrival of the Parthenon's Elgin Marbles in London, was also influenced by Jean Jacques Barthelemy's 1788 *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*, a fictional account of an ancient traveler that captured the popular imagination and spread philhellenism from France to Great Britain and greater Europe.

To its adherents, philhellenism embodied the egalitarian ideologies of the failed French revolution. It was inspired by an idealized vision of the Ancient Greeks as the founders of Western civilization. Ignoring the historical record, philhellenists transformed the ancients into a free people who espoused equality. This ideal, while not substantiated by fact, melded with Enlightenment philosophies and the political and social goals of both the French and American revolutions. As a political force, it was pushed underground as the restoration of the French monarchy following the Battle of Waterloo crushed liberal zeal in France, and elsewhere. It reemerged, however, as the suppression of other newly radicalized populations throughout the Old World fomented rebellion. The uprising of the Greek people against their Ottoman rulers was particularly inspiring to Napoléon's defeated followers throughout France, as well as to that country's student population. Meanwhile, as a romanticized ideal, philhellenism entered the culture of the prosperous merchant class via literature, clothing styles, and the clean, classically influenced lines of Empire furniture.

The culmination of the philhellenic ideal, and the vision that most inspired philhellenism's artistic and intellectual adherents, was the goal of establishing a Greek state on the same land where stood the ruins of the Parthenon. Though the Greeks' unsuccessful uprising against the Ottoman Turks in 1770 had sparked some creative passion, their 1821 revolt prompted intellectuals such as British writer Lord Byron to call for governments to support the Greek independence movement. In his writings, Byron depicted Greece as a "sad relic" of an ancient culture and the Greek revolutionaries as "primitive savages" in need of help from Western society to overthrow the tyrannical Turks. Viewed in hindsight, the philhellenic movement also reflected the patronizing racism of the age; the Greeks, viewed as early Europeans, were thought of as fighting off the despotism of a non-white oppressor; their victory could only come through the aid of white Europeans.

In Great Britain, Byron so strongly influenced public sentiment that the British government overlooked its longstanding support for Ottoman claims and sided with the rebel forces in Greece. European public opinion also sided heavily with the rebels, particularly in larger cities. The British government contributed financial aid, as well as volunteers from among philhellenism's more zealous followers, and influenced continental European powers to do likewise. Ironically, Byron, who joined the Greek insurgents in 1923, succumbed to marsh fever and died at Missolonghi, in central Greece, a year later.

Durant, "had history seen a cultural conquest so rapid and complete" (1963, p. 103).

Western Europeans, of course, did not visually ignore their overseas colonies. Princes, merchants, and ordinary readers expressed a great interest about the "New Worlds" that mariners, conquerors, traders, and settlers were finding, colonizing, and writing about. The first books about the Americas, Africa, and Asia were often illustrated with woodcuts and then engravings. The sixteenth-century engraver Theodor de Bry (1528–1598) became one of the most important popularizers of the European discoveries and conquests of the Americas. He shaped, to a considerable extent, how Europeans first viewed and understood the New World of America. De Bry, however, who never traveled to the Americas, used classical and Renaissance models to create his American landscapes, buildings, and native body types. In 1590 de Bry published twenty-eight engravings of North America taken from the drawings and watercolors of the English artist and governor John White, who was one of the settlers of the Roanoke colony. White's original watercolors, unquestionably the most skilled and sensitive renderings of Native Americans to that time, were not discovered until the early eighteenth century. White's artistry, however, helped de Bry produce the best engravings of his career.

In Dutch Brazil in the 1630s and 1640s, Governor Count Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679) brought two exceedingly talented painters from the Netherlands. Frans Post (1612–1680) painted Brazilian landscapes that pictured plantations, native villages, and the lushness of American tropical nature. The paintings of Albert Eckhout (ca. 1610–1665), following those of John White, provided the most detailed and realistic representations of Native Americans. Eckhout's *Dance of the Tapuya Indians* (ca. 1640), one of twenty-four paintings of Native Americans and Africans that have resided in Copenhagen since 1654, contributed to the European concept of the exotic savage. Eckhout's three portraits of an African ambassador, on the other hand, show a dignified, if somewhat sad, black African dressed in the finest clothing available to European noblemen of the age.

The paintings of Post and Eckhout began a European tradition of natural history drawing and painting by artist-scientists. Hans Sloane (1660–1753), "Fellow of the College of Physicians and Secretary of the Royal-Society [for promoting natural knowledge]," made a voyage to Jamaica in the late seventeenth century and employed a local artist to illustrate specimens of plants, fishes, birds, and insects. Paul Hermann (ca. 1646–1695), a doctor for the Dutch East Indies Company in Ceylon in the 1670s, drew detailed pictures of native plants, some animals, and illustrations of a Dutch toddy palm plantation (an enterprise that produced the alcoholic "toddy" made from the sap of a palm tree). A German artist and naturalist, Maria Merian (1647–1717), spent two years (1699–1701) in Surinam observing nature, which allowed her, when she returned to Amsterdam, to create sixty colored engravings of butterflies and moths and a few frogs, snakes, and one incredible caiman, shown biting a large coral snake.

The voyages in the Pacific in the late eighteenth century by the English explorer Captain James Cook (1728–1779) produced thousands of drawings and paintings by the artists and draftsmen who accompanied these expeditions. The three principal artists produced landscapes, coastal profiles, depictions of plants and animals, and "'ethnographic" (that is, realistic) and sympathetic portraits of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific. There were, of course, many more examples of Europeans drawing and painting what was to them the new, the exotic, and the previously unknown nature and peoples of their overseas colonies and trading posts. This extended and extensive intrusion into other parts of the world gave Europeans images not only of different peoples and cultures, but also images of different kinds of adornment, design, beauty, and aesthetic values. But neither indigenous arts nor any European representation of them, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, appeared to have the slightest influence on the evolution of the visual arts in Western Europe during these centuries.

When Europeans established overseas trading enclaves and territorial colonies they carried their broader Western and specific regional and national cultures with them. An important part of this cultural transmission included the visual arts, as seen, perhaps most significantly, in religious architecture, sculpture, painting, and decoration; secular architecture in governmental and private palaces; and historical painting, among many other activities.

The Portuguese and the Spanish built chapels, churches, and cathedrals in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. By the early seventeenth century, estimated one cleric, the Spanish had built some seventy thousand chapels and churches throughout their territories in the Americas. This enormous building campaign, which also included many thousands of impressive secular public buildings in the new and well-ordered towns and cities of Spanish America, constituted one of the great imperial projects in human history. The rapid and widespread imposition of Spanish architecture of very large, dramatically positioned, and impressively ornamented buildings signified and broadcast to the colonized natives, as well as to colonial settlers, the religious, cultural, and technological superiority and power of Spain and Europe.

Although the designs were European, the lack of sufficient numbers of European craftsmen required the missionaries to train and employ Native American, African, and Asian craftsmen, sculptors, gilders, painters, and other skilled workmen to do almost all of the work. The Portuguese carried the Manueline style of architecture to Angola, Mozambique, and India. In the Portuguese Indian port of Goa, Hindu artists and artisans for several decades painted and sculpted Christian images for the chapels and churches of the city. Their likenesses of Christ, Mary, and the saints, however, had too much Indian "flavor" for the Portuguese. By 1546, the king ordered the viceroy to end the practice of using Hindu craftsmen to make Christian art. The archbishop of Goa, equally unhappy, forbade Christians in his province to commission or purchase religious art from Hindu artists. In the interior of Brazil, however, ivory crucifixes from Goa made by Hindu craftsmen found their way into the cathedral of São Luís do Maranhão.

In Spanish America, native craftsmen—in fact, native artists—injected pre-Columbian motifs, symbols, and stylistic conventions in the murals they painted, the altar screens they gilded, and the church façades they sculpted. In the Augustinian convent in Tlayacapan, Morelos (Mexico), for example, the mural painting is decorated here and there with scenes of Aztec warriors and other preconquest images. The façades of early missionary churches and monasteries often had

pre-Columbian motifs as part of the overall decoration. In New Spain, this artistic syncretism did not survive the sixteenth century. In Spanish South America, on the other hand, it flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Anonymous pupils of the Indian painter Quispe Tito (1611–1681), an influential native artist who adopted European fresco painting, produced paintings in colonial Peru in the second half of the seventeenth century that fused Spanish and Inca artistic styles, symbols, and motifs. The fresco *Corpus Christi Procession with the Parishioners of Santa Ana* (ca. 1660) in Cuzco, Peru, shows a Corpus Christi procession led by an Indian leader dressed in royal Inca costume. A little more than half a century later, the Indian architect José Kondori constructed churches in the great silver mining boom city of Potosí. In the façade of his baroque San Lorenzo Church (ca. 1728), one finds an Inca princess and Andean half-moons.

In Portuguese Brazil, Antônio Francisco Lisboa (1738–1814), known as O Aleijadinho, "the Little Cripple," became the most influential sculptor and architect of the Brazilian baroque. This mulatto artist, the son of a Portuguese architect and an African slave, designed, built, and decorated a number of chapels, churches, and convents in the gold-rich province of Minas Gerais in the second half of the eighteenth century. Some of his significant commissions include the Church of São Francisco de Assis in Ouro Preto (1776), the church of the Ordem Terceira do Carmo de Sabará, and sculptures on the façade of the church of the Ordem Terceira de São Francisco in Ouro Prèto. Beginning in the 1770s, this skilled artist and artisan began to suffer from a debilitating disease that increasingly left him crippled. In spite of this disability, Aleijadinho produced life-size, cedar-wood sculptures of scenes of the passion and death of Christ during the 1790s. Undoubtedly the most extraordinary works of art created by this remarkable colonial artist are the soapstone statues of the twelve prophets of the Old Testament that lead up to the Sanctuary of Bon Jesus do Matozinho in Congonhas do Campo (1800–1803). With a chisel bound to his nearly-paralyzed fingers, Aleijadinho produced figures that have a gothic, expressionistic appeal and appearance. "These impressive works," wrote the art historian Edward J. Sullivan, "are among the most significant sculptures of the Western Baroque-Rococo tradition" (2001, p. 238).

The West had always desired some of the decorative arts of specific other civilizations, although this interest was often a craving for rare and exotic "crafts" rather than a true appreciation of such work as genuine art. Western markets had long demanded Chinese porcelain (porcelaneous ceramics), lacquer wares (with a varnish made from the sap of the lac tree), and cloisonné enamel (fired enamel designs on copper cups, vases, and boxes), as well as works of jade, glass, and silk. Aristocratic, wealthy, and eventually even gentry households throughout Europe and the Americas were considered bereft if they did not possess at least one set of "chinaware" for serving meals and decorating the house.

By the early eighteenth century, a great many Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese craftsmen were manufacturing *chinoiserie*—all things Chinese—for the European market. Europeans also came to demand all manner of Indian textiles—chintz, calicoes, muslins, silks, madras, and many others—as well as richly carved ivories, inlaid chests, cupboards, tables, and other kinds of Oriental furniture. From the Middle East, Europeans exported carpets made in Turkey and Cairo, as well as Central Asia.

In the mid and late eighteenth century, European artists began, more than ever before, to travel to the many and often quite distant outposts of their overseas colonies to record, represent, and interpret the landscapes, architecture, peoples, and customs of the non-European world and bring these images before the connoisseurs and public at home. The French artist Anne-Louis Girodet (1767–1824) wrote in 1817: "Painting and navigation in changing the face of the world necessarily had a powerful influence on the destiny of the arts. The first did so in ceaselessly extending the sphere of ideas; the second, in drawing further and further back the limits of the horizon." He noted that the restless artist sought foreign encounters: "The artist's restless curiosity compelled him courageously to sail from one pole to another in order to observe the foreign faces, extraordinary countries, and singular costumes of the most savage peoples" (quoted in Grigsby 2002, p. 3).

The European images of Surinam, India, Greece, Egypt and North Africa, Sudan, South Africa, and elsewhere created in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century presented no single imperialist discourse about the triumph of the West and the inferiority or even barbarism of non-Europeans. Many works of art, of course, were both condescending and triumphalist. Taken as a whole, however, European artistic representations of Native Americans, Africans, East Indians, and other "others" were ambivalent and complex. Many artists, indeed, many of the best artists, depicted slaves and chieftains as dignified and noble individuals. The historian C. A. Bayly suggests one motive for artists: "They seemed to long for a past which had now sadly become 'the other'" (2004, p. 378). Appreciation of "the other" as a subject for art, for whatever reason, however, did not lead to any serious appreciation of non-European arts, at least not for many decades.

As Europe, and the European world of settler colonies and independent states, increasingly came into contact

Thomas Daniell (1749–1840) and William Daniell (1769–1837) traveled through India between 1785 and 1794 and, upon their return, produced 140 rich color aquatints. Between 1795 and 1808 the Daniells published six volumes of *Oriental Scenery*, with pictures of Indians antiquities, exotic architecture, and spellbinding landscapes that enchanted and fascinated Britons.

The organized and popular campaigns in Britain and France to abolish the Atlantic slave trade, and plantation slavery itself, inspired artists to reveal and portray this terrible and violent outgrowth of Western colonialism. The English radical, poet, and artist William Blake (1757–1827) illustrated the raw nature of American slavery in the Dutch plantation colony of Surinam in John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796, 1st ed.). Using Stedman's drawings and narration, Blake engraved sixteen plates for this book. He did not flinch in portraying the torture of African men and women in various and cruel ways. His engraving of the sadistic *Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave* shows a naked young black woman tied by both arms above her head to a tree. She had received two hundred lashes for the "crime," according to Stedman, of refusing her master's "romantic embraces."

Anne-Louis Girodet in 1797 exhibited *C Jean-Baptiste Bellêy, Ex-Representative of the Colonies*, a portrait of the African deputy, the first representative from Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) to the French National Assembly. Citizen Belly, unlike most abolitionist images of the 1790s, is presented standing, not kneeling, impeccably dressed, a dignified French gentleman. To enhance the power of the image, the artist had Belly lean against the bust of the *philosophe* Guillaume-Thomas Raynal (1713–1796), one of the most vociferous critics in Enlightenment Europe of racial slavery and European colonialism.

Napoléon Bonaparte's (1769–1821) invasion of Egypt (1798–1799) with his "Army of the Orient" initiated a new wave, indeed the "high age of European imperialism," in the nineteenth century. Although the military campaign ultimately was a failure, the cultural, scientific, and artistic reverberation of the expedition continued for decades. Napoléon took more than 160 scientists, linguists, naturalists, architects, artists, and other experts to study, record, collect, and understand ancient and modern Egypt. The Army of the Orient produced victories against the ruling Ottomans but ended up surrendering to the British. Nevertheless, the Egyptian campaign became an integral part of the myth of the rise of the emperor. Antoine-François Callet (1741–1823) in *Allegory of the Eighteenth of Brumaire* (1801) includes a symbolic Egyptian among the images that chart the rising glory of Napoléon.

Corpus Christi Procession, Eighteenth Century, Peru. *This painting is an example of colonial art in the Americas.* THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO PEDRO DE OSMA LIMA/MIREILLE VAUTIER. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

with the colors, motifs, and styles of African, Asian, and Polynesian art, particularly after 1880, artists and the avant-garde among them first began to be influenced by, and incorporate elements of, non-European arts. During the last and most intense period of decolonization in the 1950s and 1960s, art museums in the cities of the West all had important collections of African, Middle Eastern, Chinese, Japanese, Native American, and other non-European arts. Western art itself, furthermore, was extremely eclectic, giving little more respect to classical or Renaissance traditions than to Maori, Bushman, Aztec, Inuit, Japanese, or other non-Western artistic traditions.

The late eighteenth century saw a new and serious European interest in the Orient and all things Oriental. By this time, Europeans were becoming fascinated, if not obsessed in some circles, with Oriental despotism, Oriental eroticism, Oriental exoticism, and other "isms" that seemed so alien yet interesting and appealing to the rising bourgeois culture. British artists had begun to draw, etch, and paint the scenery, peoples, and customs of India. One of these customs, the infamous sati (the Hindu practice by which a widow incinerated herself with the corpse of her husband), became a popular subject of artists in India. Johann Zoffany's *Sacrifice of a Hindoo Widow on the Funeral Pile of Her Husband* (ca. 1780), and many similar such pictures, suggested the barbarism of non-European traditions and "superstitions."

Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835), an official artist in an earlier military campaign, became one of the most important mythmakers of early nineteenth-century France. His *Battle of Nazareth* (1801) shows an outnumbered French army fighting, and eventually defeating, the Turks in Syria in 1799. In this painting, as is true for most of the paintings of the Egyptian campaign, the viewer is presented with a genuine clash of civilizations. The outnumbered yet orderly and courageous French soldiers are confronted with wild, murderous Muslim Turks who decapitated their wounded enemies. Both Gros in *Battle of Aboukir* (1806) and Louis-François Lejeune (1775–1848) in *Battle of the Pyramids* (1806) present images of enlightened valor contrasted with unthinking ferocity, the classic definition of civilization against barbarism.

Europe's rediscovery of the East in the last part of the eighteenth century, what art historian Raymond Schwab (1984) calls the "Oriental Renaissance," was one of the inspirations, if not the most important one, he argues, for the emergence of Romanticism. Romantic artists of the first half of the nineteenth century were interested in passion and drama, and sought to create unique and sometimes eccentric works of art, and many were fascinated with the exotic world of the Orient.

One such artist was Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863). Like many artists, poets, and intellectuals of his generation, the Greek war of independence against the Ottoman Turkish Empire in the 1820s became the *cause célèbre* of the their generation. During the war, the Turks massacred approximately twenty thousand Greeks on the island of Chios, an action that outraged the liberals and Romantics of Western Europe. This event was memorialized by Delacroix in *Scenes from the Massacres at Chios* (1822–1824). The picture focuses on defenseless Greek men, women, and children in the foreground waiting to be slaughtered by a determined and ruthless Turk on horseback. A few years later, Delacroix took a theme from ancient history for *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827). This painting presents the Assyrian king, just prior to his own capture and execution, ordering and calmly watching the murder of his concubines, slaves, and animals in his harem. For European audiences, no better image could depict or symbolize the nature of Oriental despotism and cruelty.

The British, fighting colonial wars in Africa and Asia throughout the nineteenth century, had many battles, some great victories, and a few heroic defeats, which artists made into popular romantic and mythic spectacles. Frederick Goodall (1822–1904) condensed the great Indian Revolt of 1857 in *The Relief of Lucknow 1857: Jessie's Dream* (1858). In this intimate scene on the ramparts of the fort at Lucknow, brave British soldiers, and one unflappable officer in particular, defend their white women, who had been at the mercy of the dark Indian rebels. What this painting only hints at, with the inclusion of one Indian soldier among the ranks of the British, was that during the siege of Lucknow about half of the seven thousand people who sought refuge in the garrison were loyal Indian soldiers and their families.

In the Indian Revolt, as in most colonial wars, the battles were not simply between Europeans and non-Europeans. Nineteenth-century paintings, however, rarely tried to illustrate this reality. Lady Elizabeth Butler's (1846–1933) *The Defence of Rorke's Drift* (1880) is an unrivaled example of this tendency. In this battle scene of the Zulu War, a small, all-white band of British soldiers fight off vast, indistinct, and darkened African warriors on the horizon. The artist was praised in Britain for not including images of Africans. As one critic noted, she omitted "such an unsavory adjunct" (Honour, 1988, p. 288).

Not all Romantic artists or nineteenth-century painters portrayed non-Europeans in a condescending manner that "explained" European superiority or justified European imperialism and dominance (a tendency that much later came to be called *Orientalism*). Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) in his masterpiece *Raft of the Medusa* (1819) depicts the survival and deaths of a small group of shipwrecked passengers seemingly abandoned on a raft. Géricault froze the moment when the survivors first sighted the ship that would rescue them. The dead and hopeless victims of the tragedy were placed at the bottom of the composition. The central and strongest figure in the painting, a black man, rises up to signal the ship. The usual symbol of oppression and hopelessness, a black body, in this painting reverses expected roles and becomes a striking representation of hope and salvation.

In 1832 Géricault's younger friend, Delacroix, journeyed to Morocco as part of a diplomatic mission. France's near-Orient captivated Delacroix. "I am quite overwhelmed by what I have seen," wrote Delacroix from Tangier. "I am like a man dreaming, who sees things he is afraid to see escape him." The women of Morocco, he continued, "are pearls of Eden" (quoted in Benton and DiYanni, 1998, vol. 2, p. 263). Two years later, the artist unveiled *The Women of Algiers* (1834), which contemporaries and later critics praised for its authenticity and scrupulous attention to North African living conditions, dress, customs, and physiognomy. Of course, no work of art, not even photographs, are truly transparent, objective, or "true." Although Delacroix was sympathetic to his Algerian subjects, contemporaries often brought their own judgments of Muslim cultures to this painting. These women of a harem, it was repeated time and again, were lazy, arrogant, ignorant, insipid, unclean, and,

noted Alexandre Decamps (1803–1860), "fattened for pleasure" (quoted in Porterfield, 1998, p. 135).

Delacroix's painting *Arab Cavalry Practicing a Charge* (1832) reversed the usual image Europeans were given of non-European warriors. In this picture the artist shows a line of orderly and magnificent Arab horsemen shooting rifles at a gallop. This painting is Romanticism at its best: Delacroix offered the viewer an opportunity to share with him an intensely exciting, unrestrained, and romantic moment.

In the nineteenth century, the noted English art critic John Ruskin (1819–1900) opined that Indians could "not produce any noble art, only a savage or grotesque form of it" (quoted in MacKenzie 1996, p. 311). More than a century earlier, one of court painters of the Chinese emperor Kangxi (1662–1722) noted that he admired European craftsmanship but concluded, "foreign painting cannot be called art." For Europeans, this standoff began to change in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Japanese art, particularly landscape painting and woodblock printing, became recognized and admired by the 1860s. The artist-printer Hokusai Katsushika (1760–1849) created *The Great Wave off Kanagawa* (ca. 1831), a print that became one of the most popular and well-known images representing Japan and the Japanese aesthetic. His popular series of prints called *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* (1858) was part of the impetus that started the Western craze for *japanoiserie* in the last part of the century.

Some of the paintings of Edgar Degas (1834–1917), such as *Ballet Rehearsal (Adagio)* (1876) and *The Morning Bath* (1883), reflect his interest in eighteenth-century Japanese prints. The American painter Mary Cassatt (1845–1926), who joined the European impressionists and also studied Japanese prints, assimilated both of these influences. Her painting *The Bath* (1891), with its simplified form and flat composition, clearly reflects more than a flirtation with Japanese aesthetics. Japanese prints "were the first definitive non-European influence on European pictorial design" (Gardner et al. 1996, p. 988).

Also near the end of the century, the French painter Paul Gauguin (1848–1903) abandoned the corruption of European civilization and the illusion (as he saw it) of reproducing the world in art. "Civilization," he once famously pronounced, "is what makes you sick" (quoted in Gardner et al. 1991, p. 939). In the French South Pacific colony of Tahiti, Gauguin produced sixty-six paintings during his first two years. One of these, *Manao Tupapao* (The Spirit Watches Over Her) (1892), depicts his Tahitian lover terrified one night by the spirits of the dead ("the Tupapao"). Although he drew upon the European tradition of the reclining nude in this picture, this and other paintings from Tahiti reflect Tahiti's brilliant colors, native motifs, and "primitive" life. The renewal of Western art and civilization, he argued, had to come from "the Primitives."

One artist who followed this advice was Pablo Picasso (1881–1974). Inspired by the ancient Iberian sculpture and African masks he had seen at a Paris exhibition, his famous *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907), a group portrait of five nudes, introduced Europeans to cubism and a strong dose of primitivism. The curvy bodies of the women in this painting are distorted and disjointed and broken into angular pieces in a way that came to define cubism. The faces of the three figures on the left were influenced by the ancient sculptures Picasso found in the Louvre in Paris. More interesting and shocking are the two faces on the right, which are elongated, almond-shaped grotesqueries, unmistakably primitive and suggestive of masks.

In sculpture, Henry Moore (1898–1986) also came to reveal his appreciation and embrace of the non-Western and "primitive" art he discovered in the British Museum in London. His *Reclining Figure* (1929) departed from a long Western tradition by presenting a figure that looked more like an ancient native "Earth Mother" than a well-proportioned classical or Renaissance marble.

As the century proceeded, Western artists in the former colonies of Europe increasingly drew upon the forms, concepts, motifs, colors, and more of non-Western art. In the 1920s, the Algonquin School of Canadian landscape painters broke away from the nineteenth-century Canadian landscape tradition that produced large and impressive paintings emphasizing the grandeur of the North American mountains, lakes, and forests. *October on the North Shore, Lake Superior* (1927), a painting by Arthur Lismer (1885–1969), translates this corner of Canadian wilderness into a more impressionist jumble that also reflects the gradations and tones, as well as the cool abstractionism, of Japanese prints.

Mexican painters, many of whom studied in Spain, France, and Italy, assimilated the styles and traditions of the grand masters, the impressionists, the expressionists, and the cubists, as well as that of the ancient and contemporary native cultures of Mexico. The internationally admired muralists of the 1920s and 1930s, particularly Diego Rivera (1886–1957), José Clemente Orozco (1883–1949), and David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896–1974), produced a "revolutionary" public art that was populist and didactic. These artists, known as the Tres Grandes (the Three Greats), and others of this generation were inspired and influenced by the ancient murals and sculptures of Teotihuacán, the Maya, the Aztecs, and others. Rivera's fresco *Carnival in Huexotzingo* (1936) presented a contemporary Mexican carnival in the way ancient painters pictured kings, priests, and warriors. "The

Manao Tupapau, Paul Gauguin, 1892. *In this picture, Gauguin depicts his Tahitian lover terrified one night by the spirits of the dead. Although the artist drew upon the European tradition of the reclining nude, Manao Tupapau also reflects Tahiti's brilliant colors, native motifs, and "primitive" life.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

composition, the harmony of this developing art recapture something of the spatial definitions of ancient Mexican sculpture," wrote Agustín Velázquez Chávez in 1937, "together with the baroque of the Churrigueresque altars" (p. 167). (The Churrigueresque style of the Spanish Baroque refers to particular architectural elements in late seventeenth-century Mexican churches and, more generally, to riotous decorations of all spaces with all manner of ornamental forms.)

As in Mexico, artists in the former British colonies around the world, the dominions, sought to create unique national arts that promoted national identity by connecting with the past, both colonial and native, and with the different peoples and cultures of the present. "The artists of the Dominions," writes MacKenzie, "began to draw upon the motifs, pigments, and spiritual concepts of indigenous art. By the middle of the twentieth century, this fusing of local symbols with European techniques had become standard throughout the territories of white settlement" (1996, p. 315).

In 1989 an exhibition in Paris called *Magiciens de la terre* (Magicians of the Earth), opened as "the first worldwide exhibition of contemporary art." This show presented works by one hundred artists, fifty from Europe and America, and fifty from Native America, Australia, Africa, and Asia. One of the most interesting and revealing commonalities revealed in the contemporary "Western" and "indigenous" artworks in this exhibition is the practice of abstraction. In one room, Aboriginal artists from the community of Yuendumu in Australia created a sand painting that represents the "dreams" or marks of ancestral beings upon the places and landscapes they visited or inhabited. Above the abstract sand-painted circles, waves, and lines is a work by the English artist Richard Long (b. 1945), *Red Earth Circle*. Long's large "messy" circle on a black background was made of mud collected on a visit to the community that created the sand painting. Who has most influenced whom? "Successful and dominant countries impose their laws and styles on other countries," writes Jean-Hubert Martin, "but they also borrow from them and

so become permeated by other ways of life" (Benton and DiYanni, 1998, vol. 2, p. 487).

SEE ALSO *Divide and Rule: The Legacy of Roman Imperialism; Empire, British; Empire, Dutch; Empire, French; Empire, Italian; Empire, Japanese; Empire, Ottoman; Empire, Portuguese.*

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Sharon Lee House

ASANTE WARS

European influence in West Africa was negligible in the eighteenth century. However, this situation underwent a dramatic change in the nineteenth century as a result of the abolition of the slave trade and the adoption of so-called legitimate trade, which would only thrive in the wake of peace and stability. Under these circumstances, ongoing wars between the Asante (Ashanti) and Fante, two indigenous Gold Coast peoples, during the eighteenth century led to instability and impeded trade. Consequently, the British became involved in the Asante-Fante wars in the early nineteenth century to restore peace and stability and promote "legitimate" trade. This economic interpretation of British colonial policy is one of the multifaceted aspects of British-Asante relations, which resulted in a series of wars between 1824 and 1901.

The desire to drive the Asante people from the coastal Gold Coast so as to gain access to markets beyond Asante, coupled with misunderstandings between Asante and British perspectives, and a desire by the British to humble the Asante, underlie the Anglo-Asante wars of 1824 (Nsamankow), 1826 (Katamansu), 1863 (Dodowa), 1874 (Sagrenti), and 1900 to 1901 (Yaa Asantewaa). After Asante's annexation to the British Colony of the Gold Coast, the term Ashanti, as in Ashanti region, was often used to refer to both the Asante people and the core of what used to be the Asante empire.

From the third decade of the nineteenth century, the relationship of Britain vis-à-vis the Asante underwent a dramatic change. Instead of their old position as mediators of conflicts, the British assumed a more aggressive role on the Gold Coast. The period of informal control gradually gave way to invasion and occupation as the European scramble for African colonies intensified. Fear of Asante control of the entire coastline of the Gold Coast, thereby negating years of informal British control, fuelled British hostility towards the Asante.

J. K. Fynn (1971) gives three main reasons for this apprehension. First, British merchants believed that their Dutch counterparts would be the beneficiaries in the event of an Asante occupation of the coast. Second, the British regarded the Asante king as an absolute monarch, much like his counterpart in Dahomey (present-day Benin), and they therefore dreaded a situation whereby European traders on the coast would be dependent on this absolute monarch. Finally, British traders felt morally bound to help the Fante, whose assistance had been crucial to them during periods of commercial rivalry among the Europeans.

The desire to stop the slave trade and promote "legitimate" trade was a major British concern in the Gold Coast in the nineteenth century. The British were desirous to promote what they deemed legitimate products, such as palm oil, rubber, and cotton. This occurred at a time, by 1820, when Asante was a major source of slaves on the Gold Coast. Furthermore, in the context of the European civilizing mission, the British wanted to ensure peace and order as prerequisites for the introduction of "civilization," western education, and evangelization. British officials and merchants believed that only Asante defeat would make this possible and this led eventually to the assumption of crown responsibility for the administration of the Gold Coast forts and castles.

In the economic sphere, the British merchants on the coast were convinced by the third decade of the nineteenth century that if Asante power were broken, the interior of the Gold Coast would be open to them, making trade possible as far as Bonduku (in present-day Ivory Coast), Kong (Ghana), Timbuktu (Mali), and Hausaland (Nigeria). Thus, the policy of cooperation with Asante pursued by the British governor from 1807 was terminated by the new governor, John Hope Smith. Smith, who served as governor from 1817 to 1822, also rejected the treaty of amity and peace negotiated between the British and the Asante by Joseph Dupuis (resident from 1819–1820) in 1820.

The next governor of Sierra Leone, who had oversight over the Gold Coast, Charles MacCarthy (1822–1824), discarded Dupuis's advice to remain on friendly terms with the Asante. Rather, he organized an anti-Asante coalition between December 1822 and May 1823. MacCarthy's contempt for the Asante was exemplified in his failure to send a message to Kumasi, the Ashanti capital, on his arrival in the Gold Coast, as demanded by custom. He also rejected the overtures of accommodation from the *Asantehene* (ruler) Osei Bonsu (r. ca. 1801–1824).

Furthermore, MacCarthy used the trial and execution of an Anomabo man as the occasion to wage war against the Asante but he lost his life in the ensuing battle. Fear of Asante reaction after the defeat of 1824 led to the dissolution of crown rule, and control devolved on the British Company of Merchants. Company rule under George Maclean (1801–1847) from 1830 to 1841 witnessed a transformation in Anglo-Asante relations. Maclean worked for peace and encouraged the revival of agriculture and trade. In April 1831, he concluded a tripartite treaty by which the *Asantehene* recognized the independence of the coastal states and agreed to submit all disputes to the Cape Coast castle. In addition, the coastal states agreed to open the trade routes, thus ending the hostilities of 1824 and 1826. But Maclean's successors did not possess his tact and prudence, and Anglo-Asante relations soured.

The Defeat of Kumasi by the British. *In 1874 British forces commanded by Major General Garnet Wolseley decisively defeated Asante burnt Kumasi, and later arrested Prempe I, the Asante ruler.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The period of Governor H. W. Hill (1844–46) saw the resumption of crown rule on the Gold Coast. Following Maclean, Hill convinced the Fante chiefs to sign the celebrated Bond of 1844. The bond did not involve abdication of sovereignty, and the chiefs were to continue holding their courts. According to historian Thomas Lewin (1978), progressive deterioration in diplomatic contacts between Asante and Britain in the 1840s and 1850s reached a midpoint during Richard Pine's governorship (1862–1865). His refusal to recognize Asante laws and customs led to the Anglo-Asante war of 1863. Asante forces secured the release of hostages in 1863, and a British counteroffensive against Asante ended disastrously.

In 1873 the ministry of British prime minister William Gladstone (1809–1898) faced a crisis on the frontiers of British influence in West Africa, Malaya, and the South Pacific. Urged by Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen (1829–1893), Lord Kimberley (John Wodehouse, 1826–1902), the colonial secretary, attempted a firmer administration in the Gold Coast and intervened in force against Asante. W. David McIntyre (1967) argues that this "new imperialism" was the culmination of a period of tentative innovation rather than the beginning of a forward movement. By 1873, it was felt that the internal conditions of the adjacent states posed serious threats to the security of the Fante colony.

In 1874 British forces (and West Indian troops) commanded by Major General Garnet Wolseley (1833–1913) decisively defeated Asante, burnt Kumasi, and by the Fomena Treaty (1874) compelled the Asante to recognize the independence of all states south of the River Pra. This defeat led to secessionist wars by states that had been under Asante rule. However, a disintegrating Asante empire was gradually revived by Mensa Bonsu (r. 1874–83), Kwaku Dua II (r. 1884–1884), and Agyeman Prempe I (1888–1896).

Alarmed at the steady Franco-German encroachment from the Ivory Coast and Togo, and afraid of Asante revival, British prejudice against intervention gave way to a new determination in 1895 under Joseph Chamberlain (1836–1914) as colonial secretary. To protect the Gold Coast hinterland and stave off French encroachment, the British invited Prempe I to place his country under British protection. Prempe's rejection in 1894 of British protection culminated in a British expedition of 1896. Together with family members, Prempe was arrested and deported first to Sierra Leone, and later, to Seychelles. However, when Governor Frederick Hodgson (1897–1900) demanded the surrender of the Golden Stool in 1900 (The Golden Stool, according to Asante founding tradition, contained the "soul" of the Asante nation and only the Asantehene sat on the stool, usually at the time of enstoolment. Hodgson asked for the stool to sit on in his capacity as the representative of the victorious Queen of England.) Anglo-Asante hostilities were resumed. In response to his request, the Asante under the queen mother of Edweso, Yaa Asantewaa (ca. 1850–1921), fought a final battle (1900–1901) against the British, after which Asante was annexed to the British protectorate.

SEE ALSO *Britain's African Colonies.*

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Edmund Abaka

ASSIMILATION, AFRICA

The word "assimilation" comes from the Latin term *assimilatio,* which means, "to render similar," or "cause to be similar." The import of this idea in French colonial politics may be linked to the ideals of fraternity, equality, and freedom emerging from the 1789 revolution there. Although colonial subjugation mitigated these core radical values, late-eighteenth-century France considered it appropriate to extend rights of citizenship and political rights to the African residents of Dakar, Gorée, Rafisque, Saint Louis, and Senegal. This foremost French colonial enclave in West Africa became the experimental laboratory for assimilation practice.

As an imperial policy, assimilation tried to affirm the assumed superiority of French culture to those of its non-European colonies. Generally, the various European imperial powers—Britain, Germany, France, Holland, Spain, and Portugal—had claimed the obligation to civilize the "barbaric" peoples of the world as the major motive behind colonial exertion. In other words, "civilization" for the peoples of French Africa involved the imposing of French values on African culture. This implied, unquestioned acceptance of French language, dress, food, education, mannerisms, and ways of life distinguished France from its colonial peers. Instead of an indirect approach, France treated African political institutions and culture as if they were irrelevant.

However, a big dilemma confronted the implementation of assimilation policy. Theoretically, assimilation expounded the potential equality for people of all races. This implied political, economic, and social equality among the French and the inhabitants of their overseas extensions, including Africans. But the consequences of this understanding and the attempt by the French to evade them drew indignation of the colonized people, while provoking a nationwide debate among politicians, academics, and colonial officials in France. The conservative monarchists and their Catholic allies confronted the more liberal-minded republicans. Consequently, the intention to assimilate was restricted to Senegal, while being subjected to closer scrutiny, revisions, and changes—especially between 1815 and 1945.

These changes underpinned the dilemma facing an imperial France that tried, with limited success, to clothe its colonial interests in a liberal and progressive garb. France's intentions became more obvious in the 1860s when Louis Léon César Faidherbe (1818–1889), the governor of French West African territory, received orders to embark on a more aggressive and ambitious territorial acquisition. While Faidherbe strengthened French possessions in Senegal from one to four communes, now comprising Dakar, Gorée, Saint Louis, and Rafisque, the privileges of the four communes were

denied to the vast population of Africans that eventually came under French control. The great majority of Africans were denied assimilation and French citizenship. Only the African citizens of the French communes in Senegal were granted the right to elect deputies to the National Assembly in France. Prior to 1914, the African deputies to Parliament had come from a small class of elite, mainly people of European descent or of mixed race. But by 1914 a new African educated elite had emerged. Among them was Blaise Daigne, whose election in 1916 marked the first appearance of an African deputy in the French Parliament.

Meanwhile, as the French expanded its African empire in the late nineteenth century more voices joined the rank of conservatives in the debate over the appropriateness of assimilation in colonial administration. Some held the view that Africans were unfit for complete assimilation. Others opposed the huge costs of educational programs needed in making assimilation a success, arguing that only rudimentary education was more proper for the Africans. There also were groups who desired that colonial development focus more on Algeria with its huge and influential French population.

These relentless attacks on the policy resulted in restricting full citizenship rights and privileges to very few Africans in the colonies. In 1912, for instance, a law established that no one except those in West Africa could gain French citizenship. Additionally, those hoping to acquire citizenship were to meet a certain level of Western education, speak French, and accept both Christianity and European mannerisms. For the Africans, these conditions entailed a total rejection of their indigenous roots and African personality. In effect, between 1914 and 1937, the total number of assimilated Africans in Senegal was roughly 50,000.

In the late 1930s, the French eventually began to acquiesce to the reality that Africans had a very different culture. The logic was then accepted that a different policy was required to make colonial administration attuned to African needs. This understanding led to the adoption of "association" as a new policy for building a better colonial order.

SEE ALSO *Association, Africa; France's African Colonies.*

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Raphael Chijioke Njoku

ASSIMILATION, EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Assimilation as a colonial policy sought the integration of colonized peoples into the colonizer's cultural, social, and political institutions. The philosophy that drove this practice emphasized the Enlightenment ideas of such thinkers as the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who wrote in his *The Social Contract and Discourses* that men "who may be unequal in strength and intelligence, become every one equal by convention and equal right."

The idea of assimilating colonized peoples is most associated with the French. The image of multiracial French national assemblies elicits the belief that this colonial power welcomed representatives from throughout its empire to the colonial homeland as a people equal in stature to their own citizens. The French policy of assimilation, which involved the practice of direct rule over the peoples to which it was applied, stood in contrast to the English, whose colonial practices involved indirect rule and the maintaining of native political, social, and cultural institutions.

These characterizations are somewhat misleading. Recent research suggests that the French assimilated few of their colonial subjects, and when they did it was often as "native," rather than French, citizens. French standards prevented many colonial subjects from inclusion in French society, for they required that the subject must speak French, convert to Catholicism, and reject traditional ("barbarian") customs. In contrast, the English introduced a successful policy of political, rather than cultural, assimilation for colonized peoples residing in neighboring territories. Following the passage of Britain's acts of union, the Welsh, Scots, and Irish all

closed their local parliaments and sent representatives to the British Parliament.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, social Darwinists began to attack the practice of assimilating colonized peoples. In France, the social scientist and physician Gustave Le Bon (1841–1931) led a movement that criticized the policy's primary tenet: that "inferior" peoples could be civilized to join the ranks of the enlightened. Assimilation as an institution, he argued, was "one of the most harmful illusions that the theories of pure reason have ever engendered" (Betts 2005 [1961], pp. 64–69).

German advocates of "scientific colonialism" offered similar arguments after their country began expanding into Africa. However, in neighboring Alsace and Lorraine, the German government did employ assimilation as an administrative approach. These examples suggest that the success of assimilation policies was contingent on form (political over cultural) and familiarity (geographic and ethnic proximity).

Early Japanese examples of an administration practicing assimilation predate many of the above examples. One of the first Japanese attempts at assimilation began in the late eighteenth century when encroaching Russian traders and explorers encouraged the Tokugawa government (1603–1868) to assimilate the indigenous Ezo (Ainu) peoples of present-day Hokkaido.

This experiment was aborted soon after the Russian threat abated, but it was revived following the 1868 Meiji restoration. On both occasions the Japanese government trained the people of Hokkaido in the Japanese language and encouraged them to adopt Japanese attire and cuisine. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the Japanese government herded the people of Hokkaido into schools to instruct them in the Japanese language and farming techniques. The aim was to encourage their settlement into communities that would replace their traditional nomadic hunting-and-gathering way of life. The Japanese government employed similar practices in the Ryukyu kingdom (present-day Okinawa) after gaining control of this archipelago in the 1870s.

Whereas the Japanese could claim (albeit weakly) of having held suzerain relations over Hokkaido and Okinawa during the Tokugawa period, its later colonial acquisitions included territory that had either been part of another empire (Taiwan) or had held outright sovereignty (Korea). This situation, and the backlash that assimilation faced at the time, encouraged the Japanese to choose their policy of colonial administration with caution after it acquired Taiwan following its victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895).

Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi (1841–1909), requesting opinion papers from top foreign advisors, was advised by the French representative to assimilate peoples in colonized areas. The British advised Japan to introduce an indirect policy that maintained the colonized people's traditional customs. Deputy Foreign Minister Hara Takashi (1856–1921) advised in his opinion paper that Japan follow the practices used by the English in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, the French in Algeria, and the Germans in Alsace and Lorraine: assimilation.

By 1910, when Japan annexed the Korean Peninsula, assimilation had been designated as the state's colonial policy by imperial decree. The Japanese government even declared this policy as its administrative strategy in the South Pacific islands that it acquired from Germany during World War I (1914-18).

Differing from the French rhetoric of assimilation's universal applicability, the Japanese justified their adoption of this policy in bilateral terms relating to the cultural and historical similarities that the colonizers shared with the peoples they colonized. Japan's leaders argued that ethnic similarities would bring them success in implementing this assimilation policy in places where European colonizers had failed. These arguments referred to ancient times, when the Japanese, Korean, and Chinese peoples resided as a single people on the Asian continent. Through migration and physical separation, they developed their separate identities.

These arguments also pointed to other similarities in, for example, religion and language, which the Japanese shared with the subjugated peoples. By the time the Japanese had incorporated the South Pacific islands into the empire, assimilation was regarded as Japan's official colonial policy, even if the people to be colonized shared little in common with the colonizers. Nor should it have mattered, for whether the colonized people were Korean, Taiwanese, or Micronesian, the Japanese regarded them as imperial subjects, rather than Japanese citizens.

Despite Japan's rhetoric of assimilation, the colonial policies that the country implemented advanced segregation. Education presents a representative example of this result. Japan probably built more schools in its empire than any other colonial power, yet most of these schools consistently segregated the colonized from the colonizer. Mark Peattie's description (1988) of the education system in Japan's Nan'yo (South Seas) territories demonstrates continuity with practices in Japan's other colonial possessions—a widespread system in which students were kept segregated from those attending Japanese expatriate schools.

The Korean example reflects the situation found in Japan's other colonies. Here Japanese schools limited Korean enrollment to around 10 percent; the Japanese enrollment in Korean schools was less than 5 percent. The schools established for the colonizers were better endowed financially and offered the students better

conditions in which to study. Gaining entrance to Japanese schools did not necessarily advance assimilation, however. Koreans and Japanese who studied together frequently formed separate clubs and lived in different residence halls.

This segregation reflected the ethnic zones of the Korean capital, Seoul. Koreans and Japanese tended to reside in separate parts of the city. Groups of colonized peoples who organized to promote assimilation in Japan's colonies did not achieve much success. The Japanese ordered one such association in Taiwan to disband.

Neither the European nor Japanese assimilation practices managed to successfully integrate colonized peoples into the colonizer's society. Resistance by those to be assimilated only partly explains this; resistance by expatriate colonizers to accept the colonized as equals also prevented the success of assimilation policies.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism, East Asia and the Pacific; Chinese Diaspora.*

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Mark E. Caprio

ASSOCIATION, AFRICA

The French policy of association in Africa was adopted to resolve the problems connected with the implementation of its assimilation policy. Rather than causing Africans to be black Frenchmen, the association acknowledged that the Euro-African relationship should be one of mutual cooperation for the overall profit of the colony and metropolis. In theory, the new policy was supposed to respect African culture and institutions. The association also was considered more cost-effective, and less prone to local resistance.

In practice, however, the association was nothing remarkably different from assimilation. In fact, many scholars agree that, from the start, the French had practiced a combination of assimilation and association. Once the colonies were subdued, the various colonizing powers tried many strategies. While the British adopted the system of indirect rule, the Portuguese used assimilation, the Dutch used racial segregation, and the Germans used colonialism. Whatever it was called, the systems were broadly the same. They were forms of exploitation, oppression, and a way of selling colonizers abroad, while inferiorizing the colonized.

Under association, the French created auxiliary instruments for entrenching authority in the hands of French officials. The Africans were hardly allowed to offer any input in policy decisions. Under the new policy, the French divided African societies into thousands of cantons or districts placed under chiefs who were, in reality, collaborators in the colonial system. Indigenous rulers who understood the culture and customs of their people, but remained hostile to colonial control, were alienated from the system. In this way, the French systematically eliminated African customary law, and created advisory councils to provide knowledge of African law and customs at each level of the bureaucracy.

Determined to maintain the distinction between citizens and subjects, the French legal code was set aside for whites and other assimilated Africans, whereas the millions of unassimilated Africans were subjected to a system called *indigène*. On paper, *indigène* was established to implement African law in civil and criminal justice administration, but it actually operated according to the whims and caprices of the French officials and their African collaborators. Additionally, this policy empowered colonial officers to incarcerate their African subjects without trial. The policy also mandated Africans to volunteer twelve days of unpaid labor for civic services.

Forced labor, harsh penal codes, heavy taxation, and poor living conditions put the African subjects of French West Africa through intense sufferings. The people were denied freedom of speech and association while being exploited through heavy taxation that undermined local food production as the people struggled to cultivate more cash crops to meet their tax obligations. To avoid this hardship, large numbers of Africans emigrated in droves. Some of the migrants left the French colonial territories. New diseases and other health hazards accompanied the mass movement of people. However, African population increased in many areas of colonial Africa, as a consequence of a decline in death rates and the introduction of Western medical services.

With the exception of Senegal, educational development evolved slowly in French West Africa. This was partly because the predominantly Muslim hinterland people of

West Africa demonstrated little interest in Christian mission schools. Also, the colonial education system was elitist, and French was the language of instruction. The curriculum, completely modeled after that in France, neglected African needs. In other words, assimilation was sustained as before despite the adoption of association.

Suddenly, things began to improve for the better after World War II (1939–1945). The defeat of the French by Germany had so hurt French colonial pride that it would have amounted to criminal shortsightedness not to reward the contributions of Africans to the Allied victory. Accordingly, the colonial officials began to treat their African colonies more as an integral part of France. In addition to the rights to elective deputation in the French parliament, a free press, trade unions, and political parties were allowed to grow in the colonies.

By and large, nationalist movements developed slowly in French West Africa, in contrast with the British colonies. This was because the openings of the post–World War II era brought the African political elite into a close-knit relationship with France. A handful of them served in French cabinets in the period of decolonization. Except for Guinea, where the emergent political leaders demanded immediate independence, and in Algeria, where nationalists engaged France in a bloody independence struggle in the 1950s, French West Africa demonstrated an attitude of complacency to colonial rule.

SEE ALSO *Assimilation, Africa; France's African Colonies.*

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ATATÜRK, MUSTAFA KEMAL
1880–1938

Born Mustafa in 1880 or 1881 in Salonica, a prosperous city in the late Ottoman Empire. Later known as Mustafa Kemal, he assumed the surname Atatürk—"Father of the Turks"—in 1934. Son of Ali Rıza, a civil servant, and Zübeyde, Mustafa Kemal became a prominent officer in the Ottoman army during World War I, the leader of the Turkish struggle for independence (1919–1922), and then founding president (1923–1938) of the Republic of Turkey. Atatürk died from cirrhosis of the liver in Istanbul on November 10, 1938.

Mustafa Kemal grew up under the authoritarian Ottoman sultan, Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909). He attended military high school in the town of Manastır before studying at the War College in Istanbul between 1899 and 1904. At a time when a growing number of Ottoman intellectuals and officers—collectively known as the Young Turks—were becomingly increasingly disillusioned with the state of the empire under Abdülhamid II, Mustafa Kemal found himself involved in revolutionary plots to overthrow the sultan. Appointed to serve in Syria in 1905, he returned to Salonica in 1907, where he was active in the Ottoman Freedom Society and the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Mustafa Kemal played only a minor role in the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908, but as a junior officer he was an active member of the Operational Army that marched on Istanbul in April 1909 to suppress a counterrevolution that aimed to restore power to Abdülhamid II.

Between 1909 and 1914 Mustafa Kemal held various posts in the Ottoman army and participated in campaigns against Italy in Tripoli in 1911 and after that in the Balkans. An opinionated and strong-willed young man, Mustafa Kemal developed a rivalry with the leadership of the CUP—Enver Paşa in particular—that prevented him from rising quickly within the ranks of the military and from having much influence over Ottoman politics. In late1914 Enver Paşa committed the Ottoman Empire to World War I on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and throughout the war Mustafa Kemal served as an officer on numerous fronts. His most important campaign—for which he was to gain considerable fame after the fact—was at Gallipoli, where he played a critical role helping to defend the Dardanelles. There he gained a reputation for personal bravery and effective leadership, but also for challenging the authority of allied German commanders and of Enver Paşa. Thereafter Mustafa Kemal commanded forces in Eastern Anatolia and in Syria/Palestine, where he commanded the Seventh Army when the Ottoman government concluded an armistice at Mudros on October 30, 1918.
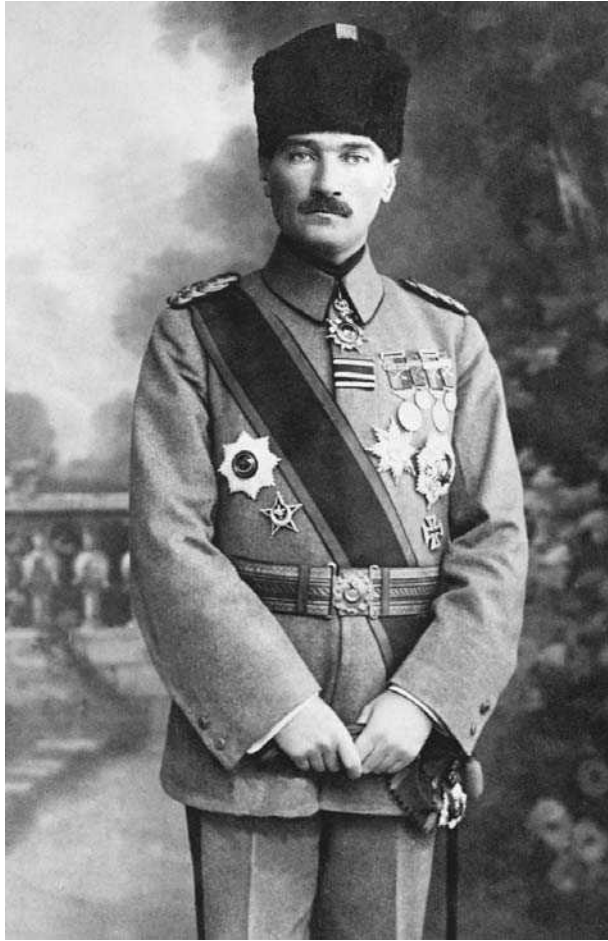
Atatürk as a Young Man. *As the first president of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk modernized the country by instituting numerous political, economic, and social reforms.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

With the conclusion of the war, the Allies set out to divide up Ottoman territory and to incorporate much of it into their own spheres of influence, while also permitting Greek and Armenian occupation of parts of Anatolia and Thrace. In Istanbul, Ottoman politicians and officers debated how to respond to these developments: the sultan advocated acquiescing to Allied demands, while nationalists—including Mustafa Kemal—discussed ways to resist the terms of the armistice. Meanwhile, across Anatolia and Thrace local Turkish groups dedicated to "the defense of national rights" had emerged by May 1919 to oppose the presence of British, French, Italian, Greek, and Armenian occupying forces. Unable to exercise much influence in Istanbul, Mustafa Kemal secured an appointment as inspector of the Ninth Army and was dispatched to Anatolia by the sultan to oversee Ottoman compliance with the armistice. Mustafa Kemal, however, had very different ideas and following his arrival in

Samsun on May 19, 1919, he began to assume leadership of the nationalist opposition and to unite it into a cohesive political and military movement. He devoted the next three years to leading the Turkish War of Independence, and against considerable odds Turkish forces succeeded at driving out all occupying forces, while Mustafa Kemal adroitly isolated the sultan's influence in Istanbul. The Ottoman parliament had reconstituted itself as the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in Ankara, and, increasingly under Mustafa Kemal's influence, it then declared an end to the sultanate on November 1, 1922; it subsequently proclaimed the Republic of Turkey with Mustafa Kemal as its first president on October 29, 1923.

Mustafa Kemal served as president for fifteen years, during which time he strove to ensure Turkey's independence at a time of ongoing Western colonial activity throughout Asia and Africa. Contrary to Western predictions that "Eastern" or "Oriental" peoples would prove too backward to be capable of self-governance, Mustafa Kemal pursued a cautious foreign policy that did not invite foreign interference and looked to Soviet Russia for support; moreover, he was determined to modernize the Turkish nation so that it might take its rightful place in the "civilized" world. Convinced that his vision alone was best for Turkey's future, Mustafa Kemal tolerated neither political nor popular opposition and ruled the country in an increasingly authoritarian manner. His vision for the country gradually developed into an ideology known as *Kemalism*, which denigrated the Ottoman-Islamic past and stressed the importance of a united modern nation rooted in an ancient Turkish history. Mustafa Kemal is frequently associated with efforts to reform and "secularize" Turkish culture and society, but while these efforts had an undeniable impact, his policies did not eliminate popular commitment to Muslim beliefs and practices. In fact, developments in the nearly seven decades since his death demonstrate that while Turks did indeed come to identify with Mustafa Kemal's Turkish nation-state, they also maintained a strong identity as Muslims.

After Atatürk's death in 1938, the Republican People's Party, which he had established, declared Atatürk the nation's "eternal leader." In many ways he lives on today: His portrait, statues, and excerpts from famous speeches are displayed prominently throughout the country. Since the late 1940s there has been some debate as to the efficacy of Atatürk's reforms and the nature of his leadership, in reaction to which the Grand National Assembly passed legislation in 1951 prohibiting his public defamation. Yet Atatürk today still remains deeply revered and respected and is mythologized for the role he played in leading what Turks consider to have been the first successful struggle of an Eastern nation against Western imperialism. Indeed, Atatürk provided important inspiration for subsequent nationalist movements from

North Africa to South Asia, although his commitment to secularization won him many critics in the Arab world especially. Few other nationalist leaders of the twentieth century continue to be as popular and prominent as does Atatürk in Turkey. He must be considered one of the great statesmen of the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO *Abdülhamid II.*

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Gavin D. Brockett

ATLANTIC COLONIAL COMMERCE

In the aftermath of the voyages of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) to the Caribbean and Central America, there arose by the eighteenth century a complex system of trade and commerce between the Americas, the Caribbean, West Africa, and Europe, a truly Atlantic colonial commerce. Moreover, this Atlantic colonial commerce was a significant part of a larger system of trade and commerce that increasingly tied South and East Asia into this European-dominated system of trade.

There were common elements in these emerging and competing systems that the great European naval and mercantile powers established. Colonies in the New World produced raw products that they traded to the Old World for manufactured goods and slaves captured in West Africa. European imperial powers all sought to control trade with their colonies, drawing on *mercantilist* ideas, which suggested that states could best build their power by channeling all colonial trade through metropolitan ports and merchants.

In many ways, colonial economies and transatlantic commerce were dependent upon the great cities of Atlantic Europe. And, despite harsh laws designed to protect these competing trading systems, the colonial powers often did not, or could not, strictly enforce the laws, and colonial merchants and others violated them for their own economic benefit. Thus, there existed an official system in law, not always followed, and an unofficial system in practice, not always recognized.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Hernando Cortés (1484–1547) in Mexico and Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) in Peru discovered vast wealth, and looted it for the benefit of Spain. In the case of Pizarro, the Inca king, Atahualpa (d. 1533), paid a ransom that consisted of a room, 6.7 meters (22 feet) long by 5.1 meters (17 feet) wide, piled some 2.1 meters (7 feet) deep with gold and silver in various shapes and arrangements—a vast fortune. Pizarro took the ransom, killed Atahualpa, decimated the Incas, and established the Spanish colonial empire in western South America.

Cortés, aided by more than twenty thousand Indians who wanted to break Aztec control of central Mexico, destroyed the capital, and Mexico City arose on the ruins of Tenochtitlán. Other conquistadores sought wealth elsewhere, and, as in the cases of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado (ca. 1510–1554), Juan Ponce de León (ca. 1460–1521), and Hernando de Soto (ca. 1500–1542), were not successful. Still this great wealth filled Spanish treasure ships, and whether they safely returned to Spain, or British and other freebooters operating in the Caribbean captured and looted them, the wealth of the New World helped spur the economy of Atlantic Europe. This influx of precious metals contributed to economic growth and, although unevenly spread, increased prosperity. The influx of gold and silver combined with an increase in the production of goods, and a fall in relative prices, especially for luxury goods, ushered in a long period of generally good economic times for Atlantic European countries.

Mines in Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia continued to produce great wealth, but, in time, production declined, and the Spanish economic empire weakened. Despite Spanish efforts, silver production declined, and attacks by Dutch, French, and English pirates on the great treasure fleets increased. This resulted in a decline of the so-called Carrera de Indias (the system of armed convoys that connected Spain to Mexico, via Veracruz, and to South America via Cartagena de Indias and the Isthmus of Panama), and the costs—ships, crews, weather challenges, and piracy—remained high.

Spain had problems in developing a viable colonial economic system that strengthened both the mother country and the colonies. Spain did try to convert Native Americans to Christianity and to have them work in agriculture, raising animals and crops to feed the miners and populations in coastal cities. But diseases inadvertently imported from Europe decimated Native American populations, and the remainder resisted the Spanish.

Landholdings in the Americas were complex, including villages, ranchos, haciendas, and estancias, which made it difficult to exploit the land to produce a valuable

crop for export. In theory, Spanish settlers tried to recreate the great estates that characterized the Castilian nobility, but practice varied widely. Farmers found it more profitable to produce grains, livestock, textiles, and hides for local and sometimes regional but not transnational markets. While individual colonies may have prospered, the mother country and the closed trading system it sought to establish gradually declined.

Eventually, Spain would find more profitable crops—first sugar, and later tobacco, cotton, and coffee—that its colonies in the West Indies would produce. Indeed, in 1503, Spain bought African slaves that had been brought to its Caribbean islands, introducing of a system of African slavery that was gradually to become widespread throughout Spanish America. Although the Spanish did not capture or transport African slaves, Spanish farms used many slaves because comparatively few Spanish middle-class or lower-class families emigrated to the New World. But Spain wasted the great mineral wealth it gained in the Americas in its involvement in the religious wars in Europe, and, along with Portugal, Spain became subservient to the other European Atlantic countries.

Portugal was not as systematic in occupying Brazil. Despite the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, Portugal looked around Africa, towards India, for wealth and its future. There was some value in the wood of the Brazil wood tree and the red dye it created. Still, the king would divide Brazil into fifteen captaincies, and although many of these great landholdings failed, two of them, Pernambuco and São Vicente, did succeed based on sugar cane farming. Raising cane was difficult and labor intensive, and in time these Portuguese plantations would rely on African slave labor. These vast plantations required a great deal of labor, and given the relatively short distance from Brazil to West Africa, Brazil became the greatest importer of West African slaves.

While Spanish explorers found precious metals in the New World, French, English, and Dutch sailors found the great fisheries near the Newfoundland coast. This also proved to be a great source of wealth. John Cabot (ca. 1450–1499) returned to England in 1496 having failed to find a Northwest Passage but with quantities of salt cod. Fish fed Europeans in winter and was important in the Catholic calendar, and the vast reserves of fish in North American waters helped create wealth for the merchants backing these fleets.

GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE NETHERLANDS

Weaknesses in the Spanish colonial system encouraged British and also Dutch and French merchants and adventurers to fill gaps left by Spanish merchants. Such British

ship captains as John Hawkins (1532–1595) recognized that Spain needed a workforce for the sugar plantations and the mines, and he helped start the English trade in West African slaves. The initial profits were so great that Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) secretly invested in his voyages. Despite Spanish protests and the harsh measures used against captured foreign sailors, these English privateers continued to raid Spanish treasure ships and also supply the needs of Spain's New World colonies. Dutch and French captains soon joined the English.

At this time, the Dutch were the great traders of the world, for they possessed ships that were faster and safer—more likely to reach their planned destinations—than their competitors. In Southeast Asia, Dutch traders became wealthy shipping goods within that region, which led to Holland's empire in the East Indies. The Dutch also dominated trade from north to southwest Europe and along the Baltic Sea. But, after losing New Amsterdam (New York) to the British, Holland was not a great player in the Atlantic economy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nonetheless, one reason for the English Navigation Laws starting in the 1660s was to strengthen British merchants and break the power of the Dutch, a development taking place in the eighteenth century.

France established an empire in North America based on agriculture, fishing, lumbering, commerce, and fur trading. The French had strategic locations, controlling the Bay of Saint Lawrence, the Saint Lawrence River, the Ohio River, and the upper and lower Mississippi River. But France never had the population movement—not of French people and not of African slaves—to rival the population of its English colonial neighbors. In the West Indies, France held Martinique and Guadeloupe, useful for sugar, tobacco, and indigo (a blue dye used for naval uniforms), as well as for trade with the richer Spanish possessions. Still, defeat in the French and Indian War (known in Europe as the Seven Years War) ended France's North American empire in 1763, save for two small islands, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, which permitted the French to salt and dry cod captured off Newfoundland prior to the long journey back to Europe.

Although the French empire in the Americas was never as great or powerful as that of Spain or Britain, France also had its mercantilist policies. The French minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), promulgated such rules as requiring French manufacturers to purchase raw materials only from French or French colonial sources, to control trade to the colonies through French ports, and to encourage French emigration to the colonies to help populate them, but France was not
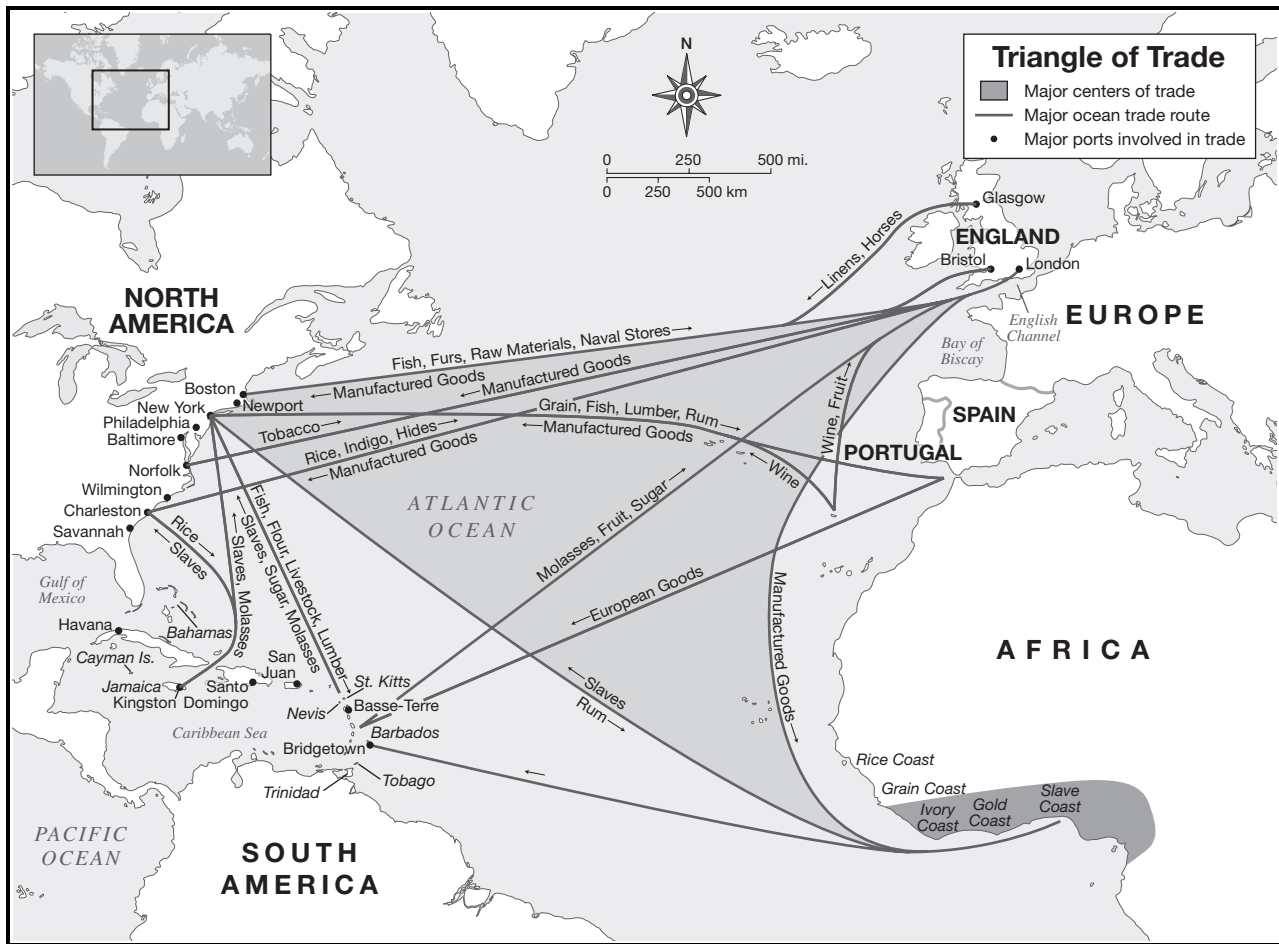
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

as successful as its major opponent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Great Britain.

Then there was Great Britain. Britons settled along the Atlantic seaboard, and after some fits and starts a series of flourishing colonies in Virginia and Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and in other regions of the eastern seaboard arose. The British Hudson's Bay Company secured furs and other precious items through bases north of French-held Quebec. And British colonies in the Caribbean provided sugar, tobacco, and coffee, all commodities highly valued in Europe.

It is interesting that Britain built such a successful first empire in the Americas, since British colonists discovered little gold or precious metals; they also were unable to use or exploit the native workforce to any profitable extent. British success in competing with the other European colonial powers owed much to the greater openness of its colonial system to commerce and immigration, and to the development of an extraordinary

maritime power that it could use both for peaceful trade and for fighting wars.

MERCANTILISM AND THE TRIANGULAR TRADING SYSTEM

When historians talk of the so-called triangular trading system, they usually refer to Great Britain and its colonies in the Americas and slave colonies in West Africa. By the late seventeenth century, the countries of Atlantic Europe and their colonies to the west were connected by a relatively elaborate network of trade and commerce. It is important to note that most ships followed one route, and while the system is frequently called the triangular trade system, it was a series of separate routes that fit together into a whole.

For example, ships designed to transport slaves on the so-called Middle Passage from ports in West Africa to the Caribbean could not easily and profitably convert to transport other kinds of cargo. Manufactured products

from Europe and rum from North America, a byproduct of sugar production, were traded for slaves in West Africa. West African slaves, more than ten million, were forcibly shipped to the Caribbean, Jamaica being the chief trading center, and then transshipped to Brazil, British North America, and other Caribbean islands. New England and the Carolinas produced naval stores; Boston also shipped furs and fish. The Middle Colonies consumed manufactured goods, for which they exchanged tobacco, and the southern colonies added rice, indigo, and furs. It was a complex system that most benefited Great Britain, providing goods for reexport to Europe, markets for British manufactures, and a carrying trade that strengthened the growth of its navy.

Colonial trading systems were underpinned by the theory of *mercantilism*, which determined the ways in which European states organized commerce with their colonies. The goal was to develop a closed trading system, where colonies provided the mother country with needed raw materials and also absorbed surplus production; colonies should not compete with the mother country in producing manufactured and finished goods. Ideally, the system would produce a surplus of a valuable good that other, competing European nations would be forced to purchase using their precious metals, thereby enriching one mercantilist empire at the cost of the others. Thus some economic historians refer to mercantilism as *bullionism*. To enforce this theory of mercantilism, a mother country needed a powerful navy and the capacity to force its colonies to sell valuable raw materials only to merchants of the mother country and, likewise, to purchase finished products only from the same merchants, even if a competing nation was willing to pay more or to sell finished goods for less.

Such regulations inevitably created tensions. In the Americas, colonists wanted to sell their goods for the highest possible price, purchase at the lowest, and have a navy safeguard goods to market. While they were not disloyal to their respective mother countries, they were not particularly loyal either. The British colonists in North America were probably the most guilty of this practice, favoring the Dutch through the port of Saint Eustacious in the Caribbean or the French in nearby Quebec, thereby seeking the benefits of the British trading empire without its attendant costs.

Britain, as with other imperial powers, sought to control the economies of its colonies for its own benefit. The British Parliament passed a series of so-called Navigation Acts beginning in 1651 and continuing until they were revoked in the mid-nineteenth century, long after Britain's original North American colonies had successfully revolted and established the United States. The acts required the shipping of goods to England or

English colonial ports unless such goods were transshipped through a major port in Great Britain. The original acts in 1651 and again in the 1660s were clearly aimed at the Dutch, whose ships regularly visited colonial ports, and who thus profited from a system that the British Royal Navy protected but who avoided paying appropriate taxes and charges.

In the 1660s Britain produced a list of "enumerated goods," including tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, and dyeing woods, which colonies could only trade among themselves or with Great Britain. Other European countries would have to pay marked-up prices, and thus their precious metals would flow into British ports, strengthening Britain. Later acts suppressed colonial manufactures, which would strike New York and the New England colonies especially hard had the colonists followed the law, and had British colonial agents and the Royal Navy enforced them.

DECLINE OF THE ATLANTIC COLONIAL COMMERCIAL SYSTEM

About the time this Atlantic colonial commercial system was relatively firmly in place, great changes occurred. France and England fought four great wars for empire. In each case, a conflict in Europe led to a war between French Quebec and British North America. In the fourth and final war, the Seven Years (1756–1763) or French and Indian War (1754–1763), England hired German and other mercenaries to contain France on the European continent while seizing control of France's holdings in North America and elsewhere. France lost Canada and was left with only two islands off the Newfoundland coast, together with its islands in the Caribbean and its foothold on the Caribbean coast of South America.

Britain's victory over France led to the American Revolution. Britain had spent a vast fortune to defeat France, and, since one of the main beneficiaries of this overwhelming victory was Britain's colonies in North America, King George III (1738–1820) and Parliament not unnaturally wanted the colonists to help pay the cost. The colonists demurred, citing a lack of appropriate representation in the British Parliament, and eventually the situation devolved into war. When the Revolutionary War ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Britain's largest holdings in the Americas were now independent, and outside of any of the imperial trading blocs.

Soon thereafter Europe plunged into the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Beginning with the French Revolution in the 1790s, various combinations of European countries fought for more than two decades until, in the aftermath of the defeat of Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) at Waterloo in central Belgium in 1815, a peace of sorts seemed to descend on Europe. Thereafter, the scene of colonial exploitation and hence

trade would move to Asia; to the British takeover of India; to the competition in Southeast Asia between the Portuguese, the Dutch, and other late arrivers; and finally to the great prize of China, which had reached its peak and was beginning to descend in power, prestige, and control.

SEE ALSO *Company of New France; Export Commodities; Massachusetts Bay Company; Mercantilism; Virginia Company.*

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Charles M. Dobbs

ATLANTIC FISHERIES

Codfish was the first New World product consumed on a large scale in Europe. It has seldom been considered a colonial product because the cod fishery began long before the establishment of colonies in northeastern North America. The acquisition of codfish did not require trade or even contact with the continent's indigenous peoples, since fishermen took cod out at sea, either out on the banks or along the coasts of what is now known as Newfoundland, Labrador, the Gaspé Peninsula, the Canadian maritime provinces, and the American state of Maine.

Europeans did not compete with indigenous peoples for codfish because this stretch of the North American coast was one of the least populated areas of the entire continent, the fishermen themselves only frequented it for a short period each year, and codfish was not a resource exploited by the Amerindians, who relied almost exclusively on inter-tidal and river species for their livelihood. European fishermen salted and preserved codfish directly onboard their ships or on uninhabited islands or shores during the summer months, but even the latter operation did not necessitate the installation of permanent settlements, since the codfish were loaded onto the ships and the drying stations were abandoned at the end of the season.

Nonetheless, the cod fishery allowed the European fishermen, particularly the French and the English, to "occupy" the coast, to symbolically consume this space, and progressively construct a colonial territory. The fishery was a "protocolonial" activity that helped to initiate the process of colonization through mass consumption.

The New World cod fishery developed early in the sixteenth century and at a rapid pace in a large number of Atlantic ports in southern England, western France, northwestern Spain, and northwestern Portugal. Cod fishing in the "New-Found-Land" is mentioned as early as 1502 in English records, 1510 in Norman archives, and 1512 in French Basque archives. Already substantial by the 1520s and 1530s, this fishery grew at a remarkable rate in the middle of the century. Wherever they have been preserved, the notarial archives reveal a rapid increase in voyages to Newfoundland, especially from France. For example, in Bordeaux the departures registered by notaries grow from approximately ten per year in the 1540s to more than fifty per year beginning in 1560. The same increase took place in La Rochelle and Rouen.

The tally made by the sixteenth-century English navigator Anthony Parkhurst in the course of a reconnaissance mission in 1578 set the number of European ships involved in the fishery at approximately 380: 150 French cod-fishing vessels, 100 Spanish, 50 Portuguese, and 30 to 50 English, along with 20 to 30 Basque whalers. Parkhurst probably underestimated the size of the fleet, since the incomplete notarial records of Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and Rouen indicate that there were more than 150 vessels at midcentury at these three French ports alone. More plausible are the figures of Robert Hitchcock, author of, *A Political Platt for the Honour of the Prince* (London, 1580), based on

intelligence reports sent from French ports, setting the French fleet at approximately 500 ships in about 1580, to which one must add the less substantial, but nevertheless sizable, Spanish, Portuguese, and English fishing fleets.

These figures point to an immense fishing enterprise that has been largely overlooked in the maritime history of the North Atlantic.. In light of these figures, it would appear legitimate to estimate the European cod fishing fleet in the early 1580s at 700 or 800 ships, which would have had a combined loading capacity of some 60,000 tons burden, and they mobilized more than 16,000 fishermen each year.

The Newfoundland fleet surpassed by far the prestigious Spanish fleet that traded with the Americas, which had only one quarter the loading capacity and crewmembers. According to Pierre and Huguette Chaunu (1953), the fleet engaged in Hispano-American commerce comprised between fifty and one hundred large vessels, which loaded an annual average of 16,000 tons and were crewed annually by four to five thousand men during the 1570s. These figures demonstrate that the Gulf of the Saint Lawrence represented a site of European activity fully comparable to the Gulf of Mexico or the Caribbean. While North American codfish obviously did not possess the value of silver and gold, it demanded large numbers of vessels and men—at least three to four times what was needed for the routes that led to the South American trades—and thus had unexpected implications for the development of the North Atlantic maritime economy.

Little known in the Middle Ages, in the sixteenth century codfish became the most widely consumed fish in western Europe, surpassing hake and even herring, the king of medieval fish. The French naturalist Pierre Belon (1517–1564) devotes a long article to codfish in *La nature et diversité des poissons* (The Nature and Diversity of Fish, 1555)—the first natural history on fish written in French—and states that "there is no place where it is not sold." Codfish penetrated far into the interior of France, Spain, and Portugal, reaching even small country towns. Cod was not only found everywhere, almost everyone consumed it. It turned up on the tables of princes as well as those of villagers and peasants.

In all of the large port cities, professional sorters (who were incorporated) carefully graded the fish so that they would meet the demands of consumers from different social classes. The top-quality cod reached the best aristocratic tables of both Protestant and Catholic families, and it was featured in the most refined French cookbooks. The most renowned cookbook in seventeenth-century France, the *Cuisinier françois* by François Pierre de La Varenne (1618–1678), the cook for the bishop of Châlons near Troyes—a location well inland—offers five recipes for codfish and another for codfish pâté. Cod figured in the privileged diet of both religious and secular institutions,

and it often appeared on tables in the refectories of ecclesiastical institutions, establishments that served as models in matters of food, perhaps even more than aristocratic tables. The French navy also ordered large quantities of cod to feed ships' crews during military campaigns at sea. And account books for hospitals or convents show regular purchases of codfish. Cod also graced servants' tables in large houses, hostels, and inns.

Codfish was sought after and widely consumed because it satisfied a European longing for space and a desire to consume the "New Land," especially in France and England. Exotic foods are directly linked to space. As Sidney Mintz (1985) and others such as David Bell and Gill Valentine (1997) have demonstrated, to eat a foreign food is to bring its place of origin to one's own place and even into oneself, to domesticate it and make it familiar. Consuming an exotic food requires a symbolic appropriation of the place of origin and at the same time an occupation of that territory, in order to make appropriation possible. It is because of this double affiliation with territories, that consumption and colonization are so intimately linked and the production of food so central to colonization. Notably, most colonial products brought from the Americas in the early modern period were foods: codfish, sugar, coffee, and cocoa.

Codfish was considered an exotic product in the sixteenth century because the name of its place of origin, the New Land, is regularly paired with the name of the fish in the documents of the period. The earliest English and French records that mention cod-fishing expeditions to the New World specify that the product comes from the New Land. In Bordeaux, long before wine had acquired this privilege, the contracts for sales of cod drawn up by notaries indicated "codfish from the New Land"; the same is true of the provisioning contracts of the great aristocratic houses of Paris. And La Varenne, in his celebrated *Cuisinier françois*, titles one of his recipes "Codfish from the New Land"; of the ninety-three recipes he provides for fish, this is the only one to which he attributes a place name.

As its name suggests, the New Land evoked the mythic origins of a virgin territory, exempt from original sin, a paradise that sheltered the fountain of eternal youth. The term expressed the hope of attainment of the terrestrial paradise promised in the New Testament *Apocalypse* (the *Book of Revelation*)—a world dating from before the Fall described in *Genesis*, in which Christians could live in harmony with the elements and establish a direct and peaceful relation with their creator.

During the sixteenth century, the French, English, Spanish, and Portuguese began to actively include North American codfish in their everyday lives. The consumption and domestication of codfish was a means of

symbolically appropriating the geography of the New Land and of making it financially feasible for colonization, at the same time that it immediately changed the daily lives of those future colonizers. North America was being incorporated into the European diet, domesticated as it were, whereas on the other side of the Atlantic, fishermen transmitted European diseases, which decimated native populations and cleared the land for European settlement. This first protocolonial phase of colonization set the stage for the establishment of permanent French and English settlements and a colonial administration in New France, Newfoundland, and New England at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

SEE ALSO *Atlantic Colonial Commerce; European Explorations in North America; New France.*

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Laurier Turgeon

AUSTRALIA

Australia is a country in the Southern Hemisphere, lying between the Indian and Pacific oceans. The only country to occupy an entire continent, Australia is about the same size as the United States, not including Alaska. Australia is relatively flat and, with the exception of outlying tropical and temperate regions, has a dry climate. The capital is Canberra and the largest cities are Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. Australia includes the large island of Tasmania as well as smaller offshore territories such as the Coral Sea Islands, Norfolk Island, Macquarie Island, Christmas Island, and the Cocos Islands; it also claims part of Antarctica. Australia is rich in mineral wealth and is ranked among the world's top five producers of such minerals as bauxite, lead, zinc, gold, iron, cobalt, uranium, coal, copper, nickel, and silver. The country's agricultural sector is also considerable, with wheat, wool, and beef cattle especially important.

Australia's indigenous inhabitants are known as Aboriginal people (the preferred term) and also as Aborigines. Aboriginal people settled in Australia at least forty thousand years ago and possibly as early as seventy thousand years ago; they settled the entire continent, as well as Tasmania, and developed hunting, fishing, and gathering cultures appropriate to various environments. About six hundred different Aboriginal societies, or tribes, most with their own distinctive languages, flourished in Australia prior to European arrival. Though their technology was relatively simple, Aboriginal people developed complex religions and legal systems and were able to survive and prosper in extremely harsh environments.

The first European to visit Australia was the Dutch explorer Willem Jansz, who sighted the northern coast in 1606 and named it New Holland; some scholars, however, believe that Spanish and Portuguese explorers may have made earlier sightings. Later Dutch and British expeditions provided Europeans with greater knowledge of this "new" continent. In 1770 Captain James Cook landed at Botany Bay, near present-day Sydney, and explored the eastern coast of Australia, claiming it for Great Britain and naming it New South Wales. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Australia had been circumnavigated and its coastline mapped; much of the interior, however, remained unknown to Europeans until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

British settlement in Australia began in 1788 with the founding of Sydney (then known as Port Jackson) as a penal colony. Prisoners from Great Britain, many of them charged with minor offenses, were settled in the Sydney area. The British believed that transporting convicts to Australia would help reduce prison overcrowding in England, would remove "undesirable" people from the mother country, and would help populate Australia. Penal colonies were also established elsewhere, notably in Tasmania and in Western Australia. About 160,000 convicts were sent to Australia between the 1780s and the 1860s. Convict life varied, but punishments for infractions could be severe, and included beatings, solitary confinement, and even death. When freed, convicts were often given land.
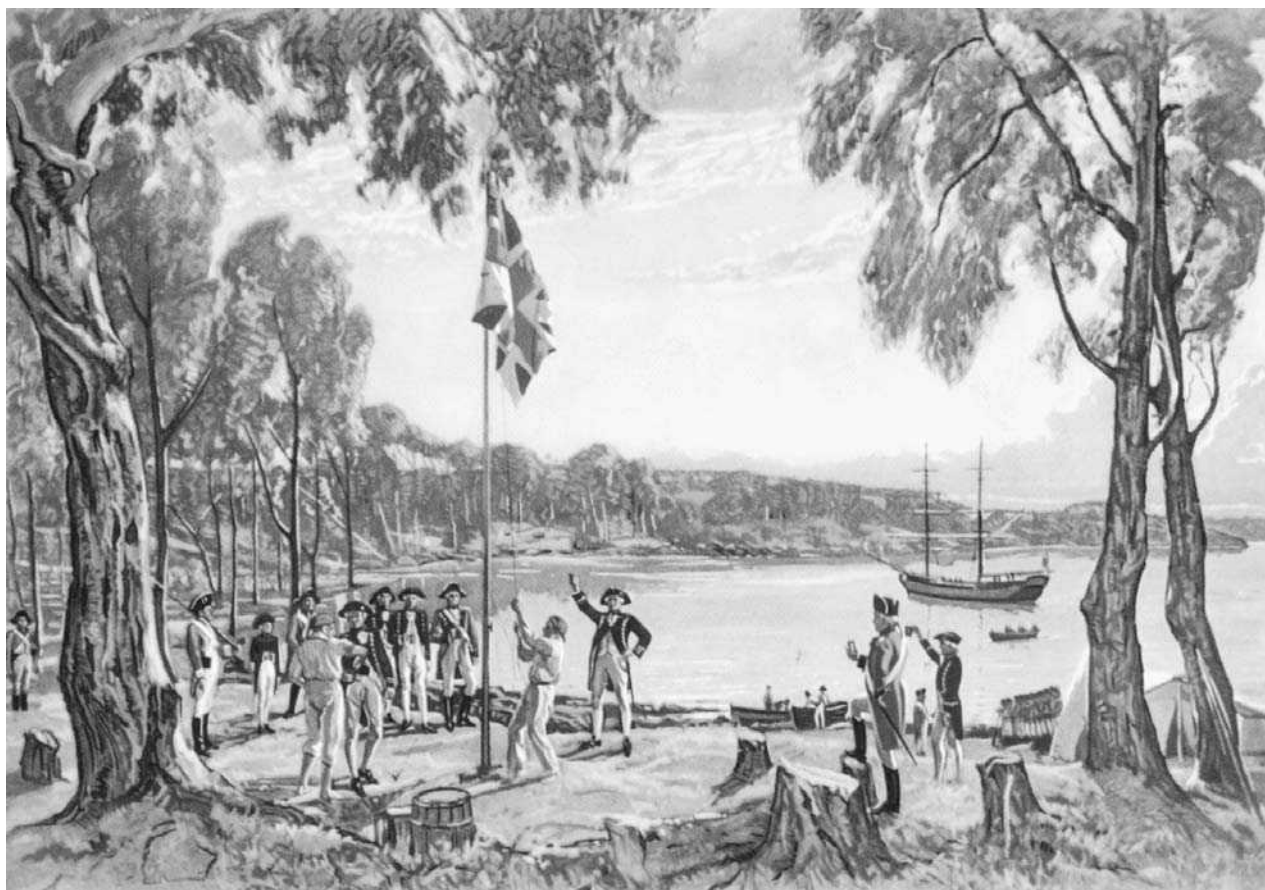
The Founding of Australia. *In January 1788 Captain Arthur Phillip established an English settlement at Sydney Cove on the southeast coast of Australia. In this illustration based on a 1937 painting by Algernon Talmadge, Phillip and his crew hoist a flag on the site, an event that is considered the beginning of European settlement in Australia.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Australia remained something of an economic backwater until the discovery of gold north of Melbourne in 1851. As in California, the Australian gold rush resulted in many new settlers and the further exploration of the continent's interior. The gold rush stimulated other economic sectors, such as agriculture, and Australia in the 1860s was transformed from a penal colony into six flourishing colonies of free settlers. At intercolonial conferences beginning in 1863 the separate colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia debated joining together. They did so in 1901, forming the Commonwealth of Australia, with a federal system consisting of a national government and state governments.

Until the 1960s, Australia's economy was closely tied to Great Britain through a system of imperial preference that gave trade advantages to British dominions. When Britain joined the forerunner of the European Union, Australia's trade began to shift to Asia and the United States. Though Australia is independent, the British monarch remains the country's formal head of state. An antimonarchy movement is gaining influence, but a referendum on creating a republic was defeated in 1999.

Australia sent troops to support the British in both World Wars. Australia's participation in the failed campaign to win the Gallipoli Peninsula in Turkey in 1915 and its loss of over eight thousand soldiers created a strong sense of Australian, as opposed to British, national identity. In the 1940s, when Japan posed a threat to the country's northern coast, Australia requested assistance from the United States, which led to a strong new alliance and a shift in the country's military ties away from Britain.

From federation in 1901 until 1973, Australia had a restrictive immigration policy, known as the "White Australia" policy, which limited immigration mainly to emigrants from the British Isles, though some exceptions

AUSTRALIA

0   200   400   600 Miles

0   200   400   600 Kilometers

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were made for southern and eastern Europeans, especially after World War II. In the 1970s the country began to admit Asian immigrants and today Australia has a large Asian and Pacific Islander community.

Australia became a colonial power in its own right when it acquired formerly British as well as formerly German territories in New Guinea; Australia administered these as colonies from the end of World War I until the independence of Papua New Guinea in 1975. Australia also acquired the phosphate-rich Pacific island of Nauru after World War I and administered it until Nauruan independence in 1968. Australia is still involved in the economic and political affairs of these countries.

Australia has increasingly come to terms with its Aboriginal population and the consequences of colonialism.

Aboriginal people were finally granted Australian citizenship and the right to vote in 1967. In 1992 the country's High Court, in the *Mabo* case, overturned the legal doctrine of *terra nullius*, which had stated that Australia was "unoccupied" at the time of British settlement and that therefore Aboriginal people had no legal title to lands. The *Mabo* decision, along with subsequent court cases, initiated a process of land claims, in which Aboriginal communities that could demonstrate continued association with their traditional lands would receive land titles as well as compensation. Australians at the start of the twenty-first century are also addressing the historical treatment of Aboriginal people, as the process of reconciliation continues.

SEE ALSO *Commonwealth System; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Michael Pretes

AUSTRALIA, ABORIGINES

Aboriginal people understand their ancestors to have always been on the Australian continent, and archaeologists have dated their remains at over forty-thousand years old. Contact between Europeans and Aborigines was sporadic from the Dutch, Portuguese, and British expeditions across the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century, to the British and French explorations of the Pacific Ocean in the eighteenth century. Explorer James Cook (1728–1779) navigated the eastern coast of Australia in 1770, claiming it for Britain, and in 1788 Cameragal, Gayimai, and Cadigal people around what is now Sydney, witnessed the arrival of hundreds of convicts and soldiers. Unlike previous Europeans who came and went, this group stayed to establish a new penal colony.

Wherever the British established pastoral, penal, and shipping communities—inland from Sydney, in Tasmania, around the bay of what is now Melbourne—Aboriginal people were displaced from traditional lands, were sometimes killed by settlers, became ill, and often died from exotic diseases, especially smallpox. Occasionally, in this early period, encounters across cultures resulted in ongoing familial, sexual, or companionate relationships: Tasmanian Aboriginal women lived and had families with British sealers and whalers; escaped British convicts sometimes incorporated into Aboriginal communities; and indigenous men known to the historical record, like Bennelong (1764–1813), or Baneelon, formed friendships with British officials, albeit initially unwillingly, and occasionally traveled to England.

From the 1830s, Aboriginal people in the British colonies in the south and east (New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria) were increasingly managed by governments through various 'protection' acts. Land was set aside for them, and 'reserves' and 'missions' were headed by British officials or religious bodies. The system of missions and reserves became more rigid in the early twentieth century, with the Aborigines Protection Acts strictly limiting movement beyond the reserves.

In the early twentieth century, Aboriginal families were increasingly subject to policies of child removal. This was driven by concern about interracial sex, and so-called 'mixed-race' children, whom the government sought to assimilate. Many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal historians consider that the state practice of child removal was genocide, as defined by the UN Convention. There is a long history of indigenous protest against this removal, the limitation of movement, exploitive working conditions, and the active exclusion of Aboriginal people from the civic body. Aboriginal people always link this protest to the original dispossession of land. Resistance has ranged from formal petitions (to King George V [1865–1936] in 1934, for example), to mothers hiding their children from welfare agents, to successful labor strikes on cattle stations, as well as long-standing campaigns for the restoration of land, and recognition of native title. A major campaign in 1967 successfully changed the Australian constitution by referendum, transferring power over Aboriginal affairs from state governments to the federal government. More civic rights gradually ensued. Currently, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people deal with many social, political, and health problems that are a direct legacy of the colonial past. The meaning of this history forms a major aspect of political and cultural debate in Australia.

SEE ALSO *Australia.*

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Alison Bashford

AZIKIWE, NNAMDI
1904–1996

Born of Igbo parents on November 16, 1904, in Zungeru, Nigeria, soothsayers had foretold a great future for Nnamdi Azikiwe. In a traditional African society where the gods saw all and knew all, one fortune-teller named the new babe Ibrahim after a local ruler who stoutly resisted British colonialism in northern Nigeria. Indeed, by his death in May 1996, the "Great Zik of Africa" had left an enviable legacy of accomplishments.

Early in life, Azikiwe clearly understood the importance of Western education in the neocolonial world order. His formal education began at the mission schools in Nitsha in 1912. Afterward, he attended the Wesleyan Boys High School in Lagos, and later transferred to the Hope Waddell Training Institute in Calabar. With this education, Azikiwe acquired proficiency in Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, and Efik languages, while also being attuned to their various indigenous cultures and customs. In 1925 Azikiwe traveled to the United States in search of an American education. By 1931, Azikiwe had earned degrees in journalism, law, political science, and anthropology from different American institutions. American education exposed Azikiwe to the thoughts of black intellectuals like Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), W. E. B. DuBois (1868–1963), and James Emmanuel Aggrey (1875–1927). Prolific in words and writing, Azikiwe authored many articles that were published in scholarly journals. His essays addressed the African experiences with European colonialism and the hope for a renascent Africa. Overall, Azikiwe published over fifty-six books, articles, poems, and monographs, including *Liberia in World Politics* (1934), *Renascent Africa* (1937), and his autobiography, *My Odyssey* (1970).

After he left the United States in 1934, Azikiwe spent three years on the Gold Coast editing the *African Morning Post*, 1937, Azikiwe established a group of newspapers based in Nigeria, dedicated to the nationalist struggle. That same year he joined the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) and acquainted himself with Sir Herbert Macaulay (1864–1946), the father of Nigerian nationalism. Their friendship blossomed while creating the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) in 1944, to accelerate the political development of the country. While Macaulay served as council president, Azikiwe was the secretary general.

In 1945, when the leader of labor, Michael Imoudu (b. 1902), called for a general strike, Azikiwe quickly mobilized his NCNC and chain of newspapers—the *West African Pilot*, *The Eastern Nigerian Guardian*, *the Daily Comet*, *The Nigerian Spokesman* and *the Southern Nigerian Defender*—to make the strike a stunning success. For his role, the colonial authorities hated Azikiwe, and there were rumors about an assassination plan as his popularity rose dramatically among the working class. The tragic demise of Macaulay during a nationwide tour organized in protest to the Richards Constitution of 1945—which was packaged without input from Nigerians—left Azikiwe as the undisputed inheritor of national politics.

Azikiwe's charisma and ideas inspired many youths who came together to form the "Zikist Movement." At the same time, his stature and political rhetoric provoked fear and envy among his peers. This would result in a far-reaching political realignment in the early 1950s that polarized Nigerian politics into three major ethnic-based political parties—the Action Group (AG) in the West, the Northern People Congress (NPC) and the NCNC in the East. This formation determined the course of Nigeria's postcolonial politics. On the eve of Nigeria's independence in October 1960, Azikiwe's NCNC forged a coalition with the victorious party, the NPC. This move guaranteed his appointment as senate leader. In 1963, Azikiwe became the first indigenous governor-general of the country.

On January 15, 1966, Nigeria took a rapid plunge into military coups, anarchy, and a civil war that lasted from 1967 to 1970. Nigeria was ruled by various military regimes until 1979 when the Second Republic elections were held. Twice, Azikiwe unsuccessfully vied for the presidency under his new political party, the Nigerian People's Party. In 1983 Azikiwe announced his retirement from active politics. He died on May 11, 1996.

SEE ALSO *Nationalism, Africa.*

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Raphael Chijioke Njoku

AZTEC EMPIRE

In 1790, laborers paving the streets in downtown Mexico City came across an extraordinary piece of stone. The workers were descendents of the Aztecs (or *Mexica*, as they called themselves; pronounced Me-sheeka) who had built the city upon which Mexico City stood, the Aztec imperial capital of Tenochtitlán. The piece of stone, nearly twelve feet in diameter, had been buried in rubble when the city was destroyed in 1521. The date on the stone indicates that it was placed in the city's center in 1427. Called the Sun Stone or Calendar Stone, the carving depicted a face at its center, probably that of Tlaltecuhtli, the monstrous Earth god.

Just as Tlaltecuhtli was presented in the stone as the monstrous center of the Earth, so was Tenochtitlán hereby conceived as the fearsome center of its world. Tlaltecuhtli's tongue was carved as a flint knife, the symbol for war in the Aztec writing system, and extending from his ears were claws grasping human hearts. The concentric circles that surround this image represent the five creations of the world, extending back in time, as well as the twenty day signs making up a month, and a set of icons depicting the unceasing and all-important motion of the sun. Thus Tenochtitlán's position in time and space was more than significant; it was sacred, it sanctioned and even required warfare and sacrifice, and it indicated an awesome destiny.

What happened before 1427 that led to the carving of this stone and the development of this ideology? And in what ways did the *Mexica* of Tenochtitlán realize this destiny in the century that followed?

Like many cultures, the *Mexica* had turned the history of their ancient semisedentary lifestyle and migration into an origin myth. According to that myth, the original nomadic *Mexica* lived on the shores of a mythical Lake Aztlán (hence the modern name Aztec, which first came into vogue in the eighteenth century). Here they wandered until their patron god Huitzilopochtli told them to migrate south and to settle where they saw an eagle with a snake in its mouth alight on a prickly pear cactus (an image preserved today on the Mexican national flag). According to *Mexica* legend, this omen was sighted in 1325 on an island in Lake Texcoco, where the twin cities of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlán were then founded.

This lake was in the center of the Valley of Mexico (the lake is now covered by Mexico City), where the *Mexica* had been living as mercenaries on marginal marshlands for about a century, according to their own history. After 1325 they continued to sell their military services and to pay tribute to the dominant city-state in the valley, Azcapotzalco, while also slowly building their own network of tribute-paying subject towns and pursuing an aggressive policy of marrying *Mexica* nobles into the ruling families of the valley.

The turning point in *Mexica* history came in 1427, the year Itzcoatl (1360–1440), the fourth *Mexica* king, took the throne and set the Calendar Stone in Tenochtitlán's plaza. The following year Itzcoatl formed an alliance with two lakeside cities, Texcoco and Tlacopan, and led a successful war against Azcapotzalco. This was not just the rise to regional dominance of the *Mexica*, but the birth of the Aztec Empire. For the next century, until stopped by the Spanish invasion, the *Mexica* engaged in an aggressive imperial expansion across Central Mexico and to its southeast. The Aztec method of imperial rule was not direct; local elites were confirmed in office, providing they were willing to accept client status within the empire. But the *Mexica* did require significant tribute payments in the form of labor and a wide variety of goods—from bulk food products to luxury items.

Thus the empire was not built upon territorial acquisition and colonization (unlike the Spanish Empire). But it was augmented through a stepping-stone method, with each conquered town providing resources (even warriors) for the next conquest, and with local rivalries exploited and intimidation tactics employed wherever possible (all methods subsequently imitated by the Spaniards). The Aztec Empire's control of trade routes and local resources through the tribute system allowed Tenochtitlán to grow into a populous, prosperous, and powerful capital city. The first Europeans to set eyes on the Aztec capital were amazed at its size, setting, and beauty. The twin island cities of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlán—with their grid of canals, busy streets, and two plazas bounded by pyramids and plazas—seemed to float on shimmering Lake Texcoco.

Divided by a great dike to keep salt water from the city and prevent flooding, the lake was covered in canoes, its shores were studded with more cities, each with their own plazas and pyramids. There were about a quarter of a million people living in Tenochtitlán, and several million in the whole valley (with the Central Mexican
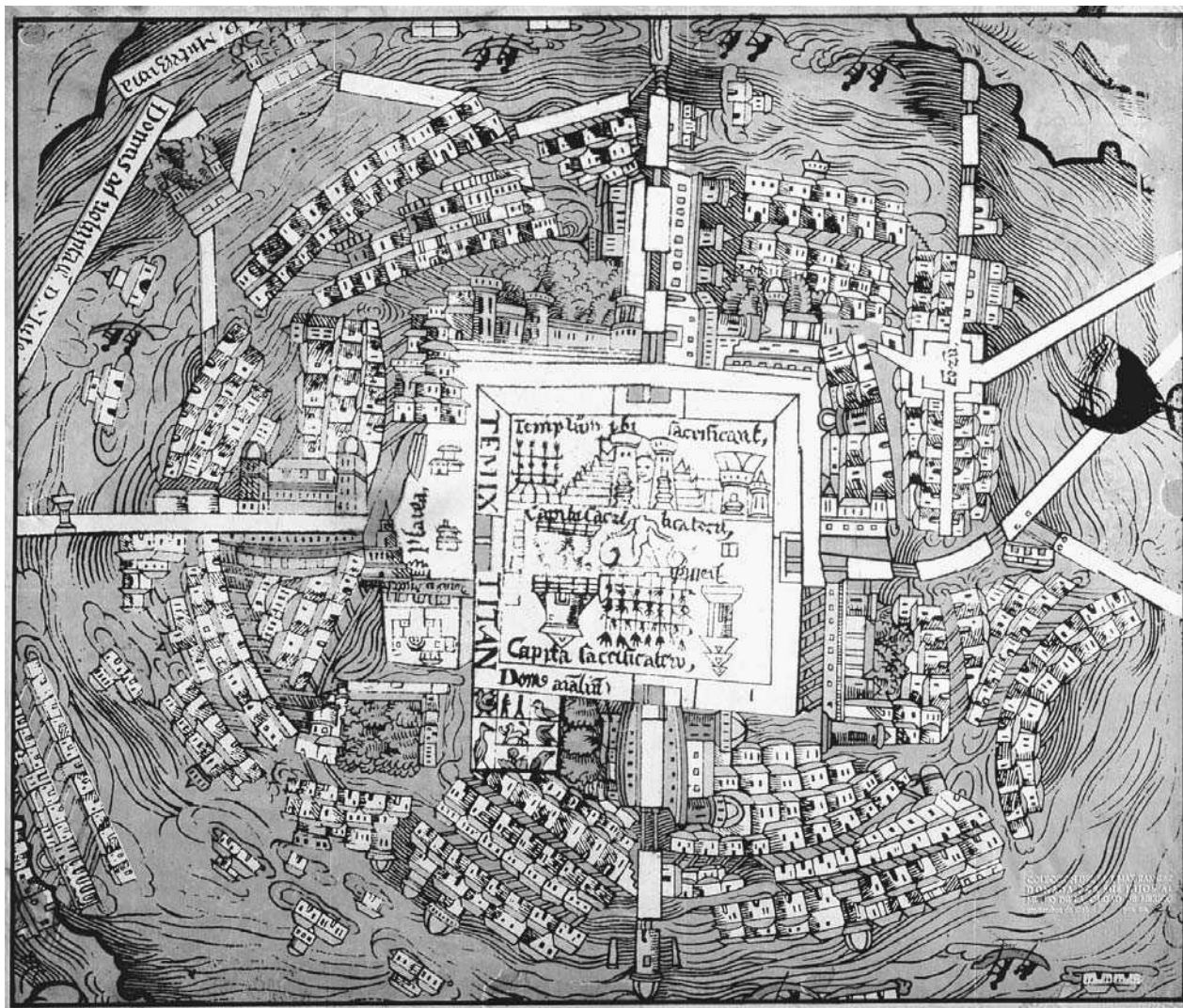
Tenochtitlán. *This plan of Tenochtitlán (Mexico City) is a sixteenth-century engraving based on a drawing attributed to Hernando Cortés. Cortés included this picture in a letter to Charles V, the Holy Roman emperor.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO CIUDAD MEXICO/ DAGLI ORTI. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

population at an estimated 15 million or more). Visitors to the city approached it either by canoe or along one of the three great causeways that connected it to the lakeshore and held the aqueducts that brought in fresh water. One first passed some of the small elevated corn fields that bordered the lake and city, passing through the outer neighborhoods (*calpulli*) before reaching the center, where the royal family lived in palaces and where imperial administrators worked; one of the palatial compounds included a large zoo. At the heart of the city was the great plaza, dominated by twin pyramids devoted to Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc.

In 1428, Itzcoatl and his chief minister and general, a nephew named Tlacaelel, collected and burned all hieroglyphic books that recorded the history of the region. That history was then rewritten with the *Mexica* at its center, as the heirs to the cultural and imperial legacy of the Toltecs (whose city of Tula had dominated the valley four centuries earlier), and as the divinely sanctioned rulers of the known world. More political and economic authority was now concentrated in the hands of *Mexica* royalty, as a relatively weak monarchy was transformed into an imperial dynasty. The power that emperors would exercise for 100 years over the *Mexica* themselves and their neighbors was justified by the claim of privileged access both to the regional great tradition of the Toltecs and to the will of the gods, especially Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc.

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

A century after Itzcoatl became emperor, the Aztec rulers that had either survived the Spanish invasion or assumed office in its wake, met "the Twelve," the first Franciscan friars to reach Mexico. An exchange of speeches took place, and the words of the Aztec lords (written down sixty years later by Bernardino de Sahagún in his *Coloquios y doctrina cristiana*) give us some sense of a division of responsibility among religious and civil leaders in the Aztec Empire:

> We have priests who guide us and prepare us in the culture and service of our gods. There are also many others with distinct nameswho serve in the temples day and night, who are wise and knowledgeable about the movement of the heavenly bodies as well as about our ancient customs. They have the books of our forebears which they study and peruse day and night. These guide us and prepare us in counting the years, days, months, and feasts of our gods, which are celebrated every twenty days. These same priests are in charge of the histories of our gods and the rules about serving them, because we are in charge only of warfare, collection of tribute, and justice.

This is not to say that the division of responsibility between those governing religious and calendrical matters, and those managing the empire through military campaigns and tribute collection, did not amount to anything like a separation of church and state. On the contrary, the Aztec ideology of empire was profoundly interwoven with religious ideas and beliefs. The ritual execution of war captives and other carefully chosen victims had been practiced in Mesoamerican societies for thousands of years, but in the fifteenth century the *Mexica* appear to have taken human sacrifice to new levels, both in terms of meaning and scale. Huitzilopochtli, the patron god of war and of the imperial capital, was the divine audience for the killing of war captives, who typically had their hearts removed and their heads placed on the skull rack in the plaza of Tenochtitlán. Children were sacrificed to Tlaloc, the rain god, who needed their tears. The annual sacrifice to Tezcatlipoca was a specially chosen young man, who led a life of luxury and privilege for a year before his execution. At some festivals, there was a single victim; at others, there may have been thousands.

To a lesser extent, other Nahuas (Nahuatl-speaking people of Central Mexico) also embraced this culture of ritualized violence. The Tlaxcalans, for example, who had always resisted the Aztec Empire that surrounded their city and its lands, likewise cut out the hearts of prisoners of war. In fact, Tlaxcala and Tenochtitlán had extended this ritual to the battlefield itself, where conventional warfare had been partially replaced by the Flowery Wars (*xochiyaoyotl*), in which red blossoms were scattered on the ground to represent the blood of warriors, and selected warriors then exchanged as captives to be sacrificed. Tlaxcala remained independent, but its life was overshadowed in numerous ways by the existence of *Mexica* hegemony across Central Mexico, breeding generations of resentment. This resentment would prove crucial to the outcome of the Spanish invasion in 1519, for without Tlaxcalan assistance the Spaniards would almost certainly have been defeated in 1520 and Tenochtitlán would not have fallen the following year.

Tlaxcala was not the only city-state to resist *Mexica* expansion. To the west of the *Mexica* imperial capital lay the city of Tzintzuntzan, the center of the Tarascan kingdom, a modest empire in its own right. Lesser kingdoms and cities also resisted the Aztecs, a couple of which became surrounded by the empire's clients, as Tlaxcala was. But more often than not, the campaigns of Itzcoatl and the five emperors who followed him further augmented Aztec control—from Moctezuma Ilhuicamina (1390–1464), who succeeded his uncle Itzcoatl in 1440, through three of the first Moctezuma's sons, Axayácatl (r. 1469–1481), Tizoc (r. 1481–1486), and Ahuitzotl (ruled from 1486–1502). According to the early colonial account compiled by Diego Durán, the rulers of tributary cities from throughout the empire, who attended Ahuitzotl's coronation in 1486, "saw that the Aztecs were masters of the world, their empire so wide and abundant that they had conquered all the nations and that all were their vassals. The guests, seeing such wealth and opulence and such authority and power, were filled with terror" (Duran 1994, p. 336).

After the reigns of his three sons, the first Moctezuma's grandson and namesake, Moctezuma Xocoyotl (1466–1520), became emperor. From 1502, until his murder by Spanish invaders in 1520, he aggressively consolidated his authority and extended the empire of his ancestors. Long after his death, both Spaniards and natives unfairly blamed the second Moctezuma for the destruction of his empire. In fact, the arrival of Spaniards set loose a chain of events beyond Moctezuma's control, whereas for the previous eighteen years the emperor had been very much in control, increasing the authority and influence of Tenochtitlán and the *Mexica* as much, if not more, than any of his predecessors.

SEE ALSO *Mexico City.*

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Matthew Restall

B

BARING, EVELYN
1841–1917

Sir Evelyn Baring, who became Lord Cromer after the name of his Norfolk birthplace in 1892, was the de facto ruler of Egypt between 1883 and 1907, bearing the title HM's (Her/His Majesty's) Agent and Consul General. He was the sixth son of Henry Baring of Cromer Hall and a member of the well-known banking family, the Baring Brothers.

Evelyn Baring attended a vicarage school in Norfolk before being sent away at age eleven to Carshalton Ordnance School in Surrey. Baring entered the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich as a cadet at the age of fourteen, and was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Royal Artillery in 1858. After taking various administrative posts in Corfu, Malta, and England, he became private secretary to Lord Northbrook (Thomas George Baring, 1826–1904), viceroy of India, from 1872 to 1876.

Baring married Ethel Errington on his return to England in 1876, shortly thereafter departing to Egypt to act as British commissioner for the Public Debt Commission (1876–1880). Baring served as finance minister under Lord Ripon (George Robinson, 1827–1909) in India (1880–1883) before moving straight to Cairo in 1883. After the death of Ethel in 1898, he married Lady Katherine Thynne in 1901. Lord Cromer took up his seat in the House of Lords in 1908 after returning from Egypt, and he remained active in politics in spite of failing health. He died in 1917 and was buried alongside his first wife in Bournemouth.

Cromer's commanding presence seemed to personify the assurance of British imperialism at its height in late Victorian times. He believed that British rule brought "numberless blessings" on the "subject races" of the Empire, and was only ever half-hearted about self-government. He considered "dark-skinned" Orientals excitable, illogical, incompetent, and corrupt—and in need of the benign but firm hand of British tutelage.

Cromer's rule in Egypt began with "sound finance" over debt repayment and gradually came to encompass a number of administrative, legal, civil, and other "reforms," cautiously pursued. Egypt, he believed, was by nature an agricultural country, and Cromer's government plowed money into irrigation and extended the railway, while neglecting education and industrialization. Cromer opposed early attempts to build up an Egyptian textile industry with an unfavorable excise tariff. His rule thus presided over the entrenchment of labor-repressive agriculture based on large estates and village headmen, and he failed to accommodate or comprehend the aspirations of new, increasingly nationalist social groups comprised of the urban middle and working classes. Cromer's unbending stance and heavy-handed tactics eventually brought growing nationalist opposition, as well as calls from London for his recall. He resigned and left Egypt in 1907.

Imperial changes accompanying World War I, Wilsonian self-determination, and the mandate system made Cromer's high-handed approach appear outdated, even from London. In Egypt, opposition to Cromer only intensified after his departure, with the financial crash of 1907, problems with Egypt's cotton monoculture, and the growth of Egyptian nationalism. Cromer had undoubtedly managed the affairs of Egypt with diplomatic and administrative skill for decades, but the very

Evenly Baring. *The British statesmans, colonial administrator. and consul general of Egypt from 1883 to 1907, in an 1985 photograph.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

centralization of power that this process involved turned a hard-working, relatively colorless administrator into a remote, even authoritarian figure who came to blur the distinction between his own interests and those of Egypt, and who was incapable of changing with the times.

SEE ALSO *British Colonialism, Middle East; Cotton; Egypt; Sudan, Egyptian and British Rivalry in.*

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John Chalcraft

BATAVIA

Batavia was the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). As such, it was the most powerful center of trade and power in Southeast Asia, and dominated the region until the founding of Singapore in 1819.

Batavia was built near the site of the Sundanese principality of Jayakerta. The Dutch East India Company had established relations with the prince in 1610, but it was only in 1619, after a local conflict, that Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen took full possession, destroyed the old town and palace, and chose the site as VOC's permanent headquarters. Initially the city was dominated by Company personnel, above all military, a small but thriving Chinese business community, and slaves. After mid-century, the nature of Batavian society changed rapidly. Ambitions to turn Batavia in a European settlement colony were cast aside.

Behind the façade of a European town, much admired by visiting Europeans, was an Asian city of truly cosmopolitan dimensions. At its highest point in the 1720s, the city harbored almost 30,000 inhabitants and Company personnel within its walls and more than 80,000 in its vicinity. It became a magnet for Chinese, Malay, Indian and Arab traders, Javanese labor migrants, and military auxiliaries from the archipelago. But above all it was the slave trade that dominated the demography of Batavia. The cultural boil of slaves and migrants gave rise to the typical Betawi (Batavia) culture, combining traits of the many immigrant groups into its own idiosyncratic blend.

In the eighteenth century two disasters befell Batavia. First were the malaria epidemics that held the city in its grip since 1732, taking an immense human toll of all newcomers to the city. Only the shift of the city several kilometers inland around 1810 took away the most glaring effects of the endemic malaria.

Second was the massacre inflicted upon the Batavian Chinese in October 1740. In only a few days, around ten thousand Chinese were murdered in a frenzied panic by Europeans as retaliation of a revolt of desperate Chinese laborers in the countryside. Chinese migrants soon returned to Batavia, but were concentrated more intensively than before in their own quarter in the area called Glodok—still a predominantly Chinese neighborhood in present-day Jakarta.

Batavia's growth was reversed by epidemics and by the official ban on slave trade in 1812. Besides, the colonial state after 1799 was manned much more sparsely than its Company predecessor. After the Napoleonic wars and the British occupation of Java (1811–1816), Batavia developed as the capital of a expanding exploitation colony. More than anything else, the city was the seat of colonial administration and heavily bore the imprint of in the form of a strictly hierarchical society, dominated by European officials. But a truly imperial city it never
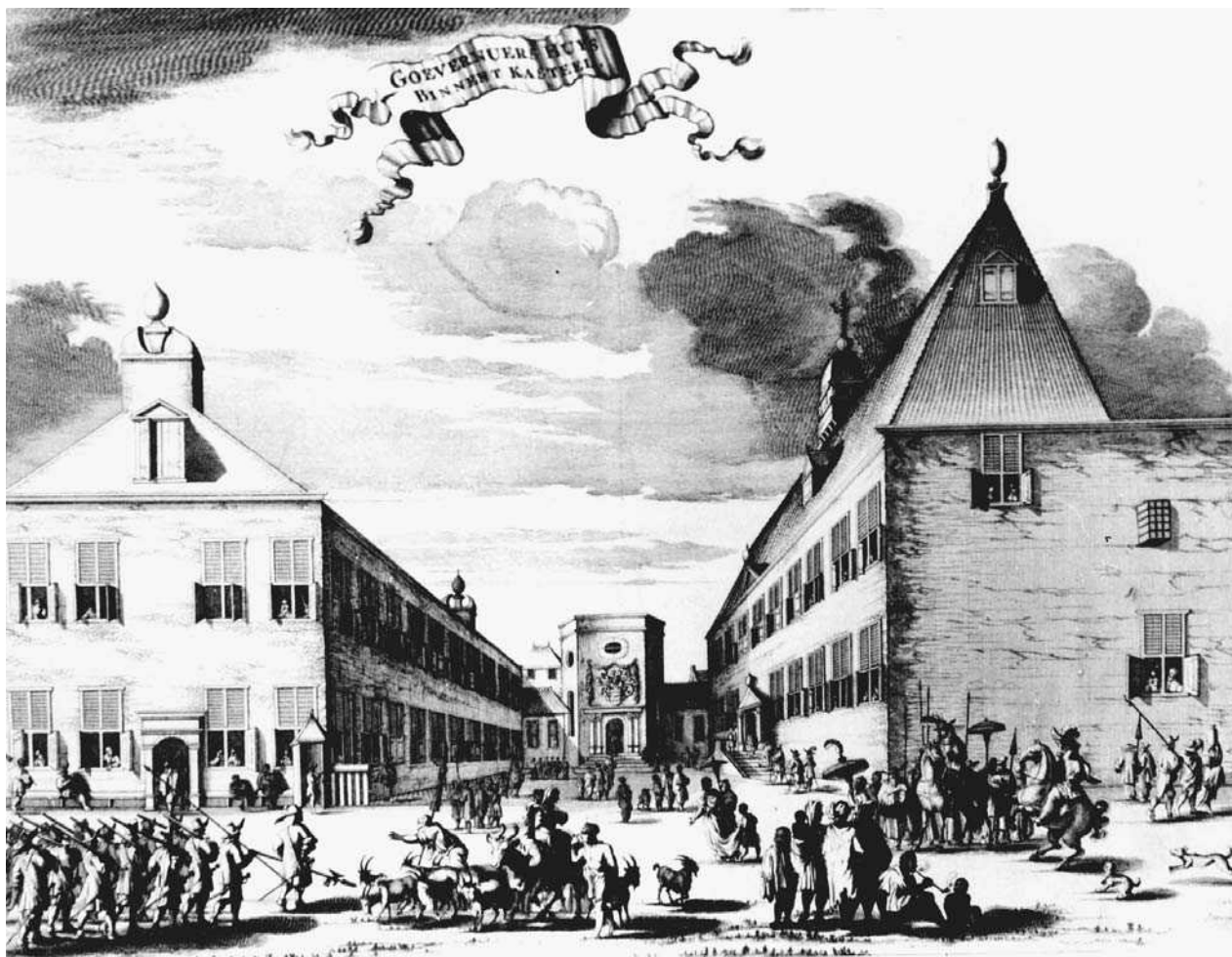
Batavia's Governmental Palace. *Now called Jakarta, Batavia was the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company and the most powerful commercial center in Southeast Asia during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Batavia's governmental palace is shown here in an eighteenth-century engraving.* **ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

became. Architectural pomp never was a characteristic of the Dutch "empire."

Batavia remained a commercial center. Until about 1870, trade was primarily geared towards channelling the fruits of the infamous Cultivation System, with its forced delivery system of agricultural produce to the Dutch government, to be sold at the world markets. Industry was hardly an asset of Batavian economy and would be developed to the full only after independence. By 1880, harbor functions were concentrated in the new facilities at Tanjung Priok, eight kilometers east of the old town, offering a deep harbor where ships could load and at quays. The old concentric town of VOC days had evolved into a tripartite structure of administrative and residential area at Weltevreden (nowadays around Medan Merdeka), services and trade offices in the old town (Kota), and shipping and industry in Tanjung Priok.

After 1900, new technologies, modern lifestyles and education left their marks on Batavia, first mainly among the European classes. Gas lamps lighted the streets, cars took over the streets from after 1900, movie theatres became wildly popular, and shops offered an increasing range of international fashion clothing and technical novelties. These products became increasingly available to Indonesians and Chinese, as was western education. Batavia harbored many institutions of higher education, such as a medical school, law school and school of arts. These curricula brought together Indonesians from around the archipelago and became the hotbed of Indonesian political activities.

In March 1942, Japanese forces occupied the city without as much as a gunshot fired, changed its name into Djakarta, and made it into the headquarters of the 16th Army, the new authorities over Java. Now it was the

Europeans who were evicted from the city and imprisoned in guarded city quarters and camps.

The centrality of Batavia in nationalist visions of an independent Indonesia became clear on 17 August 1945, when Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the independent Indonesian Republic in the city. For some months the city was the theater of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary violence. Under pressure of the returning Dutch, the seat of the Republic was moved to Yogyakarta, only to return after the formal handing over of sovereignty on December 27, 1949. Jakarta retained its dual character as center of the political establishment as well as of intellectual dissent until the present day.

SEE ALSO *Coen, Jan Pietersz; Dutch United East India Company.*

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Remco Raben

BELGIUM'S AFRICAN COLONIES

When Belgium became a nation in 1830, it had almost no tradition of long-distance trade or colonial activity. Even in the first decades of its existence, it showed little inclination toward overseas expansion. Although a few attempts were made by the first king, Leopold I (1790–1865), these were not successful. If this small European country nevertheless succeeded in ruling a vast colony in Central Africa, this was due only to the tenacity of its second king, Leopold II (1835–1909).

THE CONGO FREE STATE (1885–1908)

Leopold II, an ambitious and enterprising monarch, was fascinated by the Dutch colonial "model" in Java and wanted to enhance his country's grandeur by exploiting a vast colonial domain, destined to enrich the mother country. After several unsuccessful attempts in different parts of Asia and Africa, Leopold developed a keen interest in Central Africa. The king took several personal initiatives, without the formal backing of his country's government and even without the support of Belgium's leading economic players.

In 1876 Leopold convoked an International Geographic Conference in Brussels, where prominent geographers and explorers were invited. Under the cloak of humanitarian and scientific interests, he then created successive private organizations, the most important of which was the Association Internationale du Congo (AIC). These organizations, controlled by the king himself, had in fact a commercial purpose. When France, in the early 1880s, started to develop a political hold along the banks of the lower Congo, the AIC (which, in the meantime, had hired the British explorer Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904) as its local manager) also began to conclude treaties whereby African chiefs recognized the association's sovereignty. Because the United Kingdom, France, and Portugal had conflicting interests in this region, Leopold's skillful personal diplomacy succeeded in playing the contradictory ambitions of these countries against each other.

In the margins of the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference, the world's main powers recognized the AIC as the legal authority over a vast territory in the heart of Africa, a new "state" called the Congo Free State. The main contenders in this region, particularly France and the United Kingdom, hoped to reap the benefits of Leopold's "whim," which, in their opinion, would not last long.

Indeed, in the beginning, the Congo Free State seemed to be an unviable enterprise. The Free State's expenses outstripped its incomes. Setting up an administration and waging exhausting military campaigns in order to secure the Free State's grip on a territory more than eighty times as large as Belgium turned out to be very expensive. The Congo survived mainly through the king's personal funds. But from 1895 on, the Congo Free State, which Leopold ruled as an absolute monarch, was saved from bankruptcy by the growing demand for rubber.

The king imposed a harsh labor regime on the Congolese populations in order to extort ever-growing amounts of wild rubber. On the Congo Free State's own domains, as well as on the vast tracks of land that had been conceded to private companies, brutal and repressive practices took the lives of large numbers of Africans—though exact figures are impossible to establish. The Congo Free State, officially presented to the world as a humanitarian and civilizing enterprise destined to abolish slavery and introduce Christianity, became the target of an international protest campaign, led by the British activist Edmund Dene Morel (1873–1924) and his Congo Reform Association.

In the first years of the twentieth century, the Congo question became an important international issue, since the British government took this matter to heart, especially after an official enquiry commission, appointed by king Leopold, had confirmed the existence of excesses (1904). Belgium itself could not stay aloof, because of its growing involvement in the Congo Free State. An increasing number of volunteers had joined the public service and the military in the Congo; Belgian Catholic

missions had been protected and promoted by the Free State's authorities; the Belgian Parliament had granted loans to the Congo; and important private groups had started investing in colonial enterprises, particularly in 1906. Consequently, the Belgian Parliament agreed in 1908 to accept the Congo as its own colony, in order to avoid international intervention or a takeover by a foreign power.

THE CONGO AS A BELGIAN COLONY (1908–1960)

The so-called Colonial Charter of 1908 set out the main lines of the Belgian colonial system: a rigorous separation between the budgets of the colony and the mother country; a strict parliamentary control of executive power (in order to avoid the excesses of the former Leopoldian despotism); the appointment of a governor-general in Congo, whose powers were strictly limited by the metropolitan authorities; and a tight centralism in the colony itself, where provincial authorities were granted little autonomy.

In reality, Belgium's political parties and public opinion showed little interest in Congolese matters. Consequently, colonial policy was determined by a small group of persons, in particular the minister of colonies, a handful of top civil servants in the Ministry of Colonies, some prominent Catholic ecclesiastics, and the leaders of the private companies that were investing increasing amounts of capital in the colony. A classic image depicts the Belgian Congo as being run by the "Trinity" of administration, capital, and the (Catholic) Church. These three protagonists had an enormous influence in the colony, and assisted each other in their respective ventures, even if their interests did not always coincide and, indeed, sometimes openly conflicted.

The Belgian administration of the Congo was run by a relatively modest corps of civil servants (in 1947 only about 44,000 whites, 3,200 of whom were public employees, were present in this vast country, inhabited by some 11 million Africans). The lowest level of administration consisted of the indigenous authorities, the more or less "authentic" traditional African chiefs, who were strictly controlled by Belgian officials. On the local level, in close contact with the African population, the missionaries played an important role in evangelization, in (primary) education, and in health services. Protestant missions were present in the Congo next to Catholic ones, but the latter enjoyed, during most of Belgian rule, a privileged position.

As in most colonies, the Congolese economy consisted of a heterogeneous mix of different sectors. The rural masses were primarily engaged in a neglected and stagnating indigenous agriculture, aimed at self-subsistence but facing growing difficulties feeding the increasing population, particularly from the 1950s. The colonial authorities also obliged these agriculturalists to produce export crops (e.g., cotton), which made them vulnerable to the ups and downs of world markets. A third economic sector consisted of large-scale plantations (e.g., palm oil production by the enterprise founded by the British businessman William Lever [1851–1925]), also oriented toward export.

The Congo was also characterized by the extraordinary development of huge mining industries (particularly in the province of Katanga, well known for its copper, and in the Kasai region, famous for its industrial diamonds). From the 1920s on, heavy investments in the exploitation of the colony's rich mineral resources transformed the Congo into a major actor in the world economy. During both world wars, the Belgian Congo played a great role as purveyor of raw materials for the Allies, while the Congolese troops also engaged in warfare against the German and Italian forces.

In order to wipe out the stain of Leopoldian ill treatment of the African population and gain international respectability, the Belgian authorities tried to turn the Congo into a "model colony." Although forced labor, repression, and a "color bar" (a form of racial segregation) persisted till the very end of their domination, the Belgians made serious efforts to promote indigenous wellbeing, particularly during the 1950s, by developing a network of health services and primary schools. From the late 1920s, some important mining companies had also developed a paternalistic policy aimed at stabilizing and controlling their labor force (Congo had one of the largest wage labor contingents in Africa). The final decade of the Belgian presence in the Congo was characterized by a notable improvement of the living standard of the growing black urban population.

However, one of the main failures of Belgian colonial policy was the choice not to develop an indigenous elite. Secondary and university education were seriously neglected. The Congolese petty bourgeoisie remained embryonic: local entrepreneurs or proprietors were almost nonexistent. Only a tiny fraction of the Congolese population, the so-called *évolués*, succeeded more or less in assimilating the European way of life, but their Belgian masters kept them at the bottom levels of the public service or private companies, without any short-term prospects of exercising responsible tasks.

Anticolonialism and nationalism found their way into the Congolese population comparatively late—indeed, not until the second half of the 1950s. Belgian authorities were caught practically unprepared by the sudden wave of black political activism, and subsequently engaged in a process of "precipitous decolonization." In just a few months' time (from early 1959 to the beginning of 1960), the political prospects for the colony evolved from a long-term

Belgian Congo

Mediterranean Sea

INDIAN OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

N

Belgian Africa, 1914

0   400   800 mi.

0   400   800 km

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

loosening of the ties between Belgium and the Congo, to the immediate independence of the African country.

When Congo became a sovereign nation on June 30, 1960, this new state was utterly unprepared to handle the enormous problems that it had to face, and it slid into years of chaos, internal disruption (e.g., regional secessions, such as Katanga's), and civil war—only to emerge in 1965 under the Mobutu Sese Seko (1930–1997)

THE CONGO FREE STATE

In 1876 Belgium's King Leopold II convened the Brussels Geographical Conference, which led to the formation of the African International Association. Though its goals were purportedly humanitarian and scientific, Leopold used the association to fund expeditions and establish posts along the Congo River.

With the promise of open trade, Leopold convinced world powers to recognize what eventually became the Association Internationale du Congo (AIC) as the legal authority over a vast territory in the heart of Africa. In April of 1885 Belgium's parliament made Leopold the sovereign ruler of this new "state," called the Congo Free State, incorporating all lands not directly occupied by Africans. European traders came to the new country, which was not a colony in the normal sense, but essentially the personal possession of King Leopold, to obtain beeswax, coffee, fruits, ivory, minerals, palm oil, and especially rubber.

While some Africans initially welcomed European rule, others opposed it from the start. Natives eventually faced dire conditions, characterized by displacement, forced labor, and taxation. The rubber trade, which was of critical economic importance to sustaining Leopold's enterprise, was marked by especially inhumane conditions.

Uprisings, revolts, assassinations, and other acts of resistance were common during King Leopold's rule. According to one estimate, casualties were as high as 66 percent of the local population. Such conditions led to opposition from other European powers, and the Congo Free State ceased to exist in 1908 when it was annexed by Belgium.

1919, according to the Orts-Milner Agreement (named after its Belgian and British negotiators), Belgium's spoils of war only consisted of two small territories in the Great Lakes region bordering the immense Belgian Congo, namely Rwanda and Burundi (their ancient names being Ruanda and Urundi).

As was the case with the other former German colonies, the League of Nations entrusted both of these territories to the victorious power as "mandates." Belgium administered these mandates through a system of indirect rule. The pre-colonial social and political authorities, consisting of a Tutsi king (*mwami*) and a tiny aristocracy (predominantly of Tutsi origin), ruling over a vast majority of mainly Hutu agriculturalists, were kept in place—even if the Belgians reshaped the traditional structures by constantly intervening in them. Until almost the end of the mandate period, the Belgian administrators, with the help of the Catholic Church and its schools, did their best to turn the Tutsi elite into docile auxiliaries of their own rule. Only in the final phase of their presence in Rwanda and Burundi at the end of the 1950s did the Belgians change their attitude toward the Hutu majority. They favored the takeover of political power by the latter, a policy that succeeded in Rwanda but failed in Burundi.

When both countries became independent on July 1, 1962, Rwanda was governed by a Hutu president, Burundi by a Tutsi king. Belgian native policy, which had rigidified the ethnic boundaries between Tutsi and Hutu and consequently had exacerbated the ethnic identity of these groups, was largely responsible for the intensification of ethnic rivalry between these groups after the end of foreign rule. This antagonism, coupled with the high population density in these overwhelmingly agricultural countries, was to form a volatile environment in the following decades, causing several interethnic massacres, of which the Rwandan genocide of 1994 was the most terrifying example.

SEE ALSO *Mandate System.*

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dictatorship, which was to last more than thirty years and thoroughly pillaged the country's enormous riches.

BELGIAN MANDATE TERRITORIES IN AFRICA

During World War I, Belgian colonial troops participated in the military campaigns against the Germans in East Africa. They occupied a large part of this German colony. After the end of the war, the Belgian government tried to exchange these territories against the left bank of the Congo River mouth, which was in Portuguese hands. This plan failed to materialize, and finally, on May 30,

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BENGAL, MARITIME TRADE OF

The province of Bengal comprises both a section of the Indo-Gangetic plain and a delta region. Its position on the eastern coast of the Indian subcontinent make it a key region for Indian Ocean trade.

The maritime trade of Bengal centered on the eastern half of the Bay of Bengal. For the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bengal's principal ports, Satgaon and Chittagong and subsequently Hugli, maintained significant trading connections with Burma, Malacca, and Acheh. A second set of trade routes connected Bengal with Sri Lanka, Maldives, and the Malabar Coast, while a third, subsidiary route connected Bengal with Gujarat and West Asia. Equally significant was Bengal's coastal trade with the Coromandel, which relied on annual imports of Bengal grain.

The principal exports in the coastal and overseas traffic of Bengal were a range of manufactured goods and agricultural products—textiles, rice, wheat, gram, sugar, opium, clarified butter, and saltpeter. In return, Bengal imported spices, camphor, porcelain, silk, sandalwood, ivory, metals, conch shells, and cowries, the last of which circulated as an important medium in Bengal's monetary transactions. It was with the advent of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century that Bengal entered the web of Euro-Asian exchanges that were to become central to the region's economy. Portuguese involvement in the trade of the Bay of Bengal began after the capture of Malacca in 1511, although it was only in the 1560s that private Portuguese initiative made an appreciable impact on the region's maritime profile. The Portuguese operated from Chittagong and Hugli, the latter of which was taken over by the Mughals in 1642.

The context for Bengal's expanding maritime trade in the seventeenth century was provided on the one hand by the political stability of Mughal rule (1575–1717) and on the other by the operations of the North European trading companies in the Indian Ocean. The integration of Bengal within the larger trading system of Mughal India, the acceleration of commercial contacts between Bengal and West Asia, and the increasing participation of Mughal officials in Bengal's overseas and coastal trade meant that the Bengal merchants (local as well as domiciled) were able to take a larger share in the trade of the western Indian Ocean.

The importance of Bengal's textiles and silk in the markets of Southeast Asia and Japan encouraged the English and Dutch East India Companies to enter into the commercial economy of Bengal. By the middle decades of the century, the Dutch and English, largely in response to the pressures of the spice trade in Southeast Asia, were participating in the intra-Asian trade of the Indian Ocean in a big way and had established a number of factories and settlements in Hugli, Balasore, and Pipli. The result was an expanding demand for Bengal textiles, silk, opium, sugar, and rice in the markets of Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka, and the Coromandel. In return, Bengal imported huge volumes of metal and bullion, which helped service the monetary system of the region.

The volume of Bengal's trade handled by the Europeans increased very substantially from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, with the Dutch enjoying a decided advantage over their rivals until the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Quantitative estimates available for the value and volume of European exports from Bengal suggest that these increased from an average of 100,000 rupees in the 1640s to 3 million at the end of the century. The historian Om Prakash estimates that Dutch exports from Bengal went up from 100,000 ruprees in the 1640s to 3 million in 1720. We do not have corresponding figures for the trade carried on by Asian and Indian merchants, whose operations we know were extensive. We do have some figures for Indian shipping directed from the Bengal ports of Hugli and Balasore, and these suggest that the strength of Bengal shipping was around eighty–to a hundred–odd ships of 200-ton capacity.

By the latter decades of the seventeenth century, there was a qualitative change in the Euro-Asian trade, which had important implications for Bengal's maritime economy. The increasing popularity of Bengal's textiles and raw silk in the European market meant that Bengal became by far the most important region for the trade of the European Companies. Bengal's textiles accounted for the majority of the European Companies' exports into Europe. At the same time, the increasing importance of the private trade of the English Company's agents in Bengal indicated quite clearly that Bengal was a region where the struggle for control would be fierce.

The early colonial policies of the European East India Companies had important effects on the maritime trade of Bengal. The enforcement of the pass system that the Portuguese had initiated meant that Indian merchants were compelled to take passes and call at specified ports and pay custom duties before proceeding to the

destinations enumerated in their documents. The pass system was intended to both generate revenues and restrict Indian shipping to certain routes. Thus, while the opening up of new markets for Bengal goods in Asia by the European Companies represented a net addition to the volume of total exports from Bengal, monopoly restriction imposed on certain routes like the Bengal–Sri Lanka sector and the Bengal–Malay/Indonesian archipelago routes had a baneful effect.

It was, however, only in the eighteenth century that the European Companies and European markets began to assume a critical role in the workings of Bengal's maritime economy. Until then, Indian merchant shipping appears to have survived the European intrusion. What set the stage for the decline of Bengal's eastward trade was the Mughal state officials' withdrawal from overseas trade. Following this, the first half of the eighteenth century witnessed a huge expansion in the value of Indo-European trade carried out by the English and French East India Companies (at the expense of the Dutch, who began losing momentum). What underscored the English and French ventures was the expansion and ramifications of private trading activity by Company agents, who traded extensively in the country trade of Asia and who, in pursuit of their private ventures, articulated an aggressive political strategy against local merchants and rulers. Between 1707 and 1740,

Calcutta emerged as the premier port of Bengal and the seat of English shipping and trade. The unprecedented expansion of English private trade had two important consequences. On the one hand, it displaced Hugli and the Asian merchants from the Indian Ocean trade, and on the other, it cut into the operations of the Dutch trading company. The private merchants' trade embraced both the westward and eastward segments of Bengal's maritime traffic. European shipping, and in particular English shipping, absorbed virtually the bulk of the freight trade and it became common for private traders to carry Indian merchants' goods in addition to their own. Among the reasons for English success were the relative security of English shipping against piracy and the greater seaworthiness of English vessels. The Calcutta fleet, numbering about twenty ships around 1715 doubled in the 1720s and 1730s and displaced the Dutch, as well as local merchants, from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea routes. The decline of Hugli followed inevitably, as the traditional trading structure with its node in Surat went under in the aftermath of Mughal decline and the unrestrained expansion of English private trade.

Between 1740 and 1757, the English Company steadily expanded its trade and political agenda and engineered the infamous Plassey conspiracy (1757), which gave them vital control over the political system. Plassey brought in its wake an unprecedented expansion of English private trade. Company agents abused the newly acquired political privileges to make deep inroads into the internal trade of Bengal. Simultaneously, there was a perceptible shift in Bengal's trading orientation; the decline of markets in West Asia combined with the increasing popularity of Indian raw cotton and opium in Chinese and Southeast Asian markets encouraged English private traders to look east once more. The shift to the east embodied a new era in Bengal's maritime trade as it became increasingly subordinated to the imperatives of new, multilateral trading arrangements that accompanied the formalization of British colonial power in India.

SEE ALSO *Coromandel, Europeans and Maritime Trade; Indian Ocean Trade; Malabar, Europeans and the Maritime Trade of; Slave Trade, Indian Ocean.*

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BERLIN CONFERENCE

The Berlin Conference, an international meeting held from November 1884 to February 1885, was convened to settle the issues connected with European colonization of Africa. Although many European nations had established commercial relations with parts of Africa beginning in the fifteenth century, the majority of African societies remained under local control by the mid-nineteenth century. However, European economic and political interest in Africa increased considerably from the 1880s. European missionaries, adventurers, and fortune hunters began to open a new chapter in African-European relations, and their aim went beyond the commercial interests that had drawn Europeans to Africa in earlier centuries. Political and diplomatic problems in Europe were played out in Africa during this period. The new sense of nationalism that followed the unification of Germany and Italy, along with the national pride of other European nations, called for expansion overseas.

The discovery in the mid-1870s by Welsh-born journalist and explorer Henry Morton Stanley of the Congo River Basin (1874–1877) opened vast unexplored parts of the continent to Europeans. Belgian King Leopold II (1835–1909) invited Stanley in 1878 to assist him in studying and "civilizing" the African continent. While Leopold's intentions were purportedly philanthropic and scientific, the International Association of the Congo that he formed in 1878 had the economic goal of exploiting the resources of the vast Congo region. Leopold's imperialist agenda was not lost on other European powers.

Meanwhile, the French naval officer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza (1852–1905) was colonizing the western Congo Basin. In 1881 he founded city of Brazzaville for France. Portugal also claimed the region based on old treaties with the native Congolese. This contestation was complicated when Portugal entered into a treaty with Great Britain on February 26, 1884, to block the International Association of the Congo's access to the Atlantic Ocean. The scramble for African territories continued when the French occupied Tunisia in 1881 and Guinea three years later. Great Britain gained control of Ottoman Egypt, as well as Sudan and parts of Somalia, while Italy took possession of parts of Eritrea in 1870 and 1882, and Germany declared protectorates over Togo, Cameroon, and South-West Africa in 1884.

In 1884, at the request of Portugal, German chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) called together the major Western powers, including the United States and the Ottoman Empire, to negotiate questions and consider problems arising out of European penetration and control of Africa. Fourteen countries were represented when the conference opened in Berlin on November 15, 1884: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway (then unified), Turkey, and the United States. However, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Portugal were the major players, and they eventually controlled most of colonial Africa.

The initial purpose of the meeting was to guarantee free trade and navigation in the Congo, while the lower Niger River and its basins would be considered neutral and open to trade. The Berlin Conference ended on February 26, 1885, with the signing of the General Act of the Berlin Conference, also called the Congo Act. Among other provisions, the act guaranteed free trade throughout the Congo Basin and the Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) region, and proclaimed the Niger and Congo rivers open for ship traffic. The Congo Act also implemented an international prohibition on the slave trade. In addition, the Berlin Conference Act of February 1885 established the "principle of effective occupation" for colonial powers claiming territory in Africa. Article XXXV of the Act required the European powers signatory to the Act to insure the establishment of sufficient authority in the regions they occupied to protect existing rights and freedom of trade and transit. Furthermore, new possession by any country of any portion of the African coast would have to be formally declared to the other signatories of the Congo Act.

The Berlin Conference had several implications for Africa. Without any African representation at the conference, the colonial powers imposed their domains on the African continent. Before the conference, only the coastal areas of Africa were under European control; the conference inaugurated the European scrambled to gain control over the interior of the continent. The territorial adjustments made among the colonial powers and the fragmentation of the continent, without due regard to ethnic and linguistic boundaries, remains a lasting consequence of the Berlin Conference.

Despite its purported neutrality, part of the Congo Basin became the personal estate of Leopold II. Under Leopold's rule, more than half of the region's population died from atrocities committed by Belgians. Prior to the conference, Britain dominated much of the trade in the
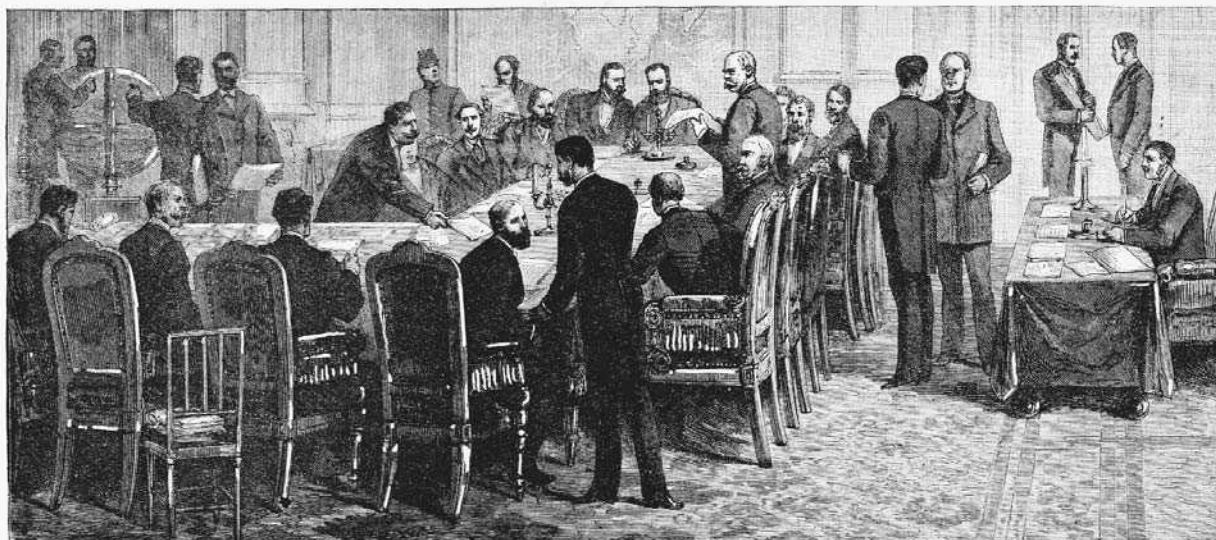
The Congo Conference in Session at Berlin. *The meeting to resolve issues surrounding the European colonization of Africa that became known as the Berlin Conference is shown here in an engraving published in January 1885 in* Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. *The conference was held from November 1884 to February 1885.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Bight of Biafra and had concluded several treaties of "protection" with several chiefs in the Niger delta. The United African Company, an amalgamation of all major British firm trading along the Niger Coast and Delta, was also busy signing treaties with the chiefs along the banks of Rivers Niger and Benue. Armed with such treaties, Britain convinced other European countries of its interest in the region. The sovereignty of Great Britain over what became Southern Nigeria was recognized at the Berlin Conference by European powers. Britain established control of the important territories of Nigeria and Ghana, in addition to most parts of eastern Africa. Sudan came under effective British-Egyptian control after the British suppressed the Mahdi Rebellion during the 1880s and resolved the 1898 Fashoda crisis, a tense territorial dispute between Britain and France.

Britain continued its domination of southern Africa after the second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). France claimed large territories in sub-Saharan Africa but French claims to parts of the Congo and to Nigeria and the historical claim of Portugal to the mouth of the Congo were ignored by other European powers at the Berlin Conference. The French and Spanish divided Morocco in 1911, and Libya came under Italian domination in 1912. The scramble for Africa came to an end with the annexation of Egypt by the British in 1914. By this time,

all of Africa except Liberia and Ethiopia was under European control.

SEE ALSO *Scramble for Africa; Sub-Saharan Africa, European Presence in.*

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Chima J. Korieh

BIOLOGICAL IMPACTS OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN THE AMERICAS

The arrival of Europeans in the Americas in 1492 precipitated a demographic catastrophe. Although some

controversy exists over the size of the pre-Columbian population, it is not unreasonable to suggest that it may have fallen from about 50 to 60 million in 1492 to 6.5 million in 1650, a decline of about 90 percent.

Many factors contributed to this decline, but most researchers agree that a major cause was the introduction of Old World diseases. Because of the isolation of the American continent from the rest of the world, Native Americans had not been exposed to diseases that ravaged the Old World and therefore had not acquired any immunity to them. The most notable killers were smallpox, measles, and influenza, which are spread by face-to-face contact. Smallpox is associated with mortality rates of between 30 and 50 percent. The impact of recent measles epidemics among nonimmune populations in Amazonia and isolated regions, such as in Polynesia and Iceland, indicates that measles might result in equally high levels of mortality. In the fifteenth century, most Europeans would have possessed some immunity to smallpox and measles, having been exposed to them in childhood. Other devastating diseases were plague, typhus, malaria, and yellow fever. These diseases are spread by insects, such as lice, fleas, or mosquitoes, and their incidence is strongly influenced by climatic conditions.

THE FIRST IMPACT

The Caribbean was the first region to experience the devastating impact of Old World diseases. The population of the island of Hispaniola, which today is shared by the Dominican Republic and Haiti, declined from at least one million in 1492 to about eighteen thousand in 1518; by the mid-sixteenth century, only a few hundred were left. Prior to the 1980s scholars thought that the smallpox epidemic of 1518 was the first to hit the region, but even accepting that the ill treatment and sometimes the enslavement of indigenous peoples contributed significantly to the decline, the scale of the demographic catastrophe was difficult to explain. However, it is now thought that the island was struck by influenza contracted from pigs suffering from swine fever that were carried by the second expedition of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) in 1493. A number of other unspecified diseases might also have taken their toll of Caribbean populations before 1518.

The first known epidemic to afflict the American mainland was probably associated with the arrival of smallpox in the Caribbean in 1518, but it is possible that earlier expeditions, such as that of Francisco Hernández de Córdoba (?–1517) in 1517, introduced smallpox at an earlier date to the Maya of Yucatán. What is known is that in 1520 smallpox was carried from Cuba to the Gulf Coast by a sick African slave on the expedition of Pánfilo

de Narváez (ca. 1480–1528). It spread rapidly through the native population, devastating the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. This weakened its inhabitants physically and psychologically, and shifted the military advantage the Aztecs had possessed to Hernán Cortés (1484–1547) and his troops, who took control of the city in 1521.

One contemporary observer, Toribio de Motolinia (d. 1569), claimed that in most provinces of Mexico, more than half the population died. Further south, smallpox spread through Guatemala and then through native population chains, often arriving ahead of the invaders. In the mid-1520s it struck the Andes in western South America, where it not only caused high morality but also resulted in the death of the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac sometime between 1524 and 1527. His death precipitated a dynastic war between his two sons, Huascar (d. 1532) and Atahualpa (d. 1533), raising mortality to even higher levels and weakening Inca resistance to the Spanish invaders. The Incas claimed that if it had not been for the epidemic, they would not have been conquered so easily.

CONTINUING IMPACTS: VARIATIONS IN TIMING AND GEOGRAPHY

The initial impact of epidemics was devastating, but native societies were hit by Old World diseases not once but several times during the sixteenth century. For example, in the Andes the smallpox epidemic of the mid-1520s was followed by an outbreak of measles from 1531 to 1533 and by plague or typhus in the 1545 to 1546 period; from 1557 to 1562 the region was struck by measles, along with influenza and smallpox, and finally from 1585 to 1591 by smallpox, measles, and typhus. Since each epidemic carried off a significant proportion of the survivors, a population could be easily hammered down to a fraction of its preconquest size.

This chronology was repeated in many parts of the Americas, but even those societies that did not come into direct contact with conquistadors, explorers, or missionaries may not have been spared the ravages of disease. Infections might spread equally easily through native contacts and systems of exchange. As a result, there is considerable debate over the extent of depopulation that might have occurred in relatively remote areas, such as Amazonia and much of North America, prior to the arrival of Europeans.

During the early colonial period, population losses were higher in the lowlands than the highlands. Many people have explained the greater depopulation in the lowlands by reference to the introduction of malaria and yellow fever, which only thrive in warm climates where the average temperature exceeds 20 degrees centigrade (68 degrees Fahrenheit). Both diseases are spread by

Estimated Native American populations, 1492–1996

1492	53,904,000
1570	13,507,000
1650–1700	9,359,000
1820	8,470,000
1996	40,000,000

SOURCES: The estimates for 1570 and 1650–1700 are from Angel Rosenblat, *La población indígena y el mestizaje en América, 1492–1950*, 2 tomos (Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1954), I, p. 59 and Peter C. Mancall, "Native Americans and Europeans in English America, 1500–1700," Table 15.1, "*Indian and colonist demography, 1500–1700*," in Nicolas Canney, Ed. *The Oxford History of the British Empire*. Volume I: *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 331. The estimate for 1820 is from Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: Historical Statistics* (Paris: OECD, Development Centre, 2003), Table 4.2, "Ethnic Composition of the Americas in 1820," p. 115. The estimate for 1996 is Emma Pearce, "Appendix 1: Indigenous Population Figures." In Phillip Wearne, *Return of the Indian: Conquest and Revival in the Americas* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), pp. 204-215.

THE GALE GROUP.

mosquitoes, but in the case of yellow fever the particular mosquito that acts as a carrier for the parasite would also need to have been introduced. It is generally thought that it arrived in the New World as the African slave trade expanded and that the first definitely identifiable epidemic of yellow fever occurred in the Caribbean in 1647 to 1648.

Yellow fever came to be associated with port cities, even extending to temperate zones in the summer, where it occasionally afflicted such cities as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Malaria may have spread more rapidly because many Europeans already suffered from a mild form of the disease *(Plasmodium vivax)* and the mosquitoes required for its spread were already present in the New World. However, apparently healthy slaves from Africa probably introduced the more deadly form, *Plasmodium falciparum.*

RESISTANCE AND RECOVERY

The initial impact of Old World diseases was disastrous, but over time native populations began to develop resistance to some infections. Some individuals have innate immunity to infections because of their genetic, biochemical, or physiological makeup, but most acquire it through constant exposure to infections. A community acquires immunity as those people who are resistant survive and reproduce, while those who are not resistant die in childhood.

Historical experience suggests that at least a century of constant exposure is required for an infection to become an endemic and a more benign disease of childhood. There is evidence that smallpox was becoming a childhood disease in parts of the Andes in the early seventeenth century. However, this type of immunity can only be acquired where communities are sufficiently large to sustain infections indefinitely, so that the population is constantly exposed to them. It has been suggested that a population of between one hundred thousand and two hundred thousand is needed to sustain smallpox.

In areas of low population density, diseases tend to "fade out" because they can find no new susceptible people to infect. In such circumstances, populations are not constantly exposed to diseases and do not therefore acquire immunity to them, with the result that when diseases are reintroduced from the outside these communities continue to experience high mortality.

Following the initial impact of Old World diseases in the sixteenth century, therefore, populations in densely settled areas experienced a degree of recovery, though its timing varied. The native population began to increase in Mexico in the 1620s and 1630s, whereas this did not occur in Central America until the end of the seventeenth century, and in Peru not until the mid-eighteenth century.

Despite this gradual recovery, highland populations were still afflicted by occasional outbreaks and in the eighteenth century there appears to have been a more general resurgence of epidemics that inflicted heavy losses. In Mexico, for example, severe smallpox epidemics occurred in 1711, 1734, 1748, 1761 to 1762, 1779 to 1780, and 1797. Meanwhile, the sparse native populations in the lowlands did not participate in the recovery experienced in the highlands. Here Old World diseases continued to take an elevated toll, so that populations in these regions continued to decline throughout the colonial period.

PRE-COLUMBIAN DISEASES

There is no doubt that the introduction of Old World diseases had a devastating impact on Native American peoples. However, this does not mean that in pre-Columbian times they had lived in a disease-free environment. They suffered from intestinal and respiratory infections, such as diarrhea, dysentery, and tuberculosis, as well as leishmaniasis, Chagas' disease, bartonellosis, and nonvenereal syphilis. What were absent in pre-Columbian times were acute infections that are spread by face-to-face contact and are associated with high mortality.
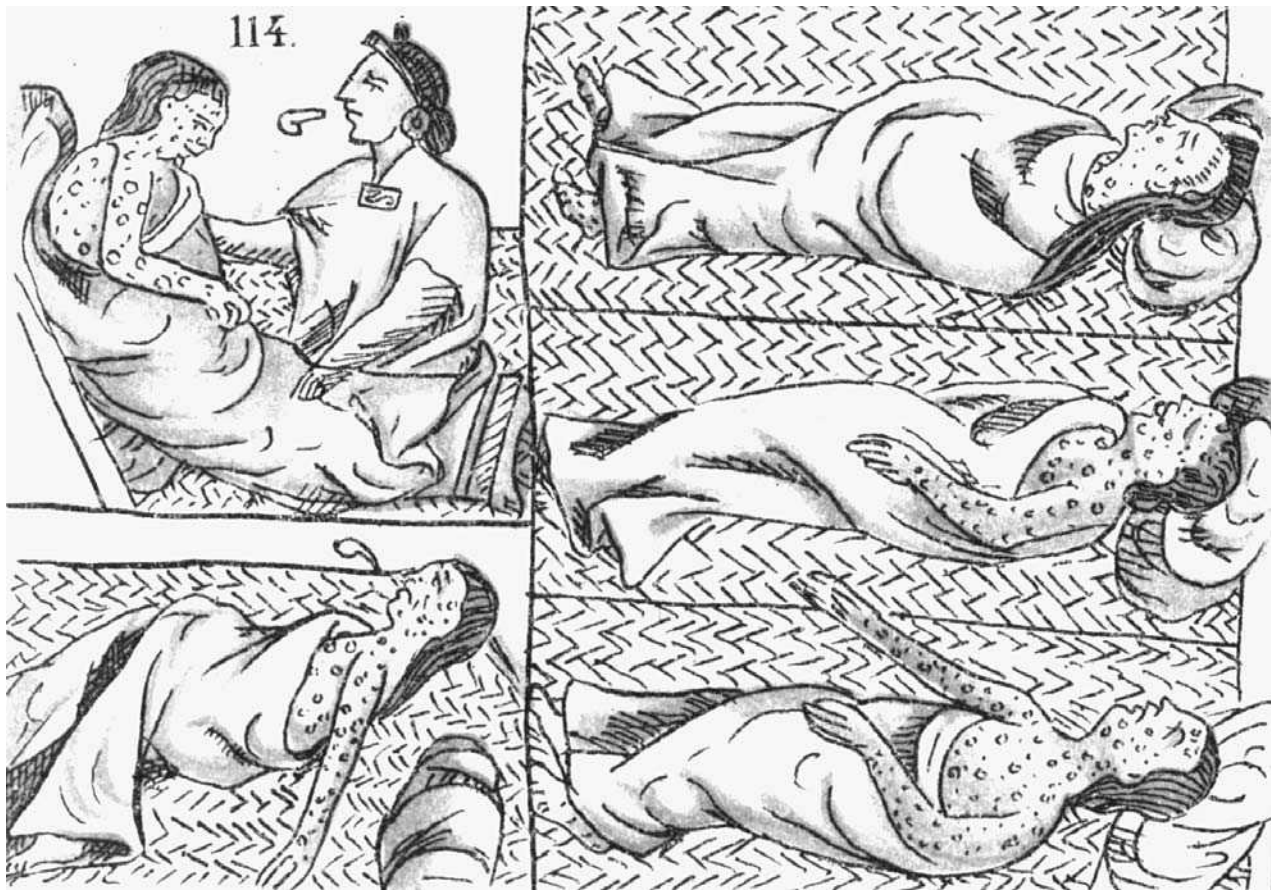
Victims of Smallpox in New Spain. *This illustration from* Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España *(General History of the Things of New Spain, 1569–1575) by Bernardino de Sahagún depicts the suffering experienced by those infected with smallpox.* **AKG LONDON. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Sufficiently large populations existed in pre-Columbian times to sustain such diseases if they had existed. However, most human diseases originate in animals and jump the species barrier to become human diseases. It is suggested that the relative absence of domesticated animals in pre-Columbian times and the lack of close contact between humans and the few species that existed would have discouraged their emergence. It seems likely, however, that a form of typhus was present in pre-Columbian times, being carried by lice found on guinea pigs, which were kept in many Andean households.

SEE ALSO *European Explorations in North America; European Explorations in South America; European Migrations to American Colonies, 1492–1820.*

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BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO

The Bismarck Archipelago stretches in a counterclockwise arc northeast of the New Guinea mainland. Comprising the large islands of New Britain and New Ireland, the Admiralty group containing Manus, and many smaller islands, this island sphere is one of the most fertile of the northern Melanesian region. It may also be the "homeland" of the Lapita ceramic culture around 1500 BCE, whose migration south and east began the formation of the proto-Polynesian populations.

The colonial history of the Bismarck Archipelago properly begins with the Germans who started copra plantations in the fertile Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain among the Tolai people in the 1870s. In 1884 the German flag was raised in Blanche Bay where Rabaul lies, and the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie, followed by the imperial German government in 1899, began the administration of the region. The Bismarck Archipelago became part of what was known as the "island sphere," which together with the northeastern mainland of New Guinea, the islands of Micronesia, and Western Samoa further south comprised Germany's Pacific empire.

The Germans fought wars of pacification with the Tolai people in the 1890s and appropriated and purchased 40 percent of the arable land. They also fought with the Manus people and groups on New Ireland to establish their rule. Governor Albert Hahl (1868–1945) established the foundations of an orderly administration with local leaders as officials, but relations with regional groups of New Guinea peoples remained haphazard and punitive expeditions were relatively frequent.

In 1914 an Australian naval force occupied German New Guinea, and Rabaul was the center of fighting. A military administration then ruled over the area until the League of Nations awarded Australia a mandate over the former German colony. The islands were then administered in a more commercial manner by Australian planting and trading interests, provoking the first major industrial strike in Rabaul in 1929, until the Japanese invaded in 1942. Australian planters and missionaries were executed or imprisoned, and the local New Guineans were made to work supplying Japan's forces. Many also died in the continual bombings.

After 1945 Australia resumed control of the Bismarck Archipelago and the mainland as a trustee of the United Nations. Not until the 1960s was any radical move made towards independence for the people of New Guinea, and the Tolai people of New Britain played a major role in pressuring Australia, organizing an anticolonial movement, the Mataungan Association, in the 1960s. The people of the Bismarck Archipelago shared with their mainland cousins ninety years of formal colonial rule under three different colonial regimes, the Tolai bearing the brunt of commercial development during that time. They were able to turn economic growth to their advantage and entered independence as the most prosperous and influential group vying for power in the newly independent country of Papua New Guineau.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, European Presence in.*

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BLACKBIRD LABOR TRADE

Blackbirding was the colloquial term for the earliest forms of labor trade, initiated as illegal recruitment and effective slavery long after such practices had ended in Europe and Africa.

In the 1860s Polynesians and Micronesians were forcibly taken from such contemporary Pacific states as Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tokelau, and French Polynesia (Tahiti) to work in Chilean and Peruvian plantations and mines. Some never arrived and few ever returned home; hence, several islands, including Easter Island (Rapa Nui) and Nukulaelae (Tuvalu), lost more than half their population in just three years.

From 1847 to 1872 a more extended labor trade took Melanesians from many islands, mainly to Queensland sugarcane plantations, but also to plantations in Fiji and Samoa and mines in New Caledonia.

Most came from the Loyalty Islands (New Caledonia), the New Hebrides (especially Tanna), and the Solomon Islands. Particularly in the New Hebrides this practice led to population declines in the southern islands. Initially laborers were kidnapped or promised great wealth, until the growth of widespread opposition in various Western countries, often resulting from the protests of missionaries, who themselves followed local pressure. Retaliation was often considerable and the murder of Bishop John Patteson (1827–1871) in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) was one measure of the strength of local opposition.

Eventually the British government passed the Pacific Islanders Protection Act in 1872 and blackbirding ended. It was replaced by legal recruitment until the end of the century; most of these migrants returned home, but one outcome was a small descendant population of South Sea Islanders (Kanakas) living in Australia.

In the twentieth century there was a diversity of forms of labor migration in the Pacific islands, including the movement of Wallisians and Tahitians to New Caledonia, Indians to the cane fields of Fiji, and Filipinos to Micronesia, but none of these migrations involved the violence, deception, and mortality rates that marked nineteenth-century blackbirding. In a sense the South Sea Islanders represent the first phase of a diasporic population of Pacific islanders that has parallels with Indians within the Pacific.

SEE ALSO *Chinese Diaspora.*

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John Connell

BOER WARS

The Boer Wars were a series of conflicts fought between the descendants of Dutch settlers and British troops in South Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The conflicts stemmed from Britain's attempts to expand its South African colonial empire.

Dutch colonists had settled the Cape region of South Africa since the seventeenth century, where they became known as *Boers*, meaning "farmers" in Dutch. After Great Britain acquired control of the Cape in 1806, many Boers felt harassed by British colonial policies, especially the abolition of African slavery, and they began migrating inland to escape British rule. The Boers eventually established two landlocked independent republics: the South African Republic (also known as the Transvaal Republic) and the Orange Free State. The Boers were conservative, deeply religious, and practiced an agricultural way of life; they spoke a form of Dutch later called *Afrikaans*, and called themselves *Afrikaners*, meaning "Africans" in their language.

By the 1870s the British had annexed most of southern Africa with the exception of the two Boer republics, and they now hoped to incorporate the two republics into a larger South African federation. The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1867, and British annexation of the diamond region near the border with the Orange Free State, also brought the British into conflict with the Boers.

FIRST BOER WAR (1880–1881)

The first war between the British and Boers was short and resulted in little loss of life. In 1877 the British annexed the Transvaal, claiming the territory as their own. In 1880 the Boers revolted, and the Transvaal declared its independence from Great Britain. The Boers attacked British army garrisons in the Transvaal and defeated the British at the Battle of Laing's Nek on January 28, 1881; this was followed by other Boer victories. On February 27, 1881, the Boers defeated the British in the decisive Battle of Majuba Hill.

At this point the British government under Prime Minister William Gladstone (1809–1898) decided to recognize Boer independence, and the Convention of Pretoria was signed on April 5, 1881, confirming the sovereignty of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal). To the Boers, the war became known as the First War for Freedom; it is also known to historians as the First South African War and the First Anglo-Boer War.

SECOND BOER WAR (1899–1902)

The Second Boer War is also known to Afrikaners as the Second War for Freedom, and as the Second South African War and the Second Anglo-Boer War. Though the end of the First Boer War restored peace in the Transvaal, it did not end the disputes between the British and the Boers. The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal resulted in a huge influx of new settlers, most of them British or from British colonies. Gold mining began apace and the city of Johannesburg became the center of the gold mining region.

The Second Anglo-Boer War. *The second war between the British and the Boers was fought from 1899 to 1902. Boer forces won early victories at Ladysmith, Mafeking, Colenso, and Kimberley. By 1900, however, the tide had shifted toward the British.*
© EPD PHOTOS.

The rise in new settlers, known in Afrikaans as *Uitlanders*, or ''foreigners,'' disturbed the Boers; the Uitlanders appeared to have little respect for Boer culture and were instead focused on profiting from the Transvaal's resources. The Boers therefore required a long period of residency—fourteen years—in order to acquire Transvaal citizenship and voting rights in the republic, but Uitlanders were still taxed. These conditions angered the Uitlanders, most of whom supported British colonial expansion into the Transvaal.

In 1895 Dr. Leander Starr Jameson (1853–1917), with the backing of the Cape Colony's prime minister, Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902, who had his own commercial interests in the region later to be called Rhodesia), staged a raid on the city of Johannesburg, a nearly farcical event that was a dramatic failure. The failed raid embarrassed the British government, as it made Britain appear to be engaged in aggression against a republic whose independence it had guaranteed. Rhodes was forced to resign as prime minister of the Cape. To the Boers, the event

revealed British imperial designs. Paul Kruger (1825–1904), the Transvaal president, was especially effective in rallying his people against the British, as was President Marthinus Steyn (1857–1916) in the Orange Free State. The Transvaal and Orange Free State formed an alliance, and both republics began importing arms from Germany. Germany had given verbal support to the Boer cause, but never intervened when war began.

The British continued their scheming to acquire the Boer republics. The Cape high commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner (1854–1925), as well as the colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain (1836–1914), both wanted war against the Boer republics on the grounds of poor treatment against the Uitlanders, but really as part of their imperialist design for the expansion of empire, as well as the desire for gold. At a conference between British and Boer leaders in 1899, the British demanded citizenship and voting rights for Uitlanders, while the Boers demanded that British troops withdraw from the borders of the Transvaal. When the British failed to withdraw their troops, President Kruger ordered the Boers to attack British positions in the Cape Colony and Natal.

War was declared on October 12, 1899. Initially, the Boers had the advantage, besieging the cities of Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley, and defeating British troops at the battles of Magersfontein and Colenso. Nevertheless, the British prime minister, Lord Salisbury (Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 1830–1903), of the Conservative-Unionist Party, was optimistic and expected the war to last only a few months. British troops led by Sir Redvers Buller (1839–1908) arrived in Cape Town at the end of October, with reinforcements under Lord Frederick Sleigh Roberts (1832–1914) arriving in February 1900, helping to relieve the besieged cities. Robert Baden-Powell (1857–1941, founder of the Boy Scouts) also led a raid against the Transvaal. The British captured the Orange Free State's capital of Bloemfontein in March 1900 and the Transvaal capital of Pretoria in June 1900. The fall of the two capitals led the British to believe that the war would now be over.

At this point, however, the war entered into a guerilla stage as the Boers continued to resist the British onslaught. Unlike the British, who wore uniforms and were organized into hierarchical and highly structured military units, the Boers wore civilian clothes, and were organized into self-governing commandos led by such generals as Jacobus Hercules (Koos) De la Rey (1847–1914), Christiaan de Wet (1854–1922), Louis Botha (1862–1919), and Jan Smuts (1870–1950). Boer commandos continued their attacks on British garrisons and communications lines. The British replaced their earlier command with more able leaders, including Lord

Roberts and Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850–1916), both military heroes. About 80,000 Boers fought against about 450,000 British troops, including colonial troops from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Africans fought for both sides, though most fought for the British, believing that a British victory would bring them greater rights.

The continuance of war in South Africa prompted an antiwar movement in Great Britain, supported by parliamentary opposition parties, including most of the Liberals (such as David Lloyd George [1863–1945]) and the various smaller Labor parties. The British antiwar movement was also motivated by British treatment of Boer prisoners. The Boers themselves tended to release captured British soldiers after a few days because they had no place to imprison them. The British sent their prisoners of war out of the country to such places as Bermuda and Ceylon. The British also employed a scorched earth policy, burning crops and farmhouses (about 30,000 homes were burned), and evicting Boer families, placing women and children in concentration camps. Over 116,000 Boers were imprisoned in about forty-five concentration camps, where 27,000 of them, mainly children, died. Over 120,000 Africans were also imprisoned in concentration camps. Though Africans were important participants in the war and were substantially affected by it, there is relatively little documentation about their experiences and most historians have focused on the British-Boer conflict, rather than on the African role.

Faced with overwhelming force as well as the destruction of their farms, the Boers considered surrendering. Boer generals disagreed among themselves; some, such as Botha, argued for surrender with better terms, while others, such as de Wet, wanted to hold out until the bitter end. Eventually the Boers came to an agreement and surrendered. The Treaty of Vereeniging was signed on May 31, 1902, with the Boers recognizing British annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which now became British colonies. These colonies would be merged into the new Union of South Africa in 1910, with Louis Botha becoming the first prime minister of a united South Africa.

The British were active in reconstructing the former republics in an attempt to gain Boer confidence. Africans gained little from the Second Boer War. Many had supported the British in the belief that they would obtain voting rights with a British victory. With the exception of the recognition of some preexisting rights for Africans in the Cape Province, the war did little to help them.

The Boer Wars were significant in defining modern South Africa. The peace treaty in 1902 brought the British and Boers together in an uneasy alliance, allowing the formation of a unified South Africa. Afrikaner

Boer Peace Treaty. *The Treaty of Vereeniging, which ended the Second Anglo-Boer War, was signed in Pretoria in 1902 by British military commander Horatio Kitchener and Boer leader Christiaan De Wet.* © MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

feelings about the war are still strong, helping to define Afrikaner nationalism in a way similar to how the American Civil War defines southern political culture. The Boer Wars have been compared by some historians to both the Vietnam and Gulf Wars, in which smaller independent nations were attacked by imperial forces.

SEE ALSO *Afrikaner; Cape Colony and Cape Town; Kruger, Paul; Rhodes, Cecil.*

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Michael Pretes

BOMBAY

It is only in the context of the history of India that the history of Bombay (Mumbai) can be properly understood. For the British, the establishment of a fortified trading post on Salsette Island—the origins of the city of Bombay—rapidly evolved into a bid to penetrate and gain hegemony over the hinterland. Bombay was for them above all a gateway, an entry point to the whole of the Indian peninsula. For the rising Indian educated class, Bombay was to become a window to the West. Unlike many other Indian cities, Bombay did not develop around a pilgrimage shrine or a royal court.

In the seventeenth century, Bombay consisted of seven islands, its original inhabitants being the Koli community of fisherfolk. In 1665, on the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II of England, it was given by the Portuguese to the British Crown as part of the future queen's dowry. The commercially unproductive islands were transferred within three years to the East India Company (EIC), leased at the paltry sum of nine pounds sterling per annum. The English factors would soon realize the value of their new acquisition. By 1687 the directors of the EIC had transferred the seat of administration from Surat to Bombay. Its deepwater natural harbor offset the demerits of what Samuel Pepys called "a poor little island." It was believed that Bombay would become as beneficial to the English as Batavia was to the Dutch. Bombay lived up to expectations, and in the nineteenth century became the most important city in India.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Bombay had become a metropolitan city, as special religious and economic privileges were offered to people to entice them to come and settle there. Eminent merchants and skilled Parsi shipwrights such as the Wadias were among those who migrated to Bombay from Surat. Expert weavers were induced to come from the hinterland areas of Chaul, Thana, and Bhivandi. Early governors of Bombay, like Sir George Oxinden (1668–1669) and Sir Gerald Aungier (1669–1677), can be described as the

true architects of the city. Administrative, judicial, and commercial systems were initiated, shaped on the British model. Bombay's historical identity undoubtedly rests on its image as a colonial city.

The original British settlement was a walled town, with both British and Indian inhabitants, the former in the south and the latter in the north. James Forbes in his *Memoirs* of 1780 records that the town of Bombay was about two miles in circumference, and surrounded by fortifications. Bombay's urban nucleus was Bombay Castle, the administrative, commercial, and military stronghold of the British, adjoining the harbor. Around it was built the semi-circular Esplanade. Landmarks included St. Thomas Church and the Mint. An old resident, Sir Edward Arnold, returning in the 1880s after a twenty-year absence was inspired to remark, in the style of Augustus describing Rome, "I left Bombay a town of warehouses and offices; I find her a city of parks and palaces." (S.M.Edwardes, *The Rise of Bombay, A Retrospect,* Times of India Press, 1902, p. 327).

As the English historian Pamela Nightingale stresses, nineteenth-century Bombay's political hinterland was expanded for the purely commercial reason of gaining control over areas of cotton production. It stretched in a broad arc from Kathiawad and Gujarat in the north to Malabar in the south. As the Industrial Revolution gathered momentum, Bombay started to export raw cotton to the new cotton mills of Manchester and Liverpool. This trade was also supplemented by the opium trade, mainly with China.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Bombay's economy experienced a boom due to the American Civil War, which cut the raw cotton supply to England, making Bombay the major exporter. This newfound prosperity stimulated prolific construction of various symbols of British imperial grandeur. Edifices that survive today include Bombay University and Elpinstone College (founded in 1857 and 1860 respectively), the Municipality, the General Post Office, and the High Court buildings. The railway station, named Victoria Terminus and designed after St. Pancras station in London, is today a World Heritage site.

The Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, the very first railways in India, made their appearance in Bombay, starting from Victoria Terminus. Marshy lands were reclaimed, and causeways were built at Mahim, and between Cumballa Hill and Worli, to drain the "Great Breach," the area then known as Breach Candy. Wharves and docks were constructed on a large scale. In the mid-nineteenth century, after the opening of the Suez Canal, Bombay port became a focus of steamship navigation. Companies such as the famed Peninsular and Oriental

Steam Navigation Company, the Messageries Maritimes Company, the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, the Austrian Lloyd Company of Trieste, and the Rubattini Company of Genoa set up offices in Bombay. Sailing clippers were also engaged in the tea and opium trade. Agency houses of the British became a common feature of Bombay city. Modern milling technology was introduced through the construction of cotton mills, the first one being started in 1854. A supply of cheap labor from the neighboring areas (mostly the Konkan and Deccan) led to a massive influx of population. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the population grew from an estimated 200,000 to almost a million.

The culture of the city has been and continues to be pan-Indian rather than provincial. From the beginning, ethnic multiplicity was reflected in the population, which included Parsis, Gujarati "Baniyas," and the Muslim trading communities of Bohras and Khojas. Contributions to the development of Bombay were made by affluent members of the indigenous entrepreneurial class, such as Jagannath Shankarseth and Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. With the formulation of his famous Drain Theory, Bombay's Dadabhai Naoroji took his place as India's leading economic nationalist. In 1885 Bombay played host to the founding session of the Indian National Congress. During World War II, the industrialists of the city brought forth detailed proposals for the economic development of the country in their "Bombay Plan." By the end of the war, Bombay was well established as the industrial hub of India: it had 477 metal industries, 210 printing presses, 75 chemical plants, and 94 other industries, while 184 textile mills were still in operation (David 1998, p.249). Bombay strongly supported the Civil Disobedience Movement and Mahatma Gandhi, and was the site of heroic working class struggles, as it had a large labor force, mainly cotton mill workers. In the immediate postwar period, the Bombay Naval Mutiny, strongly supported by the organized trade unionists and Left parties, sent a clear signal that Britain's hold on India could not much longer be maintained. Once India gained independence, Bombay overtook Calcutta to become the unquestioned economic capital of independent India.

In the nineteenth century the city of Bombay was once described as "the connecting link between Europe and Asia," the point where two civilizations meet and mingle. This description might also be appropriately applied to the contemporary cosmopolitan social structure of the city, as well as to its internationally focused economy. It could also characterize the physical image of Bombay. Like other British colonial ports of India, Bombay has been an architectural hybrid, presenting an evolving juxtaposition of Indian and European concepts of environment. Bombay has in common with Madras (Chennai) and Calcutta (Kolkata) that it grew from a

small fortified trading settlement into a sprawling commercial metropolis. Because of its physical setting, however, Bombay has been in many ways unique. Bombay began as seven small islands, and through gradual reclamation, was a single land mass by the end of the eighteenth century. The physical formation of Bombay has thus necessitated extensive reclamation and land-filling activities. There have been two twentieth-century landfill projects, the Backbay Reclamation (creating the seaside Marine Drive) and Ballard Estate. In the post-Independence years, two additions were made to Bombay's land surface, Nariman Point and Cuffe Parade. Land has thus been scarce and expensive, a factor that has continued to promote dense building patterns and a predominant use of multistoried structures. Industrial prosperity has been accompanied by environmental deterioration and traffic congestion.

Bombay remains a city of immigrants and a commercial metropolis. It continues to be known as a seaport, railhead, air traffic hub, and center of finance, as well as a textile mill city and a high technology pole. It is also dubbed "Bollywood," as it is the center of the world's premier cinema industry.

SEE ALSO *English East India Company (EIC).*

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Ruby Maloni

BOSTON

Boston was the site chosen in 1630 by the English Puritans for their political, administrative, and religious capital. Located on a promontory, it offered both a defensive position and a central location for the other settlements of Massachusetts Bay. Under the leadership of John Winthrop (1588–1649) the town grew rapidly, sustained by a stream of immigrants from England and the presence of a good harbor. For the first ten years, Boston's commerce was largely with the mother country. The outbreak of the English Civil War (1642–1651), however, prompted its merchants to open new markets in the Chesapeake and West Indies. Despite the Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1663, Boston continued to prosper, as witnessed by its expanding fleet and numerous wharfs and warehouses. By the end of the seventeenth century its population had reached almost 8,000, making it the largest overseas English town. Unsurprisingly its inhabitants played a leading role in the overthrow of the Dominion of New England in 1689.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Boston did not enjoy such unremitting growth. One reason for this was the emergence of New York and Philadelphia as rivals for the carrying trade. In addition, Boston lacked a dynamic internal market, because the region's rocky soils limited its agricultural potential. During the wars of the eighteenth century, Boston did profit from military contracting and the equipping of privateers. But the coming of peace invariably led to economic dislocation and unemployment, though the population continued to grow, reaching 16,000 by 1760. Boston, as a result, was the first American town to experience urban poverty. However, it remained a center of politics, culture, and ideas because of the presence of nearby Harvard College. It also was the most democratically governed town in British North America, having a franchise that effectively included all white males. Boston had a heady mixture of an educated elite and working-class majority citizens that Samuel Adams (1722–1803) and his patriot colleagues exploited against Britain during the Stamp Act riots, the Boston Massacre, and final separation from Britain in 1776.

SEE ALSO *American Revolution; Atlantic Colonial Commerce.*

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BOXER UPRISING

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, China found itself reduced to semicolonial status: The Qing state remained intact, but most of China was divided into spheres of influence under the control of foreign powers, a process that had begun with the first Opium War (1839–1842) and concluded with the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Although the Qing continued to stumble along for another decade, what accelerated the process of dynastic collapse was the Boxer Uprising. Known collectively as the Boxers United in Righteousness (*Yihequan*) and sharing the belief that spirit possession and invulnerability rituals would protect them from bullets, a motley crew of peasants, laborers, and drifters launched the movement in 1898. From their origins in northwestern Shandong, the Boxers spread across the North China Plain, extending as far as Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

A combination of deteriorating conditions in the countryside and increasing Chinese resentment of the missionary presence in Shandong fueled the Boxer movement. The North China Plain had been hard hit by a series of natural disasters; banditry, smuggling, and corruption also were rife in the area. The devastation caused by flood and drought coupled with the government's failure to effectively address the crisis made the impoverished peasants easy recruits for the Boxer movement. Furthermore, missionary activity in the area and the special privileges accorded to Chinese converts exacerbated relations between the Chinese on the one hand, and the Christian missionaries and their converts on the other. The physical assault of missionaries and Christian Chinese as well as the destruction of railroad and telegraph lines—symbols of the Western presence in China—defined the Boxer Uprising as an antiforeign, anti-Christian, and anti-missionary movement.

However, the Boxers were not anti-Qing as is sometimes thought; after all, their slogan was "Revive the Qing; destroy the foreigner." And despite later representations portraying the Boxers as rebels, the Qing court did support the Boxers. Although the rumor that the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) had ordered the expulsion of all foreigners and Chinese Christians proved to be false, she did declare war on all eight foreign powers on June 21, 1900. Early interpretations maintain that the Boxers were initially against the Qing, being an outgrowth of secret societies with a tradition of rebellion against the state. However, later studies indicate that the Boxers were pro-Qing from the outset, based as they were on local militia loyal to and under the supervision of the Qing. In his study of the origins of the Boxer Uprising, historian Joseph Esherick agrees with the latter

Chinese Rebel During the Boxer Uprising, 1900. *A Chinese rebel waves a banner in support of the Boxer Uprising, a violent rebellion against foreign interests in China.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

interpretation, but dismisses the Boxers' sectarian and loyalist origins, emphasizing instead their genesis in popular culture.

The Boxer Uprising peaked in the summer of 1900 with the siege of the foreign legation quarters in Beijing and the Qing court's declaration of war against the foreign powers. It took an eight-nation alliance to end the siege. The Boxer Protocol in 1901 demanded that China pay a huge indemnity in the amount of 450 million taels (equivalent to about $333 million at the time); by some estimates, that amount would total a billion taels in 1940 when the indemnity was to be paid in full. In 1908, the United States allocated its portion of the indemnity to fund scholarships for Chinese students. Through its "open door notes," the primary objective of which was to protect American commercial interests in China, the United States also sought to slow down if not thwart the scramble for concessions. The Qing state emerged from the Boxer Uprising a

weaker, if not fatally crippled, country unable to hold onto the reins of power without foreign assistance. To restore peace and order, American troops occupied Beijing; historian Michael Hunt attributes the smoothness of the American occupation to Chinese collaborators.

For the mainland Chinese, the Boxer event has held different meanings at different times. During the New Culture Movement (1915–1925), the Chinese viewed the Boxers as ignorant peasants blinded by xenophobia and bound by superstition; later, the rising tide of nativism and nationalism reconfigured the Boxers' antiforeign sentiment as patriotic fervor. During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the Chinese Communist Party mythologized the Boxers as revolutionary vanguards.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; Chinese Revolutions; East Asia, American Presence in; East Asia, European Presence in; Missions, China.*

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Lisa Tran

BRAZIL

SEE *Empire, Portuguese, in America*

BRAZILIAN INDEPENDENCE

When Brazil declared its independence on September 7, 1822, it had traversed a truly unusual path. Once a conventional colony, it had evolved into the seat of the Portuguese empire by 1808, only to be declared a kingdom, equal in status with Portugal, in 1815. The Portuguese royal family, fleeing before the Napoleonic troops that had entered Portugal in late 1807, were the only European monarchs to ever see their American colony, and they were the only ones to rule their empire from the colonies. Last but not least, for much of the nineteenth century Brazil was the only American colony to have become an independent monarchy. Yet

independence, declared in 1822, did not fully signify Brazilian sovereignty. The Portuguese crown had needed help in order to relocate before the advancing French troops and later to recover their throne in Portugal, help that Great Britain had agreed to provide—in return for generous commercial advantages in Brazil. Nor did independence mean freedom for slaves, the mainstay of the Brazilian labor force.

As Napoleon's troops closed in on Lisbon in late 1807, João VI, the Portuguese king, after much hesitation decided against joining France's continental blockade of Great Britain, and instead availed himself of the British offer to protect the Portuguese monarchy. Hurriedly, the entire court, including part of the army and navy, along with the royal treasury and several libraries, relocated to the most important Portuguese colony at the time, Brazil. All in all, an estimated ten to twenty thousand people moved to Brazil. Once the royal family arrived in Rio de Janeiro, it set up its court in the colonial capital, and began expanding the existing institutions to develop a functioning state in the place of a formerly dependent colony.

The royal family and particularly the prince regent (soon to become king João VI) quickly came to consider Rio de Janeiro as more than a temporary place of exile. In 1815 João VI raised Brazil to the status of a kingdom on equal footing with its former mother country, which was governed at the time by the Council of Regency and protected by the British army. The new kingdom carefully kept its distance from the turbulence of European warfare. For Brazilians, the presence of the Portuguese court in Rio meant a growing identification of royal policies with Brazilian interests. At the same time, however, it meant that Portuguese took up some of the political offices previously open to Brazilians while relying almost entirely on the Brazilian economy for government revenues. Thus the relocation of the Portuguese court produced mixed responses among the Brazilian elites. It did, however, provide the country with a recognizable and generally accepted center of power that fostered stability and thus helped Brazil maintain its territorial integrity while other Latin American nations fragmented.

Brazil's political independence was hastened by the political events in Portugal after 1820. Liberal-nationalist revolts in the cities of Oporto and Lisbon led to the establishment of a *junta provisória* (provisional assembly) in Portugal, replacing the Council of Regency that had been presided over by Field Marshal Beresford, an Englishman. The Junta demanded the king's return to Portugal, and began to put together a *cortes* (constituent congress) with the purpose of writing a constitution. When João VI and the royal court returned to Portugal

A Government Employee in Brazil Leaves Home. *A government employee with his family and servants leaves home shortly before Brazil gained independence, in a lithograph printed in* Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil *(1839) by Jean-Baptiste Debret.*
BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, PARIS, FRANCE/ARCHIVES CHARMET/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in 1821 due to increasing pressure by the Cortes, João left his son, Pedro I, as prince regent in Rio de Janeiro.

Initially, Brazilians seized on the opportunity of sending delegates to the Cortes, which they assumed would recognize Brazil's status as equal to that of Portugal, and which they hoped would incorporate Brazilian interests into Portuguese policy to a heretofore-unprecedented degree. Instead, the Cortes's policy toward Brazil revealed itself as an attempt to return the country to its former status as a colony. It limited the jurisdiction of Pedro I to southern Brazil, and dispatched governors to other provinces. Furthermore, in 1821, the Cortes demanded the return of prince Pedro I to Lisbon, where he was to finish his education.

By now, Brazilian nationalists had transferred their allegiance from João VI to Pedro I, and exercised pressure on the prince to remain in Brazil. On January 9, 1822, the prince officially declared his intentions of staying

in Brazil. From May 1822 onwards, no decision from the Cortes was implemented in Brazil without the explicit approval of the prince regent. Following the receipt of correspondence from the Cortes reaffirming its demands, Pedro I, on the advice of Brazilian nationalists, such as José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, and his wife Leopoldina, declared Brazil's independence on September 7, 1822. At the banks of the river Ipiranga, he exclaimed the famous words, "Independence or Death," which, together with British navy and commercial backing, sealed Brazil's separation from Portugal. On December 1 of the same year, Pedro I was crowned "Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil." Not all provinces recognized Brazil's independence, and in northeastern and southern Brazil Pedro I had to use military force to quell several regional revolts against his rule following the declaration of independence.

Political independence for Brazil was not tantamount to economic independence. Prior to 1822, the

Portuguese court in Brazil had continued the country's economic dependence on the export of primary goods to generate revenue (and thus in fact finance the royal government). This pattern continued after 1822. Moreover, in return for Britain's speedy assistance in relocating the court and protecting Portugal, King João VI, upon his arrival in Brazil, declared all Brazilian ports open to trade with friendly nations—which in reality meant Great Britain—effective January 28, 1808. While the declaration ended Portugal's colonial monopoly on trade with Brazil, it transferred, rather than ended, the former colony's commercial dependence. Great Britain quickly became the main recipient of Brazil's primary exports, at the same time that Brazil's importation of manufactured goods from England increased. In many ways, the declaration simply eliminated Portugal's role as the commercial entrepôt between Brazilian planters and British manufacturers.

In 1810 a treaty between Brazil and Great Britain cemented this shift in economic dependence. British merchants received special trading privileges, including a maximum tariff of 15 percent on their merchandise, in comparison to the 24 percent tariff levied on imports from all other nations. Moreover, the treaty granted England jurisdiction over British merchants living in Brazil. As a consequence of the favorable economic treaty and Great Britain's exclusion from the European market due to the Continental Blockade, Brazil by the 1820s had become Great Britain's third-largest export recipient. In fact, the growth of commerce between the two nations became so important that Great Britain applied diplomatic pressure on Portugal in 1825 to recognize Brazil's political independence, despite the fact that this might jeopardize British trading interests in Portugal itself. It was only in 1844, when the 1810 treaty expired and the Alves Branco Tariff more than doubled the duties on British goods, that Brazil regained a greater degree of economic independence from Great Britain.

Nor did political independence produce any fundamental changes in the structure of the Brazilian economy and society. Although manufacturing, previously forbidden in the colony, was encouraged once the royal court arrived in Brazil, the mainstay of the Brazilian economy remained the export of primary goods. Indeed, the Brazilian elite that had come to support independence by no means endorsed a more profound restructuring of the social and economic foundations of the newly independent nation. Thus slavery remained in place, and large estates focused on growing export crops such as sugar and increasingly coffee continued to dominate the economy. This left Brazil at the mercy of often unstable world market prices for its exports and dependent on the import of manufactured goods from Europe and, increasingly, from the United States.

SEE ALSO *Minas Gerais, Conspiracy of.*

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BRITAIN'S AFRICAN COLONIES

British imperial interests in Africa predate the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885, which is usually considered the defining event in the scramble and partition of Africa. By 1871 Britain had established crown colonies in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Lagos, and at the Cape and Natal provinces in South Africa. England built Fort James at the current site of Banjul on the Gambia River in 1618. Sierra Leone became a colony in 1801, and Britain brought the Cape and Natal provinces under its control in the early nineteenth century. These territorial acquisitions that occurred before the dawn of "new imperialism" provided the British with a foundation they built on during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Besides Gambia and Sierra Leone, the other British colonies in western Africa included the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria. The West African coast was part of the elaborate network of transatlantic slave trade and hence was not immune from the commercial interests of various European nations. In 1844 British officials signed treaties with Fante chiefs as equals. The British economic interests were subsequently enhanced and by the 1870s they monopolized trade in the region. In 1874 the British colonized the coastal Fante states. However, it was not until 1901 that the British conquered Ashanti (Asante). This followed a series of wars between the British and the Ashanti in which the latter lost. This was a significant

step in bringing the coast and hinterland regions under British colonial rule.

In the context of Nigeria, the British declared Lagos its protectorate in 1851. The Royal Niger Company was granted a charter to help advance the political and economic interests of the British in the Niger Delta region. It was not until 1900 that the northern part of Nigeria was brought under control, thereby bringing the entire country under formal British colonial rule.

In 1875 Britain increased its influence in Egypt when it bought a substantial share in the Suez Canal. Safeguarding the canal became a major preoccupation of the British government. When the Egyptian economy went into recession and defaulted on its debts, the British government increased its military involvement in Egypt, suppressed the Ahmed Urabi revolt, and occupied the country in 1882. Egypt thus came under British rule as a protectorate. Once Britain occupied Egypt in 1882, it made its way to the Egyptian colony of Sudan. The Anglo-Egyptian forces met stiff resistance from the Mahdi forces in Sudan, and it was not until the 1890s that the country was formally brought under control.

In eastern Africa, the Imperial British East Africa Company was instrumental in establishing Kenya and Uganda as British spheres of influence before the two countries were formally brought under the direct control of the British government: Uganda in 1894 and the British East Africa Protectorate (Kenya) in 1895. In eastern Africa, some communities, including the Giriama, Kikuyu, and the Nandi in Kenya, fiercely contested the imposition of British imperial control, while in Uganda the British sent military expeditions against the Bunyoro.

In contrast, some communities supported the imposition of British rule because they wanted to maintain their preexisting political and economic situation by working closely with the British. The Baganda had an elaborate governance infrastructure, which the British wished to preserve with a view to using Baganda agents in establishing colonial rule. The Masai in Kenya sought assistance from the British because of emergent humanitarian needs brought about by drought and famine. Britain's control of British Somaliland, which is the territory at the mouth of the Red Sea, was concluded in 1884 when it was declared a protectorate.

The British colonization of the Cape Colony between 1802 and 1806 was significant in the context of its imperial interests in India. Having conquered the Cape from the Dutch, the British made it a port of call for their ships en route to India. It was the discovery of gold and diamonds eight decades later that forced Britain to get directly involved in southern Africa with a view to controlling the economic and political destiny of the region. British colonists went to South Africa in large numbers, a development that provoked resentment from the Afrikaners who fiercely resisted the British expansion into the interior as well as their permanent presence. Their stay was bound to undermine the Afrikaner dominance in South Africa.

The arrival of one of the great British empire-builders in Africa, Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902), drastically changed the hitherto existing territorial situation in southern Africa by pressing inland and winning for the British the territories of Bechuanaland (Botswana), Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe, respectively), and Nyasaland (Malawi). The African communities, especially the Shona and Ndebele, fiercely resisted the conquest of these lands in Central Africa. In what is today the Republic of South Africa, the provinces of Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal were united to form the Union of South Africa, which was granted autonomy and thus began to be self-governed in 1910. The whites dominated the political system until 1994, when the country attained majority rule under the leadership of Nelson Mandela (b. 1918).

The British method of colonial administration was dependent on the prevailing local situation. The British retained governmental structures in preexisting centralized polities. The examples of the kingdom of Buganda in Uganda and the Sokoto caliphate in Nigeria are instructive of the British determination to maintain the status quo so long as the leadership accepted its status as subject to the British Crown.

In situations of decentralized polities, the British appointed chiefs through whom orders and directives were communicated to the local population. This method of rule in which the British officials were appointed as governors as well as provincial and district commissioners, while Africans served as chiefs under the designated European officials, is called *indirect rule*. The system was cost-effective because the British needed only a few European officials to govern the colony. The governor was the most powerful person in the colony and was assisted by executive and legislative councils in carrying out the duties of governance. For most of the colonial period these councils were the preserve of European colonial officials. It was the European missionaries who often represented African interests in these councils.

The construction of physical and social infrastructure was a major undertaking of the British colonial state. Roads and railways were built, as were social facilities such as schools and hospitals. English and vernacular languages were promoted in primary schools, but as students proceeded to higher levels, English became the

Map showing British Africa, 1914. Labeled regions include Egypt (Administered by Britain), Sudan (Administered by Britain and Egypt), British Somaliland, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Uganda, British East Africa, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland. Bodies of water labeled Mediterranean Sea, Atlantic Ocean, and Indian Ocean.

British Africa, 1914

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

only language of instruction. Education served to produce elite that would serve in the administration.

The British imposed their law, but also encouraged customary law in the colonies. In the context of the

economy, there were few attempts at industrializing the colonies. Besides South Africa, most British colonies were dependent on agriculture as the mainstay of their economy. In the predominantly settler colonies, such as

Kenya, Zimbabwe, and South Africa, African land was alienated for European settlement. This became a major issue during the decolonization era, when Africans in these settler colonies took up arms to fight for independence with a view to getting back their land.

Whether through resistance or peaceful means, Britain managed to negotiate its way out of Africa by leaving a legacy that is still evident today. English is either the official language or one of the official languages in the former British colonies. The legal system in the former colonies is, in its basic structure and outlines, a continuing legacy of colonialism. Also, the governmental system and bureaucracy still reflects the basic parameters of what was bequeathed to African countries by Britain at independence. The inequality institutionalized during colonialism is still manifested in some of the countries. The explosive land issue in the former settler colonies exemplifies the challenges that independent governments have to contend with in confronting their colonial past. The former colonies are still members of the British Commonwealth and meet regularly to deliberate on matters of education, health, economy and trade, and human rights. Finally, Britain still retains strong links with its former colonies through diplomatic missions.

SEE ALSO *Urabi Rebellion; Asante Wars; Berlin Conference; Indirect Rule, Africa; Rhodes, Cecil; Scramble for Africa; Warrant Chiefs, Africa.*

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George O. Ndege

BRITISH AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, three significant developments in the tobacco industry led to the formation of the British American Tobacco Company. The first was James Bonsack's invention in 1881 of a machine capable of rapid cigarette production—between 100,000 and 120,000 cigarettes per day—which, as Jordan Goodman reports, American businessman James Buchanan Duke's tobacco company began using in 1885. The second development was the formation in 1890 of the American Tobacco Company, which joined the five largest cigarette manufacturers in the United States under Duke's leadership. The final event occurred in 1901, when the American Tobacco Company purchased Ogden Ltd., a British tobacco firm that was beginning to achieve prominence.

In response, thirteen British companies, led by H. D. and H. O. Wills Ltd., formed the Imperial Tobacco Company within a few months of Duke's purchase of Ogden. Three more firms joined the Imperial Tobacco Company the next year. After a period of commercial warfare, the American and the Imperial tobacco companies reached an agreement: the American Tobacco Company withdrew from the British market and the Imperial Tobacco Company withdrew from the American market. As Jordan Goodman (1994) explains, the two companies then formed the British American Tobacco Company in 1902, two-thirds of which would be controlled by the American Tobacco Company, with the other third controlled by the Imperial Tobacco Company. The new British American Tobacco Company would supply the rest of the world's demand for tobacco. This structure would change in 1912, following the dissolution of the American Tobacco Company.

Throughout the world, high tariffs prompted companies to supplement their export strategies with direct foreign investment. Although both the American and Imperial tobacco companies had pursued foreign subsidies, transferring ownership of subsidies in Canada, Australia, Germany, Japan, China, and Australia to the new company, further developing these markets became the primary focus of the British American Tobacco Company. Under the leadership of Sir Hugo Cunliffe-Owen, who led the company after Duke's successor William R. Harris, the British American Tobacco Company increased its overseas activities. In particular, the company tried to develop its market in China.

Two cigarette companies existed in China, and the British American Tobacco Company consolidated them in 1902 to 1903; the company then sought to expand its sales in China. According to Sherman Cochran (1980), the company's success in China resulted from its decision not to dump surplus goods, but to invest in the creation of an efficient and vertically-integrated company. To do so, it relied on two competitive methods of distribution. The head of British American Tobacco Company's China branch, James Thomas, hired a combination of Western salaried employees—Wu Ting-sheng chief

among them—and Chinese middlemen, who guided the managers to the best sites for growing tobacco and to sources of labor. At the same time, the company also developed a complex network of local commission agents, led by Zheng Bozhao. Although these two types of networks competed against each other, the Chinese sales network played a key role in the company's success in China.

The British American Tobacco Company employed a similar strategy of combining Western-style management with local distribution networks in its ventures in India and throughout Africa. In India, Howard Cox reports, the company also focused on growing leaf tobacco locally, setting up a subsidiary that even grew Virginia leaf. Eventually, in these business arrangements, the Western sales staff's job became one of managing the local distribution networks.

Through its cooperation with local competitors and investment in the tobacco industry where it sought market share, the British American Tobacco Company achieved a unique status among early multinational corporations. Indeed, its business practices became models for other companies seeking to expand access to foreign markets.

SEE ALSO *Plantations, the Americas; Tobacco Cultivation and Trade.*

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Michelle Ladd

BRITISH COLONIALISM, MIDDLE EAST

Historians date the beginning of British imperialism in the Middle East to 1798, the year Napoléon invaded Egypt. Concerned that France would block British access to the eastern Mediterranean and thereby threaten critical trade routes to India, the British navy collaborated with Ottoman authorities to evict French troops from Egypt. From this episode until decolonization in the mid-

twentieth century, British policies in the region reflected the interplay of Great Power rivalries and the balancing of strategic and economic interests.

This essay surveys the history of British imperialism in the Middle East by examining four major periods of interaction: (1) the period of political and economic consolidation that occurred in the decades after the Napoleonic conquest of Egypt; (2) the period of formal entrenchment that began in 1882 with the British Occupation of Egypt and that included the World War I years of open warfare and behind-the-scenes scheming; (3) the post–World War I period when Britain dismantled the Ottoman Empire, redrew the region's political map, and claimed new territories under the guise of mandates; and (4) the post–World War II period of global decolonization. For Britain's empire in the Middle East, this last period began with a jolt in 1948 when Israel emerged from the Palestine mandate, giving rise to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian refugee problem.

For the purposes of this essay, the Middle East is defined as the region ranging from Egypt to Iran and from Turkey to Yemen. With the notable exception of Iran, which remained a center of independent Islamic government for centuries, this region in the nineteenth century fell largely within the orbit of the Ottoman Empire, an Islamic sultanate that was based after 1453 in Istanbul. At its peak in the seventeenth century, and before the onset of the economic and territorial contraction that accompanied the rise of Western imperialism in the Middle East, the Ottoman Empire ruled over a vast multicultural domain in southeastern Europe, western Asia, and northern Africa as far west as Algeria.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND IRAN: THE CONTEXT

Before tracing the rise of British prominence in the Middle East after 1798, it is important to note the historical antecedents of Britain's involvement in the region as well as the political and economic condition of the Ottoman Empire and Iran on the eve of Britain's ascendance.

As early as 1580, English merchants (like their Venetian, French, and other European counterparts) secured formal commercial privileges for trading in the Ottoman Empire (and later gained comparable rights in Iran). Called *capitulations* in English, from the Latin term *capitulas* referring to the chapters or clauses of the agreements, these privileges were renegotiated several times over the next two centuries. They proved significant as the basis for a series of extrajudicial and fiscal rights that Britons continued to enjoy in the Middle East until the early twentieth century.

From the late sixteenth century, commercial contacts with the Ottoman Empire provided not only economic, but also cultural foundations for Britain's imperialism in the region, insofar as they inspired a popular English literature about Turks and Muslims that flourished in the form of travel accounts, plays, and histories. These representations constituted the early matter of what the literary critic Edward Said called *Orientalism*—that is, the body of stereotyped portrayals of the Islamic "Orient" that Western powers later used to justify their expansion in the Middle East. Accumulated literary and artistic representations of the exotic, despotic East, retrograde and debauched, also provided the foil against which late nineteenth-century British writers constructed an image of the British national and imperial character as rational, modern, moral, and strong.

By the end of the eighteenth century, when Britain stood poised to expand its influence in the Middle East, the Ottoman Empire had already begun to suffer military losses to Austria, Russia, and France and to lose territories along its fringes, for example, in Hungary and the Crimea. At the same time, Iran, newly consolidated under the Qajar dynasty (r. 1796–1925), was proving vulnerable to Russian expansion. In short, the same forces in the global economy that had been working to Europe's advantage since the sixteenth century now began to work to the detriment of both the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran, which lacked the wherewithal and internal coherence to stave off military, territorial, and economic challenges to their sovereignty. Along with Russia and France especially, Britain was one of the new "Great Powers" that began to assert itself in the Middle East as the nineteenth century began. In the long run, Britain was arguably the most important of these powers in shaping the region's political destiny.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSOLIDATION, 1798–1882

In the period from 1798 to 1882, Britain pursued three major objectives in the Middle East: protecting access to trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean, maintaining stability in Iran and the Persian Gulf, and guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The ultimate goal behind the first two objectives was to secure and protect sea and land routes to India, which was becoming increasingly vital both to Britain's economy and to its imperial psyche. The third objective was related to what nineteenth-century observers called the *Eastern Question*—that is, the challenge of preserving the Ottoman Empire in order to avoid inflaming both competition between the Great Powers and the generally contentious atmosphere created by Western imperial expansion.

At the end of the eighteenth century, British trade in the eastern Mediterranean lands of the Ottoman Empire (the Levant region) accounted for a mere 1 percent of total British foreign trade. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic conquest of Egypt, Britain significantly improved its economic status in the region by using its good favor with Ottoman authorities to secure advantageous trading agreements. As a result, Britain became the Middle East's biggest trading partner in the early nineteenth century, outstripping France, Austria, and Russia. It retained this role as late as World War I, notwithstanding the growing prominence of Germany and Italy in the region's economy during the late nineteenth century. Britain was a major supplier of cheap colored cotton textiles (which constituted more than half of its exports to the Middle East until the 1870s) and also supplied what some economic historians call *colonial goods*—commodities such as Caribbean sugar and Indian tea that came from the larger British empire. In return Britain secured long-staple cotton from Egypt and other food and animal products such as dates, barley, and leather. Economic historians note that Britain's provision of industrial manufactured goods contributed to the long-term decline of local handicrafts industries.

By the 1830s British transport from the eastern Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean occurred along two main routes: the first stretched from the Syrian Desert, down the Euphrates River, and into the Persian Gulf; the second, which became increasingly important as the nineteenth century progressed, crossed the isthmus of Suez into the Red Sea. A desire to protect the Suez route influenced Britain's decision to annex Aden (now part of Yemen), at the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula, in 1839. The vital importance of the Suez route was confirmed after 1869, when a French engineering firm cut a waterway through the 116-kilometer-wide (72-mile-wide) isthmus, creating the Suez Canal. Together with new technologies—above all, the steamship, the railway, and the telegraph—the Suez Canal transformed Britain's contacts with India by dramatically reducing travel time.

After 1798 the protection of India's northwest frontier became a dominant factor in Britain's policy in Iran. Britain was initially concerned about the prospect of a French invasion of India through Iran and Afghanistan, but this threat had dissipated by the time the Napoleonic wars ended in 1815. Britain's attention in Iran shifted increasingly to Russia, which had been expanding its empire by encroaching on Iran's northern domains in the Caucasus (in what is now Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan) and by asserting its hold over the Caspian Sea and Central Asia. Neither Britain nor Russia wanted the other power to seize control over Iran because the region was strategically valuable to both. This Anglo-Russian competition over Iran, which endured into the
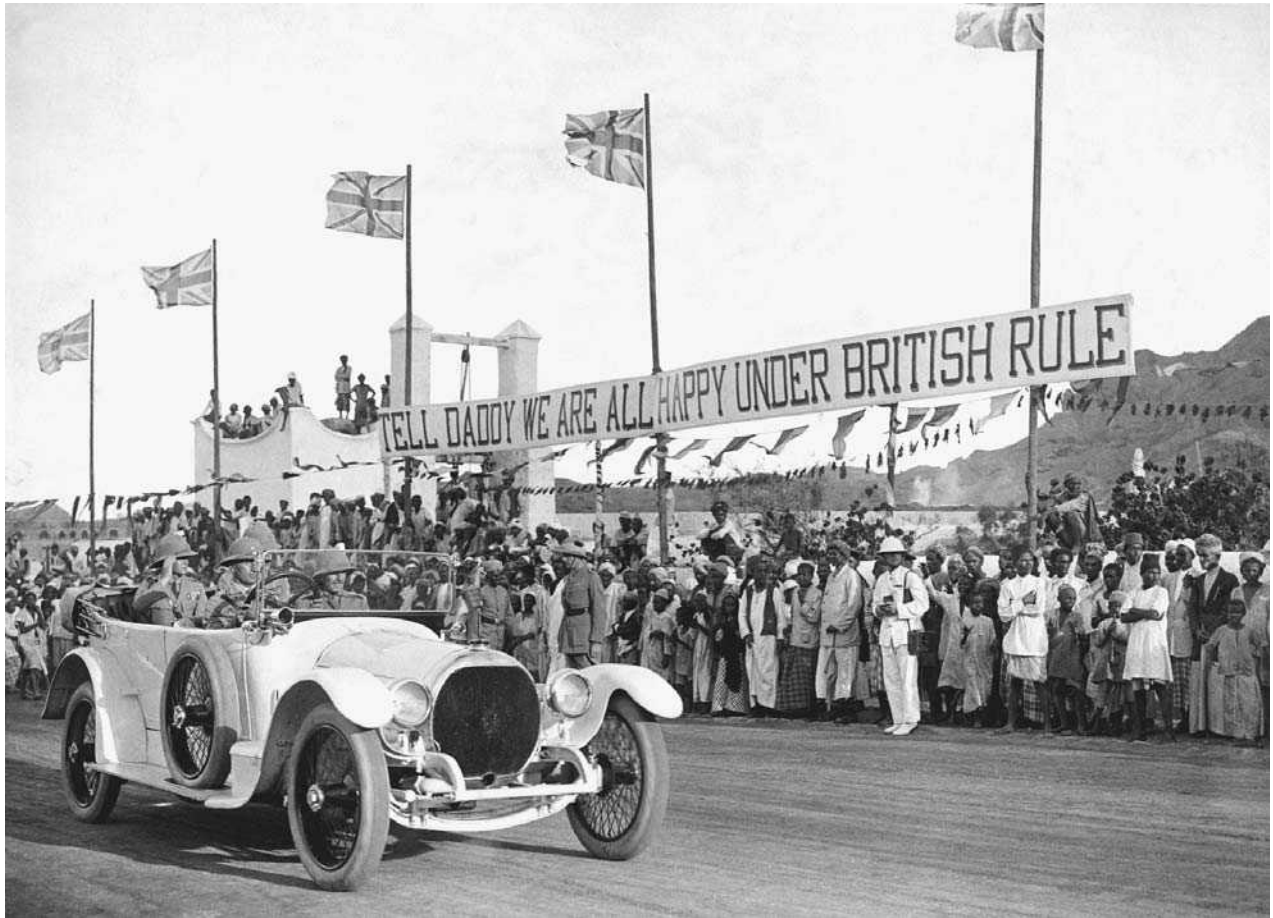
Edward, Prince of Wales, Visits Aden. *Edward, prince of Wales, is greeted with a banner proclaiming support for his father, King George V, during a 1921 state visit to Aden, a British protectorate in what is now Yemen.* © **HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

twentieth century, preserved the weak central government of the Qajar shahs from formal colonial takeover. Instead, Britain and Russia vied to exert their influence in Iran politically, by supplying military and foreign policy advisors, and economically, by securing trade privileges and concessions pertaining to commodities and services. Britain negotiated an advantageous commercial treaty with Iran in 1857, while in the late nineteenth century British concerns won concessions to develop a telegraph system and a modern central bank in Tehran. British businesses accounted for at least half of Iran's foreign trade by the mid-nineteenth century, exchanging manufactured goods and textiles for Iranian carpets, silk, and other raw agricultural materials.

Competition with the other growing European imperial powers also prompted Britain's closer involvement in the Ottoman Empire, which British sources of the time portrayed as a "Sick Man of Europe" that needed to be propped up. As mentioned above, British

strategists worried about maintaining Ottoman territorial integrity in order to avert wars and contests for influence among the Great Powers themselves. Of particular concern for British policy-setters were Ottoman territories in the Balkans, where fledgling local nationalist movements together with Russian and Austrian imperial ambitions threatened the region's stability. On two major occasions, during the Crimean War (1854–1856) and the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), Britain formed alliances with the Ottomans to counteract Russian expansion. Britain used both occasions to extract advantages for itself. In 1856, for example, Britain helped to persuade the Ottoman sultan to issue the famous Humayun decree (one of the landmark measures of the mid-nineteenth-century Ottoman Tanzimat, or reformist, period), which proclaimed religious equality among Muslims, Christians, and Jews. In theory if not in practice, this decree reversed the traditional Islamic imperial assumption of Muslim hegemony over non-Muslim subjects

(*dhimmis*). In 1878, meanwhile, Britain persuaded the Ottoman authorities to grant it the island of Cyprus as a naval base, leading to a form of British control over Cyprus that persisted until 1960 and that outlasted the Ottoman Empire itself by forty years.

Britain's vested interests in the Ottoman Empire also influenced its policies toward Egypt in the early twentieth century. Muhammad Ali, the Ottoman army officer who established, consolidated, and expanded his hold over Egypt after the Anglo-Ottoman expulsion of the French army in 1801, had already conquered parts of the Sudan when he sent his son, Ibrahim Pasha, to take Ottoman Syria in 1831. (In other words, Muhammad Ali, the Ottoman underling, was trying to take over the empire from within, for the sake of building his own empire centered in Egypt.) Concerned that Muhammad Ali, as an emerging local power, was complicating the Eastern Question by upsetting the regional status quo, Britain helped to arrange a deal between the Sublime Porte (i.e., the Ottoman sultan and central authorities in Istanbul) and Muhammad Ali in 1841: In return for evacuating his forces from Syria, Muhammad Ali gained the right to pass his governorship in Egypt to his heirs. This policy led to the creation of the Muhammad Ali Dynasty, which endured in Egypt until 1952.

It is worth noting that Britain's protection of Ottoman territorial integrity did not apply to Greece, where an anti-Ottoman nationalist revolt broke out in 1821. Along with Russia and France, Britain supported the Greek Revolt and helped to broker the agreement that led in 1832 to Greek independence from the Ottomans—that is, to liberty from what Greek nationalist historians have often called *Turkocracy*. Influencing Britain's policy was *philhellenism*, a romantic fascination with ancient Greece that inspired the English poet Lord Byron, among other intellectuals, to join the Greek Revolt.

In the 1870s Ottoman policymakers in Istanbul, and their counterparts under the leadership of Khedive Ismail (the grandson of Muhammad Ali) in Egypt, began to take out loans from French and British businesses for the sake of pursuing westernizing, modernizing reforms. When the loans came due in 1875, the Ottoman and Egyptian governments found themselves unable to pay. Hoping to raise the needed funds, the Egyptian government sold its 44 percent stake in the Suez Canal Company to the British government, to no avail. When both the Ottoman and Egyptian treasuries declared bankruptcy, Britain and France installed joint public debt commissions to supervise and guarantee repayments from Istanbul and Cairo; in effect, these measures meant a loss of Ottoman and Egyptian economic sovereignty.

In Egypt in 1881, a nationalist uprising broke out against a backdrop of widespread economic distress and growing anti-European sentiment. Known as the 'Urabi Rebillion—after the military officer, Ahmed 'Urabi, who emerged to lead it—this uprising prompted deep concern among Britons, who feared that instability in Egypt could threaten the Suez Canal—the British imperial lifeline to India—as well as local British investments. Much to the dismay of France, which had only recently occupied Tunisia, Britain took action in 1882 by bombarding the coast of Alexandria and occupying Egypt. British authorities maintained that the occupation would be a short-term affair, pending the restoration of political stability. But in fact Britain kept a hold over Egypt for the next seventy years and only withdrew its last troops from the Suez Canal in 1956.

COLONIAL OCCUPATION AND REGIONAL ENTRENCHMENT, 1882–1918

In 1961 the historians Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher famously argued that the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 was the trigger for the "Scramble for Africa." That is, fears over a possible Ottoman collapse and over the Egyptian nationalist threat to the Suez Canal (as manifest in the 'Urabi Revolt) prompted the British occupation. This event, in turn, had a domino effect, and set off the headlong rush for territory that brought nine-tenths of the African continent under European control by 1898 (the year when Britain, working jointly with Egyptian forces, conquered the Sudan). Robinson and Gallagher's narrative emphasized the interconnectedness of Britain's imperial holdings in the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia, as well as the importance of river and ocean access routes in determining Britain's strategic priorities.

In this maritime scheme of British imperialism, the Persian Gulf was also vitally important. Hence the British government forged treaties with local Arab Gulf leaders in Bahrain (1880), Muscat (1891), and Kuwait (1899). Britain agreed to recognize and if necessary protect the signatories and their heirs, in return for gaining exclusive control over their foreign policy.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 prompted Britain to reconfigure its Middle East presence. Bristling against a long record of British, French, and Russian interference in its affairs, Ottoman authorities in Istanbul joined forces with Germany and the Central Powers, lining up against Britain and the Allies. Britain responded by unilaterally severing Egypt from the Ottoman Empire and by declaring Egypt to be a British protectorate; Egypt then became an important base for military planning and coordination on the Middle East front. British troops (including many soldiers recruited

from the far corners of the empire) went on to fight important engagements in the Dardanelles (the ill-fated Gallipoli campaign), Mesopotamia (in the region corresponding to what is now southern and central Iraq), and the Suez Canal zone and Greater Syria (culminating in the British entry into Jerusalem in December 1917).

During World War I, oil made its debut as a major political factor in the region. In Iran in 1901, a British businessman named William Knox D'Arcy had secured a concession over local oil extraction; in 1909 D'Arcy founded the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC). The British navy switched from coal to oil fuel in 1912; in 1914, as the war began, the British government bought most of the AIOC shares. This situation meant that Iran's strategic value now lay not only in its proximity to India and its position along the Persian Gulf, but also in its importance as an oil supplier and naval refueling site. Although Iran's government declared official neutrality during World War I, British and Russian fears over German propagandizing in the country prompted a de facto joint occupation in which Britain occupied central and southern Iran (including the oil zones), while Russia consolidated its hold over the north. Iran suffered under the burdens of wartime requisitioning and in 1918–1919 faced a massive famine that killed as much as one quarter of the population.

During World War I, British authorities engaged in a series of behind-the-scenes negotiations that ultimately transformed the political destinies of Middle Eastern people. Three deals or sets of promises, enshrined in the Husayn-McMahon Correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration, proved to be most practically and symbolically important in both the short term and the long run. Understanding what each of these deals entailed and how they were later applied is critical to understanding the impact of British imperialism on the twentieth-century Middle East.

The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence. Deeply concerned by the Ottoman discourses that portrayed the war as a jihad, and fearful lest Muslims throughout the wider British Empire rise up to support the Ottoman cause (and thereby the Central Powers), British leaders made extra efforts to cultivate wartime alliances with Muslim dignitaries who could offset the Ottoman bid for Muslim support. They identified a possible ally in Husayn ibn Ali, also known as Sharif Husayn of Mecca. A person of influence in the Hijaz (the western region of the Arabian Peninsula that includes the holy Muslim cities of Mecca and Medina), and a man of political ambitions, Sharif Husayn traced descent from the Prophet Muhammad and was therefore known as a *Hashimite* (from the name of Muhammad's clan of Hashim). The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence consisted of a series of ten

letters exchanged between Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, and Sharif Husayn in 1915 and 1916. In these letters, Sharif Husayn promised to stage an anti-Ottoman revolt if Britain promised, in return, to recognize an Arab state that would be led by Sharif Husayn and his family after the war. This Arab state would include the Fertile Crescent (including the general region that today includes Syria, Lebanon, Israel and the Palestinian territories, Jordan, and Iraq) and the Arabian Peninsula. While McMahon expressed some reservations about parts of coastal Syria and while the two men never confirmed the final details on this point, McMahon nevertheless assured Sharif Husayn that "Great Britain is prepared to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sherif [Sharif] of Mecca." Acting on this agreement, and bolstered by British funds, weapons, and military advising, Sharif Husayn built up an army to attack the Ottomans. His efforts led to the Arab Revolt, headed by his son, Faisal, which began in 1916 and culminated with the capture of Damascus from the Ottomans in 1918.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement. The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a secret wartime treaty signed in 1916 between Britain and France; it was named after its chief negotiators, Sir Mark Sykes of Britain and Georges Picot of France. (It was signed one year after a comparable treaty between Britain and Russia, the Constantinople Agreement of 1915, which Russia's postrevolutionary Bolshevik government later waived.) Based on the premise that the Allied Powers would win the war, the Sykes-Picot Agreement reflected France and Britain's effort to divide the Arab Middle East amicably, into spheres of influence that would come into effect after the war. The treaty recognized the region now corresponding to Syria and Lebanon, where France had long-standing economic and cultural interests, as part of a future French sphere, and the region of Mesopotamia (now Iraq) as part of a future British sphere. Plans for Palestine were left somewhat vague with the treaty suggesting some kind of international administration. In fact, Britain had its eye on Palestine and was toying with the idea of building a railway from Haifa to Basra—a plan that would have yielded a direct route from the eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, and at the same time secure yet another route to India.

The Balfour Declaration. The Balfour Declaration of November 1917 was a letter from the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, to Lord Rothschild, a prominent British member of the Zionist movement (a Jewish response to modern European anti-Semitism). On behalf

of the British government, Balfour declared that "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." While the Balfour Declaration reflected a degree of British official sympathy with Zionist aspirations, it also may have served British strategic interests: first, by building wartime support among the Jews in Europe and North America, and second, by bolstering postwar British claims to influence over the territory to the northeast of the Suez Canal.

When the war ended in 1918, Britain faced the impossible task of implementing and reconciling the three, mutually contradictory agendas of the Husayn-McMahon Correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration.

COLONIAL MANDATES AND THE LAST BURST OF IMPERIAL EXPANSION

According to the historian Elizabeth Monroe, the post–World War I period was "Britain's moment in the Middle East." She argued that from the British capture of Jerusalem and Baghdad in 1917 until the Suez Crisis of 1956, Britain was the paramount power in most of the Middle East and the shaper of political destinies.

Along with France, Britain played the leading role in dismantling the Ottoman Empire after World War I and in creating new government entities in the Fertile Crescent, that is, future nation-states. At the San Remo Conference in 1920, Britain and France ensured the essential implementation of the wartime Sykes-Picot Agreement. The San Remo Conference separated the Arab provinces from the Ottoman Empire and allocated spheres of influence to France and Britain, drawing the outlines for the country borders that we see today on the Middle East map. The San Remo Conference formalized these spheres of influence by defining them as *mandates*, a term that served as a euphemism for colonial control. The League of Nations, which was the post–World War I antecedent of the United Nations, clarified this term by stating that mandates were territories "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." In what amounted to a last burst of imperial expansion, France gained mandates over Syria and Lebanon; Britain gained Palestine and Iraq and ensured that the boundaries of the new Iraq included the oil-rich region around Mosul. France and Britain agreed up front that in running these so-called mandates they should try to prepare these regions for eventual self-rule—that is, independence on some distant horizon.

Another highly significant post–World War I settlement was the Treaty of Sèvres, signed by the Ottoman government in August 1920. The Treaty of Sèvres delivered the final blow to the Ottoman Empire. It awarded the Ottoman region of Thrace to Greece and provided for French and Italian interests in railways and coal mining; it also reasserted British and French control over the region's finances (because the empire's late nineteenth-century debts were still on the books). However, Turkish-speaking nationalists led by an Ottoman war veteran named Mustafa Kemal (later called Atatürk, or "Father of the Turks") rallied to prevent the implementation of this treaty and to set up a counter-government in the central Anatolian village of Ankara. These resisters, who went on to declare the birth of a Turkish republic in 1920 and the end of the Ottoman order, succeeded in winning international recognition for the new country of Turkey and in preventing the full implementation of the Treaty of Sèvres.

Britain never fulfilled its wartime promises to Sharif Husayn of Mecca in their entirety but made three gestures toward the Hashimites. First, Britain invited Faisal (Sharif Husayn's son, who had been ousted from the leadership of a nascent Arab Kingdom in Damascus by the French) to become king of British-mandated Iraq in 1921—thus creating the Hashimite Kingdom of Iraq, which lasted until a violent leftist coup in 1958. (In 1932 Britain granted Iraq a form of official, yet nominal independence: it was nominal because Britain reserved control over Iraq's military and communications and retained a major share in Iraq's burgeoning oil industry.) Second, and also in 1921, Britain invited Abdallah, another son of Sharif Husayn, to become emir of Transjordan, an arid and thinly populated region that Britain had gained with the Palestine mandate—but an area that was excluded from the sphere of Zionist settlement. Operating under close British watch and dependent on annual British subventions, Transjordan enjoyed quasi-autonomy until 1946 when it gained independence as the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan. Third, Britain recognized Sharif Husayn himself as ruler of a Hashimite kingdom of the Hijaz (western Arabia). Husayn did not retain power for long, however, as in 1924 the Wahhabist forces of ʿAbd alʿAziz Ibn Saʿud overran the region and seized control, forcing him to flee into exile. By the Treaty of Jidda in 1927, Britain agreed to recognize the family of Ibn Saʿud as rulers over most of the Arabian peninsula (i.e., Britain recognized the kingdom of Saudi Arabia) in return for extracting a promise from the Saudis to respect the integrity of Transjordan and of Hashimite rule in that vicinity.

Meanwhile, with Russia internally distracted after its 1917 communist revolution, Britain moved to confirm its postwar position in Iran, which remained subject to quasi-colonial control. In 1919 Britain extracted a new Anglo-Persian treaty that made Britain the sole provider of advice to Iran's military and central government and the sole source of transportation and communications development. Britain's heavy-handed intervention in Iranian affairs and its control over Iranian oil resources increasingly rankled educated elites, and contributed, by the late 1930s, to a degree of pro-German sentiment in the country. Though Iran's Pahlavi monarch, Reza Shah, declared Iran to be neutral when World War II broke out, British suspicions regarding his wartime sympathies prompted the shah in 1941 to abdicate in favor of his son, Mohammed Reza, as a way of safeguarding the monarchy. Years later, the Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979 unseated Mohammed Reza Shah and brought to power the Ayatollah Khomeini, whose anti-Western message was a response to Iran's modern history of Western imperialism.

In Egypt, British colonialism after 1882 had not only provoked but had indirectly aided the development of local nationalism. It helped in the long run that Lord Cromer, architect of British policy in the 1883 to 1907 period, had believed in the value of the press as a safety valve for local grievances, because under British colonialism, Egypt's Arabic periodical press flourished and brought Egyptian nationalism into greater focus. By the end of World War I, nationalism was arguably a stronger and more coherent force in Egypt than in any other Arabic-speaking country. In 1919 Egyptian nationalists demanded the right to Egyptian self-determination (reflecting an ideal that U.S. president Woodrow Wilson had so famously articulated during the war) and called for an end to the British protectorate. When Britain tried to prevent Egyptian nationalist leaders from airing their views at the Paris Peace Conference, a popular nationalist revolt broke out. Yielding partly to these pressures, Britain went on to declare unilateral independence for Egypt three years later in 1922. This independence was "unilateral" because it was one-sided in Britain's favor, and enabled Britain to retain significant influence in and power over the country—for example, it allowed Britain to control Egypt's foreign policy and to keep British troops on Egyptian soil. After 1922 Egypt gained a parliament, while its dynastic ruler, a descendant of the Ottoman governor Muhammad Ali, was declared king. In 1936 the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty gave Egypt a greater degree of autonomy—for example, by providing for a phased abolition of the capitulatory privileges that foreigners had enjoyed in Egypt. Arguably, the informality of the British influence in Egypt made British colonialism especially tenacious there, with the result that Egypt gained independence only incrementally.

The most controversial history of post–World War I British imperialism in the region pertains to Palestine. Unlike the other Middle East mandates, the League of Nations–approved agreement for Palestine did not cite self-determination as a long-term goal for the territory's indigenous inhabitants, who were overwhelmingly Muslim and Christian Arabs. On the contrary, the mandate for Palestine laid out a framework for Zionist administration and settlement, according to which Britain would facilitate Jewish immigration. Opposition to the Zionist agenda grew slowly among members of Palestine's non-Jewish majority (i.e., those who later became known as the Palestinians) and escalated into a series of clashes in the years after 1929, when the non-Jewish population was still estimated at 85 percent and when the landless Arab peasant population was growing, particularly as wealthy Arab landowners sold their property to Zionist settlers who extolled ideals of Jewish labor. In the next decade, Britain responded to the increasingly tense situation on the ground by issuing *white papers*, or policy statements, that affirmed the need to address the concerns of both Palestine's Arab and Jewish inhabitants and that suggested possible limits on Zionist immigration. By 1939 two trends were evident: first, that Arab resistance to Zionist immigration had reached the boiling point, and second, that Hitler's virulent anti-Semitism was proving the desperate need for a Jewish haven. The Holocaust-in-progress steeled the resolve of Zionists in Palestine, who had long supported a program to create not only a Jewish homeland (as the Balfour Declaration had intimated in 1918), but also a full-fledged Jewish state. Yet even by the outbreak of World War II, Arabs still formed a clear majority of Palestine's population.

The situation in Palestine was reaching an impasse just as World War II broke out. With Mussolini's Italy in control of Libya, on Egypt's western flank, Britain faced up to the possibility of a German and Italian invasion within North Africa. British troops managed to stave off an Axis invasion of Egypt in 1942, and Britain and the other Allied powers went on to win the war. As historians later acknowledged, however, Britain's victory in war also entailed a defeat, in a sense, for its empire.

THE END OF THE EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

To explain the rapid contraction of the British Empire in the middle of the twentieth century in the aftermath of World War II, historians often note that postwar Britain lacked the economic strength and willpower to maintain its far-flung colonies, particularly in the face of mounting anticolonial nationalism. While several key events stand

out in the global history of decolonization, India's independence in 1947 represented the critical watershed. The Middle East followed quickly behind South Asia, with Palestine's decolonization occurring in 1948.

Having come under increased attacks from armed Zionist groups whose members regarded Britain's presence as an obstacle to Jewish statehood, and realizing the intractability of the situation that the mandate had created for local Arabs, British authorities hoisted down the Union Jack on May 14, 1948, and beat a hasty retreat. A few hours later the Jewish community proclaimed the independence of the new state of Israel. Army units from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq invaded the next day, but fared poorly. By the time the fighting stopped and the dust settled, an estimated 700,000 Arabs, or 60 percent of Palestine's Arab population, had fled from their homes and were barred by Israelis from returning. British decolonization in Palestine thereby gave rise to both the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian refugee problem.

The most symbolically important event in Britain's Middle East decolonization was the Suez Crisis, which occurred in Egypt in 1956, four years after a leftist revolution that had overturned Egypt's parliamentary monarchy and only a few months after the negotiated withdrawal of Britain's last troops from the Suez Canal Zone. Determined to secure revenues to fund the extension of the Aswan Dam, Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, declared the nationalization—that is, the Egyptian government seizure—of the Suez Canal, which a British-French consortium had long owned and operated for the sake of the tolls that ships paid to go through it. In nationalizing the canal, Nasser drew some inspiration from the Iranian Prime Minister, Mohammed Mossadegh, who had tried to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1953 (until a CIA-backed coup in Iran had thwarted his efforts). Responding to Nasser's maneuver, Britain and France, in alliance with Israel, declared war on Egypt. However, the United States and the Soviet Union interceded to call off the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion out of a concern that the conflict could escalate in the Cold War milieu. More than any other event, the Suez Crisis showed that the United States and the Soviet Union were displacing Britain and France as the Great Powers in the region.

The last enclaves of British colonial influence in the Middle East were in the Gulf region. As oil revenues began to transform this poor region into the Middle East's wealthiest corner, Britain began to withdraw. Kuwait, for example, gained independence in 1961, while Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States (later called the United Arab Emirates) gained independence in 1971.

This survey of British imperialism in the Middle East has emphasized political and diplomatic history and the decisions of government policymakers. Yet it is important to note that Britons in the Middle East not only included government officials but also missionaries, travelers, soldiers, merchants, archaeologists, and many others—that is, a diverse group of historical actors who exerted cultural, political, and economic influences in their own right. Furthermore, as historians increasingly acknowledge, cultural and social influence was reciprocal. British government representatives in the age of empire may have had the power to dictate or otherwise transform Middle Eastern political destinies, but colonial encounters with the Middle East and other parts of the empire had a substantial impact on British society, culture, and national identity as well. Colonialism, in other words, was a two-way street.

SEE ALSO *Baring, Evelyn; British India and the Middle East; Mandate Rule.*

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BRITISH INDIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

India and the Middle East share a history that far predates the coming of the British Empire. Commercially, for over a millennium, the two had been linked by the overland caravan trade in silks, spices, and other commodities and by an Indian Ocean maritime trade in calicoes (a type of cotton cloth), coffee, specie (money in the form of coins), and slaves. Information traveled quickly around the Indian Ocean world, particularly from Arab merchants and explorers, such as the fourteenth-century Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta (ca. 1304–1368).

By the thirteenth century, a great portion of North India was ruled by Muslim dynasties of Central Asian and Turkish origins: the Delhi Sultanate from 1210, followed by the Mughal Empire in 1526. The Mughal military relied heavily on irregulars and mercenaries, particularly horsemen, from Central Asia, and by the reign of the Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605), the Mughal officers corps and nobility were dominated by Persian *mansabdars* (ranked nobles) and *jagirdars* (holders of revenue assignments). The Persian Empire could also be a threat to Mughal India, perhaps no more strikingly than when Nadir Shah (1688–1747) sacked Delhi in 1739, taking with him the Koh-i-noor diamond and the famed Peacock Throne.

Islam also bound South Asia, Arabia, and the Ottoman Empire through common laws, languages, scholarship, and, in theory, the spiritual leadership of the caliph, the head of the universal community of Islam. Though most commonly recognized to reside in the Ottoman sultan, the caliphate was also claimed by Mughal rulers after Akbar. Furthermore, the annual hajj, the Muslim pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca in present-day Saudi Arabia, provided for a direct and constant exchange between western India and the Arabian Peninsula.

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES: COMMERCE, WAR, AND PIRACY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

Thus, when Britons first arrived in Asia in the later sixteenth century, they imagined southern and western Asia as encompassing a connected and unified commercial, if

not political, system. The English East India Company, chartered by Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) in 1600, had a monopoly on all English trade and politics east of the Cape of Good Hope, and was therefore concerned with affairs in Asia broadly. Much of its early leadership and financing came from members and directors of the English Levant (or Turkey) Company, who envisioned the East India Company as an opportunity to circumvent the overland caravan route and to more directly access the raw silk markets in the eastern reaches of the Ottoman Empire and Persia.

The first factory (residence and trading post) the East India Company sought in India was in the western Gujarati town of Surat (1616), the most important overseas commercial port in Mughal India and its most direct connection to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. The trade from Surat to Mokha and Jedda on the Arabian Peninsula became a principal part of company business, and the next factory the company established after Surat was at Isfahan in Persia (1617).

As it had been for the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, maritime strength in the Indian Ocean soon became central to English East India Company strategy and was a key component to its regional power. The company's first and perhaps most significant early aggressive move came in 1622, when it allied with the Persian shah to expel the Portuguese from Hormuz. As a term of the alliance, the company was given a share of the customs revenue and trading privileges at the port of Gombroon (Bandar ʿAbbas), which became a base of its operations through the century. It also solidified the company's permanent presence in Persia.

The relationship between British activities in India and the Middle East intensified with the East India Company's acquisition of Bombay in 1668. The former Portuguese island off the West Indian coast was home to a cosmopolitan and maritime community of traders, sailors, and soldiers with deep connections to western Asia. By the 1680s, it had become the center of the company's Asian government, and the factories in western India and Persia, as well as all its commercial and military affairs in the Indian Ocean region, fell under the jurisdiction of Bombay's governor and council. As Bombay grew in importance to the company, so too did the correlation between company strategic and commercial interests in India and its affairs in western Asia.

Crises in one part of Asia could also have vast ramifications in other parts of Asia. In the late 1680s, for example, when a spate of pirates from Europe and America seized a number of Indian ships in the Red Sea, many important Surat merchants lost a great deal of money and blamed the English East India Company at Surat for the assaults. In 1696 a ship belonging to the

Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1618–1707), carrying both a rich cargo as well as hajjis (Muslim pilgrims), fell to an assault from an English pirate, Henry Avery (d. 1728). The appearance on the western Indian coast a couple of years later of the New York privateer-turned-pirate, the infamous Captain William Kidd (ca. 1645–1701), only made matters worse. In both instances, company officials in Surat were arrested and all European trade stopped from the port. The crisis only abated when the English East India Company, along with the Dutch, agreed to various demands, including providing convoys for Mughal shipping to Arabia.

This late seventeenth-century crisis was important in reinforcing to the English East India Company the great interdependence between its affairs in the Middle East and India. It also profoundly affected the growth of the company's maritime power in the eighteenth century. The company had now become politically and martially committed to the eradication of piracy, which most directly led to the development of its western Indian naval force known as the Bombay Marine.

By the 1720s, American violence in the Indian Ocean had all but vanished. East India Company officials at Bombay then turned their attention to Indian "piracy," aiming most specifically at their greatest western Indian rival: the Maratha Confederacy and its maritime power, a coastal tributary state led by Kanhoji Angre (1669–1729). Whether Khanoji, or his successor, Tulaji, were pirates or commanders of a navy is a matter of perception. Still, under the banner of suppressing piracy, the English East India Company defeated the Angres by the 1750s, rendering British maritime supremacy in the eastern Indian Ocean unrivaled.

After defeating the Angres, Bombay again turned its attention back to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. The new "piratical threat" came from the so-called Muscat Arabs of the Persian Gulf coastal sultanates. In fact, the British even dubbed the region the "Pirate Coast." After more than a half-century of assault, the Bombay Marine and the British Royal Navy succeeded in forcing these coastal polities into submission. In 1820 a series of treaties imposed upon them transformed the Pirate Coast into the so-called Trucial Coast. The treaties declared the "cessation of plunder and piracy by land and sea on the part of the Arabs," ended the Eastern African slave trade to Arabia, and firmly established British India's sphere of influence in the Gulf sultanates. Soon after, company trade in the region began to flourish.

Meanwhile, as the English East India Company's role as a territorial power in India grew, the company also began to design stronger commercial and financial ties with the Ottoman Empire. Its first governor-general in Bengal, Warren Hastings (1732–1818), attempted to

The Defeat of Tipu Sultan. *British forces lead by Charles Cornwallis are shown in this engraving attacking Seringapatam during the Third Mysore War in India in 1792. The British were successful, and Tipu, Sultan of Mysore, was forced to surrender.*
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encourage trade with Egypt in the early 1770s, primarily as a way to bolster the company's financial affairs at Calcutta. The volatility of Egyptian politics and the hostility of rulers in the Hejaz (a region along the Red Sea in present-day Saudi Arabia), particularly that of the sharif of Mecca towards Europeans traveling as far north as Suez, meant that these plans never came to fruition. The company's lucrative trade elsewhere in western Asia, particularly with Baghdad, was also on the wane.

Though still valuable to the Eurasian trade, Arabia and Mesopotamia were no longer commercial priorities for British India by the close of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, British officials wanted very much to preclude other Europeans, particularly the French, from gaining a foothold there. Even worse than the commercial threat was the possibility that France could use these ties directly or indirectly to involve itself in British affairs in India, from which it had been largely expelled after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: NORTH AFRICA, THE WESTERN LEVANT, AND THE SUEZ CANAL

Active French diplomacy and pressure in Egypt, Baghdad, Oman, Persia, and Sind (part of modern Pakistan) in the 1780s seemed threatening enough, but the rise of Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) and expansion of the French Empire brought these issues to the fore. Napoléon's alliance with Tipu Sultan (1750–1799), the sultan of Mysore, the English East India Company's South Indian rival, seemed evidence of France's renewed South Asian ambition. More importantly, Napoléon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and Syria in 1799, though eventually repelled, made palpable the prospect of the French danger to India. The invasion was a watershed. For the nineteenth century, Britain's overriding concern in the Middle East would be to exclude European rivals and to buttress its influence in the region, all to protect India.

The English East India Company's defeat of the *nawabs* (provincial governors) of Bengal in eastern India

(at the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and the Battle of Buxar in 1764), Tipu Sultan (1799), the Maratha Confederacy in western India (1818), and the coastal Arabian sultanates after 1820 confirmed the company as an expanding territorial sovereign power in India, led from Calcutta, with maritime power emanating from Bombay and radiating around the Indian Ocean littoral. Still, the British Indian government could never feel entirely secure, particularly at its borders. Under the governor-generalship of Marquis Wellesley (1798–1805), British India pursued a particularly aggressive policy for expanding and protecting its frontiers.

This was a crucial moment in the development of the British Indian government's own foreign and imperial policies. British policy, especially after the 1820s, was designed not necessarily to control formal colonies in western and Central Asia, but to keep other European powers out and to exert such influence as to create a buffer between Europe and British India, particularly in Turkey and Persia. The Middle East, particularly the three points of the northwestern Afghani town of Herat, the Red Sea port of Aden, and the island of Kishm in the Strait of Hormuz, was to become a buffer and frontier for the British Indian Empire. This so-called subimperialism—or what at least one historian has dubbed an "empire of the Raj"—consisted both in formal expansion as well as in the use of military, financial, and political influence to maintain "informal" or "subsidiary" alliances with key strategic polities and princes. Diplomacy in Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and Arabia was considered an Indian problem to be conducted from Calcutta, not London.

While power in the Persian Gulf was important, it was the base at Aden that more or less secured British dominance of maritime western Asia. It became even more critical in 1869 with the opening of the Suez Canal. The canal cut in half the journey to India. Yet, what Britain gained in convenience and efficiency it lost in security. The English East India Company and the British Royal Navy had dominated the centuries-old maritime route around the southern tip of Africa since its acquisition of the Cape Colony from the Dutch in 1815. The Suez Canal undercut this monopoly by giving both Britain and its European rivals access to the Red Sea from the Mediterranean. This route was also much more volatile. Political or military rivals in Europe, such as France or Russia, or instability in the Ottoman Empire could much more easily threaten British access to the Suez Canal, and thus to India.

Despite these concerns, the first actual crisis for British interests in the Suez Canal came from within Egypt itself. The efforts of Ismail Pasha (1830–1895), the Ottoman tributary ruler *(khedive)* of Egypt from 1863, through the 1870s to modernize Egypt left the country significantly indebted to European investors. Furthermore, in 1875 the British state became directly interested when it bought Ismail's 44 percent share in the Suez Canal Company. Nonetheless, Egypt went bankrupt the next year. Its Western creditors essentially foreclosed on the Egyptian government, replacing Ismail with a new khedive, his son Tewfik Pasha (1852–1892).

In 1881, dissatisfaction with Western intervention growing, Tewfik was overthrown by a nationalist rebellion led by the Egyptian military officer and nationalist Ahmad 'Urabi Pasha (1839–1911). France, concerned for its financiers as well as its other colonial interests in North Africa, designed an invasion. The liberal British government, headed by William Gladstone (1809–1898), was more reluctant, but agreed to a joint expedition. The French Parliament refused to sanction the plan, withdrawing from the arrangement. By then, however, the revolt had grown in size and strength. In July 1882 the British Royal Navy began bombarding Alexandria, and soon after British forces occupied Egypt.

NINETEENTH CENTURY: CENTRAL ASIA, ARABIA, AND "THE GREAT GAME"

Perhaps an even greater concern for nineteenth-century British India than threats to the Suez Canal route was the perceived continental ambition in Central Asia of Britain's other great European rival: imperial Russia. The landlocked Herat proved much more difficult to control than the more southern maritime frontiers in the Indian Ocean. War, diplomatic intrigue, and political posturing with Russia over this region ensued through most of the nineteenth century.

Known as the "Great Game," perhaps exemplified most famously in British author Rudyard Kipling's novel *Kim* (1900), this century of conflict centered to a great extent on British efforts to unite and secure Afghanistan against rival Persian and Russian claims. Its first attempt came in the mid-1830s when the British Indian government moved to install Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk (1780–1842), who had been living in exile in India, as ruler of Afghanistan. In 1838 the British Indian army attempted to seize Kabul, leading to the First Anglo-Afghan War. This attempt to make Afghanistan into a British imperial puppet state ended in disaster and a humiliating retreat by 1842.

By the 1860s and 1870s, further Russian expansion and its rebounding from the Crimean War (1853–1856) again made an Afghan buffer seem to be an imperative. In 1878 the British Conservative prime minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881) declared war. Though Gladstone's newly elected Liberal (and anti-imperial) government in 1880 withdrew from the war, this

Second Anglo-Afghan War concluded with the establishment of a de facto protectorate over Afghanistan marked by British control over its foreign policy and defense.

Nonetheless, the Afghan issue remained unsettled until the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. In the wake of defeat at the hands of the Japanese (1905), Russia was forced to accept Britain's dominance in Afghanistan and a division of spheres of influence in Persia.

British India's Middle Eastern strategy by the beginning of the twentieth century still depended largely on "informal empire," particularly by buttressing the rule of its unstable and weakening allies in the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and the so-called Trucial states. Nonetheless, this impulse to jockey over the Middle East in defense of British India also led to the formal expansion of British India's borders. Often against orders from London, local military and civil officials in British India saw expansion as the only solution for instability at the frontier. The annexation of Sind (1843) and the Punjab (1849) directly resulted from the perceived need on the ground for security at the empire's western front. (The conflict between the "man on the spot" and the India and Foreign Offices in London was perhaps most infamously encapsulated in a cartoon in the British magazine *Punch*, which satirized Sir Charles Napier's [1782–1853] seizure of Sind with a single-word double-entendre for a caption: *peccavi*, Latin for "I have sinned.")

Russian attempts in the 1870s and 1880s at extending its railways to ports on the northern Persian Gulf only exacerbated the problem. The virtual annexation of Baluchistan, in present-day Pakistan, in the 1870s was designed primarily to buttress British India's position in the Arabian seas as well as to exert diplomatic pressure on Persia to repel Russian overtures.

The viceroyalty of George Curzon (1899–1905) marked perhaps the apogee of this aggressive independence on the part of the government of India. Though increasingly opposed by officials in the British Foreign Office (which he would later head), Curzon argued fervently—and mostly unsuccessfully—that the defense of India should continue to be the cornerstone for British policy in the Middle East, best achieved by expansion on India's northern, eastern, and western borders.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: NATIONALISM AND THE WORLD WARS

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the British had occupied Egypt, expanded its territory in Central Asia, and become financially and politically entangled in bolstering allied regimes in Persia, the Ottoman Empire, and the Arabian Peninsula. Much of this was done defensively and with the preservation of the British

imperial system, with India at its center, always foremost in mind.

However, the "informal" empire in the Middle East became much more complex and volatile with the onset of World War I in 1914. While the Great War intensified the need to defend India's borders, it also drew the Middle East squarely to the center of the European conflict. The players in the game had also changed sides. Old British allies were now its rivals in the Middle East: a Prussian-led Germany, which had for a decade been provoking the British and French with an attempt to build a railway across Turkey to Basra, and the Ottoman Empire, which joined the Central Powers in 1914.

The war realigned India's relationship with the Middle East. Britain's declaration of war on the Ottomans, the occupation of Basra, and the subsequent campaign under the British Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force in the fall of 1914 animated British India's interests in the region. Indian troops were used extensively in campaigns around the world, including Turkey, Egypt, German East Africa, and Mesopotamia. Where the Middle East had once been envisioned as protection for India, now India found itself charged with defending British interests in the Middle East.

Furthermore, though officially agnostic on the future fate of the dismembered Ottoman Empire, the British government had been engaging in secret negotiations with France and Russia to carve out a vision for the postwar Middle East. The result was the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), made public by the Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution, which endorsed the creation of an Arab confederated state that would be independent but divided into "spheres of influence" between Britain and France. Both the British and the French believed that the promise of an independent state would inspire Arab revolts against the Ottoman Empire, a keystone to Middle Eastern strategy during the war. Importantly, this master plan for a pan-Arab revolt was orchestrated not from India but Egypt, where Britain had established a protectorate in 1914 under the diplomatic stewardship of Sir Henry McMahon (1862–1949), the high commissioner, and later the strategic designs of Gilbert Clayton (1875–1929), director of military intelligence at Cairo and head of the Arab Bureau (established in 1916), perhaps best known for its connections to T. E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia," 1888–1935) and his mission in the Hejaz.

The government of India continued to insist on the centrality of the Middle East in protecting its borders, but for Britain victory in Europe far outweighed the importance of Asia. The war also made clear the importance of the Middle East as a source for strategic

resources, particularly oil. The very idea of the "Middle East" was created in this period; that the term itself is an early twentieth-century neologism stands as further evidence that Europe was beginning to consider its interests in the region as important in themselves.

While India agreed on the importance of protecting oil supplies and the much-needed alliances with the Gulf sultanates, British Indian officials thought the only way to accomplish this was to establish a formal empire in the region. Only a protectorate or colonial settlement, particularly in Iraq and its environs, under British guidance and control could prevent the emergence of an independent Arab state. After all, British India was home to eighty million Muslims, vastly more than the number in the Middle East and slightly less than one-third of India's population. The possibility of a large and powerful state emerging on its borders, with religious, historical, and political ties to India seemed even more menacing than the nineteenth-century threats of France and Russia.

Therefore, the coming of the war highlighted the growing divergence between the interests of British India and the British Empire as a whole. The resurgence of anticolonial nationalism in India after World War I only amplified this problem, making British Middle Eastern politics not just a foreign policy concern, but also bringing it firmly to the center of British Indian domestic politics.

The service of vast numbers of Indian troops in the war effort, amongst other places in the Middle East and North Africa, was rewarded not, as expected, with gestures towards home rule for India, but with an extension of wartime restrictions on assembly, speech, and print and a move away from prewar measures towards conciliation. Many Muslim nationalists responded hostilely to the perceived assault on Islam during the war, particularly in the toppling of the caliph and the Ottoman Empire. Indian Muslims had not heeded the sultan's call to wage a *jihad* (holy war) against the British, but postwar British expansion in the Middle East not controlled by Delhi threatened to exacerbate the perception that the British Empire was unconcerned with the protection of Muslim minorities in India.

This perception had its strongest articulation in the caliphate movement (1919–1924), a pan-Islamic Indian nationalism that rallied around the assault on Islam perceived in the toppling of the Ottoman Empire. The Indian nationalist leader Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) soon allied his noncooperation and *swaraj* (self-rule) movements with the caliphate movement, making a pan-Indian, nationwide home-rule movement seem possible. These efforts were short-lived, however, undercut by a number of circumstances, including the related

hijra, a protest and mass-exodus of almost thirty thousand Muslims from British India to Afghanistan.

World War II again put a good deal of focus on the key place the Middle East held in British geopolitical imperial strategy. Italy's entry into the war in 1940 put new pressures on protecting access to the Suez Canal, while German ambitions in Iraq and Iran, long the prevailing territorial Middle Eastern concerns of British India, again revealed the deep connections between British policies in both imperial theaters.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: DECOLONIZATION

The rising power of Indian nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s and reforms in the British Indian government were making a greater degree of home rule in India an impending reality. This only further inspired officials in London to wrest the remaining control of Middle Eastern policy from the government of India and relocate it to London and Cairo. When independence did come to India in August 1947, it struck a blow to the material strength of British influence in the Middle East.

Even earlier, the Labour government that had come to power in Britain in 1945 seemed to be committed to development of its interests in the Middle East as an economic replacement for its desired withdrawal from formal empire, particularly in India. What was more, overshadowed by the loss of India, the anti-imperial Labour government was unlikely to endure great costs, both human and financial, in holding onto its interests in the Middle East, particularly in Palestine. Many commentators and statesmen, including Winston Churchill (1874–1965), warned that even the appearance that the British Empire was remaining tenacious in their hold on Palestine, in the face both of Jewish and Arab violence, would be taken as evidence of a Machiavellian attempt to hold on to its last vestige of power in the region. Ironically, the abandonment of Palestine and the birth of the state of Israel in 1948 only fueled the appearance that the British Empire was on the eve of its dissolution.

Thus, by the end of World War II, British imperial policy in the Middle East had been completely reoriented from where it stood just a half-century earlier. A policy that had been primarily a means for protecting India, and for much of its history conducted from India, had been dismantled. So, while Indian independence did not signal an immediate withdrawal of British concerns in the Middle East, it did perhaps imply its final fate.

Despite eleventh-hour attempts to strengthen its influence through the 1950s, the British Empire faced stiff opposition from nationalists across the region, as well as the new superpowers in the region: the United States and the Soviet Union. Soon, the old passageways to India were lost to the British, bookended perhaps by

Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser's (1918–1970) nationalization of, the Suez Canal Company and the failed joint British-French-Israeli invasion to topple him in 1956, and culminating in the final and formal abandonment of the Trucial system in the Persian Gulf states with the creation of the United Arab Emirates in 1971.

SEE ALSO *'Urabi Rebellion; Afghan Wars; British Colonialism, Middle East; World War I, Middle East.*

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Philip J. Stern

BUCCANEERS

Commerce raiders called *privateers, pirates, buccaneers,* and other such names roamed the Caribbean Sea, as well as the Atlantic and Indian oceans, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries as the detritus of the first Western colonies. During the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, French, English, and Dutch raiders of Spanish and Portuguese shipping and ports generally acted under the authorization of their governments. The English Crown, for example, granted merchants and captains "letters of marque and reprisal," which authorized attacks on Spanish shipping and ports. This legal document required that the privateer captains deliver to an admiralty court their captured ships, whereupon everyone would legally carve up a share of the spoils.

These privateers became invaluable military forces in times of war in an age when permanent navies did not exist. Until the late seventeenth century, the powers of Europe generally did not recognize truces and peace agreements outside of Europe. Privateers, therefore, were tolerated and often encouraged, even in peacetime. In the second half of the seventeenth century, there was often little meaningful difference between a privateer and an independent sea raider, that is, a pirate. Letters of marque and reprisal were widely granted.

When the French, English, and Dutch were becoming established in the Caribbean in the early to mid-seventeenth century, privateers were important naval forces in their own right. Perhaps the first commerce-raiding outpost to appear in the Caribbean arose around French Tortuga, lying just northwest of Hispaniola. These raiders became widely known as *boucaniers* or *buccaneers*, after a Tupi Indian word for a smoking frame (*boucan*) used to roast wild cattle. These raiders were also called *freebooters* in the sense they that soldiered without pay for booty. To the Dutch, a commerce raider was a *vrijbuiter*, which the French translated to *flibustier*. The English and French word *pirate* derived from centuries-old Latin and Greek words.

In 1630, the same year the Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay was founded, a second Puritan colony was founded on Providence Island off the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua. The colony had little success as an agricultural settlement, but a change in foreign policy and the issuance of letters of marque and reprisal to the

Providence Island Company in 1626 turned the island into a privateering base and a new source of profit. In 1641 the Spanish retook the island. Thereafter, however, the Spanish and the buccaneers fought over the island and its harbors and inlets for decades.

After the English seized Jamaica in 1655, that island, in the center of the Spanish Caribbean, became the center of privateering and privacy. To maintain possession of the island, England issued letters of marque to French, Dutch, Danish, Italian, Swedish, Portuguese, and English captains. One of Jamaica's first historians, Bryan Edwards (1743–1800), noted that "nothing contributed so much to the settlement and opulence of this island in early times, as the resort to it of those men called Bucaniers; the wealth which they acquired having been speedily transferred to people whose industry was employed in cultivation or commerce." But, he continued, these men were not "piratical plunderers and public robbers which they are commonly represented." Because of the Spanish War, he noted, these buccaneers "were furnished with regular letters of marque and reprisal" (Edwards 1793, vol. 1, p. 160).

The first royal governors of Jamaica established the seaport of Port Royal, which attracted privateers and pirates, as well as merchants, tavern-keepers, runaway servants, prostitutes, and others. This town, encouraged by the governor, sent fleets of privateers under Henry Morgan (1635–1688) between 1665 and 1671 to plunder Spanish seaports on the coasts of Cuba, Panama, Venezuela, and Nicaragua. Despite England's promise to Spain to end privateering and suppress piracy in the Treaty of Madrid in 1670 and the Jamaica Act of 1683, buccaneers continued to freely operate from Port Royal until the end of the century. Over time, however, the "scum of the Indies drifted away from Jamaica," writes Violet Barbour, "to Hispaniola and Tortuga where aliens of any nation or reputation were received with obliging catholicity" (1911, p. 567). Port Royal was hit by a great earthquake in 1692 that utterly destroyed the port. The government of Jamaica rebuilt a new port, Kingston, on firmer ground across the harbor, and the buccaneers moved to new haunts in the Bahamas, North America, and West Africa.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, buccaneers not only attacked Spanish and Portuguese shipping and ports but also English, French, and Dutch shipping and American and African ports and posts. When wars erupted between the northern European powers, governments and their colonial authorities began issuing letters of marque to captains of just about any nationality, so long as the holder was clear who the "enemy" was.

A Buccaneer. Buccaneers, also known as privateers and pirates, roamed the Caribbean Sea, as well as the Atlantic and Indian oceans, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries as the detritus of the first Western colonies. This buccaneer guards his booty with a flintlock rifle and a pistol. © BETTMANN/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

During the Anglo-Dutch Wars and the Franco-Dutch Wars of the second half of the seventeenth century, the English in Jamaica and the French in Tortuga enlisted buccaneers to cruise against the Dutch. In 1666 when France entered the war on the side of the Netherlands, the Dutch in Curaçao and the French in Tortuga directed buccaneers against English islands and trade. In 1673 the Dutch launched a serious effort to seize the French West Indies, and Dutch privateers, assisting the effort, brought more than twenty-five French prizes into Curaçao that year.

During the next several years of the war, aggressive Dutch privateers eliminated a few hundred French buccaneers and brought about the decline of commercial traffic from France. The buccaneers themselves, while no friend of any government, generally preferred in the

seventeenth century to enrich themselves from the Spanish and stay away from English, French, and Dutch prizes. The Spanish had more hard money, and the buccaneers had more reasons to take vengeance on them. The French buccaneer Sieur de Grammont in 1683 mounted a raid on Vera Cruz, the principal port of New Spain, which yielded four days of uninterrupted looting. The Dutch buccaneers Nicholas van Hoorn and Laurens de Graaf two years later attacked the city of Campeche on the eastern coast of the Yucatán Peninsula, and left the city in ashes after looting the government treasury, churches, and private houses.

A Dutch buccaneer known as Roche Brasiliano provides an example of the buccaneer's basic animosity to the Spanish. A fellow buccaneer described Brasiliano's particularly infamous modus operandi: "Unto the Spaniards he always showed himself very barbarous and cruel, only out of an inveterate hatred he had against that nation. Of these he commanded several to be roasted alive upon wooden spits, for no other crime than that they would not show him the places, or hog-yards, where he might steal swine" (Exquemelin 1678/2000, p. 73).

French buccaneers in Tortuga were also active during the last three decades of the seventeenth century. One buccaneer captain was so successful in his looting as to invest his wealth in Martinique and become the owner of the largest sugar plantation in the French West Indies. Buccaneers who found a hostile reception in their nation's different entrepôts in the Caribbean, or were welcome nowhere else, eventually made their way to Tortuga.

It was from Tortuga in the seventeenth century that the French and other buccaneers began to colonize the western end of Hispaniola. In 1669 the governor of French Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) claimed there were 1,600 freebooters, hunters, settlers, and indentured servants on Tortuga and the coast of Saint-Domingue. Two years later, a navy captain estimated that about 500 or 600 freebooters and about 100 *boucaniers* lived in the Cul-de-Sac or western district of Saint-Domingue alone. The successful privateers and petty noblemen established tobacco and later sugar plantations. The Spanish officially recognized French possession of its new colony in the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. During the next fifty years, Saint-Domingue would become the most valuable European colony in the Atlantic.

By the late seventeenth century, the English, French, and Dutch had achieved the recognition they had long sought from the Spanish of their New World colonies. The buccaneers that they themselves had commissioned were increasingly not only interfering with but also seriously ravaging Atlantic commerce. The early eighteenth

century would see the golden age of piracy and its brutal suppression.

The most famous buccaneers of the period were Anglo-Americans based largely in New Providence in the Bahamas. Men like Edward Teach (Blackbeard), Bartolomew "Black Bart" Roberts, William Kidd, and John "Calico Jack" Rackman operated on a much smaller scale than Henry Morgan. They led only one or two heavily-armed ships and sought prizes isolated from convoys. The governor of Bermuda in 1718 reported the deeds of "Tatch [Blackbeard] with whom is Major Bonnett of Barbados in a ship of 36 guns and 300 men, also in company with them a sloop of 12 guns and 115 men and two other ships" (Cordingly 1996, p. 111). Some, like Black Bart, were extraordinarily successful. In the 1710s and 1720s he captured some four hundred ships of all nationalities. Some buccaneers, such as William Kidd, found the Caribbean too confining when the English and French navies were fighting piracy, and employed their skills in the Indian Ocean.

Some buccaneers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw themselves as social bandits, agents of the poor and oppressed against rich and powerful merchants and tyrannical captains. One pirate captain named Bellamy described the enemies of piracy among the ruling class thus: "They vilify us, the Scoundrels do, when there is only this Difference, they rob the Poor under the Cover of Law, forsooth, and we plunder the Rich under the protection of our own Courage" (Bolster 1997, p. 14). Captain Thomas Checkley in 1718 told of the capture of his ship by pirates who "pretended to be Robbin Hoods Men" (Rediker 1993, pp. 267–269).

English suppression of piracy became serious at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. The British Parliament's 1699 Act of Piracy established vice-admiralty courts in the American colonies that permitted local authorities to hang pirates. From 1716 to 1726, some four hundred to five hundred pirates were executed in Anglo-American ports. The British Crown also began to replace governors and other officials who were accomplices of buccaneers. The new governors seized buccaneer ships docked in their ports, as well as their cargos.

The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) brought many pirates into official service and their decommission led to a last flurry of piracy in the Atlantic. After the war the British and French governments deployed more and more naval power in the Caribbean to protect their own commerce from each other and from the buccaneers. Authorities and colonial governors offered bounties for captured pirates, and in 1717 and 1718 King George I (1660–1727) granted general pardons for piracy—about 450 pirates turned

themselves in. Any and all contact with pirates thereafter was criminalized.

The Bahamas was brought under control by a special expedition led by Woodes Rogers (ca. 1679–1732) with four Royal Navy men-of-war. Examples were made of pirates who fell into the hands of authorities: corpses were hung in British ports all around the Atlantic. By 1730 pirate attacks were becoming isolated and rare events and only a handful of buccaneers remained in business. Many of these pirates, still free and unreformed, moved on to Madagascar in the Indian Ocean.

SEE ALSO *War and Empires.*

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BULLION TRADE, SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

In the early modern period, bullion (uncoined silver or gold in the form of ingots or bars), silver in particular, was the most essential commodity of European-Asian trade. From the early years of European expansion during the sixteenth century, European traders had to bring gold and silver coins to Asia to participate in Asian trade, since Europe did not provide other commodities to Asia in exchange for the Asian commodities in demand in Europe, such as spices, pepper, and cotton textiles. These European coins were usually sold is Asia as bullion.

The main area of silver production was Latin America, with mines operating in Potosí (Bolivia) and Zacatecas (Mexico). This American silver, including its currency, Spanish (and Mexican) dollars, was exported to Asia by two routes, with the first being via Europe. Silver was imported to Europe and then reexported to Asia via the Cape of Good Hope or Levant (the countries bordering the eastern Mediterranean). The second route was through direct trade across the Pacific Ocean by galleon ships from Acapulco to Manila.

The exact volumes of the bullion influx have been subject to controversy, but in a rough estimate 32,000 metric tons (about 35,275 short tons) of silver was sent via Europe and 3,000 metric tons (about 3,307 short tons) via Manila in total between 1600 and 1800. From 1710 to 1720, the Dutch East India Company sent precious metal, composed of silver (87%) and gold (13%), to Asia through the Cape route amounting to 38,827,000 guilders in value. Besides Latin America, Japan was also a substantial silver exporter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. China and India absorbed most of this bullion, with China importing roughly one-third of the total silver inflows to Asia.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the structure of global silver circulation drastically changed. British exports of silver declined substantially around 1760, and the British colonial government was required to pay home charges (for the colonial administration costs in the home country) to Britain from the late eighteenth century. Moreover, Japan began to import gold and silver in 1763.

It is unclear whether large volumes of bullion inflows contributed to Asian economic growth or not. Based on the elementary Fisher equation of the quantity theory of money, a rise in the quantity of money should have caused an increase in prices. But available contemporary records do not offer evidence of price increases according to the bullion influx. Some historians assume that economic growth, in reference to the volume of transactions, should have increased, but others believe that bullion was hoarded, an assumption based on the decrease in the velocity of circulation.

Imported silver was mostly smelted into various forms of traditional currency. However, over the centuries Asian traders, especially in East and Southeast Asia, accepted dollar coins for payment from foreigners. In the nineteenth century, silver currency was practically standardized to the Mexican dollar for the purpose of international trade. The adaptation of the gold standard in Western countries caused the silver value to increase against gold after 1873. Apart from the Dutch Indies adapting the gold standard in 1877, Asian countries sustained the silver standard. Although it was more burdensome to pay the Indian home charge fixed in gold, Asian countries generally enjoyed the benefits of European-Asian trade until their adaptation of the gold standard, for example, in 1893 (India) and in 1902 (Siam).

SEE ALSO *Acapulco; Mining, the Americas; Potosí.*

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Ryuto Shimada

BURMA, BRITISH

After the first Anglo-Burmese war in 1826 two former provinces of the Burmese Empire, Arakan and Tenasserim, were governed by British commissioners. The two provinces developed distinctly different forms of government. In Arakan colonial policy paid little deference to traditional Arakanese or Burmese institutions; rather, it reflected more strongly the influence of neighboring Bengal. In Tenasserim the British built on existing forms of government, using indigenous

leadership and codifying local law. In 1862 Arakan and Tenasserim were united with the rest of Lower Burma to form the province of British Burma. The administrative layout in theory conformed to the Indian model, but in practice tended to conform to Burmese traditional methods. The mode of government used by the British during this period was not unlike the Dutch system in Java, in which indirect rule prevailed.

In Upper Burma, which remained under Burmese rule until the third Anglo-Burmese war of 1885, the economy became dangerously dependent on the export of mainly cotton and teak. In the teak industry elaborate contracts and concessions were developed over time and honored to such a degree as to warrant substantial investments on the part of British-Indian trading houses. At the same time, in other fields royal monopolies often excluded independent merchants. Rice however had to be imported in ever-larger quantities, which drained Upper Burma of cash. The world depression of the 1870s led to a dramatic decline in prices and plunged the Burmese state into economic hardship and fiscal collapse.

Under British rule Lower Burma developed into an export-oriented economy depending almost totally on rice production. Lower Burma's rice exports helped make up for food shortages in other parts of the empire. In this sense the colonial state in Burma developed within the context of a larger set of imperial, economic, political, and strategic interests.

Immediately at the end of the third Anglo-Burmese war, with the last Burmese king in exile, several important decisions were taken by the colonial power, which would dramatically change the way Burma was governed. A first attempt to govern through the old royal council, the Hlutdaw, failed. The reforms the British subsequently introduced meant nothing less than a complete dismantling of existing institutions of political authority. They resulted in the undermining of many established structures of social organization. In contrast to India the British decided that Burma would be governed directly, without making use of local elites. The monarchy, the nobility, and the army all disappeared. In the countryside local ruling families lost their positions. The existing political framework vanished. Only in outlying areas like the Shan states did the British use local intermediaries in government. In the heartland of the old Burmese empire, the Irrawaddy Valley, the colonial rulers imposed bureaucratic control right down to the village level. A wholly new framework of government rapidly supplanted existing institutions.

From the late nineteenth century onward village headmen were frequent targets of peasant uprisings, indicating how much they were perceived as tools of the

colonial administration. At the same time the colonial power failed to adopt the symbols and roles that had legitimized precolonial rulers. The precolonial state had relied for the maintenance of order and security on its intimate involvement with the symbolic and spiritual life of society. The colonial state viewed its role very differently. The British administrators were not only foreigners, their idea of government presumed a marked distinction between the public and private spheres of life. British rule in effect destroyed the Burmese cosmological order and signified for the Burmese the end of a Buddhist World Age. This produced armed resistance in which Buddhist monks played a significant part. Burmese monks fanned rural rebellion, notably during the economic depression of the 1930s. The main causes of rural unrest and rebellions in the 1930s were taxes, usury, and depressed rice prices.

At the end of World War II, Burma was equipped with social and political institutions established only at the beginning of the twentieth century and without roots in local society. Apart from Buddhism, it would be difficult to define a supra-local institution that survived from precolonial times. As for the colonial administration, it had been shattered by the Japanese during the war years. Burma thus faced at independence in 1948 a weak institutional legacy, a vacuum that would be soon filled by the army.

SEE ALSO *Anglo-Burmese Wars.*

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S. E. A. van Galen

C

CABRAL, AMÍLCAR LOPES

1924–1973

Born on September 12, 1924, in Bafatá, Guinea-Bissau, Amílcar Lopes Cabral was one of Africa's greatest revolutionary leaders and political thinkers. Born of a Cape Verdean father, Juvenal Cabral, and Guinean mother, Iva Pinhel Evora, his father's concerns for the environment and the conditions of Africans in Portuguese Guinea had an early influence on him.

A brilliant student, Cabral completed secondary school in Mindelo on the island of São Vicente in Cape Verde in 1943. After working with the National Printing Office from 1944, Cabral was awarded a scholarship to study at the Agronomy Institute in Lisbon, Portugal, in 1945. He graduated from the institute in 1950 as an agricultural engineer.

Like other emerging African elites during the colonial period, Cabral felt the urge to return to Africa where he felt that people needed his contribution in struggle against colonialism and nature itself. Cabral returned to Guinea-Bissau in 1952 to work for the Agricultural and Forestry Services of Portuguese Guinea after a period of apprenticeship at the Agronomy Center in Santarém, Portugal. Between 1952 and 1954, Cabral worked as an agronomist traveling throughout Guinea.

But Cabral was deeply troubled by the political condition of Portuguese Guinea, where the increasing Portuguese military contingent on the island gave rise to several conflicts with the local population. Drought and famine complicated the situation. This was the atmosphere in which Amílcar Cabral spent his early days

and which may have been reflected in his decision to become an agricultural engineer.

The twenty-eight-year-old agricultural engineer did not limit his goals to his profession; he was concerned with creating awareness among the Guinean people. His work as an agronomist which gave him the opportunity to travel also helped him to obtain detailed knowledge of the Guinean land and people and in turn helped him develop a strategy for national liberation. He left a more prestigious job as a researcher at the Agronomy Center to take a job as an engineer in Guinea, from which base he aspired to the higher goal of fighting Portuguese imperialism. He used his position as the manger of the agricultural station at Pessube to interact with rural workers, including Cape Verdeans. Cabral did not distinguish between his work as a political activist and as an agricultural engineer. He raised anticolonial sentiments and consciousness among both intellectuals and rural peasants through what he called the *reafricanization* of the spirit. He tried to use a radio program to make Cape Verdeans aware of their conditions, but the Portuguese forbade his broadcasts.

In 1955 Cabral moved to Angola after Diogo António José Leite Pereira de Melo e Alvim, who was governor from 1954 to 1956, ordered him out of the colony. He was allowed to return once a year for family reasons. This was a period of increasing anticolonial activity in Africa. Cabral came into direct contact with the founders of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and he became a member. In 1957 he attended a meeting in Paris to discuss strategies for the anticolonial struggle against the Portuguese. The meeting provided him the opportunity to meet with other anticolonialists.

He also attended a Pan-African meeting in Ghana, among other international anticolonial conferences.

In 1959 Cabral and Aristides Pereira (b. 1923), Luís Cabral (b. 1931), Julio de Almeira, Fernando Fortes, and Elisee Turpin founded a new political party called the African Party for Independence and Union of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). This underground organization acquired legal status four years later.

Between 1960 and 1962, the PAIGC operated out of the Republic of Guinea with the objective of preparing armed militants and obtaining international support. War broke out against the Portuguese in 1962 with the aim of attaining independence for both Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde. Cabral adopted guerrilla tactics and led one of the most profound revolutionary movements in Africa. Over the course of the conflict, the PAIGC gained land.

In 1972 Cabral began to form a people's assembly in preparation for independence, but a disgruntled former associate, Inocêncio Kani, and other members of the All Guineans Party assassinated him in January 1973. Cabral provided the military and intellectual leadership for the anticolonial movement for over a decade before his assassination. When Guinea-Bissau became independent in 1974, Cabral's brother, Luís, became president (1974–1980).

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism; Portugal's African Colonies.*

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CACAO

Cacao (*Theobroma cacao*), known as "the food of the gods," and its main byproduct, chocolate, come from the seeds, or nibs, of a pod, the fruit of a tree native to tropical America. The cacao tree usually requires shade trees, often the so-called *madre de cacao* (mother of cacao), also an American native. Experts disagree about the number of cacao types.

The *criollo* or native cacaos are often held to be the best. They are more delicate and low-yielding, and grow traditionally in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean. *Forastero* cacaos are more robust and prolific, but of lower quality. Cultivated in colonial Ecuador and Venezuela, this variety was also carried from Brazil to West Africa by the Portuguese, and is now a leading crop in several countries there, including the Ivory Coast and Ghana. *Forastero* is also cultivated in Southeast Asia. The third variety, *trinitario*, so named because it was apparently first cultivated commercially in Trinidad, is probably a crossbreed of the original varieties and is now grown worldwide.

Cacao trees are slow growing, sensitive to cold and drought, and require constant water from rain or irrigation. The nibs are extracted from the shell and the pulp, then fermented and dried. The beans are then bagged and shipped to markets, where they are manufactured into hard chocolate, cacao powder or cocoa, cacao butterfat, and other products.

Cacao is generally considered Amazonian in its "wild" state, although some dispute this. The nibs have a short fertility after being picked, and so transplantation was difficult before the availability of rapid modern transportation, causing wide distances between areas of cultivation and the emergence of different varieties. Cacao has obviously been modified by human intervention for many centuries.

It is in Mesoamerica that the first recorded histories of the plant and its fruit are found. Cacao was part of very ancient mythologies. The word itself may be Olmec, possibly dating to before 1000 BCE. Cacao was also of great importance to the Maya and other Mesoamerican cultures, including the city-centered states of the Valley of Mexico. Chocolate drinks are mentioned frequently in Mayan hieroglyphics, and elite tombs often hold pottery containing the residue of liquid chocolate. Some scholars have claimed that in some parts of Mesoamerica, chocolate drinks were a privilege limited to the nobility, but others find this unlikely because the widespread cultivation of the tree in the lowlands suggests general consumption by all classes. Certainly the drink was very much part of public ceremony and ritual.

The beans or nibs were an important trade and tribute item for centuries before the Spanish invasions. The plants' strict climatic requirements, and the elaborate, long-distance trade and taxation networks that developed, encouraged regional specialization. In coastal Guerrero, Colima, Veracruz, and Tabasco in Mexico, as well as the Gulf of Honduras—to use modern geographical nomenclature—cacao was grown intensively for export to population centers before the arrival of Europeans. Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), on his

The Cacao Plant. *Cocoa and its main byproduct, chocolate, come from the nibs of a pod, the fruit of a tree native to tropical America. Cocoa beans were an important trade and tribute item among indigenous Americans for centuries before the Spanish invasion.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

fourth voyage in 1502, seized a large seagoing canoe in the Gulf of Honduras carrying cacao beans as part of its cargo.

The great centers of cacao cultivation around the time of the first European invasions of America were Soconusco (today the Pacific coast of Chiapas in Mexico) and the coast running all the way from Chiapas to present-day El Salvador. From these plantations, beans found their way to the highland centers. Soconusco, a Culhua-Mexica outlying colony, sent cacao as tribute to the Aztec emperor Montezuma (ca. 1466–1520) in Tenochtitlán (now Mexico City). The beans were stored in great warehouses in the cities of the central valley.

In pre-Columbian Mexico, cacao beans served as coinage; it might be said, then, that money "grew on trees." Cacao beans were used as a rudimentary means of exchange from ancient times, and at least as far south as highland Costa Rica during the colonial period, especially when there were shortages of official metal coinage. What we know of pre-invasion cacao coinage is scanty, but in western Nicaragua, a Mesoamerican periphery, there may well have been standard equivalencies recognized by officialdom. Certainly such tables relating cacao beans to other coinages can be found sporadically during the three Spanish colonial centuries. Cacao beans also entered the numerical systems of measures based on serial numbers of beans. In the same way, there is some evidence of the counterfeiting of beans, certainly a sign of their monetary and symbolic value.

As far as we know, hard chocolate was not consumed. Still, the people of Mesoamerica had many recipes for cacao. The ground beans were mixed with hot or cold water and with maize, ground chilies, annatto, and vanilla, as well as seeds, roots, and flowers of a great variety. A favorite method was to beat these mixtures to a froth. Many of the dishes were soups, and the liquid chocolate, poured over other ingredients, may be the ancestor of modern *mole* sauces. The aristocracy and the *pochteca*, a kind of official merchant class, drank huge quantities of these libations at festivals and public banquets. The first Europeans to taste these native recipes, however, found them to be unpalatable. One early Italian visitor described them as "fit only for pigs."

The conquistadors of central Mexico captured warehouses of cacao, which they used as money. Other invading bands found groves in Soconusco and Izalcos in today's El Salvador. Soon these groves were exploited by powerful Central American *encomenderos*. These Spaniards usually did not seize ownership of the groves, because cultivation was a specialized business and required hard work in a humid subtropical climate. Instead, they coerced labor and tried to extract surpluses and taxes for trading. Large cargoes of cacao were carried by mule trains and small ships to central Mexico.

Within a few years, avaricious *encomenderos* and their governmental allies forced native growers to intensify planting and harvesting, which appears to have been counterproductive. The native population was in severe decline because of the Old World epidemiological shock, and overwork and exploitation made the demographic catastrophe worse. Imported labor from the highlands did not solve the resulting labor shortage, and overplanting, along with the cutting down of shade trees, destroyed the understory needs of the cacao trees.

All this occurred at a time when market demand was increasing. Apparently, consumption among the native

peoples of central Mexico and highland Guatemala grew rapidly, and observers described the quaffing of almost unbelievable quantities of chocolate drinks. Demand was such that cacao from more distant plantations could pay expensive freight charges and still show a profit. By the seventeenth century, coastal Venezuela and Guayaquil in Ecuador had begun to replace Central America, Tabasco, and Guerrero as the main suppliers, and Mexico started to import large cargoes of the hardier and more plentiful *forastero* crops. Venezuelan growers dominated at first using African slave labor, and eventually sent much of their crop to Spain and to Dutch smugglers in Curaçao as the taste for chocolate developed in western Europe and markets organized in Amsterdam and elsewhere.

Guayaquil began to export beans at about the same time as Venezuela and was able to produce considerable quantities of inexpensive cacaos. Guayaquil prices, despite long and inefficient trade routes, undercut those of Central America and even Venezuela. Central American growers obtained a royal ban on Guayaquil and other South American imports but contraband flourished. By 1700 or so, Guayaquil chocolate began to reach even Spain and other European centers, as well as to supply some three-quarters of Mexican demand. New producers such as Trinidad, Caribbean Costa Rica, Martinique, and Saint-Domingue (Haiti) also took minor places as suppliers to the transatlantic markets.

Europeans developed a taste for chocolate slowly, compared to Americans of all ethnic groups. The addition of Old World sugar and New World vanilla helped with its acceptance. Cacao beans probably reached Europe by the 1520s, and its use as a drink spread from Spain, first to France, where chocolate houses were fashionable by mid-seventeenth century, and then to London, Holland, and elsewhere. The Dutch, who captured Curaçao from the Spanish in 1634, soon sent large cargoes of Venezuelan contraband cacao to Amsterdam, the great chocolate mart of Europe. The chocolate mart in Amsterdam became so monopolistic, in fact, that even Spanish merchants had to buy there.

By the eighteenth century, American chocolate was being drunk throughout Europe and its colonies with varying degrees of enthusiasm. In the late century, some people began to add milk, wine, and cloves. Recipes stipulated the best ways to prepare chocolate, with emphasis on ways of heating and whipping to provide the ideal frothy frappé. Chocolate, however, remained quite expensive.

Gradually, intensification of production and new technologies turned chocolate into the solid, inexpensive bars and hard candies of today. The popularity of chocolate as a drink was surpassed by coffee and tea in most places, and the product went its separate way as a confectionary. The Swiss followed the Dutch and English pioneers. The Nestlé brothers and Rodolphe Lindt (1855–1909) developed the first milk chocolates, and in the United States Milton Hershey (1857–1945) took advantage of economies of scale, vertical integration of needed products, and mass marketing to capture a giant share of the confectionary market. The "food of the gods," produced mainly in West Africa since about 1900, had become the candy of the masses.

SEE ALSO *Aztec Empire; Commodity Trade, Africa; Empire in the Americas, Spanish.*

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CALCUTTA

Situated on the east bank of the River Hugli about 129 kilometers (80 miles) from the Bay of Bengal, Calcutta lies close to the mouth of the two great river systems of the Ganga (Ganges) and the Brahmaputra. Consequently, the port possesses the advantage of excellent inland navigation for transporting foreign imports upstream and sending down the products of the fertile interior by the same channel.

Already prior to the arrival of the English merchant Job Charnock (d. 1693) in 1690, the settlements on the east bank of the river had attracted a number of high-caste Hindu families with literary traditions. The foundation of a British settlement raised the potential of the site, but the political events in the eighteenth century that changed the course of history were not to be predicted in the 1690s.

The right of fortification, obtained by the British in 1696, allowed the construction of Fort William. In 1698 the English East India Company purchased the right of revenue and tax collection for the three villages of Kalikata, Sutanuti, and Govindapur. In 1700 the settlement received the status of a presidency. This put the

English technically on an equal footing with the Mughal *nawabs* (local rulers) of Bengal, who were now confronted with the unrestrained extracommercial ambitions of East India Company officials.

Bengal *subah* (province) in the early eighteenth century had obtained autonomy and economic stability under the *nawab* Murshid Quli Khan, and Bengal was known as the granary of India. Muslin, silk, saltpeter, indigo, and opium attracted the European trading companies, and the arrival of private merchants from different parts of the world made Calcutta the home of Abyssinians, Afghans, Armenians, Burmese, Chinese, and Persians, as well as English, Dutch, French, and other Europeans.

The grant of a *firman* (imperial permit) by the Mughal emperor to the English in 1717 led to the growth of Calcutta as a center of English private trade. Extensive fortifications and the ambition of East India Company officials, however, led to a rupture with the *nawab* Alivardi Khan. Alivardi's successor, Siraj ud daula, attacked and overran Calcutta and renamed it Alinagar (1756). Robert Clive (1725–1774) and Admiral Charles Watson (1714–1757) recaptured Calcutta in February 1757. In June 1757 Clive won the Battle of Plassey, a triumph more of intrigue than of military action, and laid the foundation for British paramountcy in India. From 1773 to 1911, Calcutta was the capital of British India and the second city in the British Empire.

There was a cleavage in the pattern of Calcutta's urban growth. The European Town around the Tank Square and Chowringhee areas witnessed a high level of real-estate development, especially under the governors-general Warren Hastings (1774–1785) and Marquis Wellesley (1798–1805). The massive buildings of New Fort William, the Supreme Court, the Writers' Building, and Saint John's Church established marks of colonial rule. The British-built Town Hall, Metcalf Hall, and the Senate House were a few of the public buildings that lent Calcutta the epithet "city of palaces." The Indian Town in the north, and the intermediate zone were, however, overcrowded and lacked adequate municipal amenities.

These deficiencies did not stand in the way of the growth of the city. Between 1742 and 1901 the area of the settlement grew from about 1,307 to 5,357 hectares (3,229 to 13,237 acres), while the population rose from 179,917 to 542,686 during the same period. Calcutta was the most important port in India for shipping cotton, coal, jute, opium, and indigo. The large concentration of jute mills within a radius of 64 kilometers (40 miles) from Calcutta by 1911 resulted in a large-scale migration of laborers from up-country provinces to the city. Another important migrant group was the Marwaris, who came to dominate trade and industry in the region.

The phenomenal growth of the metropolis led to a demand for municipal services. Statutory civic services began in 1794. Calcutta received a municipal government in 1852, which became the Calcutta Corporation in 1899. The city's public sewerage system was completed in 1859, and filtered water became available from 1860. Railway services began in the city in 1854. Telegraph lines were installed in 1851, and the telephone exchange was opened in 1883. Horse-drawn trams were introduced in 1873, and following the introduction of electricity in 1899, electric trams started running in the city in 1902. Regular bus service began in 1924.

Warren Hastings's interest in the revival of Oriental learning and arts led to the foundation of the Calcutta Madrasa (1781) and the Asiatic Society (1784). The establishment of the printing press (1777) stimulated the growth of public opinion. Fort William College, founded in 1800, was designed to impart the knowledge of Indian languages and culture among East India Company civilians. The spread of English education was facilitated through the foundation of Hindu College in 1817 and Bethune School, the first public school for girls, in 1850. Calcutta Medical College and Calcutta University were established in 1835 and 1857 respectively.

The interaction of the Bengali intelligentsia with Western education, British Orientalism, and Christianity brought about an awakening commonly known as the Bengal Renaissance. Its earliest spokesman was Raja Rammohun Roy (1772–1833), the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, a monotheistic Hindu reform movement based on the Upanishads, ancient Hindu texts of wisdom. The British Indian Association, established in 1851, reflected a growing political consciousness in the region. Calcutta's Muslim community had the Mohammedan Literary Society (1863) and the Central National Mohammedan Association (1877) as their platform. Surendranath Banerjea (1848–1925), the founder of the Indian Association (1876), was the main force behind the National Conference held in Calcutta in 1883. Between 1885 and 1905, Calcutta was the nerve center of Indian politics and of the Indian National Congress, the forum of Indian public opinion on political issues.

During the Swadeshi movement (a movement pledging the use of indigenous products) that followed the partition of Bengal (1905), the demand for complete *swaraj* (self-rule) became a pan-Indian issue. A widespread boycott and the rise of extremist revolutionary groups in Bengal seriously threatened British rule. Consequently, the British moved the capital to Delhi. In August 1946 the city was shaken by the Hindu-Muslim riots, which resulted in the killing of large numbers of people on both sides, known as the "great Calcutta

killings," following the direct action demanding a separate electorate for the Muslims. Riots broke out again in August 1947, just before and after India gained independence. Due to the partition of India, Calcutta lost much of its hinterland, which became part of East Pakistan.

SEE ALSO *Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia; Indian National Movement.*

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Bhaswati Bhattacharya

CANTON
SEE *Guangzhou*

CAPE COLONY AND CAPE TOWN

The Cape Colony was a Dutch and later British colony at the southern tip of Africa, with Cape Town as its capital and largest city. The region was originally inhabited by the San and Khoikhoi peoples (known together as Khoisan), who were nomadic hunters and pastoralists, and by Bantu-speaking Africans. Europeans first reached the Cape region in 1488, when the Portuguese navigator Bartolomeu Dias (ca. 1450–1500, also spelled Diaz) rounded what he named the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese did not establish any permanent settlement, but used the Cape as a stopping place on their way to India and East Africa.

European settlement began in 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck (1619–1677), in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, founded Cape Town as a permanent supply station linking the Netherlands with its colonies in Southeast Asia. Khoisan were recruited as laborers for the settlement, but the Dutch also imported slaves from Indonesia and other parts of Asia. Intermingling among these peoples and the European settlers created a population of mixed race, known in South Africa as "colored" people, in addition to the European and African populations.

Dutch, as well as French Huguenot, settlement increased and the European population at the Cape reached one thousand by 1745. By this time many settlers began moving away from Cape Town, and established farms further into the interior of Africa. These early pioneers, known as *trekboers*, lived independently but often came into conflict with the indigenous African population. Some of the French Huguenot settlers were instrumental in establishing a wine industry near Cape Town, which still flourishes.

Events in Europe had a significant effect on the later colonization of the Cape region. As a result of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, Britain occupied the Cape Colony in 1795 and acquired it from the Dutch in 1806, renaming it the Cape of Good Hope Colony. British settlers brought a different language and legal system to the Cape and abolished slavery, to the dissatisfaction of the original Dutch settlers. In 1835 another group of Dutch Boers (meaning "farmers") left the Cape on a long migration, or trek, into the interior of Africa, much as the earlier *trekboers* had done. This movement, known as the Great Trek, resulted in the formation of independent Boer republics in interior South Africa. British settlers also expanded their territory eastward, which brought them into a series of wars with the indigenous Xhosa people.

British development of the colony and of Cape Town continued, especially after the annexation of the important diamond-producing region of Kimberley in 1880. The colony had expanded in size to encompass

over half the area of present-day South Africa, had become self-governing in 1872, and was one of the most important British colonies in Africa. In 1910, after the defeat of the Boer republics in the Boer War, the Cape became one of the original provinces in the Union of South Africa. Since 1994 the former Cape Province has been divided into several smaller provinces, but Cape Town remains one of the most important cities in Africa.

SEE ALSO *Colonial Cities and Towns, Africa.*

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Michael Pretes

CAPITULATIONS, MIDDLE EAST

The term *capitulations* (from the Turkish word *imtiyazat*) has come to be associated with the preferential commercial privileges and extraterritorial rights European merchants enjoyed during the Ottoman period. Muslim rulers throughout the Middle East, including the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, issued capitulations. The precise impact of the capitulatory system on the development of Ottoman social, economic, and political institutions remains a contentious issue among scholars; particularly vexing is the issue of whether or not the Ottoman Empire could have maintained parity with western Europe had the capitulations never been granted. The capitulatory system that developed within the Middle East, historian Carter Findley suggests, bears a striking resemblance to the methods used by Europeans to establish their economic dominance throughout the world during the free-trade era.

EARLY HISTORY

The capitulatory system arose out of the notion that only Ottoman subjects were worthy of the sultan's law. As such, any foreigner whose state had not been granted a capitulation had no legal protection when traveling through or residing in the Ottoman Empire. Although a few scholars trace the granting of capitulations back to the mid-fourteenth century, Suleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566) is normally considered to have granted the first capitulation in 1536 to King Francis I (r. 1515–1547).

In placing French merchants under the legal jurisdiction of their consul at Constantinople, thereby rendering them immune from Ottoman and Islamic law, and allowing them to import/export goods at greatly reduced tariff rates, the Ottoman government or Sublime Porte hoped to promote commercial exchange with the West.

With capitulatory privileges lapsing upon the death of the sultan who granted them, giving Europeans special privileges seemed harmless enough during a period characterized by Ottoman military preeminence. In the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was one of, if not the most, powerful states in the world and affected the development of Europe as a whole; arguably only England was remote enough to dismiss the Porte as irrelevant. Even the English, however, could not ignore the rapid spread of French commerce in the Near East. In addition to their presence in Constantinople, the French were permitted to establish trading posts and consular missions in Syria and Egypt. Between the late 1530s and early 1570s, when Ottoman maritime strength was at its height, English trade with the eastern Mediterranean had virtually collapsed.

Following the renewal of hostilities with Persia in 1578, the Sublime Porte was in desperate need of steel, lead, and especially tin for the production of bronze guns. A papal ban, however, forbid the export of munitions from Christendom to the Ottoman Empire, but as they were already drifting toward war with Spain the English ultimately decided to ignore the ban. In May 1580, in a unilateral gesture, Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595) formally placed the English on an equal footing with the French. Not long after the Levant Company had been formed, English consuls were despatched to Cairo, Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli in Barbary and Tripoli in Syria. Although it was not recognized at the time, the European (commercial) penetration of the Ottoman Empire had begun in earnest.

Foreign trade initially contributed, whether directly or indirectly, to the provisioning of both the Ottoman court and armed forces. In addition to the shipment of metals for Ottoman foundries, Europeans were a significant source of the sinews of war gold and silver. As Ottoman military power began to decline, the nature and meaning of the capitulatory system slowly changed to the ever increasing detriment of the Porte. Prior to the eighteenth century, sultans believed that the privileges they bestowed upon foreigners could be revoked at any time during their reign. After 1683, when second siege of Vienna failed, the Porte was increasingly forced to offer permanent capitulations in exchange for diplomatic assistance. Nevertheless, as late as 1740, Ottoman officials could still search the residence of foreigners, who had capitulatory privileges, if they believed the house contained fugitives or smuggled goods.

Under the terms of the capitulation granted to the French in 1536, which formed the basis for all subsequent treaties, consular courts had sole jurisdiction over cases involving only foreigners but were essentially powerless in disputes between foreigners and Ottoman subjects. The Treaty of Kuçuk Kainarji negotiated with Czarist Russia in 1774 ended this jurisdictional division. The Russian embassy began employing Ottoman subjects, the so-called dragomans, who in time became virtual intermediaries between the embassy and the Sublime Porte, to interpret the terms of the treaty. Eventually any non-Muslim Ottoman subject could obtain such an appointment (*berat*) from a European consul in exchange for a "modest" fee, thereby acquiring all the benefits of that country's capitulatory agreement. Although the selling of *berats* obviously undermined Ottoman revenue collection, and would lead Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) to grant all Ottoman merchants the same privileges as their European competitors, it was the need to secure the consent of the Western powers to any alteration in the empire's tariff rates that ultimately proved far more destructive.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CAPITULATORY SYSTEM

By the later half of the eighteenth century, the Renaissance, the military revolution, and the discovery of the New World had all combined to give western Europe a distinct military and commercial advantage over the Ottoman Empire. It was not until the late eighteenth century, however, that the Ottomans fully realized the gravity of the challenge facing them. Napoléon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 completely shattered the illusion of Ottoman invulnerability. Prior to this event, Europe's military advance into the Islamic world had largely been confined to the Ottoman Empire's northern border; Austria and Russia were steadily advancing into the Balkans and along the eastern shore of the Black Sea. The increasing commercial and industrial strength of Europe, and in particular, Britain, ultimately led to the almost total domination of Ottoman commerce by the European powers. Until the early nineteenth century, the Porte still believed it could modify the capitulations to prevent gross abuses; in 1809, for example, Britain accepted that its consuls had abused the *berat* system.

Reforming the capitulatory system paled in importance to the quelling the internal crises that beset the Ottoman Empire throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century; the rise of Mehmed Ali Pasha and the Greek revolt being the most striking examples. In fact, as Ottoman bureaucrats began to view Western-styled reforms as the key to preserving the independence and integrity of the empire, efforts designed to limit the integration of the Ottoman economy into the ever expanding European market were abandoned. In repealing the privileges Selim III had given indigenous merchants, Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) made it all but impossible for them to compete with Europeans. Viewed in this light, the signing of the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention at Balta Liman arguably becomes the logical conclusion to Ottoman policy over the preceding ten to fifteen years and not simply the price that had to be paid for British assistance in halting the aggrandizement of Mehmed Ali Pasha's Egypt. Whatever its origins, the results of the Convention were unmistakable.

THE CAPITULATORY YOKE

The treaty of Balta Liman marked the end of the traditional system of capitulations, which had been becoming increasingly detrimental to Ottoman interests. Henceforth, trade between the Ottoman Empire and Europe was governed by bilaterally negotiated commercial treaties. The 1838 convention confirmed all existing capitulatory privileges, set tariff rates for European goods at 3 percent and, most importantly, abolished all state monopolies within the Ottoman Empire. In forcing the Porte to accept the principle of free trade, the British effectively delivered the coup de grâce to Ottoman manufacturing and helped bring an end to the industrial and economic development of Mehmed Ali Pasha's Egypt. Combined with the ill-fated Ottoman attempt to centralize its tax collection system that same year, the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention initiated a downward spiral from which the Ottoman Empire never recovered.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the capitulatory system had come to be seen as the symbol of Ottoman inferiority vis-à-vis Europe. Whereas capitulations had originally been bestowed upon the Great Powers of Europe, between 1838 and 1856 minor states like Sardinia, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Tuscany, the Hanseatic Towns, Greece, the two Sicilies, Prussia, and the other signatories of the Zollverein all signed similar treaties. The Ottomans also signed commercial treaties with non-Europeans countries; the United States in 1830, Brazil in 1858, and Mexico in 1864.

Throughout the Tanzimat era, which refers to the attempted administrative reorganization of the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876, Ottoman statesmen believed that as long as the European powers respected their country's sovereignty there was little or no danger in allowing Europeans ever greater access to their country's economy. In 1869, in yet another attempt to curb the selling of berats, the Porte granted citizenship to all Ottoman subjects thereby making it both unnecessary and in fact illegal for people to seek or accept the

protection of a foreign power. Both foreign embassies and the vast majority of Ottoman subjects, who continued to identify with their religious community (*millet*) and not the state, largely ignored the new law.

The disregard displayed by the European powers toward Ottoman efforts to limit their influence eventually gave way to outright contempt as social Darwinism and other aspects of mid- to late-nineteenth-century imperialism led Europeans to view the Turks as corrupt and racially and morally inferior. The promise of reformers that westernization would eventually lead to parity with Europe rang increasingly hollow as the Tanzimat era drew to a close. Beginning in the 1860s, the social strata most affected by westernization became increasingly critical of (further) reform. The Balkan revolt of 1875 and the Ottoman defeat in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 only strengthened the position of the so-called Young Ottomans.

It was not until Abdülhamid II came to the throne in 1876 that the Porte turned away from its almost total reliance on Britain. Turning to Imperial Germany, however, offered little practical benefits. The kaiser agreed to abolish the capitulations but only if the other great powers did so as well. The Western penetration of the Ottoman Empire increased during the course of the nineteenth century. Consuls were being despatched throughout Ottoman lands to defend the commercial and legal interests of European merchants and the increasing number of missionaries. The spread of persons endowed with capitulatory powers significantly undermined Ottoman administrative structures. By the early twentieth century, for example, an Ottoman policeman could not even enter the home of a foreign national without the permission of the latter's consul/embassy. Abdülhamid II's reign, not surprisingly, marked a decisive turning point in Ottoman attitudes toward the capitulatory system.

No longer perceived to be mere violations of imperial sovereignty, the capitulations came to be seen as the foremost barrier to the future (economic) development of the Ottoman Empire. The ever-increasing prosperity of Germany, whose economy was protected by high tariffs, seemed to offer the Porte a new approach. Raising Ottoman tariffs would not only provide badly needed revenues but could also stimulate the growth of domestic industry. It was only after twenty-six years of negotiations that the capitulatory signatories consented in 1907 to raising Ottoman tariffs from 4 to 7 percent as long as the increased revenues came under the purvey of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. The Western powers dictated that one-quarter of said revenues should be used to service the massive Ottoman debt, while the remainder would be used to finance reforms in

Macedonia. So far as Europe was concerned, the Ottoman Empire had for all instance and purposes become another colony to be administered for their (economic) benefit.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE CAPITULATORY SYSTEM

In 1908 the Young Turks deposed Abdülhamid II in a coup designed to bring about the transformation of the empire into the "Japan of the Near East." The success of the Japanese in achieving near equality with the Western powers inspired the disparate collection of exiles, disgruntled civil servants and students, and disaffected army officers stationed in the empire's European provinces that made up the Young Turk movement. Although they could restore the 1876 constitution, until the capitulations were abolished there was little else the Young Turks could do. The gulf between the Ottoman Empire and Europe was made abundantly clear when, after declaring its independence in 1908, Bulgaria was immediately freed from its capitulatory yoke. Large sections of Ottoman society correctly perceived that Europe was using the capitulations as the means by which to exclude their Empire from the "civilized" world. In the years before the outbreak of World War I (1914–1918), the European powers repeatedly sought to undermine all efforts to weaken the capitulatory system. It was widely recognized within the chancelleries of Europe that keeping the Porte starved for money offered the surest way of keeping it in line.

The outbreak of World War I offered the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which emerged from the power struggle that took place after the fall of Abdülhamid II, the best chance to date to weaken the capitulatory system. In exchange for a defensive alliance between the Ottoman Empire and the Entente powers, the CUP demanded among other things the outright abolition of the capitulations. The British ambassador at Constantinople likened the Ottoman offer to terms normally imposed upon a defeated enemy.

The Germans, however, proved more accommodating. In exchange for allowing their warships, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, to enter the straits, in violation of international law, they had to agree to a number of conditions, one of which was the abolition of the capitulations. Although the Germans found the provisions outrageous, with the British Mediterranean squadron lurking just beyond the entrance to the straits, they had little choice. Only a few weeks later, and over the objections of their German ally, the Porte announced the unilateral abrogation of the capitulations, effective October 1, 1914. For the duration of World War I, the Ottoman Empire

exercised unrestricted sovereignty for the first time in centuries.

Following the defeat of the Central Powers, the Western powers believed the capitulatory system should be reintroduced. In 1919 the U.S. State Department made clear its belief that American's rights in occupied Ottoman territories included those outlined in the pre-war capitulation agreements. The Treaty of Sèvres, which was signed in August 1920, reintroduced the capitulations as part of the larger Anglo-French effort to severely curtail Ottoman sovereignty. The government in Constantinople, desperate not to lose everything, signed the treaty but the nationalist uprising(s) in Anatolia, which would eventually come to be led by Mustafa Kemal, ensured the treaty was never ratified.

The Treaty of Lausanne formally abolished capitulations in Turkey. The situation in former Ottoman provinces, however, was more complicated. In Iraq the capitulations were abolished in 1922; it was not until the 1937 Montreux Convention that they were abolished in Egypt. The League of Nations' mandates for Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan never included extraterritorial privileges for foreigners.

SEE ALSO *Abdülhamid II; Empire, Ottoman.*

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Sean Kelly

CARIBBEAN

The Caribbean islands lie on the northern and eastern sides of the Caribbean Sea, stretching in an elongated S shape from the Bahamas and Cuba in the north and west to Trinidad in the south. The islands are divided into two main groups: the large islands of the Greater Antilles and the smaller islands of the Lesser Antilles. Strong historical connections with the islands mean that the mainland territories of Guyana and Belize are frequently categorized as part of the Caribbean.

THE FIRST INHABITANTS

The Caribbean islands were probably first settled from the South American mainland. When Europeans arrived in the region there were three main groups of people living there. The Ciboney people were found in parts of Hispaniola and Cuba. The Arawak people occupied most of the Greater Antilles, while the Caribs lived throughout the Lesser Antilles. The Caribs were the latest to arrive in the region, migrating northward. As a result of this movement, the peoples of the Caribbean were experiencing change before the arrival of Europeans. However, the arrival of people from the Old World set in motion transformations on a previously unimaginable scale.

THE ARRIVAL OF EUROPEANS

In 1492 the three ships of Christopher Columbus's Spanish expedition made landfall in the Bahamas, before heading south to Cuba and Hispaniola. Columbus famously thought that he had reached the East Indies and clung to this belief until his death in 1506. On his second voyage to the New World, Columbus brought seventeen ships, over a thousand soldiers, and European plants, horses, and livestock. This expedition explored and named many of the Caribbean islands, landing on Dominica, Guadeloupe, Montserrat, Antigua, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica.

The first Spanish settlements were in the Greater Antilles, the largest being on Hispaniola. The principal aim of Spanish colonization was to find and extract silver and gold, and Spanish settlers established mines as well as breeding horses and livestock. By the early sixteenth century, large deposits of gold and silver had been discovered in the mainland areas of Mexico and Peru. Thereafter, Spanish Caribbean settlements operated as staging posts and recruitment areas for expeditions to these regions.

The Spanish sought to convert the original inhabitants of the region to Christianity, but these efforts met with little success, and relations between the two groups were generally violent and exploitative. The Spaniards conquered the islands by force and gave no quarter when
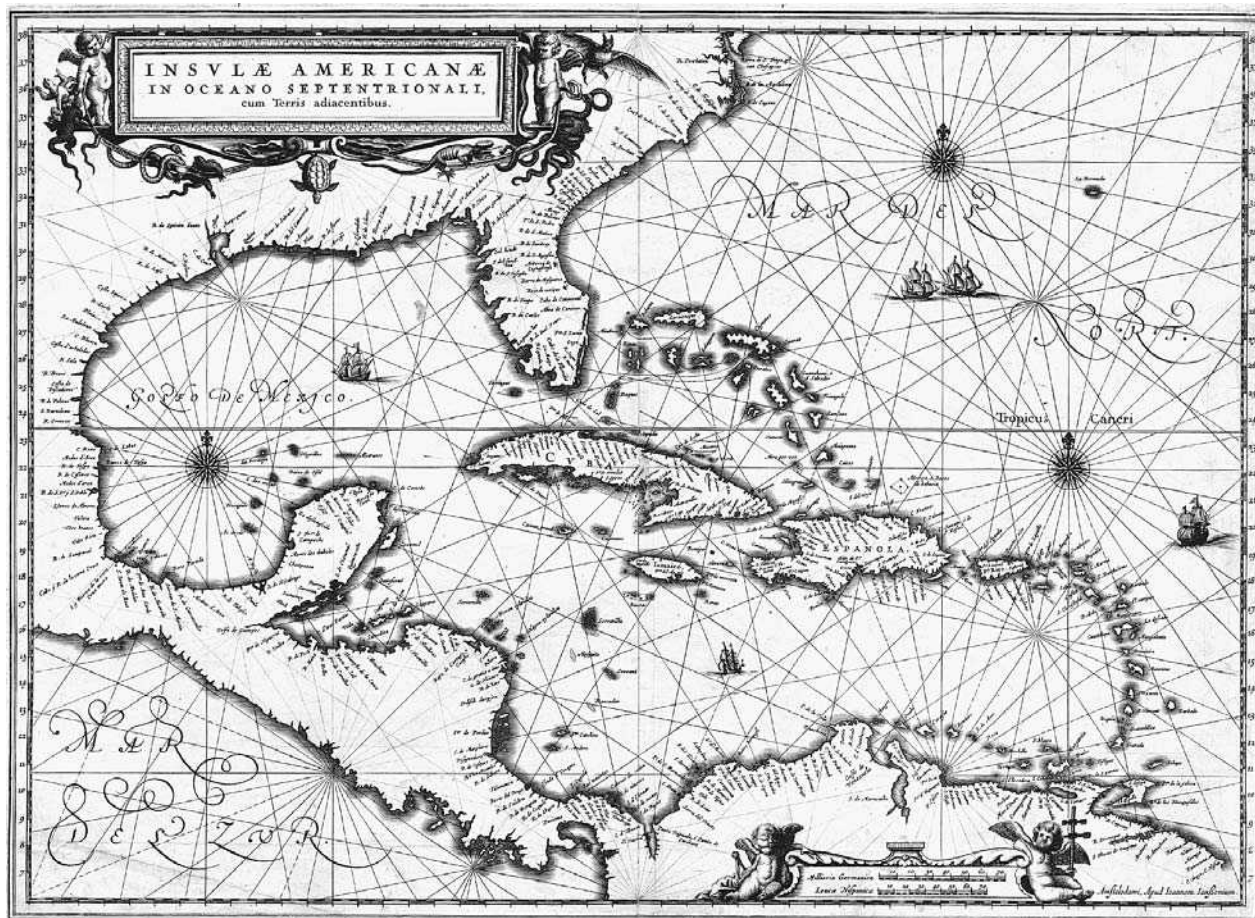
Map of the Caribbean, circa 1630s. *The Caribbean islands lie on the northern and eastern sides of the Caribbean Sea, stretching in an elongated S shape from the Bahamas and Cuba in the north and west to Trinidad in the south.* REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MAP COLLECTION, YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

faced with resistance. They coerced native people into working in the mines, and disturbed local patterns of food production, causing many to starve. Furthermore, natives of the islands lacked immunities to European diseases. It is unclear exactly what proportion of them died as a result of illnesses imported from the Old World, but the arrival of Europeans in the region was certainly a social and demographic disaster, and native people were either destroyed or integrated into the Spanish society. The vast majority were wiped out within a few generations, certainly on the larger islands.

THE END OF SPANISH HEGEMONY

Prior to the end of the sixteenth century, Spain was the only colonial power in the Caribbean. However, Spain's power and influence was declining in Europe and it was increasingly difficult to exclude the English, Dutch, and French from the Caribbean. Initially, the only challenge to Spanish hegemony came from the increasingly

common raids on ships and ports by pirates, such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake, who came in search of Spanish gold and silver. Buccaneers (raiders operating from bases in the Caribbean) continued to harass and plunder ships and ports in the region until the eighteenth century.

By the seventeenth century the period of Spanish hegemony was over, and the English, French, and Dutch began to trade and form colonies in the Caribbean. European powers fought to expand their empires and gain dominance of the sea, and because the financial value of Caribbean products and trade was high, competition between the main powers was particularly fierce in the region. The Caribbean became a focal point in the increasingly globalized conflicts between Britain and France during the eighteenth century. At times of war, sea battles were fought and islands were captured and recaptured. Between 1762 and 1814 control of the island of St. Lucia alternated between Britain and France seven times.

SUGAR AND SLAVERY

The expansion of sugar production and slavery helped to ensure that Caribbean colonies were economically and strategically vital to European governments. During the seventeenth century, having experimented with other crops, notably tobacco, northern European settlers began planting sugar, which grew well in tropical conditions and fetched a high price in Europe. Until the mid-eighteenth century, the wealthiest English plantation colony was Barbados, which was then superseded by the larger island of Jamaica, conquered from the Spanish in 1655. The most lucrative sugar colony in the Caribbean was French Saint-Domingue, in the western third of Hispaniola.

Effective sugar production required large holdings of land. This resulted in the creation of plantations that often covered thousands of acres. The cultivation and processing of this crop was also extremely labor-intensive, and, having experimented with indigenous slaves and indentured European labor, Caribbean planters turned to African slaves to meet their labor needs. Slaves imported from the west coast of Africa proved hardier than the indigenous islanders and a more reliable source of labor than European workers. Existing slaving networks in Africa ensured that there was a steady supply of slaves to meet European demand, and because they were treated as items of personal property, enslaved people could be easily bought and sold. The transatlantic slave trade therefore solved the planters' labor problems and permanently altered all aspects of life in the Caribbean colonies. Over five million Africans arrived in the Caribbean, having endured the horrors of the Middle Passage across the Atlantic.

Sugar plantations and the institution of slavery expanded together and had reached the height of their growth and profitability by the end of the eighteenth century. The precise demographic structure of slave societies differed from place to place, but everywhere in the Caribbean they were characterized by large black majorities, as slaves came to heavily outnumber the white inhabitants of the islands. For example, in 1800 there were about twenty slaves to every white person on the island of Jamaica. Across the region, a class of free colored people also emerged, occupying a social and legal position in between the islands' enslaved majorities and privileged white minorities.

Several factors discouraged whites from permanently settling in the region. A plethora of highly contagious diseases and the threat of slave uprisings rendered life in the Caribbean uncomfortable and dangerous. Many larger proprietors lived in Europe as absentees, and those whites who remained in the region did not consider the islands to be a permanent home and maintained a close affinity with the colonial metropole. Caribbean slaveholders also relied upon European military support to control their slaves. Such ties of dependency helped to ensure that Caribbean colonists did not follow their mainland Spanish and North American counterparts in demanding independence from European colonial systems.

In all colonies, slaves were worked hard and faced harsh treatment. In spite of this, enslaved people across the region created viable cultures that allowed them to resist the effects of slavery. Afro-Caribbean cultures emerged that reconfigured African beliefs, practices, and traditions in a New World setting. These cultures often merged with European traditions, especially because many slaves were converted to Christianity and most were forced to learn the language of their masters.

Resistance to slavery was a constant feature of life in the colonies. This ranged from day-to-day forms of resistance, such as working slowly, all the way to large-scale rebellions. Many slaves attempted to run away, and on larger islands, such as Jamaica and Hispaniola, some formed semiautonomous "Maroon" communities. While slave rebellions were common in the Caribbean, most ended in failure. In Saint-Domingue, however, unrest caused by the French Revolution resulted in a successful slave uprising—led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, a former slave—which culminated in the creation of the independent state of Haiti in 1804.

THE ENDING OF CARIBBEAN SLAVERY

In 1807 the British abolished the transatlantic slave trade after a popular campaign led mainly by wealthy evangelicals. This came at a time when slave-produced sugar was still profitable. In the British Caribbean, an economic slump followed the ending of the trade, partly as a result of the demographic impact of abolition. In the British Caribbean, slaves eventually gained emancipation in 1838 as the result of continued pressure in Britain and ongoing slave resistance in the Caribbean. In the remaining French territories of Martinique and Guadeloupe, slavery ended in 1848, while slaves in the Dutch Caribbean were freed in 1863.

The abolition of slavery did not end the tensions that characterized societies long based on racialized social and economic divisions. Emancipated slaves sought independence from the sugar estates. Former slaveholders used a range of tactics to try to retain the freed people's labor, limit their access to land, and prevent their involvement in political life, causing tensions that resulted in protests and riots in British Caribbean territories throughout the postemancipation period. Some planters, especially those in Trinidad and Guyana, responded to their labor problems by importing South and East Asian indentured workers. Many of these laborers settled permanently,
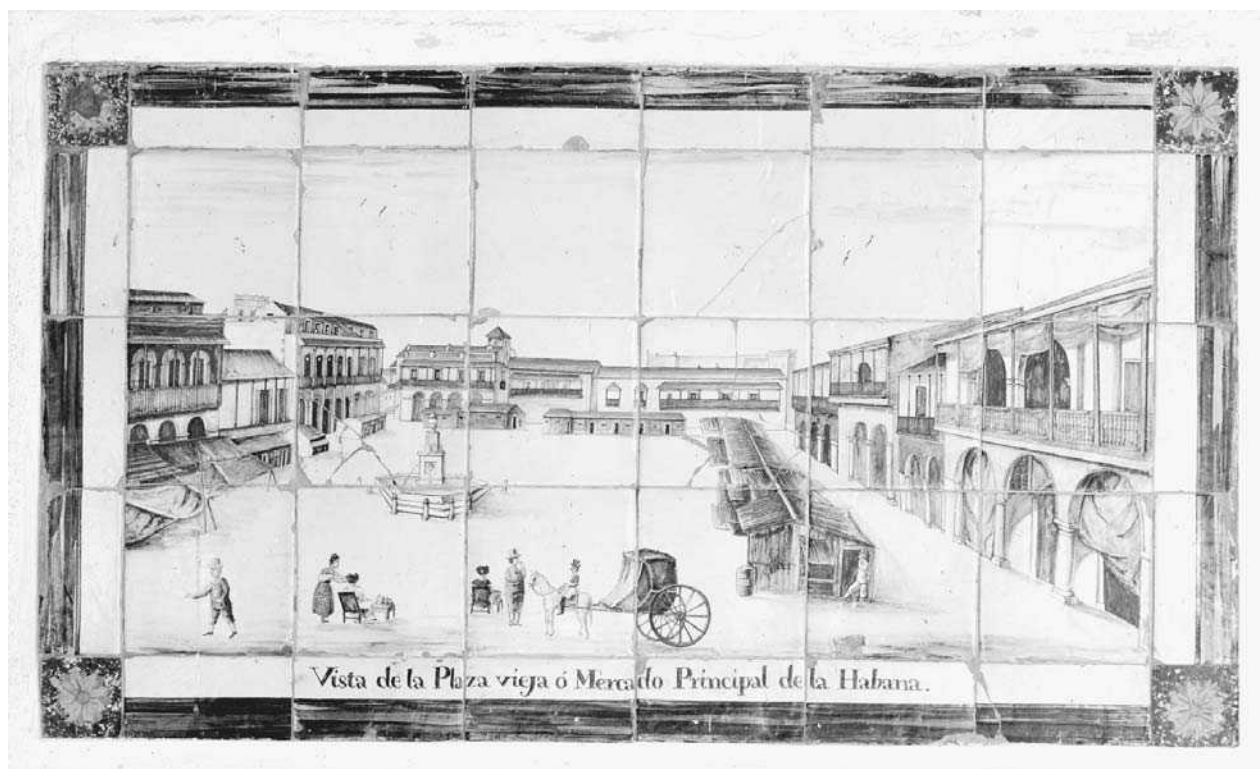
Seventeenth–Century Tilework in the Casa de Obrapia, Havana, Cuba. *Tilework depicts of a visit to the Plaza Vieja in Havana, Cuba.* © FRANCESCO VENTURI/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

contributing to the social and cultural composition of those colonies.

Even as the sugar industry in the British and French Caribbean declined during the nineteenth century, Cuban production rose rapidly. Abundant fertile land, the removal of Spanish trade restrictions, and technological advances meant that the island experienced an economic boom that lasted until the late nineteenth century. Black slaves were used on Cuban plantations along with free workers from Europe, Asia, and Mexico, making the social structure and labor relations in the colony distinct from those in the British and French islands. Slavery survived in Cuba until the 1880s, when the institution was gradually phased out before a complete abolition in 1886.

SEE ALSO *Plantations, the Americas; Sugar Cultivation and Trade*

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Christer Petley

CARTAGENA DE INDIAS

Located on a magnificent bay on the northern coast of present-day Colombia and originally inhabited by Caribs, Cartagena de Indias was founded by the Spaniard Pedro de Heredia in 1533. From there, expeditions were launched to explore the interior of what became the kingdom of New Granada. By 1574 Cartagena had attracted sixteen *encomenderos* (those granted the right to extract tribute and labor from the native population) and hundreds of adventurers. Progressively eclipsing Santa Marta (founded in 1526), it became the port that monopolized the legal trade of northern South America, through the system of galleons importing Spanish goods and exporting gold and silver. Cartagena also had the monopoly of the slave trade to

Spanish South America. Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, some 120,000 African slaves arrived there to be "seasoned" before reaching further destinations. The capital of New Granada's Cartagena province, it had its own governor (appointed by the Spanish king) and bishop, and was home to one of the three Spanish-American headquarters of the Inquisition.

After falling prey to various pirates and buccaneers, Cartagena lastingly attracted English and Dutch contrabandists. In 1697, following a successful attack by Admiral Pointis, it was temporarily occupied by the French, and in 1741 it was besieged by the British. In response, Spain extended Cartagena's system of walls and fortifications and reformed its defense forces (which consisted of a regular army and white, mulatto, and black militia).

By 1778 Cartagena had 13,396 inhabitants: 27 percent were white, 57 percent were free people of color, and 16 percent were slaves (with women outnumbering men except among whites). In 1809 white creoles and free people of color united against Spanish domination, leading to the declaration of independence of November 11, 1811. Internal divisions and war against the royalist Santa Marta weakened Cartagena, however, and it was retaken by the Spaniards after a deadly siege in December 1815—only to be liberated anew by the patriot army in 1821. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Cartagena lost its economic and political preeminence to Barranquilla, another Colombian port city.

SEE ALSO *Buccaneers; Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Slave Trade, Atlantic*

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Aline Helg

CARTIER, JACQUES
1491–1557

A mariner from Saint-Malo in Brittany, France, Jacques Cartier had probably visited Brazil and Newfoundland before receiving a commission from King François I (1494–1547) in 1534 to undertake a voyage in search of treasure and a sea route to Asia. Following the established routes of French fishermen, Cartier sailed west to Newfoundland and then entered the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. He was consistently suspicious of the natives

he encountered, referring to them as "wild and savage folk" and firing on them when they approached to trade.

Cartier's most important encounter occurred at Gaspé, where some Iroquoians from the Saint Lawrence River, led by Donnacona (d. ca. 1539), had established a summer fishing camp. Cartier's men erected a cross there with the king's coat of arms and gave presents to the Indians. The latter appeared to object strenuously to the captain's attempt to claim their land. Cartier attempted to assure them that his aims were friendly and then kidnapped two of Donnacona's sons before setting sail for France with them on board.

A new expedition set out in 1535 with the two Iroquoian boys pressed into service as interpreters and guides. They showed Cartier the entrance to the great river and led him up to their village, Stadacona, on the site of present-day Quebec City. Donnacona's people seemed intent on cementing an alliance and trade connection with the French; they actively discouraged them from further explorations that might undermine their own exclusive access to European goods. Brushing aside objections, Cartier took his men upstream in small boats to visit the large town of Hochelaga on the site of Montreal. Returning to Stadacona, the French built a fort and prepared to wait until spring.

The winter of 1535 to 1536 turned out to be cold beyond anything they could imagine; scurvy set in, and one by one the crew succumbed to the disease until Donnacona's son showed them how to brew an effective remedy from white cedar. Through this time of hunger and disease, Cartier remained suspicious of the Indians, ordering his men to go armed at all times, much to the consternation of his hosts. On leaving Stadacona in the spring, he took the precaution of seizing the two boys once again, along with Donnacona and a handful of others; hostages, guides, and living museum exhibits, the captive Iroquoians might have been useful to a future expedition had any of them survived.

Cartier did not return to Canada until 1541, when a third voyage was launched, much more ambitious than the others. Five ships carrying fifteen hundred men took part, and they came equipped to establish a French settlement colony. For obvious reasons, Cartier chose a site some distance to the west of Stadacona and ordered his men to fortify their settlement against the increasingly hostile natives of the country. The next spring, Jean-François de la Roque de Roberval (ca. 1500–1560), arrived to take charge of the colony and Cartier hastily deserted, carrying to France a cargo of worthless stones he thought were diamonds. The subsequent history of the colony, obscurely documented, appears to have been short and disastrous. The French would only return sixty years later to the country on which Cartier had bestowed the name Canada.

SEE ALSO *Empire, French; European Explorations in North America*

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Allan Greer

CARTOGRAPHY

In the Middle Ages, few people in Christendom could ever have seen a map. Only those concerned with navigation or scholarship were in a position to come across one. Then, what they cast their eyes over were what historians have suggested were essentially two very different kinds of maps: area maps known as portolan charts, especially of southern European waters, as attempts to illustrate an itinerary or sailing instructions in diagrammatic form; secondly, and until the thirteenth century, European world maps, which had been devotional objects, intended to evoke God's harmonious design in a schematic form, appropriate, for instance, for an altarpiece.

These would appear very strange objects to today's public, encyclopedias of Christian lore and legend that were primarily symbolic reflections of the world and that tried to tailor what was genuinely known about the world to what could be gleaned from biblical scripture. The European cartographic revolution of the Renaissance took on many forms, embodied by great technological strides both in dissemination (printing) and production (the nautical revolution, mathematical innovations in how the world could be measured). But it was primarily a change in the way the world was pictured in people's minds, and here the cool, measured rationality of Euclidean geometry slowly came to replace the colorful mental projections of inherited belief.

The arrival of printing in the fifteenth century de-professionalized and democratized geographical knowledge. It did not fully supplant manuscript charts, which flourished in the cultures of secrecy in Iberian absolutist regimes, or the decorative maps that decked Florence's Palazzo Vecchio or the Vatican's Hall of Maps. The

greater possibilities for divulgence, as well as the accompanying steps forward in literacy among European populations, meant that cartography could keep better pace with the geographical discoveries as they were being unveiled and break men of learning's enduring reluctance to accept that knowledge could be outdated.

Mapmaking capitalized on the nautical revolution of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which saw the widespread adoption of the magnetic lodestone from the late twelfth century; the invention of Jacob's staff from 1300 for checking the heavens; and innovations in ship design, of which the most important was perhaps the sternpost rudder. Maritime navigation was given the tools to move on from coast-hugging to sailing boldly the open seas though, as the Seville pilot Pedro de Medina (1493–1567) expressed in print as late as 1555, it remained a mystery that "a man with a compass and rhumb lines can encompass and navigate the entire world." Maps, then, were an integral part of the nautical revolution.

It would be wrong, however, to see cartographic science as a set of progressive steps toward enlightenment. The illuminated medieval Arab worldview of geographers like ash-Sharif al-Idrisi (1100–1165), for example, as shown on a silver plate presented to King Roger II (1095–1154) of Sicily, was not necessarily passed on to mainland Europe. Secondly, second-century geographer Ptolemy's mistaken legacy of the impossibility to circumnavigate the southern tip of Africa—a corollary of the antique belief in the *orbis terrarum,* a planet constituted primarily of land in which the seas were little more than giant lakes—was only strengthened with the wave of Latin language editions following the reintroduction into Europe of Ptolemy's *Geography* from Constantinople. It was a mistake only gradually set right with the Portuguese voyages around the African shoreline from 1418 and which culminated with Bartolomeu Dias's (ca. 1450–1500) rounding of the Cape of Good Hope in 1496, faithfully reproduced in the world map of Henricus Martellus.

At the same time, it is easy to understand why Ptolemy's map, and particularly the geometric projection printed from 1477, served as the world map of Renaissance times, against all contemporary maps. The crucial concept is that of ordered space. Even the latest and most sophisticated of the circular *mappae mundi*, the Fra Mauro world map of 1459, appears to have an element of chance, guesswork, almost disorder in its structure. The circular framework was known to be illogical, the sources for its place-names were literary and anecdotal, even legendary, and their location was often arbitrary. Other maps, such as the Genoese map of 1457 drew from a store of graphic images, which by the late fifteenth century were largely rhetorical.
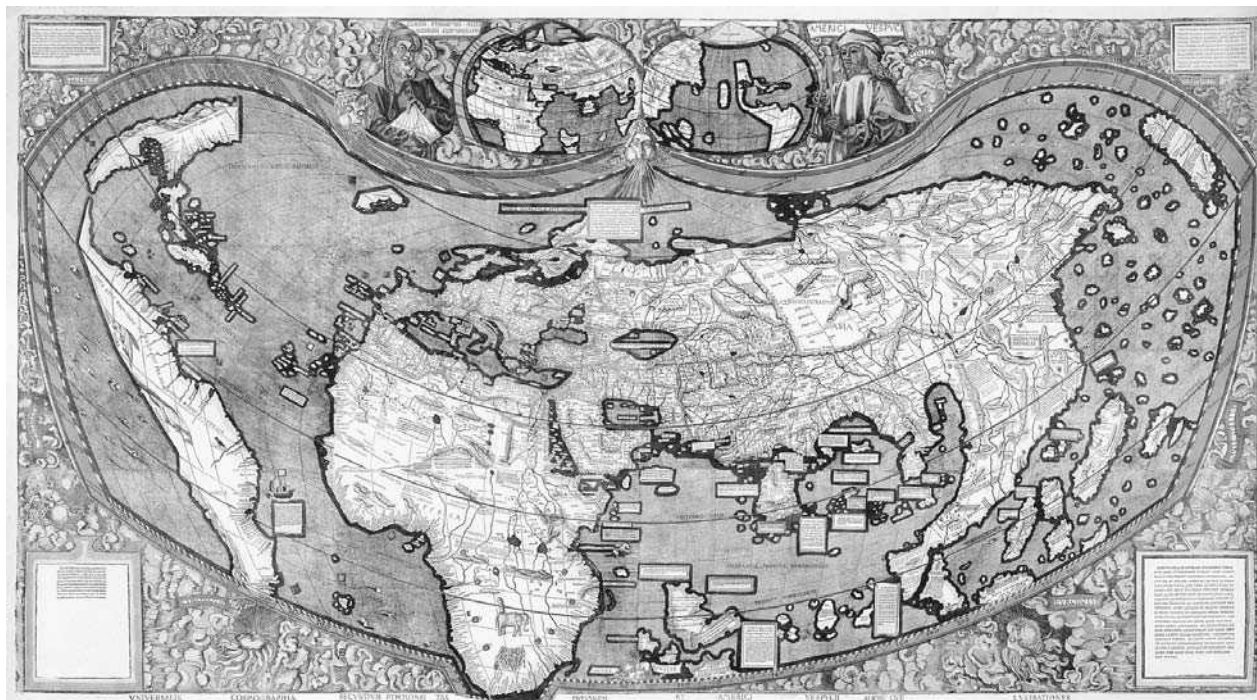
Waldseemüller's 1507 Map of the World. *This map by the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller (ca. 1470–ca. 1522) is accompanied by text explaining the use of the term* America *to describe the New World. Waldseemüller named the continent after the Italian-born explorer Amerigo Vespucci, whose geography identified the Americas as separate from Asia.*
© THE BRITISH LIBRARY/HIP/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

By contrast Ptolemy appeared to have cast a transparent net over the earth's surface, every strand of which was precisely measured and placed. Moreover, Ptolemy's work was a map not a visual encyclopedia, so that a dispassionate sense of geographic reality prevails. This sense of ordered space was precisely the ideal toward what the artists of fifteenth-century Italy were striving, and where one can read Renaissance paintings like one reads a map, with a new emphasis on the spatial dimension.

The historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto has suggested that the undoing of the mythical Atlantic was perhaps cartography's greatest triumph in the fifteenth century. Islands named Brendan, St. Ursula, and Brazil had previously littered depictions and accounts of the medieval Atlantic, reflecting classical and early Christian legend. Over the course of the fifteenth century, Atlantic space was increasingly discovered and appreciated as a body of water in its own right and not just a section of the "all-encircling ocean," and the real mid-Atlantic archipelagos were plotted into it, initially using rhumb lines, but increasingly according to the grid-line geometrics of longitude and latitude. It took a long time, however, both before the full dimensions of the Atlantic were appreciated and before all fictitious islands were

removed from the Atlantic. As late as the nineteenth century, concessions were being made to presupposed rocks and islets.

To what degree Christopher Columbus's (1451–1506) landfall of October 12, 1492, on an island in the Bahamas was predicted by Western cartographic science is a lively point of discussion between historians. It is well known how the Florentine cosmographer Paolo Toscanelli dal Pozzo (1397–1482) suggested in a famous letter of June 1474 addressed to the Portuguese king that the distance from the Canaries to Cathay might be around 5,000 nautical miles, a journey possibly broken at Antilla and Japan—a chronic misguidance then. Columbus himself is thought to have had some doubts as to the Aristotelian model of the earth, as contested in 1483 and 1484 before Spanish royal cosmographers, natural philosophers who specialized in the relation of cosmic and terrestrial spheres and who based their claims on celestial observations. The fact that Ptolemy reduced the earth's circumference probably encouraged Columbus to "sail the parallel" to cross the Atlantic in 1492. In any case, only after some years of doubts and confusions was Columbus's discovery recognized by cosmographers and mapmakers for its novelty, rewarded with the epithet *Mundus Novus,* the title of a tract based on a letter

of Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512). It fell to the German geographer Martin Waldseemüller (1470–1518 or 1521) to put the suggestion into action on the large woodcut world map, printed in 1507 in one thousand copies, in which he showed North and South America as continents, designated by name. The implications of this New World scheme for shibboleths, such as the idea that all men were descended from Adam and that the apostles had preached throughout the world, was profound. Columbus, then, created the problem of the Western Hemisphere, though right down to his death he refused to admit to his delusion and only at the beginning of the eighteenth century was it shown conclusively through the expeditions of the Danish navigator, Vitus Jonassen Bering (1681–1741), that Asia was not connected to North America.

If the discovery of the Western Hemisphere was one problem Western mapmaking was confronted with, then the acknowledgement of the Antipodes was another. The ideas of the Greek cosmographer Strabo (64 or 63 BCE–23 CE)—in print in translation by Guarino da Verona (1370 or 1374–1460) from 1469—had fomented this idea, though he probably envisaged the Antipodes as lying to the west in the temperate sphere, rather than underneath, and an impediment to Eratosthenes's (276–194 BCE) view that sailing from Iberia directly to India was theoretically possible if the immensity of the Atlantic did not prevent it. The notion of a southern continent nevertheless persisted until Captain James Cook's (1728–1779) successive voyages in the 1760s and 1770s across the South Pacific explicitly sought to engage this last of the great classical cosmographical conundrums.

How maps reflected people's assumptions and beliefs is an engaging and fruitful line of recent scholarship. Maps in medieval times had been chiefly symbolic constructs reflecting the Holy Trinity in the three *pars* of which the world was constituted (Europe, Asia, Africa), suitably depicted around the form of a cross, Christ's cross. These have been called by historians T-O maps, where the "T" within the "O" is formed by the rivers Don and Nile flowing into the Mediterranean, these waters forming the boundaries of the three continents known to the ancient world. In deference to the Holy Land, not only churches but also maps were commonly oriented toward the east, at the head of which Christ was often depicted enthroned at the Last Judgment, as is the case in the Hereford *mappamundi* of circa 1300. Also at the top, but located within the bounds of this world, is the Garden of Eden. Jerusalem had previously been considered the center of the world; this is a reflection of Christian belief and the enduring concept of Christendom.

T-O maps continued to be produced well into Renaissance times, as in the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*

published in Lübeck in 1475. However, the first printed editions of Ptolemy to be published north of the Alps launched a profound onslaught on the last T-O maps, whereas the decline of the Christian commonwealth and the corresponding emergence of notions of Europe saw to it that Europe as a whole, rather than Jerusalem, came to be placed in the center of maps of the world. There were other changes, perhaps deeper motivational changes, casting aside the traditional T-O schema. By the fifteenth century, mapmakers were motivated by geographic realism, most probably because they wanted to emphasize the practical utility of their work as navigational aids, but they may also have been influenced by the same current of thought as the naturalism that influenced Renaissance artists. It no longer became perfunctory to see empty cartographic space as space to fill with all kinds of flourishes and emblems, as if fearing the emptiness of white sections of parchment. In any case, maps were no longer simply devotional objects, but came to record the progress in that European project which has become known as the Discoveries.

Maps had other strategic uses. The crusading propaganda of Marino Sanudo (1466–1536), for example, was illustrated with maps of uncanny accuracy, drawn by Pietro Vesconte, while the territorial rivalries of European states saw to it that from 1482 the first maps made with explicit attention to national boundaries started to be produced. Maps were of crucial importance in the protracted negotiations for the series of international treaties (Alcaçovas-Toledo, 1479; Tordesillas, 1494; Saragossa, 1529) that decided upon meridian lines establishing spheres of colonial influence between Portuguese and Spanish crowns. But at the same time we have to be aware that these strategic functions could impinge upon the mapmaker's task of reflecting reality as faithfully as possible. The French royal mathematician Oronce Fine (1494–1555), for example, devised a cordiform (heart-shaped) projection on a central meridian around 1536 in order to emphasize France's proximity to the new world and her colonial possibilities there. J. B. Harley has unearthed the coded relations of power in outwardly realistic Renaissance maps, showing how they concealed information for political or economic reasons, and used allegorical decoration to further hidden agendas. For example, blank spaces in early maps of the Americas presented those territories as available for European conquest. In some cases, what was reality was entirely relative. Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), the Italian Jesuit missionary to China, presented a world map to the governor of Chao-K'ing in 1584 titled "Great Map of Ten Thousand Countries," but had to spend the next nineteen years redesigning it, primarily to accommodate his host's desire for China to appear as the center of the world and not Europe.
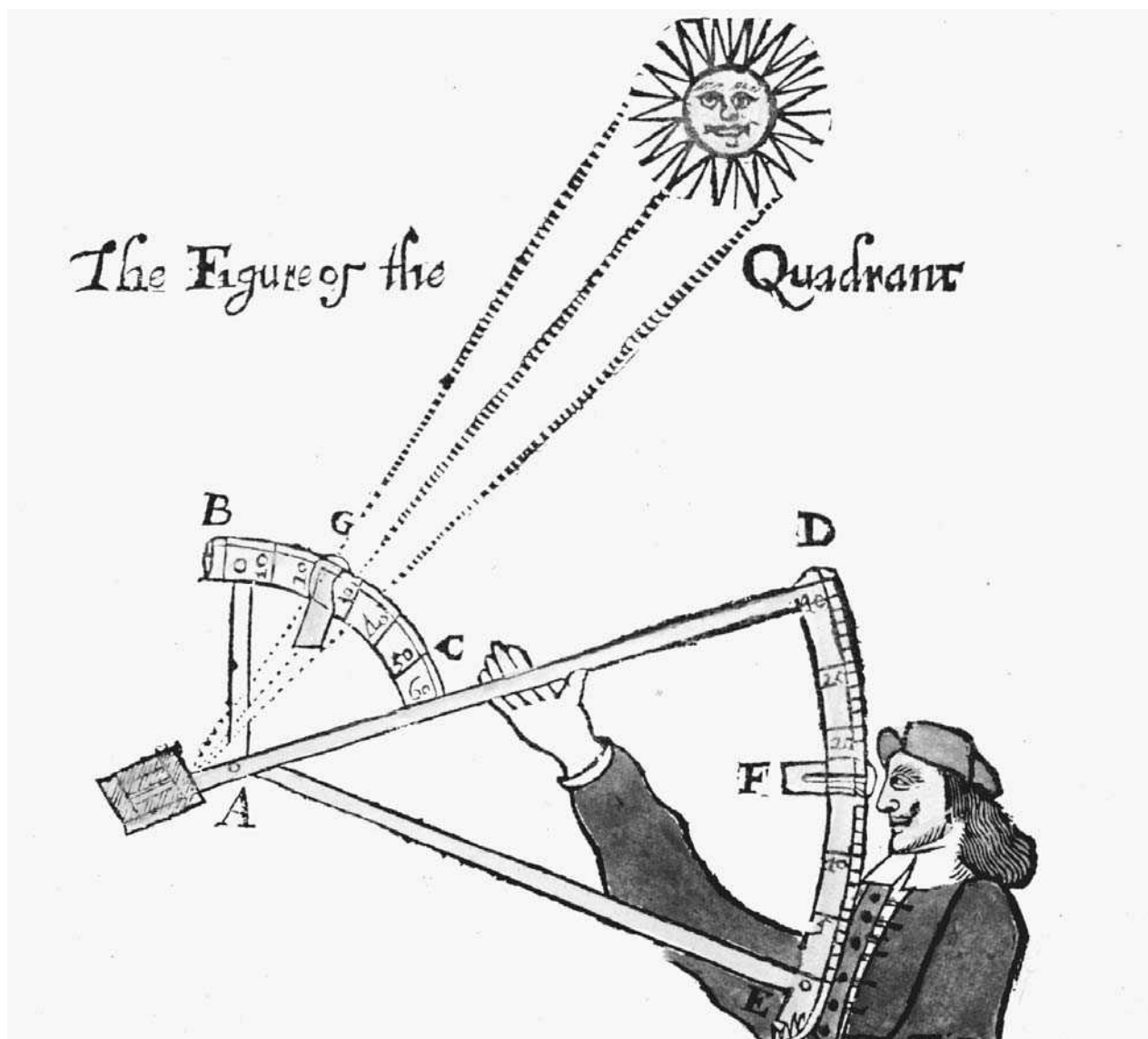
Quadrant. *Simple quadrants allowed early cartographers, as well as sailors and explorers, to accurately measure altitude and determine latitude.* THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

That the world was a sphere was known throughout the Middle Ages and there is even some evidence that the question of map projection had been perceived as a theoretical problem, by Roger Bacon (1220–1292) for example in the Opus Major of circa 1270. But it had little practical importance, since the known world scarcely exceeded the bounds of Europe. It was only when new knowledge enlarged the world that cartography began to acknowledge the sphericity of the world in the elements of rough spectroscopy implicit in the Catalan Atlas of 1375 and the final settlement for the oval world map as we find in Francesco Rosselli's (1448–1513) world map

of 1508, or from the early seventeenth century spate of twin-hemisphere maps issuing from England and the Netherlands.

Globe-making, however, only really came into being following Nicholas de Oresma's (1320 or 1325–1382) *De sphaera*. Part of the project sought to illustrate the cosmographic scheme implicit in Ptolemy's *Geography*, which as we have suggested was widely disseminated once it had been translated into Latin in the fifteenth century. No medieval globe of the world has, however, survived from before Martin Behaim's (1436–1507) of 1492, now in the National Museum of Nuremberg.

Cartography, of course, specialized into many other branches. Some of the earliest maps we possess are medieval road maps, often for helping pilgrims find their way. The maritime variant was the rutter, which was of great service to pilots. The mid-sixteenth century governor of Portuguese possessions in the East, João de Castro (1500–1548), has left us some of the finest exemplars of this genre. One of the great cartographic particularities of the Age of Discovery, however, was the *isolario*, an atlas exclusively given over to charting the islands of the world, and for which the prototype was provided by Christopher Buondelmonti at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to be followed up by Benedetto Bordone (1460–1531) and Tommaso Porcacchi da Castiglione (1530–1585), as well as the French geographer André Thevet (1502–1590). It corresponded, as the Florentine scholar Leo Olschki has tried to show, to what he came to label *insulamania,* a passing social craze for islands.

Increasingly, maps catered to a variety of different professions. Landowners, particularly in England and the Low Countries, began commissioning estate plans to help them manage their holdings. It was not by chance, so historian David Buisseret argues, that it was precisely in these regions that the first signs of the Agricultural Revolution began to appear.

Governments were another patron of an increased outpouring of printed maps from the sixteenth century; they were typically required for the task of fortifying the frontiers, planning campaigns, acquainting heads of state with ill-known parts of their lands, and mounting overseas expeditions. Both in the lagoon and hinterland of the Venetian Republic, water management showed itself to be an important state activity delegated to the Rural Land Office and the Water Management Board for the Lagoon. Some monarchs, such as Philip II (1527–1598), who commissioned the *Relaciones Geográficas*, or Henry IV (1553–1610) of France, had access to maps that showed even small villages in the whole of their lands, while others such as the Habsburg Maximilian I (1493–1519), rather than commissioning maps of the empire as a whole, preferred to delineate only such separate constituents as Tyrol or Lower Austria. In the territories of eastern Europe, such as Poland, where magnates enjoyed "golden freedoms" and vast powers, particularly after the Law of Entail (1589), it was they, rather than the state, that commissioned maps.

Perhaps the most thorough of the state-sponsored exercises was the 1791 completion of the Ordinance Survey of Great Britain, as its name suggests, for military ends. Even before then, surveyors like James Rennell (1742–1830) had undertaken extensive surveys of British colonial possessions such as Bengal (culminating in his "Bengal Atlas" of 1779) on sophisticated graticules

of meridians and parallels, and which illustrated the progression in imperial thinking toward large-scale territorial domination in the East issuant from a period of intense rivalry between French and British interests for control of the lands of the Mughal empire. Rennell's maps of India produced between 1783 and 1788 illustrated the limits of British dominion and depicted the subcontinent as a coherent geographic entity for the first time. Other European imperial powers, such as France, rapidly followed suit. Napoléon Bonaparte's (1769–1821) survey of Egypt following invasion in 1798 was an explicit emulation, motivated by a desire to gain territorial compensation for France's loss of overseas colonies.

Cartography was also deployed as an accompaniment to the mania for travel guides and illustrated gazetteers of cities that engulfed Europe from the middle of the sixteenth century. Originally inspired by the ancients like Strabo and moderns like Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), early antiquarian *compendia* such as Leandro Alberti's (1479–1553) 1550 *Descrittione di tutta Italia* or Hartmann Schedel's (1440–1514) *Liber cronicarum* of 1492 commissioned bird's-eye views of towns, circular area maps, and illustrated maps to aid travelers.

It was in this manner that the uses of cartography, and also the readership of Renaissance maps, spread rapidly. Although maps still tended to be the preserve of the literate upper classes, they were not the preserve of kings only. Merchants, government officials, churchmen, and even sailors and artisans could obtain at least the simpler printed editions, though the maps of state-owned concerns such as the Dutch East India Company (from 1602), the Dutch West India Company (founded 1621), and the Hudson's Bay Company (1670) were still jealously protected as economic and state secrets. In this way, the cartographic way of seeing the world spread through the same sectors of early modern European society that purchased books and became literate. Maps became indispensable to Europeans' sense of space, and thus, Buisseret hints, to the process of modernization that began in the West in the Renaissance.

But as cartography catered to the needs of early modern society, with its specializations reflecting this, the mapping of the world went on at very different paces. The search for El Dorado and the Northwest Passage were reflected in an intense cartographic interest in these regions of the globe, whereas others waned. Desert regions were ignored, so that Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618), believing in and searching for a suitably empty spot on the map where to locate the terrestrial paradise, chose Mesopotamia. Although the external shape of the African continent was, as has been discussed, largely resolved by Bartholomeu Dias and subsequent Portuguese voyages at

De Bry's Map of the New World. *This early map of North and South America was rendered in 1596 by the Flemish engraver Theodor de Bry (ca. 1527–1598).* **ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

the end of the fifteenth century, the African interior remained very much a blank space until the late eighteenth century, and cosmographers were forced to fall back on classical schemes as an aid, for example, in resolving questions such as the true sources of the Nile. It is probably for this reason that mythical constructs such as the Kingdom of Prester John were so slow to disappear from European maps as, for example, we find from Abraham Ortelius's (1527–1598) map of 1573. The vast spaces of the Pacific, as understood from Ferdinand Magellan's (1480–1521) epic circumnavigation of the world (1519–1521), were also only gradually revealed in the second half of the eighteenth century and, as historians like Alan Frost have pointed out, functioned as a second New World at the time of the European Enlightenment.

The next great cartographic leap is the work of the Flemish geographer Gerhardus Mercator (1512–1594), who tried in 1568 to solve a very practical problem, that of representing the globe as a flat surface on which courses could be logged and plotted. Basically he turned the globe into a cylinder. Cut down one side and unrolled, this produced a grid of lines of longitude and latitude that would always tell you where you were with reference to the poles. What it could not do was provide accurate comparisons of surface area because, of course, the ends of the cylinders are lines; the poles, though, should be points. Mercator's picture of the world therefore becomes very distorted as one sails a long way away from the equator. Although not universally approved, Mercator's projection provided a good scientific basis

for the calculation of position and direction on the high seas. Subsequent work, such as Edward Wright's (1561–1615) correction for magnetic variations in the North Sea, was able to build on Mercator's legacy rather than require an entirely new platform.

Other problems remained for later generations to resolve. The inability to calculate longitude accurately, for example, which resulted in the east-west extensions of the Mediterranean and of North and South America, was initially approached nationally through the establishment of meridian lines running through the national observatory (founded in London 1675; Paris in 1699). This functioned as a basis for the first large-scale general maps of the nation. But as a more widely international and theoretical problem, the solution, as Dava Sobel has shown, was hit upon by five revolutionary timekeepers constructed between 1730 and 1770 by Yorkshireman John Harrison (1693–1776) in his single-minded pursuit of the £20,000 longitude prize offered by parliament.

While mapmakers struggled with the mathematical challenges of depicting the world in two dimensions, a number of scientific steps forward were made in the task of gathering information about the shape of the earth at a local level and transforming that information onto local maps, and then by way of coordinates on to a continuous projection. The mathematician Gemma Frisius (1508–1555) explained the construction of surveying techniques by means of triangulation in 1533, and what followed was a rapid rise in triangulated surveys serving primarily the practical task of defining boundaries, lines of property, and military fortifications, and from which certain conventions of descriptive geography emerged as well as a technical discussion as to the measuring and depiction of land in small scale. These were known as chorographic maps, and the discipline as chorography.

It is, however, one of the paradoxes of the Renaissance that it was not principally a scientific movement. Even the Ptolemaic revival was more of a literary event, a rediscovery of classical theory, whose content, as we have seen, was ultimately irrelevant to the fifteenth century. The most popular works on geography of the age, such as Sebastian Münster's (1489–1552) *Cosmographia* of 1544, were still essentially traditional topographic catalogues, rich with cultural features such as costumes and illustrations, and, as the French historian Frank Lestringeant has shown, by the end of the Renaissance was a genre in crisis. In cosmology, the classical, geometric model of the heavens with its interlocking spheres was still dominant. The experiment and discovery that were taking place in the projections of the maps, on the other hand, and the treatises from 1590 that dealt with this theme hardly mirrored the conservative world of the seafarers. Seafarers stuck to their unscientific plane-chart model, which was not built on a mathematical projection at all, but simply divided space evenly into squares or rectangles of one latitude degree by one longitude degree. In effect, these charts ignored the fact that the earth was a sphere.

In conclusion, the cartographic revolution of the Renaissance was a revolution that only went so far. Experience and reason were values and approaches much trumpeted, but did not completely outweigh inherited authority as a source of knowledge. Iconoclastic refusals to sanction the past that we find in the French cosmographer André Thevet, for example, were isolated voices. Secularization of the map as an object had certainly occurred and determined both its new form and its new social context. But even mathematicians like Mercator consciously presented traditional geographical thought and legend alongside the recent discoveries of his contemporaries.

SEE ALSO *Art, European; Dutch United East India Company; Dutch West India Company; Treaty of Tordesillas.*

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Stefan Halikowski Smith

CARTOGRAPHY IN THE COLONIAL AMERICAS

Although Norse voyagers such as Leif Eriksson, who first crossed the North Atlantic to the Americas around 1000 CE, did not use other than mental maps, physical cartography has been an important part of European transatlantic discovery, exploration, and colonialism since at least the fifteenth century. Over the centuries, better

maps contributed significantly to the European and eventual American outreach to, and competition for, empire in the Atlantic world and beyond. The center of the map trade followed these imperial developments from Lisbon and Seville to Antwerp and Amsterdam, Paris, London, and Philadelphia, Washington, DC, and Chicago.

In the fifteenth century, three important cartographic practices came together in Europe to lay the foundation for modern mapmaking. Aspects of the medieval traditions of the *mappamundi* (Christian diagrammatic world maps) and the *portolans* (amazingly accurate coastal charts, primarily for commerce) merged and were profoundly influenced by the reappearance of the *Geographia* by the second-century Roman geographer Claudius Ptolemy.

The *Geographia* not only described the known world, but it also provided instructions on how to make maps with projections and locational grid systems of longitude and latitude. During the Middle Ages, the *Geographia* had been lost to Europe but not to the Islamic world, where it was preserved, studied, and expanded. In the early 1400s it reappeared in Arabic and was translated into Latin and various vernacular languages, then disseminated across Europe via the new technology of mechanical printing on rag paper. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, various editions contained new "Ptolemaic maps" of the world and its parts printed from woodblocks (200 to 300 copies) and hand colored.

The 1500 manuscript chart of the New World by Juan de la Cosa (d. 1510), pilot to Columbus on the *Santa Maria* in 1492, is the oldest surviving map to show a part of North America. But "America" was first named on a large Ptolemaic map of the world published in 1507 by the German mapmaker Martin Waldseemüller (ca. 1470–1518) in Saint Dié, Lorraine, along the French-German border. Apparently ignorant of the discovery of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), Waldseemüller named the New World after the Italian explorer-geographer Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512), whose geography of it actually identified the Americas as separate from Asia. Once informed about Columbus, Waldseemüller apologized and removed the name *America* from the later editions of his maps, but other cartographers, including Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594), had begun to use the name and it soon became accepted.

Waldseemüller also published an edition of Ptolemy in 1513 that included the first printed map of the Atlantic Basin. In 1569 Mercator, who was the author of many important maps, created the Mercator projection, a method of showing the three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional map that satisfied many of the requirements of explorers and other mariners.

From the first Portuguese expeditions down the West African coast and Columbus's great voyage of discovery, the European nations considered cartographic information to be critical to the maintenance and expansion of their empires. Until the eighteenth century, the data on the now-lost *Padrón real*—the constantly updated master map of the growing Spanish American and Asian empires in the *Casa de la contratación de la Indias* (House of the Indies) in Seville—was closely, albeit not always successfully, guarded as a state secret. Cartographic espionage for American particulars was common between the European powers. The now quite rare 1534 woodcut map of the New World by the Venetian geographer and historian Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557) is in part based on these Spanish secrets and gives some indication of the state of Spanish knowledge of the Americas at that time.

In their early maps of the Americas, the Spanish and other Europeans also relied on Native American maps and knowledge of the interior, but as they explored more extensively, the Indian information and place names gradually disappeared from American maps. Cartography greatly helped Spain preserve its near monopoly over much of the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for to map a place was not only to better know and explain it, but also to claim it.

The first wide public distribution of American cartographic imagery across Europe came in the first modern atlas, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Theater of the World), published in Antwerp by the Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) in multiple editions in various languages from 1570 to 1644. The maps were struck from engraved copperplates, which had come to replace woodblocks and provided finer but still hand-colored images, as well as more copies (500 to 600) per plate. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, zinc and steel plates were also employed for similar reasons.

Each successive edition of the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* was an immediate best-seller. The American maps in the atlas showed the discoveries of Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English explorers, the conquests in Mexico and Peru, and the information gathered by the remarkable *entradas* (Spanish exploratory expeditions) into North America led by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (ca. 1490–1560), Francisco Vásquez de Coronado (ca. 1510–1554), and Hernando de Soto (ca. 1500–1542). The *Theatrum orbis terrarum* contained the first regional maps (Mexico and the Caribbean) of the Americas, and each new updated edition revealed more and more to its readers about the New World and the growth of Europe's empires there. Ortelius inaugurated the great age of Dutch cartography, which spanned late into the seventeenth century.

Ortelius's Map of the New World. *This early map of North and South America, by the Flemish mapmaker Abraham Ortelius, was first published in the atlas Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Theater of the World) *in 1570.* © **FINE ART PHOTOGRAPHIC LIBRARY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Europeans explored deeper into the Americas, and their maps correspondingly reflected additional knowledge of the New World. These same maps also began to show the demarcations of the European empires in the Americas more clearly, although not necessarily more accurately. The borders between the Russian, Spanish, and British territories in the Pacific Northwest were precisely drawn lines on maps, but in reality they were much more vague; so too were those between the Portuguese and Spanish domains in Amazonia, for example.

There was no more blatant a situation of "cartographic imperialism" than between Spain and France in the heartland of North America. The age of the *entradas* had extended the boundaries of New Spain northward from Hernando Cortés's (1484–1547) Mexico to present-day California, New Mexico, Texas, and beyond. The French based their claims to New France and Louisiana on the explorations of the Belgium missionary Louis

Hennepin (ca. 1626–1705), French explorer Sieur de La Salle (1643–1687), and others in the Mississippi Valley and Gulf of Mexico.

In the absence of reliable published Spanish maps, French royal cartographers such as Marco Vincenzo Coronelli (1650–1718), Nicolas Sanson (1600–1667), and Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726) took the opportunity to move the boundary of Louisiana westward from the Sabine and Red Rivers to the Rio Grande, thereby claiming much of Spanish Texas. Other popular mapmakers whose countries were not directly involved in the area, such as the British geographers Herman Moll (d. 1732) and Thomas Jefferys (ca. 1710–1771), readily accepted and copied the highly respected French maps, while at the same time disputing the French maps over the border between Canada and New England and Spanish maps over the border between the Carolinas and Florida.

Somewhat later, the new United States under President Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) employed

similar cartographic tactics in defining the border with Spanish Florida and the extent of the Louisiana Purchase at the expense of Spain and Britain. Consequently, in the late eighteenth century, Spain was forced at considerable cost to further explore, evaluate, map, and fortify the northern and eastern frontiers of New Spain and other parts of its New World empire.

Additionally, in the period between the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 and the start of the American Revolution in 1776, a series of conflicts between shifting coalitions of powers, such as the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), took place in Europe, all of which had counterparts, such as the French and Indian War (1754–1763), in the Americas. Thus, military mapping in the Americas gained importance and increased substantially. Contemporary printed maps, on the other hand, served as a major source of information about these distant colonial wars for a still largely illiterate European public.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, maps became more scientific and otherwise reflective of the Enlightenment. The use of triangulation and of advanced mathematics, such as trigonometry and calculus, in surveying made maps more accurate and authoritative. Similarly, the introduction in the 1770s of English inventor John Harrison's (1693–1776) chronometer for the correct determination of longitude at sea, which was dependent on real time measurement, substantially influenced not only navigation but also more precise place location. Adhering to the principle of simplicity through fine engraving and the abandonment of ornate decorations, excess color, and other distractions that had been especially prevalent in Dutch and French cartography, Enlightenment maps emphasized content over appearance.

Furthermore, lithography was introduced and gradually replaced metal plate printing to emerge as the major method of map reproduction of the nineteenth century. With this new technology and the growing use of pulp paper, many more color images could be produced per lithographic stone at far less cost. Lithography was readily compatible with the national political, economic, social, and military cartographic demands of the expanding, democratic, new United States and other countries that developed out of and broke up the European empires in the Americas in the nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO *Cartography; Columbus, Christopher.*

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Dennis Reinhartz

CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IBERIAN AMERICA

By the time Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) first reached the Caribbean on October 12, 1492, the kingdoms of Spain had been united under the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Isabella (1451–1504). The last Muslim kingdom, Granada, had surrendered in January of that same year. The move towards unification had been encouraged by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469, but it was above all the Catholic religion that conferred a universal character on the monarchy.

The campaign against Granada coincided with an internal campaign against heresy, specifically directed against lapsed converts from Judaism to Christianity, known as *conversos*. The apparent threat they posed to the faith led to the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478. In March 1492, only two months after the fall of Granada, the Spanish Crown issued an edict that gave the Jewish community the stark choice of conversion or exile. While many thousands did convert—many of them, most probably, out of expediency—great numbers also chose exile.

After the Christian occupation of Granada, the monarchs appointed Fray Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507) as the first archbishop of Granada. His respect for the terms of "capitulation," which gave Muslims the right to continue to practice their religion, even allowing for the protection of Christian converts to Islam, earned him both the admiration of the newly assimilated population and the harsh criticism of members of the hierarchy, such as the archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517). In 1499 Cisneros sidelined Talavera and began a much more forceful policy of conversion involving the persecution of apostates, burnings of the Koran, and mass baptism. His contravention of the capitulations caused riots in Granada and a revolt in the Alpujarras that swiftly spread throughout the region. Once Ferdinand had put down the rebellion, the capitulations were dissolved and the Muslim population was given the same choice that had been given to the Jews in 1492.

Meanwhile, in the newly discovered lands across the Atlantic, Columbus seemed impressed by the suitability of the native peoples for conversion to Christianity. As a result, in 1493 Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) issued a bull in favor of the rights of the Spanish monarchs over all the lands already discovered by Columbus and any more as yet unknown beyond a line 100 leagues (about 555 kilometers, or 345 miles) west of the Azores in the North Atlantic and the Cape Verde Islands off the western coast of Africa, on the condition that the indigenous peoples were evangelized. That same year, a number of priests and friars under the leadership of Bernal Boyl (ca.1440–1507) accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, but it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that formal missionary activity began to have an impact. Meanwhile, in 1494, with papal agreement, the Treaty of Tordesillas redrew the line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal to 370 leagues (about 2,055 kilometers, or 1,277 miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands, unwittingly including the yet-to-be-discovered Brazil within Portuguese jurisdiction.

Papal bulls in 1501 and 1504 establishing new dioceses and granting the Spanish Crown the right to tithes from the new territories were followed by Pope Julius II's (1443–1513) bull of 1508, the *Patronato Real* (Right of Patronage), granting the Spanish monarchs full control over the Catholic Church in the Americas, including the appointment of bishops. In 1574 King Philip II (1527–1598) redefined the Right of Patronage as perpetual and inviolable, effectively excluding the papacy from interference with royal authority over ecclesiastical institutions in the Americas. The Portuguese Crown received its Right of Patronage in 1522, and the first bishop in Brazil was appointed to the newly created diocese of Bahia in 1551. Both Spain and Portugal directed church appointments and policy in the Americas through the use of councils: in Spain, the Royal Council for the Indies; in Portugal, the Ultramarine Council, together with the Table (literally, *Mesa*) of Conscience and Orders.

Given the speed with which vast territories were incorporated and the difficulty of maintaining lines of communication between the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas, it was no mean task to establish an entirely new ecclesiastical structure that functioned alongside secular institutions. As a result of the Portuguese preoccupation with the African spice route to the Indies, the colonization of Brazil and the subsequent expansion of the Catholic Church were much slower than those of Spanish America and were also hindered by the Dutch occupation of Bahia between 1630 and 1654.

In 1511 the local Hispanic population of Santo Domingo was scandalized when the Dominican friar,

Antonio de Montesinos, preached a sermon that accused them of being in a state of mortal sin for their cruel treatment of the indigenous population. His sermon addressed a pressing issue in the Caribbean, where disease, slavery, and exploitation had practically depopulated the archipelago. Queen Isabella had already taken exception to Columbus enslaving Indians (her vassals) and distributing them among the Spanish settlers. However, the capture and Christianization of indigenous peoples was encouraged and even institutionalized under the *encomienda*, an institution that allowed Spaniards to be granted the labor of a number of Indians on the condition that they were well treated and given catechesis.

Montesinos's sermon marked the beginning of a long campaign against the *encomienda* system and the enslavement of Indian populations. The polemic led to the issuing of the Laws of Burgos in 1512, which regulated the treatment of native peoples in an attempt to prevent abuse. Largely due to the efforts of the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), the phasing out of *encomiendas* was formally initiated with the promulgation of the New Laws in 1542. The controversy continued throughout the colonial period, sometimes even turning into armed conflict, as between the Jesuit-Guaraní missions of Paraguay and the *bandeirantes* (armed groups of slavers) from São Paulo, Brazil, in the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century this fed into a wider antagonism between church and state.

With the conquest of Mexico in 1519, the optimism that had accompanied the conquest of Granada resurfaced. Initially, responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the population lay with the regular orders, especially the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Augustinians, all of whom showed a genuine concern for the protection of the indigenous peoples from the more devastating effects of colonial exploitation. Nevertheless, this did not prevent disputes arising over methods of evangelization and jurisdiction over parishes. The Franciscan approach favored mass baptisms to confer God's grace on the people alongside the establishment of schools and catechesis in indigenous languages. The Dominicans, however, contested that mass baptisms without previous and thorough catechesis would lead inevitably to apostasy and idolatry.

As the conquest continued, and dioceses were founded across Spanish America (for example, Panama in 1511, Mexico in 1530, Oaxaca in 1535, and Quito in 1546—the same year that Mexico, Lima, Bogotá, and Santo Domingo were made into archdioceses), seminaries and universities were instituted to train new priests in theology, philosophy, canon law, and classical and

Church of Saint Michael Archangel, Mexico. *Catholic dioceses were founded across Spanish America during the mid-1500s, and numerous churches were constructed in the years that followed.* © DANNY LEHMAN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

indigenous languages. As the numbers of the secular clergy increased, bishops were able to establish cathedral chapters and appoint clergy as parish priests (*doctrineros*) to outlying towns. Gradually, secular clergy replaced the regular orders as priests to indigenous parishes. Subsequent disputes over regular and secular parish boundaries and the numbers of indigenous parishioners were not uncommon. Alongside the *corregidor* (crown judicial representative) and the *cacique* (official indigenous leader), the local parish priest was one of the most powerful figures in the town.

The relationship between church and state was not always felicitous. Notwithstanding the *Patronato Real*, the clergy were not above voicing criticisms. In the 1570s, for example, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515–1584) of Peru came under severe criticism for ordering the execution of the last Inca, Túpac Amaru. During the Hapsburg period (1516–1700), therefore, church and state were mutually interdependent but separate enough to act as a check on each other's power: Both, in their own way, represented the monarch. With the onset of regalist

reforms during the Bourbon period (1700–ca.1812), the delicate balance between church and state was overturned as the state attempted to weaken the power of religious orders, take control of education and social welfare, and appropriate collective wealth.

The most significant attack was directed against the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), whose influence in the field of education was second to none and whose collective wealth and powerful semiautonomous missions flew in the face of Bourbon ideas about the defense of private property under the direct control of the state. The expulsion of the Society of Jesus (in 1759 from Portuguese lands and in 1767 from Spanish ones) caused much ill-feeling among the general populace. Moreover, since the majority of Jesuits were Creoles, the expulsion encouraged the growth of an identification with a land that was not Spain and which should not be subject to Spanish rule.

Conflict between peninsular Spaniards and Creoles had increased over the years with growing frustration at the tendency to place Spaniards in positions of authority

over equally (and perhaps more) capable Creoles. As rebellions and independence movements gained momentum, lesser clergy were often able to act as a bridge between the ideals of the Creole elite and the social aspirations of their campesino, and often largely indigenous, parishioners. Numerous clergy participated in the Túpac Amaru rebellions of the 1780s across the central and southern Andes, and, in fact, two heroes of the 1810 precursor to Mexican independence, Miguel Hidalgo (1753–1811) and José María Morelos (1765–1815), were priests.

After independence, social groups vied for positions of influence in the new regimes. Governments attempted to assume the continuation of the *Patronato Real*, but soon the Catholic Church found itself out of alignment with the Liberal thought of the ruling elites, who increasingly undermined the church as an archaic and anti-modern institution.

SEE ALSO *Christianity and Colonial Expansion in the Americas.*

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CENSORSHIP

Dissident historical views on Western colonialism were regularly censored, and historians and others holding such views were often persecuted. In the following entry, a representative sample of these dissident views is discussed. The examples are taken from a continuously updated worldwide database of the censorship of history covering views produced between 1945 and 2005. To demarcate this survey more precisely, it is worth noting that it is *not* on censorship of views prior to 1945; *nor* on Eastern colonialism; *nor* on precolonial history; *nor* on powers that annexed other territories; *nor* on minorities or majorities whose past is labeled (semi)colonial by some of their members; *nor* on independent states whose past is labeled (semi)colonial by opposition members or as subject to imperialist influences by the government; *nor* on independence as a result of partition instead of colonialism; *nor* on occupation during a war.

After a look at the evidence for archival destruction, cases of censorship of professional and popular history will be reviewed. Three groups of censors are considered: colonial powers, former colonial powers, and former colonies. Discussion of these groups is centered around three themes: colonialism in general, its start (the conquest and accompanying crimes), and its end (anticolonial resistance and nationalism).

DESTRUCTION, REMOVAL, AND SECRECY OF COLONIAL ARCHIVES

Archives form the infrastructure of historical research. There is a long—by its very nature poorly documented—history of archival destruction by colonial powers. Although they fall outside the chronological scope of this entry, it is tempting to recall first two early examples from Mexico and Congo.

In the fifteenth century the Aztecs of Mexico destroyed documents not in line with their view of the past, which endorsed continuation of the revered Toltec civilization. One century later, Spanish conquistadores burned the pagan Aztec and Mayan archives.

In the mid-nineteenth century Portuguese colonists set fire to the archive of the kings of Congo, built up since the sixteenth century. When this territory (together with other regions) became the Congo Free State (1885–1908) and the private possession of the Belgian king, Leopold II (1835–1909), the possible transfer to Belgium of sovereignty over Congo was discussed twice, in 1895 and in 1906 to 1907. Leopold II gave detailed instructions to destroy or transfer to the royal palace the archives of the Congo. "Je leur donnerai mon Congo, mais ils n'ont pas le droit de savoir ce que j'y ai fait" ("I shall give them my Congo, but they have no right to know what I have done there"), he said. It is estimated

that probably half of the population died in Leopold's Congo. The surviving archives were examined by German forces occupying Belgium during World War I, but the archives were subsequently treated carelessly until the late 1940s.

Within the survey period of this entry, cases of colonial mismanagement of archives are documented for Africa and the Caribbean. In Kenya, many official records on the Mau Mau rebellion (1952–1956) were destroyed by the British before independence. When in 1962 Algeria became independent, the French government exported all the official documents they could to France, thus taking with them vital sources of Algerian history. In what was to become Zimbabwe, much material relating to African history and to the activities of Africans was removed from the files open to the public at the national archives after the emergence of the Rhodesia Front government in 1962, an act glossed over by recataloguing. From 1979 to 1980 the Rhodesian government destroyed documents produced by its security and intelligence services.

Switching to the Caribbean, a recent case was the postponement in late 2000 of the publication of an official history of Dutch decolonization policy in the Caribbean between 1940 and 2000, written by Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers. Quoting too abundantly from the post–1975 Dutch Council of Ministers minutes and other top-level documents, the authors had to delete certain data, particularly data concerning the personal policy views of politicians and civil servants, before the volumes could be published in mid–2001.

Evidence that former colonies destroyed colonial archives is sporadic. Under Equatorial Guinea's first president, Francisco Macías Nguema (1924–1979), for example, school textbooks of the colonial period and large parts of the national archive were condemned as "imperialist" and publicly burned.

CENSORSHIP BY COLONIAL POWERS

Colonial powers did not welcome unfavorable interpretations of their rule, as the following examples about the British and Portuguese show.

In India, the British banned Marxist-inspired "economic-nationalist" interpretations of Indian history, such as pleas for economic independence based on historical arguments and criticism of "landlordism" and nineteenth-century deindustrialization, at schools and universities. The 1946 edition of W. C. Smith's *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis*, published in London and describing the transformation of the traditional Muslim community into a modern society during the preceding seventy-five years, was not allowed into India because of its alleged communist approach, despite the fact that an earlier edition had been published in Lahore in 1943. A pirated version appeared without the author's consent in 1954, after Pakistan's independence, again in Lahore.

Interestingly, two of India's leaders wrote histories while staying in British prisons: Future prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) wrote *The Discovery of India,* and future president Rajendra Prasad (1884–1963) authored *India Divided.* Both works were published in 1946. The latter book, arguing from an Indian nationalist viewpoint but emphasizing unity between the historical traditions and political ideals of Hindus and Muslims, went through three editions before India's partition in 1947. Before his *Discovery,* Nehru had also written a world history in prison.

In 1962 Portugal declared British historian Charles Boxer persona non grata for drawing attention to Portugal's record of control in its colonies in a series of lectures in the United States. Boxer denied the frequent assertion of Prime Minister António Salazar (1889–1970) that the Portuguese had always had good relations with black Africans and that the latter were themselves Portuguese; Boxer showed that most colonizers believed in white superiority and that race prejudice prevailed. In an earlier paper, he described seventeenth-century Portugal as a "disintegrating power." Portuguese historian Armando Cortesão suggested that Boxer return his (many) Portuguese honors. The Portuguese press labeled Boxer dishonest, and his books were no longer sold. His 1969 classic, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1925,* was not translated into Portuguese until 1977. In 1954 British journalist and historian of Africa Basil Davidson experienced an episode similar to Boxer's.

Colonial conquests were very sensitive events, especially when accompanied by atrocities, as demonstrated by examples from the United States and Belgium. As a student, the future dissident and revisionist Philippine historian Renato Constantino was briefly arrested in 1939 and interrogated by the American colonial authorities at Fort Santiago in Manila because he had written an article exposing American atrocities perpetrated against the Filipino population during the "pacification campaign" of 1899 to 1902. Constantino was released after he declared that his source was *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States, 1898–1925* (1926), a book published uncensored in New York by Moorfield Storey and Marcial Lichauco in 1926. This incident made Constantino determined to reexamine Philippine history.

In 1959 (a year before the independence of the Belgian Congo) the Belgian Royal Academy of Colonial Sciences refused twice to publish papers of its member, historian and missionary Edmond Boelaert, because they contained evidence of abuses committed in the early

phases of Congo's colonization. The papers were eventually published long after Congo's independence—and the author's death—in 1988 and 1995 respectively.

Research into anticolonial resistance and nationalism had the power to demonstrate that the colonized possessed historical agency, and such research therefore demolished part of the ethnocentric legitimation upon which colonial power rested. In Australia, a dissertation by Allan Healy critically approaching the history of Australian colonial control over Papua New Guinea (which lasted until 1975) and presenting the case for more rapid political devolution of power was put under lock and key in the library of the Australian National University between 1959 and 1962. In the French Maghreb, a region in northwestern Africa, research in contemporary history was ignored for being too sensitive. In 1952 the sale of French historian Charles-André Julien's new book, *North Africa on the March: Muslim Nationalism and French Sovereignty,* was blocked by the colonial administration after it aroused controversy for its anticolonialist stance. Julien's first book, *History of North Africa: From the Arab Conquest to 1830* (1931), which supported demands of North African nationalists for colonial reform, had already earned him the hostility of many French in the Maghreb.

In 1967 Terence Ranger, a British historian deported from Rhodesia in 1963, published *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896–97: A Study in African Resistance.* It became a classic history of the Chimurenga revolt—the Shona name for the 1896 to 1897 uprisings of the Ndebele and Shona people against the imposition of British colonial rule—and inspired blacks to compare the revolt with their own uprising against the Rhodesian regime after its 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence from Britain. Ranger's book was banned until independence in 1980. Ironically, the Rhodesian army reportedly used it as a textbook in counterinsurgency.

CENSORSHIP BY FORMER COLONIAL POWERS

After independence was granted to their colonies, Western countries remained sensitive to statements about their former colonial role. For example, *Years of the Century,* a 1979 Portuguese television series that included a personal view of the Estado Novo (New State; the Portuguese dictatorial regime from 1932 to 1974) by a left-wing historian, was canceled after complaints from the Catholic Church about the first episode. The film explicitly attacked the Catholic hierarchy's support of the Estado Novo repression of black nationalists.

The first stages of colonization proved to be problematic in Australia, Germany, and Belgium. In June 1992, in *Mabo and Others v. State of Queensland,* the Australian High Court recognized that the concept of *terra nullius* (Australia as "a land of no one" before European settlement began in 1788) was a fiction, thereby strengthening Aboriginal claims to ancestral lands. This "Mabo judgment" (after Aboriginal leader Eddie Mabo [1936–1992]), called historic, reversed a historical view of Australia's past in which the role of Aboriginals was downplayed. The ruling led to protracted debates—known as the "History Wars" and yet unfinished—about British colonialism in Australia and the fate of the Aboriginals.

In Germany, a journalist who in 1965 attacked the *Koloniallegende* (the emphasis on Germany's achievements in its pre-1918 colonies without mentioning the violence) on television received death threats. Another person living abroad had to cope with censorship threats by the German foreign office after pointing out parallels between the genocide of the native Herero in German South-West Africa (present-day Namibia) in 1904 and that of the Jews and the Poles in Europe during World War II.

For the Belgians, the crimes against humanity committed in the Congo Free State remained a sensitive subject until well into the 1980s. Beginning in 1975 diplomat Jules Marchal published several books in Dutch and French on those crimes under a pseudonym. For eight years he could not gain access to the archives of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In another case, retired Lieutenant-General Émile Janssens, chief of staff of the Force Publique (the army in the Belgian Congo) until 1960 and president of the patriotic committee Pro Belgica (established in 1980 to commemorate the 1830 foundation of Belgium) wrote a letter in 1986 to the minister of national education about historian and anthropologist Daniel Vangroenweghe. Janssens accused Vangroenweghe of libeling King Leopold II in his 1985 Dutch-language book *Red Rubber: Leopold II and His Congo* by writing about the crimes committed in the Congo Free State. Janssens also questioned Vangroenweghe's position as a secondary-school history teacher. When members of parliament supporting Pro Belgica asked questions about the affair, the minister established a commission of school inspectors, which concluded that the charges were unfounded.

Janssens also wrote to the publisher who translated Vangroenweghe's book into French, as a result of which a publisher's note was printed in the 1986 French-language edition to warn readers of its controversial nature. Vangroenweghe was asked to sign a statement that he would take all responsibility in the eventuality of a lawsuit. Although the French-language edition sold out in a few months, it was not reprinted. Pro Belgica also published rebuttals of Vangroenweghe's "lies." In the course of the affair, Vangroenweghe was threatened in

anonymous letters, and his public lectures on the subject were interrupted by former colonials and attended by the secret police.

The final stages of colonialism proved to be delicate subjects in the Netherlands and France. In the Netherlands, the 1984 publication of a volume in the official war history, *Kingdom of the Netherlands in World War II,* dealing with the Dutch East Indies and the later Indonesia, led to a protracted lawsuit. The suit was finally decided against the petitioners (representatives of part of the community of those who formerly lived in the East Indies, organized as the Committee for the Historical Rehabilitation of the Dutch East Indies) in April 1990. They had accused the author, historian Loe De Jong, of portraying too negatively the role of the colonial administration. They also objected to passages about war crimes committed by Dutch troops against Indonesian nationalists from 1945 to 1949, and they asked the state to commission "a less prejudiced historian" to rewrite the history of colonial relations.

The 1987 manuscript of De Jong's next volume, also about Dutch-Indonesian relations from 1945 to 1949, was leaked to the press by two military reviewers and evoked strong protests from veterans because it contained a forty-six-page section entitled "War Crimes." Some veterans demanded nonpublication of that part, sued De Jong for libel, or published denials of his claims. The defamation case, including the demand for nonpublication, was dismissed in 1988, chiefly because the controversial statements were made in a manuscript, not a published book. When the volume was finally published, the title of the provocative section was changed to "Excesses." A few years later Dutch war veterans sued novelist Graa Boomsma on similar charges; the case was dismissed.

In France, the violent Algerian independence struggle (1954–1962) proved traumatic. Gillo Pontecorvo's 1966 film *The Battle of Algiers* treated the theme and was banned. Shot on location in Algiers in 1965 with the assistance of the Algerian government, the film gave a sympathetic account of the Algerian fight and criticized the use of torture by colonial authorities. The French ban lasted five years; the film's eventual release was delayed because cinema managers were intimidated. *The Battle of Algiers* was also banned in Uruguay in 1968 because it was seen as indirectly condoning the Tupamaro *guerrilla,* a National Liberation Movement very active at the time.

A 1996 issue of the Algerian daily *Liberté* was seized by the French police because it included an article commemorating the anniversary of a pro-independence demonstration by Algerians in Paris on October 17, 1962. The demonstration had ended in a bloodbath. The article mentioned a death toll and the disappearance of as many as two hundred people instead of the official

tally of three deaths and sixty-four injured. In 1998 Maurice Papon, the chief of the Paris police at the time, sued historian Jean-Luc Einaudi for libel because the latter had written in the newspaper *Le Monde* that the 1962 events constituted a "massacre perpetrated by the police on Papon's orders." In addition, Einaudi denounced the removal or destruction of several relevant archives. In 1999 the court ruled that the statement had been defamatory; damages were not awarded, however, because the court also ruled that Einaudi's method had been careful. Only in the same year did the French National Assembly officially acknowledge that France had fought a "war," rather than "an operation for keeping order," against Algerian nationalists from 1954 to 1962.

CENSORSHIP BY FORMER COLONIES

In former colonies, colonialism was widely condemned, with little reason for substantial differences of opinion. One example reveals, however, that the role of locals could be thorny. In 1977 the Indonesian Film Censorship Board banned *Saija dan Adinda,* a Dutch-Indonesian film directed by Fons Rademakers. The 1976 film, an adaptation of the nineteenth-century novel *Max Havelaar,* told the story of the corrupt and exploitative practices of the local gentry under Dutch colonial rule. The board declared that the ban was imposed because the film created the impression that colonialism was good and that the people were exploited by the local gentry rather than the Dutch.

If evidence for censorship of colonialism in general was understandably scarce, the reverse was true for its beginning and end. In some cases, episodes of colonial conquest were extremely difficult to interpret, as examples from Mexico and South Africa prove.

From 1950 to 1951 a Mexican scientific commission devoted thirty-seven sessions to verifying the authenticity of the bones of Cuauhtémoc (the last Aztec emperor and a national symbol of resistance to European imperialism), which had been "discovered" shortly before. When the commission found no proof of the bones' authenticity, and thus was unable to satisfy national pride, it was confronted with extreme hostility in the press. In 1975 a new commission came to the same conclusion as the 1951 group.

In the run-up to the 1992 quincentenary marking the arrival of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) in the Americas, an intense debate raged in Mexico about whether it was legitimate to describe this "discovery" as the start of an encounter between the Old and the New World. In South Africa, two books published in 1952 criticized the celebration of three hundred years of white settlement and looked at South Africa's history as a struggle between oppressors and oppressed. The books,

Three Hundred Years: A History of South Africa by Mnguni (Hosea Jaffe) and *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest* by Nosipho Majeke (Dora Taylor), had to appear under pseudonyms and were banned. Both books anticipated the work of radical historians in the 1970s.

The early stages of colonialism were sometimes problematic. In February 2005, a 6-meter (19.5-foot) statue of the Leopold II was reerected in Congo after it had been removed on the orders of President Mobutu Sese Seko (1930–1997) in 1967. It was taken down again just hours later, reportedly because several ministers opposed having a memorial to a man who had caused so much exploitation and death.

The last stages of colonialism, however, were by far the most sensitive in the former colonies.

Latin America. There are many examples in Latin America, where independence from Spain and Portugal came in the early nineteenth century for most colonies. In 1976, during the military dictatorship, Uruguayan historian Alfonso Fernández Cabrelli was arrested and held without trial. He was accused of "an attempt to subconsciously influence the reader of his book *The Uruguayans*" (*Boletín informativo* 1979, p. 6) by drawing parallels between Uruguay's hero of independence, General José Artigas (1764–1850), and the revolutionaries Camilo Torres (1929–1967) and Che Guevara (1928–1967). The book was called excessively critical of "the measures taken by the authorities to preserve the values of our nationality against the penetration of Marxism" (*Boletín informativo* 1979, p. 6) .

In the 1980s the Colombian Academy of History directed comparable criticism to some authors of history textbooks. The author Rodolfo Ramón de Roux was accused of omitting or ridiculing the most important figures of the independence period and of overemphasizing contemporary history. His New History approach was labeled Marxist and unpatriotic. A similar approach used in a textbook by Silvia Duzzan and Salomón Kalmanovitz was equally condemned. An academy member declared in a newspaper that the textbook depicted Spaniards and Creoles unfavorably, thus inciting hatred against them. Despite the academy's attitude, the textbooks continued to be used in schools.

Elsewhere, analogous cases were noted. In Peru, historian Heraclio Bonilla was criticized in the 1970s for his revisionist interpretation of the Peruvian independence movement. Bonilla's work was attacked for unpatriotically debunking the nation's traditional heroes and overemphasizing socioeconomic factors.

Under the Argentinean dictatorship (1976–1983) of General Jorge Videla and others a historical study, *From Montoneros to Caudillos,* was banned because its title contained the forbidden word *Montonero* (adopted by left-wing Peronists in memory of the irregular armies of gauchos who fought against Spanish troops during Argentina's independence wars of 1810 to 1816).

In 1983 in Mexico, the National Autonomous University of Mexico planned a production of *Martyrdom of Morelos* (1981), a play by Vicente Leñero. Leñero's portrayal of Mexican independence hero José María Morelos (1765–1815) as someone who under torture betrayed the names, strategies, and troop strengths of other rebel commanders caused a great stir, especially because President Miguel de la Madrid (b. 1934) had "adopted" Morelos as his spiritual mentor from the past. Some rehearsals were reportedly interrupted, a controversial actor playing the part of Morelos was replaced, and precautions against violent protests were taken on opening night.

In Cuba, finally, prominent independence leaders such as José Martí (1853–1895), Máximo Gómez (1836–1905), and Antonio Maceo (1845–1896) formed part of the pantheon inspiring and legitimizing the government of Fidel Castro (b. 1927) and were, as such, sensitive subjects.

Asia. In Asia, problems were comparable. In 1952 the Indian Ministry of Education appointed an editorial board to compile an official history of the Indian freedom movement, to be published in conjunction with the centenary celebration of the 1857 revolt of Indian soldiers (sepoys). In 1954 board director and historian Romesh Chandra Majumdar presented a draft of the first volume to the other editorial board members; after a delay he learned from the minister of education that some board members had criticized his draft as exaggerating the role of Bengal in the freedom movement.

Equally controversial was the starting date of the freedom movement in India, situated by Majumdar in 1870. Others preferred to designate the 1857 revolt itself as the beginning of the movement, or even the thirteenth century—implying that Muslims were foreigners in India, an assumption undermining the Congress Party's ideal of India as a secular democracy.

A third point of conflict was the nature of the 1857 revolt (was it a national war of independence or not?). Majumdar resigned and the editorial board was dissolved in 1955. The government entrusted the work to National Archives director Surendra Nath Sen, whose book *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* appeared in 1957. The same year Majumdar published his own findings as *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857.*

In Indonesia, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, a nominee for the Nobel Prize for Literature, wrote persuasive anticolonial novels. Imprisoned at Buru Island, Pramoedya was

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ANANTA TOER PRAMOEDYA

The son of a school headmaster, Ananta Toer Pramoedya was born February 6, 1925, in Blora, East Java, Indonesia. Imprisoned by each of Indonesia's three twentieth-century governments for alleged subversive political activities and writings, he is widely considered Indonesia's most estimable writer.

In his fictional works, Pramoedya has created insightful and forward-looking characters who challenge traditional political doctrines through thought and action. The complex political history of the Indonesian islands serves as the context for many of Pramoedya's works, which are also marked by his experiences during World War II.

After Japan's surrender at the end of World War II, the Dutch tried to regain the islands of the East Indies. However, Indonesian nationalist sentiment led several paramilitary rebel groups to engage the Dutch in a four-year struggle for control of the country. While serving as a soldier in this nationalist movement, Pramoedya was captured and jailed in 1947.

While serving in a Dutch forced labor camp, Pramoedya wrote *The Fugitive*, which was published several months after his release in 1949. The book, which earned him an Indonesian literary prize, marked Pramoedya's emergence as a politically influential author. In 1990, some forty years after it was originally published, *The Fugitive* became Pramoedya's first novel widely available to English-speaking audiences.

Once out of prison, Pramoedya developed several leftist affiliations, though he never became a communist. He served as a leading figure in *Lekra,* a socialist literary group, and visited Beijing in 1956, expressing support for that country's communist revolution. Among his

significant publications of the period was a defense of Java's Chinese minority community. In 1965, after the failure of a coup aimed at overthrowing the by-then independent Indonesian government, Pramoedya was deemed an enemy of the state on account of his earlier leftist associations. The author's library, notes, and manuscripts were burned, and he was held without trial for fourteen years on the prison island of Buru in eastern Indonesia.

For the first seven years of his incarceration, Pramoedya was denied access to paper and pencil. Lacking these rudimentary tools of his trade, he composed stories in his head. Upon his release in 1979, Pramoedya turned those prison stories into a historical tetralogy, based loosely on the life of Tirto Adisoerjo, an early Indonesian nationalist.

The Indonesian government has suppressed Pramoedya's works, citing alleged Marxist-Leninist leanings and elements of class conflict that pose a potential threat to society. Some observers have viewed these bans as an attempt to quell liberalism and debate among Indonesians.

Pramoedya's work has been circulated in the form of "illegal" photocopies, at great personal risk to Indonesian readers, and has remained largely inaccessible to foreigners. In addition, journalists have often been denied permission to interview him and the Australian translator of the Buruquartet was expelled from Java. When asked to describe his feelings about his works being banned, Pramoedya told the *Washington Post*: "I consider it an honor. . . . To do creative work you must be prepared to pay, and this is one of the costs" (North, p. D5, April 1988).

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not allowed to write in the 1970s. In the evenings, he told his fellow inmates stories about the incipient nationalist movement in the early twentieth-century Dutch East Indies entirely from memory. When Pramoedya was finally allowed to write in 1975, the other inmates gave him paper and did his duties while he transformed the stories into a set of four historical novels.

When the quartet was published after Pramoedya's release in 1979 and proved immensely popular, each of the volumes was banned. Susandi, the head of the investigation team at the office of the Indonesian attorney

general, claimed that the books represented a threat to security and order and that the author "had been able by means of historical data to smuggle in Marxist-Leninist teachings." The ban was also partially inspired by fear that analogies would be drawn between the abuses committed by the Dutch colonial power and those of the regime of President Suharto (b. 1921), who ruled Indonesia from 1967 to 1998.

Africa. In Africa also, independence struggles left their uncertain legacies. In Kenya, the interpretation of the

independence movement, and especially of one part of it, the Mau Mau rebellion (1952–1956), was a predominant subject of debate among historians because the conclusions of the debate had direct implications for the legitimacy of the authoritarian leadership. Mau Mau was an uprising of members of the Gikuyu, Kenya's largest ethnic group, against British colonial rule to obtain land and freedom. Writers with a Marxist-inspired interpretation of the rebellion risked persecution.

Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiongo, who wrote fiction on the Mau Mau, spent the last year (1978) of the presidency of Jomo Kenyatta (1891–1978) in prison because one of his recent plays had dealt with Kenyans who collaborated with the colonial administration by serving in the Home Guard during the Mau Mau rebellion. Ngugi's play also treated the struggle over land between a peasant farmer and a rich landowner. In the words of Eliud Njenga, the Kiambu district commissioner, "it promoted the class struggle." The play was "too provocative, would make some people bitter and was opening up old graves." After his release and much further harassment, Ngugi eventually went into exile until his temporary return to Kenya in 2004.

Another Kenyan victim, this time under the government (1978–2002) of President Daniel arap Moi (b. 1924), was Marxist historian Maina wa Kinyatti, known for his controversial work on Mau Mau. It cost him six years of imprisonment under severe duress (1982–1988), an eye disease, and exile afterwards.

At the other side of the interpretation spectrum, neoconservative historian William Ochieng, who viewed Mau Mau as an internecine struggle among the Gikuyu, stayed relatively aloof from criticism until a group of Mau Mau veterans in 1986 demanded that his writings be banned from the schools. The veterans also decided to commission the "correct" historiography of the Mau Mau rebellion. In an official reaction, President Moi declared that he could not allow history to be written in a way that might divide the Kenyans and that any history of the Mau Mau rebellion should provide a correct account of independence. As late as October 2001, dozens of members of the Kenyan nongovernmental group Release Political Prisoners were detained for several days on charges of holding an illegal meeting because they had commemorated Mau Mau day.

Elsewhere in Africa, books about left-wing leaders who were assassinated during or as a result of decolonization, like Ruben Um Nyobè (1913–1958) in Cameroon or Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961) in Congo, were confiscated and banned, partly because the books implicated their country's rulers. Such was the fate of *Patrice Lumumba: The Fifty Last Days of His Life* (1966), a book written under a pseudonym by Belgian scholars Jules

Gérard-Libois and Jacques Brassinne, and *Cameroon's National Problem* (1985), edited by historian Achille Mbembe.

In Namibia, the crimes committed by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a black African nationalist liberation movement, before the 1990 independence caused controversy. In 1996 president and former SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma (b. 1929) attacked German Lutheran Church pastor Siegfried Groth, who for many years had actively supported SWAPO's antiapartheid struggle, in a television broadcast to the nation. The reason was Groth's *Namibia— The Wall of Silence: The Dark Days of the Liberation Struggle,* a 1995 book that included eyewitness accounts of the torture and disappearance of detainees in the SWAPO preindependence exile camps in Zambia and Angola. The detainees had been accused of internal dissent or of spying for South Africa. Although the book sold out quickly, some two thousand people called for its banning and for public burning at a rally celebrating the sixth anniversary of Namibia's independence.

FIVE CONCLUSIONS

From this survey, five conclusions can be drawn. First, popular history channels were watched as closely as academic history. Second, reasons for archival destruction, removal, and secrecy by colonial powers can be subsumed under three factors: political (legitimation of abusive power), military (erasure of traces of crimes and rebellions), and cultural (ethnocentric depreciation of the historical sources of subjected peoples).

Third, colonial powers censored historical works about colonial violence written by both national and "indigenous" scholars; those works were banned at home and in the colony. More surprisingly, colonial powers also attempted quite often to attack criticism by foreign scholars.

Fourth, for former colonial powers, precarious subjects that were liable to censorship or taboo status mainly related to wars in the earliest and last stages of colonialism. Unofficial interest groups were players as important as governments. Frequently, conflicts had to be decided in court. In the long run, violent conquest and violent decolonization came to be seen as adversely affecting the democratic legitimation of power and the construction of a national identity—in short, they came to be seen as sources of shame.

Finally, in former colonies, the last stage of colonialism was the most explosive period. Remarkably, censorship attempts were often not directed at representations of the role of the former colonial power, but at portrayals of former anticolonial resistance leaders. Left-wing explanations for this crucial period were seldom cherished.

Historians had to portray the country's heroes of independence very carefully: praising them could powerfully suggest comparison with, and criticism of, present leadership, and blaming them could provoke retaliation by veterans and the establishment.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism; Lumumba, Patrice; Portugal's African Colonies.*

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Antoon De Baets

CENTRAL ASIA, EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN

In 1450 Central Asia from west of Mongolia and the Hindu Kush to the eastern Caspian Sea was dominated by nomadic and sedentary peoples, speakers of Turkic and Persian. The remnants of the Mongol "Golden Horde," Turkic-speaking nomads, claimed tribute from Muscovy, a principality that preceded the Russian Empire. After 1552, when the Russian Czar Ivan IV (1530–1584) conquered the Kazan khanate, Russians began to move into the steppe zone, taking control from nomadic peoples. Cossack conquest was followed by Russian peasant settlement.

In the seventeenth century, Russia established Orenburg as a frontier post, to separate the nomadic Bashkords, who paid tribute to Russia, from the nomadic Kazakhs, whom the Russian government viewed as dangerous raiders and slave traders. In the eighteenth century, the Jungars, a western Mongolian (Oirat) people, expanded into Kazakh lands. This led one Kazakh tribal leader, Bukei Khan, (d. 1823) to seek protection from the Russian government. His followers were granted land in the steppe on the west bank of the Volga River, and were named the Inner Horde, to denote their status within Russian lands.

Between the early eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century, Russia came to control all of the other Kazakh hordes as well by expanding into the steppe lands with Cossack forward posts, by establishing treaties of protection when various Kazakh tribal leaders faced conflict, and by negotiating leases of steppe land to be granted to Russian (and other European) settlers.

Until the late eighteenth century, Russian colonial expansion was based on the concept of tribute relationships. As Cossacks in service to Russia expanded Russian control beyond Kazan, across Siberia to the Pacific coast (by the late 1600s), the Russian government accepted the obeisance of conquered peoples, established the amount of annual tribute (*iasak*) they would pay to the government, and took representatives from the ruling or leading households to live in Moscow. These representatives were used as hostages when the Russian government faced problems in its relationship with tribute-paying peoples, but they were also integrated into the Russian nobility, granted titles, and assimilated (at least to some extent) to elite Russian culture.

The Russian state viewed these treaty relationships as permanent, but the Kazakh hordes saw them as negotiations between individual leaders, ending with the death of the leader who made the commitment. Thus, leadership changes among Kazakhs led to conflict; if the new leader did not recognize treaty obligations with Russia, Russia sent forces to reestablish its conditions.

In the late eighteenth century, under the rule of Catherine I (1729–1796), Russia's elite explored Enlightenment ideas, and these turned its colonial project from a haphazard expansion into a purposeful spread of Russian power and culture. By the nineteenth century, Russian colonialism imitated aspects of British and French colonialism.

After conquering Kazakh nomads and demanding tribute and hostages, the Russian government began to "civilize" the Kazakhs. The Steppe Governate was organized, turning conquered nomad lands into a Russian province that had special colonial administration. The government levied taxes that pressured nomads to settle and farm, and to lease land to settlers. Eventually the government assessed land use, determined a norm for the amount of land that each nomad family needed, and seized what it deemed unused or underused lands for distribution to Russian farmers.

The conquered peoples of Central Asia who did not belong to a few noble families were deemed inferior and were not granted citizenship in the empire. They were given separate courts of law, lived under their own laws (as codified and revised by Russian administrators), were not allowed to serve in the military, were not given passports, paid different taxes than Russian citizens did, and were allowed only limited representation in Russia's first elected body of government, the Duma.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, Russia's relations with the Central Asian khanate of Kokand, the khanate of Khiva, and the emirate of Bukhara were both profitable and contentious. Central Asian merchants brought cotton and luxury goods to Orenburg's market, and they purchased sugar, matches, and other Russian manufactures. In the 1840s and 1850s Russia accused the Central Asian states of inciting rebellion among Kazakhs, and of enslaving Russians. The Russian army established advance positions, building forts at Verny (Almaty), Ak Mechet, and Shymkent in the 1850s.

In 1865 the Russian army took Tashkent from Kokand, and by 1876 Russia had defeated Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand. Kokand's land became a new Russian colonial territory, Turkestan Territory, under the special regime of a Russian military governor. Bukhara and Khiva became protectorates, autonomous internally but controlled by Russia in foreign affairs. While the Russians deposed the khan of Kokand, they recognized the emir of Bukhara and the khan of Khiva, bestowing Russian noble status on them and inviting symbolic interaction with the Russian court.

Russia expanded its territorial control in Central Asia in competition with two other aspirants, China and Britain. Russian diplomatic missions and scientific expeditions reconnoitered Central Asia when British agents were doing the same in Afghanistan, with both sides working toward the Pamirs, the Amu Dar'ya (the Oxus River of Greek geography), and the Turkmen (Turcoman) territories. After the Jungar threat vanished in the late eighteenth century (due largely to an epidemic), Russian expansion eastward in Central Asia met little resistance until the 1850s.

China asserted its authority over Xinjiang (the New Territories, or Eastern Turkistan) but was faced with challenges from local forces, especially those of the Uighur military and political leader Yakub Beg (1820–1877). Russia held Kuldja (Yining), as an extension of its steppe territory, from 1871 to 1881, but then returned it to China. Russia continued to compete with China for influence in Eastern Turkistan until the 1940s.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the British tried to extend control of Afghanistan from their imperial territory of India. After the Afghans thoroughly defeated the British army and drove them from Kabul twice, Britain held strong influence over Afghanistan, but did not make it a colony. Afghanistan remained an independent state under the Durrani shahs.

Competing with Britain for dominance in Central Asia, in what English poet Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) dubbed the Great Game, Russia defeated Turkmen tribes in the region that Russia named "Transcaspia," and in the 1890s Russia took control of the Pamir region. Russian control over these distant regions of Central Asia was secured in part by improved transportation. The Russian government established steamship navigation on the Aral Sea and the Syr Dar'ya, and transported troops from the Transcaucasus to the Turkmen coast by ship across the Caspian Sea.

In 1879 the Tekke Turkmen defeated the advancing Russian army. However, a quickly constructed railroad from the coast to Merv allowed the Russian army to move larger numbers of troops, and to defeat the Tekke in 1881. Russia consolidated its control of the region by defeating the Merv (Mari) Turkmen in 1884. In the 1880s and 1890s, Russia and Britain negotiated the boundary between Russian-controlled territory and Afghanistan.

Russia sent agricultural colonists to nomad lands. By 1917 more than one million Russians were farming in the Steppe Governate and Turkestan Territory. They were concentrated in Jetti-Su (Seven Rivers), the region around present-day Almaty, Kazakhstan, and the Chu Valley, near Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. By contrast, in the sedentary farming zones of Central Asia, Russia promoted cotton cultivation but sent few agricultural colonists; most Russian colonists in the rest of Central Asia settled in cities. Russians founded or expanded cities throughout Central Asia, and established the Tashkent-Orenburg rail line, which linked the Central Asian colony to Moscow. Oil was found on the eastern Caspian, increasing Russian settlement in Krasnovodsk (Turkmenbashi), Turkmenistan.

With encouragement from the imperial government, a diaspora of Tatar Muslims from Russia expanded in the Steppe Governate and Turkestan Territory. Many who had facility in Russian as well as their native Turkic language acted as interlocutors for the colonial administration. Tatar missionaries preached traditional and modernist (Jadid) Islam. They also opened traditional Koran schools and reformed Islamic schools in these regions. Russia sent Orthodox missionaries and established Russian-Native schools, modern schools that taught subjects in Russian and in the native languages.

As the colonial economy expanded wealth in Turkestan's cotton-growing regions, Central Asians responded to these new cultural trends in a variety of ways. The ancient *madrasas* (institutions of higher Islamic learning) in Bukhara expanded, as did the amount of land put into *waqf* (Islamic charitable foundations).

Fledgling movements for cultural reform or defense emerged among the colonized peoples, who became divided between those seeking greater accommodation with and advantage from Russia, and those striving to protect their land and culture from encroachment. After Russia's 1905 revolution and the ensuing relaxation of press censorship, Central Asians began publishing their own newspapers, opening more reformed schools, experimenting with theater, and organizing political movements.

In 1916, although the Russian government feared that "pan-Turkist" Central Asians would fight on behalf of the Ottoman Empire, there was instead a Central Asian uprising against conscription into the Russian army and against Russian colonial settlement. The uprising was most violent in areas where nomad lands had recently been given to colonists; there the uprising continued until the February 1917 revolution brought down the Czar's imperial government. Following the February Revolution, Russians in Central Asian cities maintained the crumbling empire. The Communist leadership did not allow Central Asians to claim independence.

Kazakhs formed several political parties that called for freedom and fought against the Bolsheviks until 1920. Several hundred Turkestani political activists established an autonomous Turkestan government at Kokand in January 1918, but the Soviet Red Army destroyed much of Kokand and dispersed the leaders. Many of them continued to fight against Bolshevik control in Central Asia into the 1920s; the Communists called them Basmachis.

Central Asians sought support from outsiders in their struggle against the Bolshevik government. The Turkish soldier and politician Enver Paşa (1881–1922), in flight from the Ottoman Empire after its demise at the end of World War I and from occupation by the British, joined the Basmachis. The British launched part of their anti-Bolshevik intervention from Afghanistan's territory into Turkmen lands and Bukhara. However, some Kazakhs and Turkestanis joined the Communist Party in its early years, and their numbers expanded rapidly after the Bolsheviks fully reconquered Central Asia and eliminated political alternatives.

The Bolshevik government ended the protectorates of Khiva and Bukhara, fomenting uprisings against the traditional rulers and creating in their place short-lived People's Republics. In 1924 the Nationalities Commission of the Soviet Union's government drew boundaries to create the Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Turkestani exiles saw this as a typically imperial "divide and rule" strategy, one that ended any possibility for united Central Asian opposition to Moscow's authority. The Nationalities Commission presented its justification for boundary making through its understanding of the idea of "nation." Groups that shared language, history, culture, and territory needed to have political units within the Soviet Union in order to develop, and the planners in Moscow applied this concept to the five groups that they saw as the main "nationalities" of Central Asia: Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Tajiks, Turkmen, and Uzbeks.

The Soviet government tried to secure its hold on Central Asia not only through force, but also through incentives. Establishing national republics opened positions in government, in Communist Party membership, and in many sectors of development, to members of the "titular" nationalities. Policies designed to attract support from the poor, such as land reform, made Soviet rule more secure, although in the 1920s many thousands of Central Asians fled from famine, hardship, and Soviet rule to Xinjiang or to Afghanistan.

Throughout the Soviet period, while the Soviet government regarded its own policies as anti-imperialist and anticolonial, exiles and outsiders condemned the Soviet Union's control of Central Asia as imperialistic and colonial. Many elements of Soviet rule in Central Asia were similar to twentieth-century colonialism elsewhere, but many aspects were strikingly different, so that arguments over whether the Soviet Union was a colonial empire are complex.

From the 1920s until the 1960s the Soviet government encouraged immigration of skilled workers, Communist Party members, and peasants from the rest of the Soviet Union to Central Asia. In the 1930s many Russians immigrated in the hope of improving their quality of life. In the 1940s refugees from the European regions of Russia under attack in World War II moved to Central Asia, as did unwilling exiles from nationality groups that the Soviet government dubbed *enemies*, including Volga Germans, Koreans, Crimean Tatars, Chechens, and others. In the 1950s and 1960s, as heavy industry grew in Central Asia, immigrants from other parts of the Soviet Union moved there as expert workers and for improved work opportunities.

But in the 1970s this trend ended; emigration of Russians and other nonnative nationality groups from Central Asia to other parts of the Soviet Union exceeded immigration. Throughout this period, every Central Asian republic experienced a rapid natural increase in

population, and Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan's populations remained overwhelmingly dominated by their titular nationalities.

In Kazakhstan, due to famine-related starvation of nomads in the 1930s and to heavy Russian immigration, Kazakhs formed less than half of the population during most of the Soviet period. But out-migration of Russians in the 1980s and 1990s, plus Kazakh natural increase, made Kazakhs the absolution majority of the population in independent Kazakhstan. In Kyrgyzstan, the situation was similar, though Kyrgyz always maintained a scant majority.

The Soviet state encouraged immigration from other regions to Central Asia largely to support economic and political development. In the 1970s, when other regions of the Soviet Union began to face labor shortages, and when Central Asia, with its rapid population growth, had an excess of young workers, the Soviet Union's central planners tried unsuccessfully to attract Central Asians as labor emigrants to other regions. In spite of high birth rates, a third world population structure, underemployment, and lower living standards, Central Asians very rarely chose to move to other parts of the Soviet Union. However, in the tenuous economic conditions following 1991, many Central Asians began to seek a living through temporary labor migration.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Soviet economic planning treated Central Asia as a source of agricultural products. The state collectivized agriculture between 1929 and the mid-1930s, forcing nomads to settle and small farmers to turn their land over to large collective farms. The policy was disastrous in its initial stages. Nomads slaughtered their livestock rather than turn it over to the collective farms, and then starved under famine conditions in the early 1930s, due to reduced herds, drought, and government neglect. Perhaps a quarter to a third of the Kazakh population died.

Collective farms in sedentary areas were required to plant cotton rather than grain crops, and with drought this led to severe hardship, though not to mass starvation. Nationalization of land and the formation of collective farms was intended to give the government control of farm production and to facilitate mechanization. In the 1940s and 1950s some of these plans started to be fulfilled, with tractors and other farm machinery becoming increasingly available in Central Asia.

Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan produced the vast majority of the Soviet Union's cotton. In each of these regions, the government invested heavily in the extension of irrigation canal systems. The largest, the Kara-Kum Canal, built between the 1950s and the 1980s, diverted half of the flow of the Amu Dar'ya River into a new channel that eventually crossed Turkmenistan. The project raised Turkmenistan's cotton output and standard of living, but also led to the demise of the Aral Sea, as each year the water flowing in was reduced.

Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan produced primarily grain and livestock, with Kazakhstan's output expanding rapidly after Soviet prime minister Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) initiated the "Virgin Lands scheme," opening grazing lands in northern Kazakhstan to tilled agriculture. Although the Virgin Lands were not reliable in producing grain, farm output expanded until the 1970s, when it began to stagnate.

In the 1920s and 1930s the state did little to invest in industry in Central Asia. Mines were developed in Kazakhstan to feed the growing industrial complex in Russia. The state invested in some textile mills in Central Asia, mainly for processing silk. Until the 1940s, the Soviet Union seemed to treat Central Asia much as any empire treated its colonies, as a source of raw materials. But during World War II, the policy changed, as Soviet economic planners decided that industry should be placed in areas of the Soviet Union less vulnerable to invasion.

In addition, the postwar boom necessitated finding new sources of energy. Uzbekistan became home to part of the Soviet Union's airplane manufacturing industry, and its gas supplies were rapidly exploited. Kazakhstan gained diverse metallurgical industries and became a large producer of oil. Kazakhstan also became home to part of the Soviet space program at Baikonur and to aboveground nuclear-weapons testing at Semipalatinsk (Semay). Turkmenistan's gas output outstripped Uzbekistan's by the 1960s, and pipelines exported that gas to Ukraine and Russia. The Soviet state built hydroelectric dams and factory complexes in Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan.

In the early twentieth century, there was almost no industrialization in Central Asia; this changed rapidly after 1940. However, throughout the Soviet period, agriculture remained the dominant economic sector in each of the Central Asian republics except Kazakhstan, and none of the Central Asian republics approached the level of industrial development found in central Russia, Ukraine, or the Baltic republics.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union considered education to be the key to social change, to economic development, and to the creation of a Communist society. In the 1920s in Central Asia, the state took control of all schools, closed Islamic schools, and promoted modern, socialist education by founding

teacher training programs and passing laws making basic education mandatory. In the 1930s collective farms built schools that made education widely available in rural regions for the first time. Literacy grew through a program of "end illiteracy" courses that taught adults to read and write. By the 1960s almost all Central Asian children attended school, and the government claimed literacy rates of more than 90 percent in the under-fifty population in all of the Central Asian republics.

Large numbers of Central Asians entered specialized institutions of secondary education and higher education. Although Russian was the language of the Soviet government, most educational institutions in Central Asia taught in the native languages, and included Russian as a second language. In every Central Asian republic, Russian language schools were available in cities and larger towns, but statistics show that for primary and secondary education, the percentage of children who attended schools in which instruction occurred in the titular nationality's language was equal to or greater than the percentage of the titular nationality within the population.

Although many parents saw benefit in having their children learn Russian for future career advancement, the real possibility that children would learn to speak Russian was related to the presence of native Russian speakers in the population. In Kazakhstan, Russians and other Russian-speaking immigrants were as numerous as Kazakhs and were present in most rural regions as well as in the cities. By 1989, 60 percent of Kazakhs claimed fluency in Russian. The percentages were much lower in the other republics, where Russians were significantly fewer and were concentrated in cities: Fluency in Russian was claimed by 35 percent of Kyrgyz, 27 percent of Turkmen, 28 percent of Tajiks, and 23 percent of Uzbeks.

Throughout the Soviet period, the state supported both Russian-language and native-language media and cultural institutions in all of the Central Asian republics. As a whole, the Soviet state's policies on cultural assimilation were ambiguous. Although in the 1950s and 1960s, government policy proclaimed that nationalities would "draw close" and "merge," the state provided the resources both for Russification, and for full use of native languages in government, education, cultural institutions, and many branches of service and industry. Many Central Asians believed that mastering Russian would lead to advancement, while many also resented Russia's "big brother" attitude toward Central Asians, and the refusal of Russian immigrants to learn Central Asian languages. In the realm of education and culture, the Soviet Union's policies could be seen as colonial and Russifying, but they were dramatically unlike those of

any other empire in promoting the rapid expansion of modern education and universal literacy.

Russians dominated political decision making for Central Asia, but native people moved up in Communist Party ranks to positions of authority. As each republic was established, titular-nationality Communists were given the most public roles as leaders, with Russian advisors standing in secondary positions. Before World War II, Russians outnumbered titular nationals in the republic-level Communist Parties. But after World War II, the Communist Party came to mirror the relative numbers of each nationality group in each republic more closely, so that in republics where titular nationals predominated, they also comprised the party majority.

The republic-level Communist Party had limited scope for decision making. Economically and politically, the Soviet Union was centralized, and decisions were handed down from Moscow. But having a titular national at the head of the republic's state and party structures became an important symbol, significant enough that when Prime Minister Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) replaced the Kazakh Party leader Dinmukhamed Kunaev (1911–1993) with a Russian late in 1986, Kazakhs in Almaty rioted, and the replacement came several years later.

World War II was an important turning point in Central Asia. Central Asians were equal citizens of the Soviet Union along with all other nationality groups, and Central Asian men were conscripted into the Soviet army at the same high rate as men from other parts of the Soviet Union. Central Asians who had not previously met Russians learned at least limited Russian, enough to understand commands, and they fought far from their homes beside other Soviet soldiers.

Germany attempted to appeal to anti-Communist nationalism among Central Asians, forming exiled Central Asians into the Turkistan Brigade, which fought on the German side and tried to attract deserters from Central Asia. However, despite many reasons for discontent, the vast majority of Central Asian soldiers fought loyally for the Soviet Union, and the experience transformed them. Following World War II, Central Asia was far more deeply Soviet than it had been before.

From the 1950s until the 1980s, the Soviet Union used Central Asia to promote to third-world countries the advantages of socialism and alignment with the Soviet bloc. The factors that made Soviet Central Asia unlike most colonial territories, including heavy government investment in education, increasing industrial development, and the full presence of Central Asians in the Communist Party and in government, were the factors that made Central Asia a showplace for the third world.

However, although Central Asians had equality, and sensed themselves to be Soviet citizens, their standard of living, levels of income, rates of participation in the most prestigious positions in politics and the economy, and their ability to influence general policies in the Soviet Union, never reached the levels of the country's European territories. Central Asia lagged behind much of the Soviet Union in almost every development measure.

Central Asian republics declared their independence late in 1991, as the Soviet government fell. Each had republic-level government institutions that formed the base for a new state, but Soviet economic integration meant that each had difficulty establishing a viable independent economy. Tajikistan suffered civil war and extreme impoverishment. Outside states vied for influence in Central Asia. Turkey invested in schools, factories, and the media. Iran emphasized relations with Tajikistan. Pakistan expanded trade, as did China.

Many missionaries came, Muslim and Christian. Russia tried to maintain influence by forming the Commonwealth of Independent States and later by drawing up economic and security agreements with Central Asian states. United States oil, gas, and minerals companies invested in Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The Great Game for external dominance of Central Asia was not an extension of the Russian or Soviet colonial projects; it was neocolonial economic control of a region where states refused to be dominated politically by outsiders.

Uighurs in the Xinjiang Province of China had been the target of programs hatched in the Soviet Union to enhance the nationalist movement and separatism from China. From the 1920s to 1940s, several Uighur nationalist parties formed, and some of their leaders received support and training from the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviets had invested in oil development in Xinjiang. However, during and after World War II, the Soviets abandoned this policy. The East Turkistani political leadership was decimated in the late 1940s (partly due to a plane crash), and the Chinese Communist Party asserted control over the province in the 1950s.

The Chinese Communist Party's policy was more overtly colonial in Xinjiang than was Soviet policy in Central Asia. China encouraged massive Han Chinese immigration to Xinjiang, treated Xinjiang as a raw-material–producing periphery, carried out nuclear testing at Lop Nor, and has not aggressively pursued raising the educational level of Uighurs or promoting their presence in the party. In most development indicators and measures of living standards, Uighurs lag behind Han Chinese in Xinjiang Province. They also lag behind most of China's more developed provinces. After the

demise of the Soviet Union and the de facto independence of the five Central Asian states, the Uighur nationalist movement became more active, with exiles operating in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The Chinese government repeatedly cracked down on any signs of nationalist activity, which it termed *separatism*.

SEE ALSO *China, after 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; Empire, British; Oil.*

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Marianne Kamp

CEYLON

For 450 years the island of Ceylon (now called Sri Lanka) was the prey of successive naval powers. Colonial conquest of the island was predicated on superior sea power and arms, military organization, political strength, and economic wealth. Popular history has generally differentiated between Portuguese rule (1505–1658), Dutch rule (1658–1796), and British rule (1796–1948) in the guise of first the East India Company and then the British Crown. The "rule" in Ceylon of these three powers was sometimes nothing more than a presence that grew, spread, or declined in space and time.

CONQUEST AND CONTROL

In the early sixteenth century, there were three native centers of political power in Ceylon: two Sinhalese kingdoms in Kotte and Kandy and a Tamil kingdom in Jaffna. When the king of Kotte died in 1597, he bequeathed his territories to the king of Portugal, and the Portuguese became de jure sovereigns over the lowlands of Ceylon. The Portuguese annexed the north of the island in 1619. Their attempts to invade the kingdom in the mountains in the center of the island met with resounding defeat in 1592 to 1594 and on many subsequent occasions.

Ceylonese Chief from Kandy. *An 1815 treaty known as the Kandyan Convention brought Ceylon's Kandyan provinces under British sovereignty. Ceylon is now called Sri Lanka.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Dutch commercial company, the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, or Dutch United East India Company), entered the Sri Lankan scene at the beginning of the seventeenth century under the pretext of helping the king of Kandy wage war against the Portuguese. When the Dutch took possession of the island's Low Country, King Rajasinghe II (1635–1687) of Kandy organized a resistance that combined guerilla warfare, negotiation, and attempts at alliances with France and England. After his death, the VOC resorted to force against the Kandyans when they did not cease from inciting the Low Country Sinhalese to revolt against colonial rule.

In 1766 colonial rule in Ceylon was given written sanction when the Kandyan king was obliged to sign a treaty that gave the Dutch sovereignty over the entire coastline of the island up to a depth of one Sinhalese mile (5.6 kilometers; 3.5 miles). From then on, the kingdom of Kandy was a landlocked entity. The British took over the Dutch-controlled territory of Ceylon in 1796, and with an 1815 treaty known as the Kandyan Convention, brought the Kandyan provinces under British sovereignty.

AN EXPORT-BASED ECONOMY

In the colonial system, the economy was tied to the export of tropical goods and the import of food products such as rice. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese were intent on building a system of trading and military outposts connected by sea lanes and on gaining control of spice production. In Ceylon they found cinnamon, which they developed by relying on the Salagama people, who were relatively recent migrants from South India, to provide their counters with supplies. The Dutch continued this practice in a more systematic way with the creation of the first cinnamon plantations. The canals they built permitted spices to be transported efficiently and shipped overseas.

Under the British, export trade turned successively to coffee (ca. 1840), tea and coconut (ca. 1880), and rubber (ca. 1900). The island became one of the principal plantation colonies of the British Empire with the main areas of production and extraction increasingly located within the territories of the Kandyan kingdom. British production techniques were modeled on those of the plantations in the Caribbean. The demands of the plantation industry required a network of roads linking the interior of the island with the coasts, thus marking the beginning of a modern transportation system. Another ethnic element was added with the arrival of immigrant plantation labor from South India.

There was little interest on the part of the European colonizers for peasant agriculture, although some reservoirs in the dry zone were repaired in the late nineteenth century. On the whole, state policy was inimical to peasant agriculture in two specific areas: the levying of taxes and colonial policy in relation to shifting agriculture, a system in which farmers move from site to site. Under this system, forest land is brought into cultivation by the slash and burn method and farmed until its productivity falls. Peasant agriculture in Ceylon failed to achieve the dynamic growth of the plantation sector during this same period, while methods of cultivation remained unchanged.

CONDITIONS OF DIFFERENTIATION

Portuguese colonialism did not lead to substantial changes in the native administrative system. When the Catholic Church arrived in Sri Lanka, however, it functioned as the ideological apparatus of the Portuguese colonialists. The arrival of the church therefore marked the beginning of a dark age for the Buddhists and Hindus of the island. Many converted to Catholicism or intermarried with the colonizers, spawning new social formations, such as

A Tea Plantation in Ceylon. *Laborers on a tea plantation in Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka) in the early twentieth century hang sacks of tea on ropes to move them to the drying house.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Catholic Sinhalese or Tamils, as well as people of mixed descent. Converts were exempted from various taxes and generally given preferential treatment.

Portuguese rule also created conditions of differentiation between Kandyans and Low Country Sinhalese—the latter bearing the mark of the foreign presence in their legislation, land structures, and customs. Another significant change came with the upward mobility of certain castes associated with colonial power, especially the Salagamas (cinnamon peelers).

During Dutch rule, a number of natives converted to Protestantism, while interracial marriages created the Burgher community. The Dutch contributed to the evolution of the judicial system of the island as indigenous laws and customs that did not conflict with Dutch-Roman jurisprudence were codified. This was the case of the Tamil legal code of Jaffna (the Thesavalamai) and Muslim law. In the Low Country, courts applied Roman Dutch law, thus modifying traditional notions of property and affecting family structures.

The rapid expansion of plantation agriculture in the mid-nineteenth century was the major catalyst of social change in Sri Lanka. The growth of services to support the needs of the plantations and their workers stimulated the development of the Kandyan highlands and the city of Colombo. A class of local capitalists emerged, especially in the mining and export of graphite and in the coconut plantations. The island's traditional elite landowners, the Mudaliyars, were soon challenged by a new English-educated elite derived from all ethnic groups and castes.

THE TRANSFER OF POWER

The British transferred power in 1948 to a conservative multiethnic elite that had spearheaded a mild nationalist movement. The British felt that this group would offer the best resistance to the forces of cultural nationalism and Marxism then gaining momentum in the country. The westernized elites had on the whole been willing partners of the British. What resistance there had been occurred in the first two decades of the century when the temperance movement rallied Sinhalese Buddhists against the imposition of Christian values. Paradoxically, it was only in 1956 that a powerful nationalist movement would emerge to shake off the remnants of the colonial state.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Dutch.*

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CHARTERED COMPANIES, AFRICA

Chartered companies were companies that received certain rights and privileges under a special charter issued by the sovereign of a European state. This charter usually gave the company a nationally recognized trading monopoly for a specific geographic area and for specific trade items, and the right to use force to open and maintain trade. Dominant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and from 1880 to 1900—the eras of mercantilism and of the "scramble for Africa," respectively—royally chartered companies proved to be indispensable tools for the opening of Africa to European commercial and imperial ambition.

As a way to defray government costs, European exploits in Africa from 1340 until 1900 were usually funded by high-risk venture capital in the form of royally chartered companies, the forerunners of the modern corporation. The crown provided political support and authorization for overseas business but the economic risks and military expenses were borne by private individuals and corporations. After 1600 large chartered companies like the Dutch West India Company, the Royal African Company, and the Portuguese Guinea Company created permanent strongholds on the coasts of Africa, though they had to form alliances with local African states in order to prosper. After 1870 the imperial ambitions of chartered companies like the British South Africa Company and the Royal Niger Company paved the way for Europe's formal colonization of most of the African continent.

CHARTERED COMPANIES IN THE AGE OF MERCANTILISM AND THE SLAVE TRADE, CA. 1450–1830

The European discovery of the Canary Islands off the west coast of Africa in the early 1330s prompted impoverished Spanish nobles, with financial backing from investors and royal charters from various monarchs, to organize repeated invasions of the islands until the final conquest of the native inhabitants in 1496 under a charter granted by the sovereign of Castile. The charter provided royal authorization for the invasion without costing the monarch any money. The invaders assumed governmental powers and were authorized to collect rent and taxes for themselves, their investors, and the monarch. Throughout their history chartered companies demonstrated that the relationship between entrepreneurship and violence was ever-present in the European engagement with Africa. While trade and profit were dominant elements in the exchanges between the two continents, state-sanctioned violence achieved far more than entrepreneurial activity could do alone.

Leaving the Canary Islands to the Spanish, the Portuguese established a fort at Elmina near the deltas of the Volta and Niger rivers in 1482 and became involved in the inter-African slave trade. Italian and Portuguese investors, excited by the strong European market for sugar, obtained charters from the Portuguese crown to develop sugar plantations on the islands of São Tomé, Principe, and Fernando Po, which lay off the coast of tropical Africa. Unable to attract Europeans as a workforce, they relied on Portuguese connections with African commerce to supply African slave labor. In the

year 1500, these islands became the first true plantation societies in the Atlantic.

By the mid-1500s Dutch, Flemish, and German capitalists had entered the sugar boom that had shifted to the Portuguese colony of Brazil. The famous Triangle Trade had begun: Africa imported European capital, manufactured goods, and weapons and exported labor in the form of slaves, while the plantation colonies in the Americas specialized in the mass production of a few tropical products (sugar, tobacco, cacao, coffee, and indigo) for the European market and imported capital, labor, and supplies. Chartered companies like the Portuguese Guinea Company and the Dutch West India Company became the main suppliers of African slaves to the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, whereas the English dominated the slave trade in the eighteenth century.

England and the Netherlands underwrote their colonial expansion between 1600 and 1800 by creating chartered joint-stock companies. These new types of chartered companies allowed larger amounts of capital to be raised; they separated stock ownership from management, and investors could sell stock instead of liquidating the firm periodically to retrieve assets and profits. In a hallmark of an emerging capitalist economy, the new chartered companies built up and reinvested their capital rather than redistributing all the invested capital and profits back to their owners after each voyage. In the tradition of earlier chartered companies, these new chartered companies were licensed to trade and to make war to promote trade. The Dutch and English chartered companies, following earlier Portuguese practice, tapped into indigenous trade networks and maintained relations with African states in Benin, Oyo, and Kongo. Their presence created a growing African market for European hardware, textiles, and weapons, for which Africans traded gold, ivory, and slaves.

These new chartered companies, like the Dutch West India Company (WIC; founded 1621), had a legal monopoly on imports from Africa back to the home country and a license to seek monopolies in other markets, using armed force if necessary. They maintained standing armies and forts in addition to carrying out routine business transactions. The Dutch state chartered the WIC to conduct economic warfare against Spain and Portugal by striking at their colonies in the Americas and on the west coast of Africa. The state granted the company a monopoly on Dutch trade in the Atlantic region between the Americas and Africa and empowered it to negotiate treaties and make war and peace with native rulers, appoint governors, and legislate in its territories. With military and financial support from the government, the WIC acquired ports on the west coast of

Africa to supply slaves for plantations in the Americas. Because of intense Portuguese, English, and French competition, the WIC was never able to monopolize the supply of slaves from Africa. No chartered company ever was.

Most chartered companies lasted no more than a generation or two. The longest-lived in Africa was the Dutch East India Company, which founded a restocking station for its East India ships at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. When the company dissolved in 1799, Cape Town formed the nucleus of European (Boer) settlement of the Cape Colony in South Africa. The second-longest-lived chartered company in Africa was the WIC (1621–1674), which folded due to debts incurred by long wars with the Portuguese and other European powers and the loss of key trading posts destroyed or captured by rival European nations. Parliament chartered the Royal African Company (RAC) in 1672 as the English slave-trading monopoly after a similar venture in the 1660s failed due to war with Holland. The monopoly was limited to London merchants, but merchants from Bristol and Liverpool lobbied successfully to have the monopoly charter ended by 1713—even though supporters of the monopoly argued that it ensured profits needed to build ships, maintain African trading settlements, and pay attractive dividends to shareholders, and that the highly advantageous trade between England and its colonies relied on the military protection of RAC forts on the coast of Africa. The RAC continued to engage in the slave trade, however, until 1731.

Europe and Africa were changed by the activities of chartered companies. The slave trade provided the kingdoms of coastal Africa with foreign exchange that soon exceeded their earnings from traditional exports like gold, pepper, ivory, and cotton cloth. As the Atlantic slave trade expanded from a few dozen slaves a year in the 1520s to ninety thousand a year in the 1780s, it allowed African elites on the Atlantic coast to buy European ironware, luxury goods, textiles, and weapons (to the tune of thousands of muskets a year in the 1780s). This trade, facilitated by European chartered companies, did not undermine African independence so much as it changed the balance of power between African states. The great empires of the interior grasslands like Mali and Songhay lost revenue and began to disintegrate when trade was diverted to the Atlantic kingdoms of Benin, Oyo, and Kongo, which became richer and acquired new military technology. The economies of interior states weakened as families and work were disrupted by massive forced abductions of people. Initially Africa's Atlantic trade was a reciprocal exchange of commodities, but soon that exchange was overshadowed by the slave trade. An estimated ten to eleven million Africans were sent to the

Americas as slaves between 1443 and 1870 by chartered companies and millions more died on the forced marches to the coastal ports.

Europe was also caught up in the transformations wrought by chartered companies. Europeans controlled each leg of the Triangle Trade and enormous wealth was consolidated by European investors as a result. That control was fostered by chartered companies and the economic ideas of mercantilism they embodied. Mercantilism held that there was a fixed amount of wealth in the world, measured by possession of gold and silver, and that each country had to fight to obtain as large a share of this wealth as possible, aided by government policies that limited imports and promoted exports to create a favorable balance of payments. Economics was war by other means: Colonies and fortified trading stations existed to provide revenue for the mother country and to ensure that the trade was as monopolistic as possible, in order to keep gold and silver at home. Competing and aggressive chartered companies could not maintain secure monopolies, but the transfer of credit and profits around the world that they facilitated was a major step in the rise of a modern capitalist world economy. As the costs of war making soared in the eighteenth century, however, British and Dutch chartered companies staggered under the burden and they were all bankrupted by the 1830s: they did not outlast Britain's abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in 1807 and of slavery in 1833.

CHARTERED COMPANIES AND THE NEW IMPERIALISM, 1880–1924

After a brief hiatus, chartered companies were once again the vanguard and spur of imperial ambition when Europeans took direct control of Africa after 1880. Europeans colonized Africa under the impetus of the Long Depression (1873–1896), a world economic crisis that sparked the creation of monopolies and cartels and new colonial empires and monopoly trading relations in Africa as ways to stabilize the profitability of the new industrial capitalism. Chartered companies played a vital role in these territorial annexations and in the securing of sources of raw materials and valuable minerals for European nations.

The rise of Germany, Belgium, and Italy as industrial powers after 1870 accelerated the tempo of colonial growth as these nations sought protected markets and sources of raw materials for their industries in a depressed world economy. Britain, fearing these new colonial challengers, joined the colonial scramble in Africa. Belgium's claim to the Congo River basin and Germany's annexationist activities on the west and east coasts of Africa prompted a conference in Berlin in 1884 to lay out

ground rules for annexations. Article 35 of the Berlin Act stated that a mere claim to territory was not enough for international recognition of a colony. Under the doctrine of "effective occupation" the colonizer had to prove that it had authority over a colony, and thus European monarchs turned to chartered companies to ensure effective economic and political occupation. This new political climate induced the Portuguese to set up chartered companies like the Companhia de Boror to secure their four-hundred-year-old claim to Mozambique.

After the Berlin Conference, Britain concentrated its colonizing efforts on the Niger and southern African regions (the centers of its commercial activity in Africa) and on Kenya, France focused on the area between Senegal and Lake Chad, and Germany sent chartered companies to Togo, Cameroon, South-West Africa, and Tanganyika. The most effective and successful chartered companies were British, such as the Royal Niger Company and the British South Africa Company. They secured Britain's empire in Africa.

Building on the commercial ideas of George Goldie (1846–1925), the Royal Niger Company (RNC), chartered in 1886, amalgamated British business interests in the lower Niger region. Its charter of incorporation authorized it to administer the Niger delta and the country along the banks of the Niger and Benue Rivers. Palm oil was a major export and the main imports were cloth and alcoholic beverages. The company secured its monopoly of trade in the area of present-day Nigeria against French and German competitors by concluding treaties, some of doubtful legality, with local rulers. In negotiations with the French and German governments Goldie set the boundaries of the British sphere of influence. The establishment of trading stations in the interior, contrary to earlier agreements, resulted in African uprisings against the RNC in 1886 and 1895, which were put down with gunboats, the company's police force, and ships of the Royal Navy. The continuation of the RNC's commercial and territorial disputes with France and the continuing complaints of local peoples against the company caused the British government to revoke the company's charter in 1899, but by then Britain had effectively occupied the lower Niger region.

Another British commercial adventurer, Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902), received a charter for the South Africa Company (SAC) in 1889 with the object of acquiring and exercising commercial and administrative rights in south central Africa. The charter, initially granted for twenty-five years, gave the company rights to make treaties, promulgate laws, acquire economic concessions, establish a police force, and provide, at the company's expense, the infrastructure of a new colony initially in Matabeleland (now part of Zimbabwe) but

extending as far as current-day Zambia, Malawi, and Botswana. Mineral wealth (gold and diamonds), communications (a Cape-to-Cairo railroad), and white settlement were Rhodes's objectives. Gold and diamond mining was the company's main business and by 1900 SAC was administering Southern and Northern Rhodesia. Company rule ended in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1923, when partial self-rule for whites was implemented; in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) it ended in 1924, when the Colonial Office assumed control. By then, the activities of the SAC had secured British control and claims on this area of southern Africa.

In the final analysis, the development of the chartered joint-stock company, forerunner of the modern corporation, was instrumental in European commercial and colonial incursions into Africa. Chartered companies in Africa aided the emergence of a European-centered global capitalism that required African labor, commerce, and colonies to thrive, but which took more from Africa than it gave in return.

SEE ALSO *Cape Colony and Cape Town; Dutch United East India Company; Dutch West India Company; English East India Company (EIC).*

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Alexander M. Zukas

CHINA, TO THE FIRST OPIUM WAR

China was first confronted with European colonialism in the course of the Portuguese expansion in Asia during the early sixteenth century. In 1511 Malacca (Melaka), on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, was occupied by a force under the command of the Portuguese viceroy of India, Afonso de'Albuquerque (d. 1515). Malacca became an important base for Portuguese trade contacts with China. Malacca had been a Chinese vassal state and the sultan called for assistance, but the Chinese emperor only issued an edict to Siam (Thailand) to send help, which never arrived.

The Portuguese arrived on China's southern coast in 1514 to 1516 and reached Canton (Guangzhou) in 1517. China granted the Portuguese permission to trade, but after several confrontations the Portuguese were driven out in 1522 to 1523. Nevertheless, some Portuguese traders, mainly involved in smuggling, remained in China. In 1557 they achieved permission to settle in Macao on the southern coast of China, which became the region's main base for Western trade for over a century.

Spain began colonizing the Philippine archipelago in 1565. Shortly thereafter, galleon trade between Acapulco in Mexico and the Philippine port city of Manila was established, bringing goods, mainly silver, from the New World into the Asian trade system. This development caused the emergence of a silver money economy in China and stimulated Chinese commerce.

Spain soon challenged the Portuguese position in the China trade and in 1598 even tried to establish a trading post near Canton. Even after Portugal fell under Spanish rule in 1581, the Portuguese in Macao remained eager to keep their monopoly, and they repeatedly attacked Spanish shipping.

In 1601 the first Dutch ship entered Chinese waters near Macao. The Dutch quickly became a serious rival for Portuguese trade. They attacked Macao and established a base on Taiwan. However, the Dutch were besieged and driven out of Taiwan in 1662 by the army of Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong, 1624–1662), which was retreating from the increasing power of the upcoming Qing dynasty.

One important factor of European influence in China were Christian missionaries. The Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) arrived in southern China in 1582 and went on to Beijing in 1601. Ricci not only attempted to convert the Chinese to Christendom, he also introduced such Western knowledge as the solar calendar. Ricci's most prominent successors were the Jesuits Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591–1666), who reached Macao in 1619, and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688). The Jesuits also brought knowledge of China to Europe, which led to a "China fashion" in philosophy and art. Most missionaries were expelled from China by the Kangxi emperor in 1721 after Pope Clement XI (1649–1721) decided in the "Chinese rites controversy" that the adoption of Chinese customs was incompatible with Catholic principles.

China's contact with the outside world had been repeatedly limited. Ming dynasty (1368–1644) rulers prohibited private trade completely and limited foreign trade contacts to tribute missions. China still participated in the Southeast Asian trade system, but this participation expanded considerably only after the Ming officially lifted their ban in 1567. Chinese communities developed

in growing colonial ports, such as Batavia (Jakarta) and Manila, and became important agents for contacts between the European colonies and mainland China.

China was itself an empire, and maintained considerable interests in and colonial relations with its neighbours. Ming China regarded itself as the center of the world, foreign relations being only possible as tribute relationships. Although the early Qing dynasty (1644–1911) originated as foreign rulers over China, the Qing emperors soon adopted the Ming view of the Chinese world order. The Qing quickly moved from consolidation to expansion. In the course of exterminating the last Ming forces, they occupied territories in southern China and the island of Taiwan. In the eighteenth century, the high Qing period, China conquered Tibet and parts of Central Asia and gained control over Mongolia.

Soon after the Qing came to power, they banned most contacts with the outside world to prevent any foreign support for the remaining Ming armies. But in 1684, when the Qing dynasty established its hold on power, the Kangxi emperor relaxed the earlier ban and permitted limited trade along China's southeast coast.

The first British ship called at Xiamen (Amoy) in 1685. Other nations, such as Denmark, France, the Netherlands, and Sweden, were quick to follow. The first American traders arrived in 1784 after their war of independence. The British, however, dominated this renewed trade with China from the start, and around 1800 British trading vessels to China amounted to twice as many as all other nations combined.

The Western trade concentrated at the southern Chinese port of Canton, and in 1760 the Qianlong emperor restricted trade to this port. The so-called Canton system developed at this time, according to which Western traders were only allowed to trade during the winter season and had to remain in Macao for the rest of the year. Trade was confined to a small area outside the city walls, and transactions with Chinese were limited to a group of licensed merchants called *cohong* (after the Chinese *gonghang*, meaning "official company").

Russia was the only Western power to trade with China via her inland borders. After minor conflicts, China and Russia resolved their border conflicts and regulated trade in the treaties of Nerchinsk (1689) and Kyakhta (1727).

The most important goods exported from China were porcelain, silk, and tea. The English East India Company enjoyed the monopoly of direct trade between China and England and thus profited enormously, as did the British government through import taxes. The main problem in this exchange was the inability of the West to bring products of equivalent value to China. Chinese exports were mainly paid for in silver.

Great Britain hoped to change the restrictive Canton system in 1793 by sending Lord George Macartney (1737–1806) to request the opening of additional ports, but China's Qianlong emperor refused to alter the terms of trade. To compensate for the trade deficit, the East India Company began growing opium in India and exporting the drug to China. As the opium disrupted the trade balance and silver began to flow out of China, the Qing rulers reacted by banning opium imports. In response, British and other Western traders smuggled the opium into China. With the growing popularity of the concept of free trade, however, the East India Company's monopoly was abolished in 1834. When the Chinese government resolved to implement harsher measures against the opium trade in 1839, the British government came under severe pressure from the free trade lobby to bring down the restrictive Canton system, leading to the first Opium War (1839–1842).

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; China, Foreign Trade; Guangzhou; Hong Kong, to World War II; Religion, Western Presence in East Asia; Shanghai; Taiping Rebellion; Treaties, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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CHINA, FIRST OPIUM WAR TO 1945

China, the world's oldest continuous civilization, possessed a heritage of greatness that a rapidly changing industrial world began to dispute by the early nineteenth century. The culture that gave the world printing, paper,

the compass, gunpowder, and provided its people a reasonably stable social and economic environment over the centuries, now confronted foreign and domestic challenges to the Confucian world order that had guided China for nearly two millennia. From that time until the end of World War II (1939–1945), China suffered incessant military attacks from homegrown rebels and foreign assailants, producing colossal social and economic dislocation, massive death and destruction, as well as traumatic intellectual and cultural crises of confidence. China's rulers, intellectuals, and eventually the common people have since searched for the means by which to unify the nation, expel the foreigners, embrace a successful model of development, and thus restore China to its former greatness.

CHALLENGE TO THE OLD ORDER, 1800–1860

Without the benefit of hindsight, the White Lotus Rebellion of 1796–1804 could reasonably be considered a harbinger of dynastic decline that would eventually result in the removal of the Mandate of Heaven from the ruling foreign Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911) and bring about the establishment of another dynasty promising to govern by appropriate Confucian principles. Instead of being yet another example of China's dynastic cycle in operation, it proved to be the event that exposed a weak and corrupt dynasty to a modernizing West determined to finance its China trade with illegal opium and to substitute its structure of international relations—this assumed equality among nations for China's tributary system of international interaction, which presumed a hierarchical arrangement, with China at the top.

The opium trade grew out of the West's unfavorable balance of trade with China, which bought very little from abroad but sold very much to foreigners. Illegal opium sales to willing Chinese customers provided the necessary currency to fund the purchase of Chinese goods, such as tea, silk, and porcelain. Illegal opium trafficking led to an outflow of silver, which upset the bimetallic silver and copper coinage structure. Opium smoking hurt the poor, who were the largest consumers, and it involved government and military officials. The opium trade was further complicated by the emergence of free trade in England. The Chinese tributary system allowed only Chinese and foreign monopoly merchants to conduct trade, and only at Guangzhou (Canton), a protocol agreed to by foreign governments until the growing pressure of free traders and Beijing's evident inability to enforce the system led to its collapse. In 1836, the high Qing officials debated the opium problem and decided to continue the policy of prohibition and committed it to enforcing prohibition. Beijing sent Commissioner Lin Zexu (ca. 1785–1850) to Guangzhou to carry out the policy, and when he confiscated British opium it served as a pretext for war, which the Chinese label the first Opium War (1839–1842) and the British call the first Anglo-Chinese War.

China's defeat resulted in a century of "unequal treaties" that gave foreign powers special rights in China, including extraterritoriality in treaty ports (five in 1842 and more than two hundred by the turn of the twentieth century), a favoring of nation status, and control over China's tariffs. The 1842 Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the war, officially terminated the tribute system, provided foreigners extraterritorial rights, ceded Hong Kong to Britain, and required a Chinese monetary indemnity. China resisted the terms of this and subsequent treaties with the West, especially the opening of the city of Guangzhou to foreign residence, which created a second Opium War (1856–1860). With China's defeat, resulting in a new set of treaties, loss of territory, and new indemnities, both the court and bureaucracy realized that some modification of Confucian ways needed to be made.

That realization was made all the more evident with the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), a native challenge to the Confucian order. Taipings or God worshippers led by "God's Chinese son" Hong Xiuquan (1814–1864) proclaimed the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace, which called for communal land use, a common treasury to be filled by surplus products and to be drawn from by those in need, an examination system that tested candidates' knowledge of the Bible, equality of the sexes, the elimination of ancestor worship, as well as other far-reaching transformations. Only fundamental Qing government reform (the Tongzhi Restoration), foreign neutrality, and inherent Taiping leadership weaknesses saved the Confucian order.

ATTEMPTS TO SALVAGE THE OLD ORDER, 1860–1900

A quarter century of potentially fatal foreign and domestic assaults on traditional government, thought, and behavior led the Manchu Qing dynasty and its Chinese Confucian bureaucracy to consider basic changes. Generally labeled *self-strengthening*, this new Chinese reform program sought to begin a program of modernization that embraced foreign techniques (*yong*), but maintained an essential Confucian foundation (*ti/t'i*). This reform program included the creation of a foreign office (Zongli Yamen), a foreign-language school, an interpreters college, factories and arsenals, as well as the sending overseas of Chinese students and the hiring of Anson Burlingame (1820–1870) to represent China's interests in Europe and America.

But self-strengthening reform moved at a snail's pace owing to several factors. First, the urgency to change China declined as the court in Beijing realized that the industrial powers were tied to the treaty benefits agreed to by the Qing government, benefits that might not be honored by a new Chinese regime. Further, a heated debate arose within the Confucian bureaucracy over reform, the more conservative-minded arguing that using foreign techniques would in fact change the essence of China.

Indeed the Confucian elite could well be displaced by some new industrial elite. The foreign Manchu court under the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) chose to balance conservative and reform interests as the best means of maintaining power.

The result was a timid move toward modernization, the limitations of which became apparent in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, fought to determine whether China or Japan would protect Korea against the outside world. China was soundly defeated militarily, and the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) ended the conflict provided that Japan would receive Taiwan, a large monetary indemnity, the right to open factories in China, and other benefits. The humiliating loss launched a wave of protest and in 1898 a brief reform movement, which the empress dowager quickly crushed. Desperate for a means of dealing with domestic dissidents determined to transform China and foreign aggressors eager to divide up the country, the court turned to the Boxers, who had originally been anti-Qing but by the late nineteenth century had become pro-Qing and antiforeign. The Righteous and Harmonious Fists, thus Boxers, soon became the Righteous and Harmonious Militia that promised to drive the foreigners from China and destroy Christian missions, as well as besieging the foreign legations in Beijing. This immediately brought eight foreign armies to Beijing to crush the "rebellion" and impose on China the Boxer Protocol, yet another embarrassing agreement signed under military duress. From this point on, China's elite generally conceded at the very least the need for fundamental reform. But even revolution did not sound intolerably extreme at this moment.

SEARCHING FOR A NEW ORDER, 1900–1945

The first half of the twentieth century in China was a time of searching for the best means of reorganizing itself so it could survive in a terribly dangerous world. The dynasty's post-Boxer reforms indicated the extent to which even the most conservative thinkers were willing to go in saving China from the perils of partition and perpetual weakness. These restructurings included the elimination of many government positions deemed unnecessary, especially those that were purchased. New offices were created to deal with what were becoming universal Western ways of business, diplomacy, law, national defense, education, and social intercourse. Thus a ministry of foreign affairs emerged, as did the rudiments of a modern army; universities replaced Confucian academies, and the civil service examination system was abolished in 1905; social reform included the end of footbinding and a serious anti-opium campaign; and political reform was launched in 1905—the court's thinking being that a constitutional monarchy would suit China (and the dynasty) much better than a revolution advanced by Sun Yat-Sen (1866–1925).

Although one could argue that this reform program did amount to something, most historians believe it came too late. Less than a decade into reform, the emperor and the empress dowager died within a month of each other (December 1908 and January 1909) and no Manchu leadership emerged to deal with the nation's problems. Increasingly, native Chinese also began to view the Manchu leadership as the principle cause for China's weakness and perceive these rulers as foreign occupiers.

In October 1911 a revolution broke out, and by the end of the year the dynasty abdicated and the Republic of China proclaimed independence. Inspired by Sun Yat-Sen, but controlled by former high Qing official Yuan Shi-kai (1859–1916), the new government, which had promised to operate on democratic principles, functioned instead by dictatorial means. With Yuan's death in 1916 the nation descended into warlordism, which resulted in the common people's oppression, divided China into military satrapies, and thus increased the country's susceptibility to foreign encroachment. Even before Yuan's passing, Japan had attempted to impose its control over China with the so-called Twenty-one Demands in 1915.

Chinese nationalism had clearly emerged at this point, best evidenced by the forming of the New Culture Movement beginning in 1915, the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement in 1919, the early 1920s reorganization of Sun Yat-Sen Nationalist Party (Guomindang), as well as the creation of the Communist Party. The New Culture Movement sought to bring literacy to the common people, the foundation of a modern nation, by supporting the introduction of vernacular Chinese as the written language. The May Fourth Movement erupted when the victorious allies at Versailles gave Qingdao, a German leasehold, to Japan instead of returning it to China. Chinese nationalists, mainly urbanites, produced massive protest movements in Tiananmen Square and elsewhere in China, which served as launching platforms for organizations dedicated to destroying the warlords, unifying the country, and driving out the foreigners.

Both the Nationalist and Communist parties sought these goals, the significant difference between them being

TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS

The Twenty-one Demands were issued on January 18, 1915, by Japanese prime minister Okuma Shigenobu in an opportunistic attempt to dominate Manchuria's natural resources. Taking advantage of the opportunity provided by World War I, which had been ongoing against Germany since August of 1914, Shigenobu hoped to achieve supremacy in the Pacific region and ignored the fact that China was, like Japan, allied with the Triple Entente that included Great Britain, France, and Russia. After Japanese troops invaded the German-controlled Jiaozhou region in China's southern Shandong Province, Shigenobu presented Chinese president Yuan Shi-kai with a five-part ultimatum, demanding that:

- Japan formally be given control of Jiaozhou;
- the coal-rich regions of south Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia's Shandong Province be made open to Japanese commercial exploitation and colonization by right of Japan's historic geographical and commercial interests there;
- China discontinue allowing other governments to lease or otherwise take control of any territory within its borders;
- Japanese nationals be allowed religious freedom and the right to own land within China; and
- that Japanese advisors have the final word on China's military, economic, and commercial policies, as well as positions of authority in urban law enforcement throughout China.

When news of the Twenty-one Demands was made public, worldwide opinion demanded their withdrawal.

Through the intervention of British and U.S. diplomats, Japan dropped its demand for control of China's military, commercial, and financial affairs, as well as certain specific demands regarding schools and hospitals, supplying arms and ammunition to Japanese law enforcement within Chinese borders, and the establishment of arsenals and railway concessions in South China. With several demands still on the table, months of negotiations between China and Japan ensued, only ending when Japan threatened to make further military inroads into China. Recognizing that his military was no match for that of Japan, President Yuan accepted Shigenobu's revised terms. Although two treaties were signed on May 25, 1915, officially transferring German interests in Qingdao to Japan and extending Japan's lease of Manchuria's coal-rich Liao-d-ung Peninsula and railroad system, they were never ratified by the Chinese legislature. Public protest over Yuan's acceptance of Japan's claims resulted in a wide-scale boycott of Japanese goods throughout China.

Two years later, the Japanese reinforced these claims in secret treaties, and a second agreement was coerced from the Chinese government in 1918. At the Versailles Conference held at the close of World War I, Japan was awarded Qingdao on the strength of its coerced and clandestine treaties with Yuan, despite China's protest. Consequently, China refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Japan continued to station troops in Shandong Province and to control Qingdao until their claims were rendered void in the Washington Naval Conference of 1921–1922.

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the need for social revolution. The emergence of the Soviet Union in 1917 and its desire to protect itself and promote world revolution resulted in the formation of the First United Front (1923–1927) between Nationalists and Communists, brokered by Moscow with the expectation of weakening those capitalist nations politically and economically active in China. The two parties formed an army and launched a Northern Expedition in 1926 and 1927 to drive out the warlords, but by the spring of 1927 had a falling out as the new leader of the Nationalists, Jiang Jieshi (1887–1975),

broke with the Communists over the need for social revolution, while drawing closer to the United States and England, abandoning the Soviets, and isolating Japan. Tokyo had substantial political and economic interests in China, especially in Manchuria, and ultimately protected them by gradually annexing Manchuria between 1931and 1933 and invading parts of northern and coastal China.

Meanwhile the domestic battle between the Nationalists and the Communists continued. After Jiang purged the Communists from the alliance against the warlords, he established a national government at

Nanjing in 1927 and ruled China until defeated by the Communists in 1949. The Nanjing or Nationalist government had three major tasks on its agenda: defeating the Communists; keeping the Japanese at bay until the Communists were defeated and the country unified; and modernizing the country. The campaign against the Communists looked promising, especially so long as the Communists sought to overthrow the Nationalists by attacking the cities where the proletariat resided. Such attempts utterly failed.

When by the mid-1930s Mao Zedong (1893–1976) emerged to challenge the urban approach to revolution and instead sought to mobilize the peasants, the Communists got a new breath of life. Even though driven from its rural Jiangxi Soviet base in 1934 and forced on the Long March to Yan'an, the Communists seemed stronger. When Jiang ordered one of his generals to attack the Yan'an Communist base area, Zhang Xueliang (1898–2001) refused, instead insisting that all Chinese unite to resist Japanese encroachment. Jiang flew to Xian to confront Zhang just before Christmas 1936, but instead was taken prisoner himself. The Communists sent an emissary to Xian to seek Jiang's release, arguing that he was the only person capable of rallying the people of China against Japan. This Xian Incident provided the basis for the Second United Front between Nationalists and Communists that nominally lasted until the end of World War II.

On July 7, 1937, Japan launched yet another attack on China, but on this occasion the Chinese responded militarily. The war went badly for the Nationalists, who lost their urban, modern, coastal base to the Japanese and ended up in backwater Chongqing. The Communists, on the other hand, fared well as they were able to mobilize the peasants and expand throughout much of rural North China. As war erupted in Europe in 1939, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and his Japanese allies seemed increasingly dangerous and thus worthy of confronting after two decades of nations attempting to avoid any action that might provoke another world war. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the fate of Japan now rested in American hands. Accordingly, Nationalists and Communists jockeyed for position in China after Japan's defeat.

By 1945 the Nationalist government was exhausted and would eventually succumb to Communist energy and efficiency. Yet the Nationalist Party did move China closer to regaining its lost prestige, even though its tenure was marked by chronic civil and international conflict. It began a program of modernization in the cities, brought about an end to the "unequal treaties" in 1943, and established China as one of the five great powers on the security council of the newly formed United Nations. And though it proved incapable of creating a system of government to replace the old Confucian political arrangements, neither did the successor Communist Party, as the Marxist model of development has been substantially abandoned. By the early twenty-first century, China still searches for a consensus about where it is heading and how it should get there.

SEE ALSO *British American Tobacco Company; China, after 1945; China, Foreign Trade; China, to the First Opium War; Chinese Revolutions; Compradorial System; Extraterritoriality; Guangzhou; Hong Kong, from World War II; Hong Kong, to World War II; Mao Zedong; Opium; Opium Wars; Self-Strengthening Movements, East Asia and the Pacific; Treaties, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Thomas Reins

CHINA, AFTER 1945

Tattered and torn from decades of Western colonial extraterritoriality and Japanese military occupation, China emerged from the ashes of World War II only to plunge full force back into civil war that had begun in the late 1920s but had been put on hold while the country struggled with the Japanese occupiers. Ferociously resumed between the Nationalists and the Chinese Communist Party, the civil war raged until October 1949 when the communists, lead by Mao Zedong, declared victory with a speech from the Forbidden City. The Nationalists retreated to the island of Taiwan by December 1949. With the establishment of the communist government, all of the extraterritorialities—a system by which the colonial powers were not bound by Chinese laws and de facto ruled portions of the country—were disbanded and virtually all westerners were expelled from China as the government began the long, and often tumultuous,

task of transforming the once great, but now shattered, country.

China set on the task of rebuilding. Throughout the 1950s, the country was reorganized, with major social reforms such as the banning of multiple wives and reordering villages into communes. By the end of that decade, however, there was a major split between China and the Soviet Union, one of China's few supporters in this early phase of the Cold War, due to differences over their efforts in the Korean War (1950–1953), over ideological interpretations of communism, and over the Soviet refusal to share atomic bomb technology.

With continued boycott by all the Western powers now supplemented with hostile relations with the Soviet Union, China launched into the 1960s with a disastrous approach called the Great Leap Forward, which was an attempt to rapidly push the still the underdeveloped country into industrialization and resulted in one of the largest famines in the world history. The decade ended no more smoothly than it began with yet another devastating movement called the Cultural Revolution, from approximately 1966 to 1976. Remnants of the Cultural Revolution, a massive social and political movement meant to destroy Chinese traditions and society, lasted until the death of Mao in 1976. After a brief struggle with the Maoist faction, the notorious Gang of Four, China ushered in a more prosperous and less turbulent era.

The faction that opposed Mao's policies, initially called the "pragmatists," rose to power in 1979 through the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. Deng initiated a policy of domestic reform, both politically and economically, and began opening to the West and the world. Deng not only changed the Chinese economy from a centrally controlled communist economy to a market-based economy, but also revamped the political system so that just one tyrant would no longer rule the country. The impact throughout the 1980s was a booming Chinese economy and growing political pluralism in China, which welcomed Western and Japanese investment for the first time since 1949.

The country's 1980s growth was chilled by the Tiananmen Square incident, a two-month-long demonstration in the Chinese capital city of Beijing, by student and worker protesters desiring social and political change to accompany the economic change and protesting the economic ills of inflation and unemployment as a result of these same economic changes. The government ultimately responded with force against the protesters in the early morning hours of June 4, 1989. Western governments reacted with bans on certain trade with China.

As a result of the Tiananmen Square incident, a new president, Jiang Zemin, came to power in the 1990s. Jiang continued the policies of economic growth and reform without political reform. China prospered in the 1990s, accelerating exports to the world. Although tensions with the government on Taiwan continued, China's relations with the rest of the world advanced as China became a responsible member in global organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, and took on a leadership role in Asia.

A new page in Chinese history dawned in the twenty-first century. Not only has China reemerged as a powerful global economy, but also subtle political changes were revealed in 2003 with the rise of the president, Hu Jintao, a candidate not backed by the outgoing President Jiang. China began the twenty-first century on a more level playing field with the Western powers and began building new relationships. While some scholars and politicians in the West talk about the "China threat" from this reemerging power, others believe that a stronger, more stabile China will not only help the one-quarter of the world's population that lives within its borders, but also will contribute to a more balanced world.

SEE ALSO *British American Tobacco Company; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, Foreign Trade; China to the First Opium War; Chinese Revolutions; Compradorial System; Extraterritoriality; Guangzhou; Hong Kong; Mao Zedong; Opium; Opium Wars; Shanghai; Taiping Rebellion; Treaties, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Elizabeth Van Wie Davis

CHINESE REVOLUTIONS

China's Five-thousand-year-old imperial government entered the twentieth century under the traditionalist Qing dynasty (1644–1911) at a time when China faced challenges from industrialized European powers anxious to expand their Asian empires, and from Japan, which followed the Western example of modernizing its civil society and its military. Beginning in 1842, with China's defeat by Britain in the First Opium War, Qing officials had allowed Britain, Germany, France, and the United

States to set up miniature colonies, known as settlements, in scores of China's major cities. Japan, with a new modern navy, defeated China in the war of 1894 to 1895, and claimed favorable trading and legal concessions similar to those already accorded to Western governments. Confined by tradition and unwilling to alter its policies, the Qing dynasty's weaknesses provoked widespread domestic political discontent. In southern China, where Western penetration was greatest and Qing domination was weakest, a twenty-year peasant-led utopian uprising, known as the Taiping Rebellion, had its roots in popular distrust of the central government and its tolerance of opium smoking, footbinding, and slavery. The Taiping Rebellion demonstrated the Qing's military weakness even within China's borders.

THE NATIONALIST PERIOD

Sun Yat-Sen (Sun Zhongshan, 1866–1925) emerged as the nationalist leader around whom the Chinese people rallied as the Qing leadership's deficiencies became increasingly evident in the early 1900s. Sun was a born organizer who had spent much of his youth in the largely westernized kingdom of Hawaii. He received a Western education, earned a medical degree, and returned to China to promote radical changes there. Sun's popular Three Principles program included a call for democracy in China, freedom from foreign powers, and governmental attention to the people's welfare.

In 1895 Sun led an attempt to overthrow the Qing dynasty, but the coup's collapse forced him into exile in Japan and Europe. In 1911 a military uprising by reform-minded politicians and military commanders in central China provided a pretext for Sun's return, and in late December the Qing rulers were deposed. Sun, backed by the political network known as the Guomindong (Kuomintang [KMT]) or Nationalist Party, became president of the new Republic of China. The KMT publicly endorsed Sun's Three Principles, but corrupt officials enacted policies that benefited China's wealthy business and landowning classes, often at the expense of the poor.

Although Sun was popular with China's general population, he had few advocates within China's military. Sun sought support from China's most powerful general, Yuan Shi-kai (1859–1916), whose army was based in the north. Unfamiliar with military politics, Sun was ousted by Yuan and exiled to Japan. From there Sun reorganized his KMT supporters, and in 1921, once again in southern China, he was proclaimed president of the National Government based at Guangzhou (Canton).

Meanwhile, Yuan had imposed military rule from his headquarters in the north, even proclaiming himself "emperor" of China in 1915. This decision alienated most of his generals, and when Yuan died in 1916 his administration fractured into several competing regions led by warlords who used brutal methods to retain power. Sun recognized that the warlords' competition presented an opportunity for the KMT to establish its power throughout China. Guided by his Three Principles of nationalism, democracy, and socialism (which Sun understood to mean equal distribution of land among China's peasant farmers), the KMT recruited new members and trained troops. In 1926 KMT forces marched northwards against the warlords, but Sun did not live to see the KMT's victories, having died in Beijing in 1925.

Sun was succeeded by KMT military commander Jiang Jieshi (Chang Kai-Shek, 1887–1975). Jiang had overseen the growth of the KMT military and approved its policy of cooperating with the small but vibrant Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The CCP had been founded by a group of intellectuals, writers, and students, many of whom were radicalized during China's May Fourth Movement, a period of nationalist fervor and intellectual ferment that grew out of mass protests against the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, which settled the immediate aftermath of World War I. Students, workers, and civil servants had been appalled to learn that China, having joined the Allies in 1917, was not represented at Versailles, and that instead Japan had been awarded special concessions at China's expense by the Western powers.

The resulting shock and shame soon developed into renewed interest in China's modernization and reform. University students in many of China's major cities formed coalitions with merchants and industrialists, and organized a mass boycott of Japanese imports. Nonetheless, the examination of Western ideas that characterized the May Fourth Movement was limited to small groups of students and writers who began to form nationalist, prodemocracy, and communist study circles. In 1921 one of these groups formed the CCP.

The CCP helped the KMT capitalize upon anti-Japanese sentiment of the kind that erupted in Shanghai after the shooting on May 30, 1925, of a Chinese laborer by his Japanese foreman. The nationwide wave of antiforeign strikes that followed this May 30 Incident strengthened urban CCP networks, including those in Guangzhou, the center of KMT influence. Jiang, the new KMT leader, invited the much smaller CCP to cooperate in a "united front," but the cooperative relationship only lasted until April 1927, when KMT forces turned on CCP organizers, destroying much of the Communists' organization.

The KMT then established its capital at Nanjing (Nanking), marking the beginning of the Nationalist Decade (1927–1937). The KMT ruled most of southern and central China, while the north came under the

control of a series of warlords, who claimed to be the lawful successors to the Qing dynasty, which had finally been overthrown in 1911. The KMT introduced banking, legal, and other reforms. Film and literature flourished, and the new Chinese elite produced lavish entertainments for Western visitors. However, Jiang's supporters indulged in corrupt business practices and employed paramilitary organizations to keep order and to crack down on the resurgent CCP.

THE RISE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE CIVIL WAR

In August 1927 CCP operatives had formed a fledgling military wing of their own, but harassment by Nationalist troops hobbled its development. In 1934 KMT troops pursued the nucleus of CCP forces on a zigzag route through west-central China. During this Long March, as it came to be known, the CCP selected a new leader, Mao Zedong (1893–1976), who emphasized the revolutionary potential of China's vast agricultural peasantry and who prescribed peasant-based guerrilla warfare as the means to seize power in China. Mao saw the potential to reap a political windfall by harnessing the ancient grievances of peasants against landowners. The CCP began recruiting peasants as political cadres, teachers, and soldiers, initiating land redistribution programs, and building a huge army trained in hit-and-run warfare techniques.

World War II began for China in 1931 when Japanese troops invaded Manchuria. The KMT, always weakest in the north, did not contest Japan's aggression. In 1937 Japan invaded central China, seizing Beijing, Shanghai, and Nanjing in succession. The attack on Nanjing was especially brutal, with over 400,000 civilians reported to have been terrorized, raped, and murdered. The attack forced the KMT to move its capital to Chongqing (Chungking) in remote southwestern China.

Japan's defeat in 1945 allowed KMT and CCP forces, which had largely avoided direct confrontations with Japanese troops, to reoccupy huge sections of China's mainland. Civil war between the two sides ensued. Communist troops, recruited from the peasantry, enjoyed the cooperation of rural farmers who resented the KMT's failure to fight the Japanese. Following Mao's "mass line," which proclaimed that the interests of the masses, rather than those of elites, must guide China's future, the CCP also gained adherents in China's cities, where the Japanese occupation had given way to the KMT's political suppression, corrupt practices, and hyperinflation.

Employing both conventional and mobile guerrilla tactics, CCP forces pushed KMT armies out of northern and central China. American mediation efforts failed, and the KMT was finally driven from the mainland altogether, exiled to the island of Taiwan, in 1949. Mao declared the founding of a new Communist government, the People's Republic of China (PRC), on October 1, 1949.

THE CHANGING CHINESE CONTEXT

The breadth of the revolutions that occurred in China between 1911 and 1949—in international relations, government, civil society, education, political expression, and the arts—was virtually without modern parallel. The half-baked modernization efforts permitted by the Qing dynasty were replaced by a self-confident, ideologically driven government backed by an enormous, albeit technologically backward, military organization.

KMT officials, who lacked political cohesion and tenacity in combating Japanese aggression, were replaced by a highly organized Communist Party whose cadres followed Mao's doctrines to make China "stand up." Under Mao's leadership the CCP unleashed China's greatest asset, its enormous manpower, to modernize its economy. Communist China quickly emerged as a regional military power, as the Korean War (1950–1953) demonstrated, while also addressing such tradition-bound social injustices as usurious interest rates, predatory taxes, and the notorious practice of female footbinding.

In the early years of the twenty-first century, the Chinese Communist government founded by Mao still governed mainland China, but its orientation toward its past reflected political accommodations with Mao's revolutionary legacy. After Mao's death in 1976, reformer Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997) took power, setting aside Mao's "mass line" in favor of "socialism with Chinese characteristics," in which the role of ideology was subordinated to the demands of economic efficiency. Mao's use of propaganda and mass mobilization campaigns gave way to macroeconomic planning and free-market mechanisms. Material incentives replaced political appeals, marking a trend that continued into the early years of the twenty-first century.

Several controversies about China's revolutionary period persist into the early twenty-first century. These include questions about Japanese atrocities committed during the "rape of Nanjing" in 1937, about the CCP's use of intimidation and brutality in land-reform campaigns, and about the silencing of CCP members who criticized Mao. Scholars in the West have also engaged in interpretive debates on whether the ouster of the Qing dynasty was in any real sense a "revolution," how far Western powers manipulated the KMT-CCP struggle, and whether Mao himself was a visionary social theorist or a ruthless political operator.

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CHINA, FOREIGN TRADE

China undertook extensive forms of foreign trade from the creation of a unified state under the Han dynasty until the fifteenth century, when a change in direction saw the country increasingly isolated from its neighbors and a continual downgrading of the importance and value of trade. Much of the early forms of trade were conducted under the guise of collecting tribute from vassal, or nominally vassal, states. At sea, foreign trade became dominated by Chinese junks, which were of a size and scope that greatly exceeded any international competition, including Arabian and Javanese rivals. Chinese maritime domination reached its apogee under Admiral Zheng He's (1371–1433) journeys, by which time Chinese trade reached from Madagascar to perhaps as far as the Americas. Chinese porcelain was then unparalleled and represented the dominant export good.

By land, the various routes that together constituted the Silk Road further linked the Chinese market with the Arab, Indian, and Mediterranean markets to the west. This led to the presence of extensive communities of foreigners in cities and towns in prominent positions along the Silk Road and to sophisticated methods of regulating trade. However, periodic outbreaks of xenophobia by some of the Chinese and perennial complaints by foreigners of having to provide economic rents to local officials were the causes of tension and occasional conflict.

However, Confucianist thought, which has been influential in China throughout history, considered trade to be the province of inferior people and the ability of local officials (or mandarins) to squeeze taxes on foreign imported goods further brought the names and reputations of merchants into disrepute. Nevertheless, overseas goods continued to move in and out of fashion throughout history, even if the central government saw little of value in Western merchandise and preferred exotic goods from Southeast Asia and elsewhere.

OPIUM WARS AND UNEQUAL TREATIES

The closing of China's markets roughly coincided with the arrival of Europeans wishing to trade and ultimately to colonize Asia. While the Europeans recognized the Chinese achievements in building and technology, as expressed by the wonderment of the author Marco Polo (ca. 1254–1324), they resented being told what to do and how to conduct their trade. The emperor permitted only one legal outlet for international trade with the Europeans, and their traders were obliged to remain within their enclave, which was a place forbidden to women and generally a much less pleasant posting than Southeast Asian markets. Further, all trade was to be conducted with a court-appointed monopoly known as the *cohong* system.

The opening of trade routes between the Philippines and Spain and between Spain and the New World enabled almost all the global distribution of products. The silks produced in China were cheaper than those of Spain and the Spanish found themselves being priced out of their own markets in Mexico and Central America. This led to a ban on sales of Chinese products in the New World, which was enforced after 1604. Control of the Chinese market, it was felt in Europe, was essential for stability and imperial development. However, the Chinese state was not prepared to make any compromises with Europeans, who were considered to be essentially unimportant. It was a different situation where Russia was concerned, as its eastward expansion collided with Chinese territory and represented a definite threat. This led to a treaty demarcating borders and the installation of a Russian ambassador to Beijing, the only foreigner to be given this privilege.

Nevertheless, the pressure for increased trade led inevitably to open confrontation. The British took position as the most important mercantile presence in the region from the Portuguese and Dutch and found their home market increasingly dependent on a Chinese

commodity, tea, not the silks and porcelains that had been of so much demand elsewhere. The demand for tea in Britain grew at an enormous rate, but there was little that the China market wanted from Britain in return, which led to a steady transfer of silver from west to east. Considering this to be destabilizing, the British cast around for a suitable export to China and eventually decided upon opium.

When the British colonized India, a three-way trade was established in which British-grown opium was exported from India to China in exchange for tea. The demand for opium grew very rapidly and led to considerable social disorder in China, whereas previously it had been of very limited impact. However, when the Chinese authorities banned the trade, the British were quite prepared to continue on an illegal basis by smuggling. Nevertheless, determined efforts by some Chinese officials to end the trade by destroying stocks of opium led to inevitable confrontation. In the two resulting so-called Opium Wars (1839–1842 and 1856–1860), European technology and organization defeated outmatched Chinese methods, and British naval vessels dominated both rivers and seas. The Chinese were obliged to sign a series of unequal treaties with not just Britain but also France, the United States, and other powers. These treaties ceded the treaty ports, including Hong Kong and Shanghai, where foreign trade was to be permitted and enabled the Western merchants to benefit from extraterritoriality, which meant they would no longer be subject to Chinese law or justice in their enclaves.

COLONIZATION AND ITS END

Beijing was thoroughly looted during the Opium Wars and its government was forced to stand by while the population was introduced to the dubious pleasures of a debilitating and addictive narcotic on an industrial scale. Capital now flowed from East to West as a result of this trade and the extraordinarily heavy reparations regularly laid upon the Chinese state were intensified with every outbreak of antiforeigner unrest. Free traders, glorified pirates, traveled up and down the coast and rivers to spread trade further through China, while central authority broke down in many provincial areas. While not formally colonized by Europeans, most of China's significant decisions were made by cabals of external powers, whose primary interest was in extracting resources at as great a rate as possible.

The final phase of colonization involved the physical conquest by the Japanese, whose brutal assaults remain an open wound in diplomatic relations decades later. Once again, the Chinese economy was subjected to the needs of conquerors rather than being allowed to develop itself and industrialize. The victory of the Nationalists of

Jiang Jieshi (1887–1975) and the Communists led by Mao Zedong (1893–1976) restored independence but forced the country into a new period of comparative economic isolation in which Chinese society and industry was deprived of useful imports. As such, their technology remained far below international standards.

OVERSEAS CHINESE

For approximately fifteen hundred years the Chinese have been traveling overseas to make their homes there. Although few countries these days do not have a Chinese community of some sort, most of this migration has involved Southeast Asian countries. Overseas Chinese have historically felt a strong loyalty to their original home and continued to conduct many economic transactions with it. This ranged from exporting unmarried women for overseas workers, to remittances to complex social organizations linking home villages with expatriates. Much of this trade and investment took place informally, or at least without official records. It continued at a high level between Taiwan and the mainland during years of tension between the two states, whereas much of the high level of trade registered in Hong Kong has been a form of round-tripping that saw money invested in the mainland with some incentives actually having originated there.

WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Intense negotiations preceded China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), which will require more open markets for trade and investment and will lead to considerable structural change in the Chinese economy as workers are moved out of noncompetitive industries into others that are competitive. The low wage cost of manufacturing goods that has played such an important part of China's economic growth at the end of the twentieth century will increasingly be supplemented by advanced electronics and telecommunications products and services.

SEE ALSO *China, after 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, to the First Opium War; Compradorial System; Guangzhou; Opium; Opium Wars; Treaties, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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John Walsh

CHINA MERCHANTS STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY

Qing dynasty official Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) established the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company (*Lunchuan zhaoshang ju*) in 1872 in order to reclaim for China a share of the profits from steam shipping in Chinese waters that had been enjoyed by foreign shipping firms since the early 1860s.

The China Merchants Steam Navigation Company was the first of several "officially supervised, merchant managed" (*guandu shangban*) industrial enterprises set up by Chinese officials in the late nineteenth century (e.g., Kaiping Mines, Shanghai Cotton Cloth Mill, and Hanyeping Coal and Iron Corporation, among others). The company was supervised by Li Hongzhang (as governor-general of Zhili Province and commissioner of the northern ports), and managed by former compradors with experience in steamship operations. Government support of the company consisted of an exclusive contract to carry the tribute grain (a yearly tax in kind) from the Yangzi Valley to the capital, as well as loans from government sources and monopoly rights that precluded the founding of rival Chinese steamship companies.

In its first decade, the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company competed successfully with foreign companies, extended routes to Japan and Southeast Asia, and purchased the fleet of the failing American Shanghai Steam Navigation Company. Although it remained one of the four most prominent shipping companies in China between the 1880s and World War II, the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company did not grow at the same rate as rival British and Japanese firms. After government official Sheng Xuanhuai (1844–1916) became China Merchants director-general in 1885, the merchant managers lost much of their autonomy and the company became increasingly subject to official exactions in the form of both routine corruption and the diversion of funds to other *guandu shangban* enterprises.

In 1911 the company's board of directors voted to sever its official connection, and it operated as a private concern until the Nanjing regime of Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi, 1887–1975) nationalized it in 1935, renaming it the National China Merchants Company (*Guoying lunchuan zhaoshang ju*). After 1949, the China Merchants' mainland branches were incorporated into the state shipping company of the People's Republic of China. The Hong Kong branch remained in business, becoming an important investor in mainland China's special economic zones in the 1980s and 1990s.

SEE ALSO *Chinese Diaspora; Compradors; Hong Kong, to World War II; Self-Strengthening Movements, East Asia and the Pacific; Shanghai.*

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Anne Reinhardt

CHINESE DIASPORA

The Chinese diaspora was initially directed toward the countries around the South China Sea. Chinese mariners or "junk" traders from the southern provinces of Fujian and Guangdong had been frequenting the "Nanyang" (i.e., the South China Sea and the countries surrounding it) since the Song dynasty (960–1279), and some individuals had settled in the port cities of the region. Most were wealthy traders who dominated commerce with China, some serving as tax farmers.

Following the Qing takeover during the 1600s and the rising Chinese demand for pepper and tin, Chinese laborers were sent to the region to produce them. By the 1780s, there were important settlements of Chinese miners and planters scattered throughout the region. They numbered about 100,000 and came mainly from parts of Fujian near Xiamen and Guangdong near Shantou. The settlers included speakers of Kejiahua, Chaozhouhua, and Minanhua.

This emigration of coolie labor was the distinctive mark of the Chinese diaspora for the next century. Their labor drove the emerging economy of colonial Southeast

Asia. After 1819, the British colony of Singapore became the major center for the coolie trade. From there, Chinese traders, brokers, and crimps managed the dispatch of this important resource to the mines and plantations of Southeast Asia. At the same time, cities, such as Bangkok, Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City), Manila, Batavia (Jakarta), and hundreds of smaller towns in the region grew as they filled with thousands of Chinese workers, hawkers, craftsmen, and traders. By the mid-nineteenth century, the population of laborers continued to increase, but the products began to flow increasingly to the West.

In 1848, with the discovery of gold in California, and later in Australia, Chinese labor, both Cantonese and Hakka, primarily from the Guangzhou area, began to move across the Pacific. This migration flourished until the 1880s, when both the United States and Australia enacted Asian exclusion policies. Nonetheless, significant settlement nodes had developed along the west coast of both North and South America and in Australia.

Before the twentieth century, very few Chinese women had emigrated, and those that did were often kidnapped and fated to lives of prostitution. During the 1920s, however, significant numbers of Chinese women began to emigrate, following their menfolk to the large Chinese settlements throughout Southeast Asia and the United States. This migration saw the establishment of family life among the Chinese working classes of the diaspora, as well as the stabilization of communities, the growth of schools and newspapers, and a rise of political and social awareness and activity. For the first time, new migrants were from China's intellectual classes. Fleeing political persecution in China, they worked as teachers and writers and revolutionary activists. Indigenous Southeast Asians and colonial governments both came to view this growth of Chinese nationalism as a threat.

With the economic depression in the 1930s, Chinese migration slowed dramatically and was even reversed in many areas. World War II and the subsequent disorder of the Chinese civil war brought waves of refugees out of China. Some went to Hong Kong, others to Taiwan, with many others fleeing to already established communities in the Nanyang and the United States. Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, however, legal emigration from China completely stopped, except for a small flow of refugees through Hong Kong.

SEE ALSO *China, after 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, to the First Opium War.*

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Carl A. Trocki

CHINESE, IMPERIAL MARITIME CUSTOMS

This foreign-managed customs collection agency evolved from the Shanghai Foreign Inspectorate of Customs, an improvisation by Rutherford Alcock, British consul at Shanghai, for collecting customs duties on behalf of the Chinese government, after it temporarily lost control of the city to rebels in 1853. It began operation in mid-1854 under inspectors nominated by British, American, and French consuls. Its success, coupled with China's weakness, led to its continuation and, after the second Opium War (1856–1860), its extension to all treaty ports. Its name was duly changed to the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service (the prefix *Imperial* was dropped after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912). Having lost control of tariff autonomy in 1842, the Chinese now suffered another erosion of their sovereignty.

The early development of this institution owed much to Robert Hart, an Ulsterman, who served as inspector-general for forty-five years (1863–1908). His insistence on honesty and efficiency turned the Customs Service into an important revenue collector for the Qing government. Customs duties, which increased with trade, rose from 7 million taels (US$11,200,000) in the 1860s, to 22 million (US$17,600,000) in the early 1890s, and 35 million (US$22,800,000) in the early 1900s. Though the revenue financed modernizing projects for China, such as government shipyards and arsenals, it was increasingly pledged to paying China's war indemnities and foreign loans. Foreign management also made it impossible for the Chinese to shield the revenue from disbursements that favored foreign interests. After the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Boxer uprising (1900) practically all its revenues were pledged to meeting China's loans and indemnities.

The Customs Service's activities went beyond customs collection, however. It completed the charting of the China coast and the Yangzi River, a task begun by the British Navy, erected lighthouses as well as other

navigational aids and harbor facilities. It also founded the Imperial Post Office in 1896, which became independent in 1911. These facilities were first instituted to benefit the foreigners and their penetration into China. Nevertheless, the Customs Service also represented China in twenty-eight international trade exhibitions. Its commercial reports remained the only accurate account of China's foreign trade.

Foreign personnel dominated the Customs Service. In 1875 it employed 400 Westerners and 1,400 Chinese. The numbers increased to 700 and 3,500 respectively in 1895. Higher-level offices were reserved for foreigners; the Chinese held lower-level jobs, often with outdoor duties. More than half of the westerners were British. Control of the Customs Service reverted to the Chinese in 1933.

SEE ALSO *China, after 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; Extraterritoriality; Opium; Shanghai.*

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David Pong

CHRISTIANITY AND COLONIAL EXPANSION IN THE AMERICAS

Spain was the first European country to colonize what today is North and South America, and the Spanish approach to the region came from several directions. One was from the Caribbean area, primarily Cuba and Puerto Rico, into Florida. At its height of development, Spanish Florida included the coastal regions of Georgia and southern South Carolina. A second was into central Mexico and then northward to what today is the northern tier of the Mexican states and California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas in the United States. From Mexico and the Caribbean, the Spanish moved into Central America, which in turn served as a base of operations for the conquest of Peru. Other points of entry were through the Río de la Plata region and *tierra firme* (firm land, mainland), the coast of Colombia and Venezuela.

Several elements framed the Spanish colonization of the Americas. The first was the *reconquista,* the seven-century-long process of reconquest of much of Iberia (the peninsula now occupied by Spain and Portugal) from Muslims who first invaded the region in 711. The protracted *reconquista* often proceeded in fits and starts, and the frontier between Muslim and Christian territories was permeable, with sides not always clearly defined. There are numerous instances of alliances between Christians

and Muslims, as well as figures such as El Cid (Ruy Díaz, count of Bivar, ca. 1043–1099), a Spanish soldier who joined the other side.

However, the conflict had a profound influence on the development of Iberian Catholicism and Iberian society. Iberian Catholicism became highly chauvinistic, exclusivistic, and militant. Iberian Catholicism also had a strong thread of mysticism and Marianism (devotion to the Virgin Mary), and championed the acceptance by the Catholic Church of the concept of the Immaculate Conception, which held that Mary was born free from original sin. Finally, the reform of the church, and particularly of the mendicant and monastic orders in the late fifteenth century, created a pool of missionaries to be sent to the newly conquered lands to convert the natives.

As the *reconquista* drew to a close in 1492 with the conquest of Grenada, the last Muslim state in the southern part of Iberia, Queen Isabella (1451–1504), "the Catholic" ordered the expulsion of Jews who refused to convert to Christianity. Castile became increasingly intolerant in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Jews in particular faced persecution. They already resided in separate ghettos in the major cities, and they experienced periodic pogroms, such as occurred in 1398.

About a century later in 1609, the crown ordered the expulsion of the remaining Muslim population in southern Iberia. Castile was also the first country to initiate a national inquisition independent of the papacy in 1478, and the court used the Holy Office (a Roman Catholic body charged with protecting the faith) to enforce the Catholic orthodoxy and insure that the *converses* (Jews forcibly converted to Catholicism) did not secretly practice their old beliefs. Iberia was Europe's only multiethnic and multicultural frontier during most of the medieval period, but as the Christians gained the advantage over the Muslims they initiated colonial policies designed to control the Muslim majority in the southern part of the peninsula and to transform the region into a Christian land.

The *reconquista* was also viewed as a crusade to liberate formerly Christian lands from the hands of the infidels, and the papacy recognized the reconquest as such. Crusader military orders, such as Santiago and Calatrava, evolved and were given extensive privileges and feudal jurisdictions in southern Iberia. The Iberian monarchs, the nobility, and the crusader orders were standard bearers for the "true faith," and they waged war to defeat the infidels, as well as for profit.

This crusader mentality was carried with the first overseas expansion into the Canary Islands in the fifteenth century and later into the Americas. Moreover, the crusade to carry the true faith to non-Christians provided a justification for conquest, and the religion of conquest formed the basis for the ideology of Iberian

expansion into the Americas. Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) and the other Iberian explorers and *conquistadores* carried the banner of the crusader faith, and also sought profit while saving the souls of the infidels and pagans.

Following the encounter with the New World after 1492, the papacy theoretically assumed responsibility for the organization of missions to evangelize the newly encountered peoples. However, the papacy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was embroiled in convoluted Italian politics, wars, and massive building projects that left the popes with insufficient resources to undertake such a major enterprise.

The 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas between Portugal and Spain, negotiated by the Spanish-born Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503), ratified the donation and division of the non-Christian world between the two countries. The papacy later made a number of concessions to the Crown of Castile known as the *real patronato* (royal patronage). In exchange for organizing and financing the evangelization of the large native populations in its newly acquired territories, the crown gained considerable authority over the Catholic Church in its American territories. This authority included the right to nominate bishops and archbishops, to create new church jurisdictions, and to fill most positions in the church. The crown also collected and retained a part of the tithes paid to the church.

The Spanish and other Europeans believed that their faith was the only true faith, and that it was their obligation to bring their faith to pagans. The experience of the *reconquista* in Iberia was not unique in European history. Christians had faced non-Christians for centuries, and these contacts were often confrontational and violent. In the Mediterranean area, and this included Iberia, the threat came from Muslims, and war raged for centuries. Expansion by the Ottoman Turks brought the conflict to Central Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

During the early modern period in Europe (fifteenth century on), nation-state and national identities emerged, and Christianity was a key element of those identities. As the Spanish and other Europeans invaded and colonized Europe, it would have been inconceivable for them to have not brought their faith with them and plant it in the New World.

The evangelization of the native peoples of the Americas first occurred within the context of private colonization. The first expansion overseas to the Canary Islands was organized by private individuals given grants of jurisdiction. Similarly, private individuals or consortiums of individuals organized most expeditions of exploration and conquest. The crown attempted to establish basic ground rules to insure that the native peoples were not subject to an unjust war of conquest, and that the *conquistadores* made provisions to evangelize the natives in the true faith. Spaniards could initiate a just war against peoples who rejected the authority of the king and had known and rejected Christianity. For example, Christians could wage war against and enslave Muslims, who had known Christianity for centuries and persisted in their own beliefs.

The crown stipulated the reading of the *Requerimiento* (Requirement) to native peoples before initiating war. The document, written in 1510 by the jurist Juan López de Palacios Rubios (1450–1524), gave the natives an opportunity to embrace the true faith and the authority of the king. The Laws of Burgos, legislated in 1512 and 1513, attempted to limit the exploitation and abuse of the native populations of the island of Hispaniola (now Haiti and the Dominican Republic) under *encomienda* grants of jurisdiction. The laws stipulated that the holders of the *encomiendas* provide priests to convert the natives, although this provision was not always observed. The laws proved to be too little too late for the island's population, which was rapidly declining as a result of mistreatment and disease.

The conquests of Mexico (1519–1521) and other regions on the American mainland were followed by a more concerted effort at the evangelization of the native peoples. In 1524 the first group of twelve Franciscans arrived in Mexico. The "twelve apostles," as they were called, were only the first of a growing number of missionaries from orders including the Franciscans, Mercedarians, Augustinians, and Dominicans. The missionaries first engaged in mass baptisms and campaigns to extirpate the old gods and religion. This included efforts to destroy the images of the pre-Hispanic gods, which did not always prove successful. The statue of Huitzilopochtli from the Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlán evaded the Spanish, this despite a high-profile Inquisition trial in the mid-1530s. The ancestor religion persisted in the Andean region well into the colonial period

The mood of the early evangelization campaigns in Mexico, the Andean region, and other parts of mainland America was one of triumphalism. The missionaries reported thousands of baptisms that they equated to conversion, and native workers erected new and increasingly imposing churches designed to replace the sacred precincts of the pre-Hispanic religions. The missionaries also believed that they were bolstering Spanish rule in the Americas by converting the natives. However, the majority of the missionaries chose to ignore the old religious practices and beliefs of the new converts beyond the minimal knowledge necessary to extirpate the gods they equated to the devil. The Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590) was one of the few to record the culture of the natives.

Disillusionment came in some instances within a generation or two of the arrival of the missionaries, as it became evident that pre-Hispanic religions, such as the Andean practices of ancestor worship, persisted underground. The organization of anti-idolatry campaigns confirmed the superficiality of the mass baptisms in the early phase of evangelization. Moreover, there were revitalization movements, such as Taki Onqoy in Peru in the 1560s, centered on the belief that the old gods would vanquish the new Christian gods. Royal policy also worked against the members of the missionary orders working in the Americas. There was a series of conflicts between the missionary orders and local bishops concerning episcopal authority over the missionaries or the lack thereof. In the 1570s in Mexico, for example, the crown ordered the missionary orders to hand over the native towns to the bishops, and to transfer personnel to work on missions on the northern frontier.

In such core areas as central Mexico and the Andean Highlands, the Spanish encountered sedentary agriculturalists living under highly stratified hierarchical state systems. On the fringes of the American territories, however, were native peoples who were nomadic hunters and gatherers or sedentary farmers living under tribal or clan polities. The crown initiated mission programs on these frontier regions, with the goal of creating a new colonial order based on autonomous communities on the model of those in central Mexico or the Andean region. Missions, also known as *reducciones* in some areas, became the most important frontier institution. Missions operated on all Spanish frontiers in the Americas. Well known examples include the Jesuit missions of Paraguay and the Franciscan missions of California.

Religion and the church also played an important role in the social control of Spanish America and in solidifying Spanish authority. Until the late eighteenth century, Spain did not have armies in Spanish America. Therefore, Spanish rule depended on the consensus of the colonized, and particularly of the Creole elites who presided over a society where peoples of color (natives, peoples defined as being of mixed ancestry) formed the majority. Priests preached obedience and compliance with the social rules that governed colonial society. Moreover, they stressed the rewards of an afterlife attained by not challenging the status quo.

The attitude of the Spanish government towards the role of the church changed in the mid to late eighteenth century with the growing influence of Enlightenment ideas and the initiation of reform of the colonial system in the Americas following a serious defeat at the hands of the British during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The so-called Bourbon reforms stressed the strengthening

Archangel, Peru, circa 1700. *This eighteenth-century oil painting from Peru depicts a Christian archangel dressed as a colonist and shouldering a musket.* **THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

of royal authority in the Americas and the reining in of the Catholic Church.

One example of the growing anticlericalism was the order to expel the Jesuits in 1767 from the Spanish empire. Significantly, of the different missionary orders, only the Jesuits had a truly international organization. Other orders, such as the Franciscans, had separate organizations in each European country.

Bourbon anticlericalism also had a pragmatic side. A common belief was that the church controlled significant resources held in a form of entail that retarded economic development, which was a Bourbon goal. More economic activity generated more tax revenues. There was also considerable debate over the continued reliance on missions on the frontier, but a pragmatic decision was made to continue supporting them.

CHURCH AND CHRISTIANITY IN OTHER EUROPEAN COLONIES

Both Portugal and France brought missionaries to the Americas to evangelize the native populations. Moreover,

both countries established Catholicism as the official state religion in the American colonies. Beyond this, there were significant differences in Portuguese and French policies towards the native peoples.

The Portuguese introduced commercial plantation agriculture into Brazil, and in the early stages of economic development relied heavily on Indian slave laborers. The colonists of São Paulo engaged heavily in the trade in Indian slaves, and in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Paulistas (colonists from São Paulo), also known as *bandeirantes,* ranged through the interior of South American enslaving Indians. In the 1630s the Paulistas attacked the Jesuit missions in the Río de la Plata region.

African slaves gradually replaced Indian slaves on the plantations. Jesuit missionaries came to Brazil and organized communities of natives called *aldeias* that were in some ways similar to Spanish frontier missions. However, the *aldeias* were generally located close to Portuguese settlements and served as labor reserves for the settlers.

The French in Canada, on the other hand, sought profit from the fur trade, and they relied on Indians for trade. Agriculture was developed at only a subsistence level and did not rely on Indian labor. Jesuits and other missionaries established missions for natives in Canada, the Great Lakes region, also known as the Terre Haut, and Louisiana. The Jesuit missions among the Hurons in the 1620s to late 1640s were the most successful, and the Black Robes, as native peoples called the Jesuits, converted about a third of the total Huron population. Sainte Marie des Hurons, located in Ontario, Canada, is a reconstruction of one of the missions. However, conflict between the Huron and the Iroquois led to the destruction of the Jesuit missions.

The state religion of England in the seventeenth century was the Church of England, and by law all residents of England were required to adhere to the doctrine of the church contained in the *Book of Common Prayer,* which was a compromise between Catholicism and the beliefs of the different Protestant sects. The colonies in North America offered "dissenters" (groups that rejected the doctrine of the Church of England) an opportunity to practice their beliefs free of persecution.

The Calvinists, commonly known as the Puritans, were one group that migrated to North America to practice their religious beliefs without interference. They created a theocracy that endured for some fifty years. The Catholic nobleman Lord Baltimore (Cecil Calvert, ca. 1605–1675) established Maryland in the 1630s as a haven for persecuted Catholics. William Penn (1644–1718), whose father had been an admiral and had connections at court, established Pennsylvania in 1682 for members of the Society of Friends, also known

as Quakers, a radical Protestant sect founded by George Fox (1624–1691). Pennsylvania during the colonial period was a haven for persecuted religious minorities. The German Pietists, better known as the Amish, was one such group that migrated to Pennsylvania to escape persecution in Europe.

Unlike the Spanish, the English did not initiate a systematic campaign to evangelize the native peoples they encountered in North America, and they generally viewed the natives as an obstacle to creating European communities in America. One exception was the effort by Puritan John Eliot (1604–1690) to establish what he called "praying towns" in New England. Eliot first preached to the Nipmuc Indians in 1646 at the site of modern Newton, Massachusetts. In 1650 Eliot organized the first praying town at Natick, also in Massachusetts. By 1675, there were fourteen praying towns, eleven in Massachusetts and three in Connecticut, mostly among the Nipmuc. Eliot also translated the Bible into the native language and published the translation between 1661 and 1663. The outbreak of the conflict between the English and native peoples known as King Philip's War (1675–1677) led to the collapse of the praying towns.

Protestant missions to native peoples continued in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and even into the twentieth centuries. In the second half of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the missions often operated on reservations created by the United States government. Protestant missionaries often ran the schools for native children that attempted to obliterate most aspects of their native culture, which identified the missions with the assimilationist policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Why did Catholic missions achieve a higher degree of success than did Protestant missions? Three possible explanations have been suggested. The first has to do with the very nature of colonization by the Spanish, French, and English. The Spanish developed a colonial system based on their contacts with advanced sedentary native societies in central Mexico and the Andean region. Their colonial system relied on the exploitation of the native populations, and, as noted above, they gained legitimacy for their conquests from the papal donation that required the evangelization of the native peoples. This, taken with the experience of the *reconquista,* the drive towards orthodoxy within Iberia in the fifteenth century, and the longstanding crusader ethic, gave rise to the impulse to bring the true faith to the native peoples.

The vision of Europe's Hapsburg monarchs in the sixteenth century only reinforced these tendencies. The Hapsburgs viewed themselves as the defenders of the true faith, and led crusades against the Turkish threat in the

Mediterranean world and the growing number of Protestants in central Europe.

The government-supported missionaries and the evangelization of French and English colonies in North America were quite different from that of the Spanish. The French established settlements in the Saint Lawrence River valley, but also engaged in trade with native groups for furs. The French also believed their faith to be superior and to be the only true faith, and felt the responsibility to take that faith to the native peoples. At the same time the presence of missionaries, particularly Jesuits among the Huron, also facilitated the fur trade.

The English colonies were different from the French and Spanish. The English came to America to firmly implant Europe there. They came to establish towns and farms, and arrived in large numbers and wanted the land that was occupied by the natives. Whereas the Spanish and French had reasons to establish relations with native peoples, the English did not. The American natives occupied lands the English wanted, and the native inhabitants were generally viewed as a threat to the English settlements. Thus the colonial governments did not support missions in the same way that the Spanish and French did.

The nexus of relations between the English and native peoples can be see in the example of the New England Puritan colonies, as well as early Virginia. The Puritans believed that God had given them the land in New England to exploit, and Puritan leaders were inclined to push native communities aside. The relationship was often violent, as evidenced by the Pequot War in 1636 and 1637 and King Philip's War. The latter conflict was a desperate attempt by native peoples to preserve their society and culture in the face of aggressive English occupation and creation of new communities that forced natives off of their lands.

In Virginia, the colonization of Jamestown and other new communities was met by resistance from native groups almost from the beginning, resulting in two major conflicts in the 1620s and again in the 1640s. These conflicts, and the general attitude of the English towards native peoples, did not create a climate conducive to the launching of missionary campaigns. Moreover, the English colonists developed generally autonomous local governments that tended to be unsympathetic to evangelization of native peoples.

A second factor was theological. Catholicism was and is a religion with mass appeal, because it offers salvation to those who repent. Moreover, doctrine dictates the baptism of children as soon as possible after birth, because of the belief that unbaptized children will go to purgatory after they die. Furthermore, a degree of syncretism occurred in Catholic missions established on native communities in central Mexico, the Andean region, and the fringes of Spanish territory, such as the north Mexican frontier. Syncretism, such as the association by native peoples of old gods with Catholic saints, was a key factor in what the missionaries believed to be the conversion of native peoples to the true faith.

The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, on the other hand, introduced new beliefs that did not lend themselves to the conversion of native peoples with cultures that did not have a foundation in Christianity. The Anabaptists, for example, rejected the baptism of newborn children, and instead believed that the acceptance of God's covenant should be a decision made when people could fully understand the decision being made. The Calvinist belief in predestination, the idea that God had already chosen those who would gain salvation and those who would not, also did not lend itself to mass conversion.

Moreover, the seventeenth-century Puritan theocracy in New England, which afforded full church membership only to the "elect" (those who could show that they had God's grace and would gain salvation), was a cause of friction between native peoples in the region and the colonists. The Puritan leadership expected native peoples to live by an alien set of moral and social rules, even if the natives had chosen not to embrace the new faith. This policy contributed to the outbreak of King Philip's War, and it certainly did not make the new religion attractive to native peoples. Puritan leaders did not tolerate any deviation from their teachings, and they did not tolerate the syncretism that facilitated "conversion" in Spanish America.

Finally, demographic patterns undermined evangelization, particularly in Protestant English colonies. In the centuries following the first European incursions into the Americas, native populations declined in numbers because of disease and other factors. Mortality rates were particularly high among children, the segment of the native population in which missionaries placed their greatest hopes for indoctrination.

In the California missions, for example, the Franciscans continued to relocate pagans on the missions while indoctrinating the children and adults already living there. This meant that there were always large numbers of pagans interacting with new converts already exposed to varying levels of Catholic indoctrination. These conditions created a climate conducive to the covert survival of traditional religious beliefs. Moreover, infant and child mortality rates were high, and most children died before reaching their tenth birthday. This limited the ability of the missionaries to create a core of indoctrinated children in the mission populations.

The United States today is a Christian country because of the imprint of European colonists and their descendants and not because of the conversion of native peoples to the new religion. The trajectory of Spanish colonization established a strong Catholic tradition in much of Latin America.

SEE ALSO *Catholic Church in Iberian America; Mission, Civilizing; Religion, Roman Catholic Church.*

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Robert H. Jackson

CINNAMON

Cinnamon is the dried bark from several varieties of small evergreen trees or bushes of the laurel family that provide similar flavors. Early cinnamons—such as *Cinnamomum burmanni,* which originated in Burma (Myanmar) and grows in southern China, South Asia, and Southeast Asia—were actually harvested from other varieties of evergreen laurel trees, known as cassia. Cassia bark is peeled into strips that curl into a "quill" shape when dried. Because the exterior bark is left on, the strip is thick, coarse, and dark brown.

True cinnamon, or *Cinnamomum zeylanicum,* is native only to Sri Lanka. It possesses a more delicate flavor and aroma than cassia. It is handled in the same manner, with an important exception—the coarse, first bark is removed by scraping, leaving a thinner, paler, light red-brown quill. The variation in handling cassia and true cinnamon sounds slight, but consumers perceived a difference and were prepared to pay for it.

Cinnamon was found in the wild and was not exploited on plantations in Sri Lanka until the later half of the eighteenth century. Multiple efforts were made in the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries by different colonial powers (the Portuguese in Brazil; the Spanish on Mindanao in the Philippines; the Dutch on Sumatra; and the French on Mauritius and Réunion and in Guyana) to transplant true cinnamon. They were less successful than with other spices, in part because of the extra semiartisanal handling required in its peeling. Some colonial powers and others, such as the Chinese, chose to increase deliveries of false cinnamon, which found market acceptance on the basis of price. Their efforts to break the Dutch and subsequent British monopoly of true cinnamon met with success in the nineteenth century.

The Portuguese, from 1506 until 1658, actively commercialized the commodity in Europe and Asia, but they did not establish an effective monopoly. The Dutch East India Company from 1658 to 1796, and later the English East India Company, did establish a monopoly over cinnamon.

The Dutch controlled deliveries and prices. From 1658 to 1760, the total volume of cinnamon delivered to them on Sri Lanka approximated 27,670 metric tons (about 30,500 short tons). Three-quarters of this volume was exported to Europe. The other quarter was ostensibly meant for sale in Asia, but most of it was sold to intermediaries or directly to the Spanish in the Philippines for transshipment to markets in the New World; only a small fraction was sold and consumed in Asia. Approximately one-half of the cinnamon sold in Europe was destined for Spain and its empire. Other major markets were France,

the Netherlands, and the early political configurations of modern Italy and Germany.

From 1650 to 1700 the Dutch doubled the price of cinnamon in Europe from 1.50 to 3 guilders per pound. By 1750 they had doubled it again, to 6 guilders. In the 1780s it neared 9 guilders. It returned to an average of 6 or 7 guilders in the 1790s. The profits were considerable. A precise calculation is not possible because colonial administrative expenditures were kept separate from cinnamon income.

SEE ALSO *Ceylon; Dutch United East India Company.*

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George Bryan Souza

CITIES AND TOWNS IN THE AMERICAS

Spanish towns in America were generally based on an unvarying plan, laid down as early as 1523 and finalized in what is known as the Laws of the Indies. The plan, first used in the town of Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola (now occupied by Haiti and the Dominican Republic), is commonly referred to as a *gridiron* and may have its origin in many sources. The design called for a central square with a series of perfectly straight streets extending out in all directions and forming blocks with four-building lots. The gridiron form was not seen at that time in Spain or the rest of Europe, and its adoption in the New World is one of the legacies left by the Spanish.

In Santo Domingo, the soldiers who laid out the town were not concerned with creating a well-proportioned city, and instead possibly copied a military design with which they were familiar—that of the base of Santa Fe used by Isabella (1451–1504) and Ferdinand (1452–1516) during the siege of the Moorish stronghold of Granada in southern Spain. The design also had precursors in the ancient Greco-Roman world, and Spain may have been especially influenced by the layout of Roman cities that had been built on Spanish land. The gridiron design was also in line with the theories of Italian humanists whose work was becoming popular in Spain. Along with the gridiron design, the Laws of the Indies specified criteria in terms of terrain and climate to be observed when founding towns.

Government in Spanish America was in theory very centralized, and its major centers were towns and cities. All Spanish holdings in America were considered to be extensions of Spain itself, and most who were involved in colonial government were sent from Spain specifically for that purpose.

In Europe, the king of Spain created the Council of the Indies, which was to run all governmental affairs in the Americas. On the other side of the Atlantic, Spanish territories were divided between two viceroys—one in Mexico City (1535) and the other in Lima (1544). The viceroys were assisted by the main courts or *audiencias,* as well as the prelates of the Catholic Church. Below the viceroys were the governors and captain-generals, while towns and cities were run by municipal councils.

On the local level, this system was similar to Europe, with the difference that these were essentially islands of Spanish urban settlement in a countryside largely populated by Indian peasants living in a subsistence economy and supplying forced labor through the system known as the *encomienda.* Spanish towns were thus centers for government and for the domination of native rural populations, and with their European architecture, churches, and government buildings, they were the symbols and headquarters of Spanish culture and control. Urban growth in Spanish America was greatly stimulated by the discovery of rich resources of precious metals during the sixteenth century, and towns also became centers for international and regional trade.

All Spanish trade to the new world was monopolized by a few ports. Trade from Spain to America was channeled through the port of Seville and later Cadiz on the European side of the Atlantic. Trade was received at the ports of Veracruz for Mexico, and Cartagena in present-day Columbia and Portobelo in Panama for South America. All trading was heavily taxed, and though goods landed at certain ports, they would then be distributed to other parts of the colonies. Local merchants in Mexico City and Lima would play a significant role in this aspect of the trading process. Mining towns were also established throughout Mexico and South America, many of them to be abandoned when the mines ran dry.

The English method of establishing towns, cities, and a colonial economy was different from that of Spain. Though based on tradition and experiences in England, the construction of English-American towns and cities did not follow any predetermined plan. Furthermore, the failure to discover precious metals, along with the more decentralized English system of government, allowed England's colonial towns and cities to develop differently from those of Spanish America.

The English monarchs backed the founding of English colonies, but the colonies were much more

autonomous than their Spanish counterparts. English settlers did not have large native cities, such as Cuzco or Mexico City, to occupy or rebuild, and the character of their towns varied with the nature of the colonies in which they were founded. New England towns provided for clusters of small farmers, while cities in the tobacco-growing lands of Virginia and Maryland were more oriented to trading.

Most English American cities were on or close to the coast, and the major ports were built around excellent natural harbors. The city of Boston, for example, was established by the Massachusetts Bay Company, a Puritan chartered company, in 1630 with a view to acting as the point of contact for trade and communication with the exterior. Built on a peninsula in a harbor, Boston became the capital and merchant center of a quickly growing colony; within fifteen years approximately twenty thousand colonists lived in and around Boston.

To the south, the Dutch colony of New Netherlands was captured by the British in 1664. The acquisition also brought with it the port of New Amsterdam, which was soon to be renamed New York and would continue under the English as one of the major trading locations in North America. In the American South, the best English port was Charlestown, now called Charleston. The city was established by the proprietors of the Carolina colony in 1690 and flourished as a port for agricultural products produced in what later became South Carolina.

By the eighteenth century, British America was home to some of the great cities of the Americas—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—and they had began to compete in size and beauty with the leading cities of Spanish America. One notable difference remained, however. The cities of North America were much more likely to be lively centers of trade and artisanal industry than most of those in Spanish America. British American cities also enjoyed greater cultural and political freedom, and were better positioned to become dynamic centers for new patterns of trade and industry in the future.

SEE ALSO *Acapulco; Boston; Cartagena de Indias; Encomienda; Havana; Lima; Mexico City; New York; Potosí; Rio de Janeiro.*

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Brian Stokes

CLOTHING AND FASHION, MIDDLE EAST

The fashion and clothing of the Middle East represents an evolution of historical and political change and a mixture of influences that has enriched and modernized its diverse cultures and produced a custom of dress both progressive and yet true to its traditional design identities. Although distinct fashions can be traced back to particular regions, the overall effect is a vast collection of clothing traditions adapted and adjusted to new social orders, local climates, and activities. These geographical and cultural variations reflect a complex set of relations between historical change and clothing practices as markers of changing identity over time, including differences relating to gender, age, wealth, and religious status.

Women's dress marks gendered differences in certain settings, differing from that of men of the same age, social "level," and marital status. Men's attire generally differs within the gender more than women's, whose modes of dress have been traditionally dictated by patriarchal taste and political reform. Similarly, the structure and meaning of clothing varies across regions in design, fabric, shape, and ornament.

The Ottoman Empire (1299–1923) is widely acknowledged as the Middle East's greatest influencing force in terms of fashion. The Ottoman period established a tradition of antiquity enforcing national modes of dress via national military uniforms, as well as practical and fashionable trends from the region's existing clothing styles. As the Ottoman Empire evolved and expanded throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, clothing styles were evaluated, developed, and enforced, mirroring the many levels of society and the cosmopolitan nature of Ottoman cultural tastes. Whether parodied or satirized by the rebellious populace of the time and subsequent generations, what is described as Middle Eastern clothing continues to represent the traditional views of the culture. Yet, within the national and political economy, Middle Eastern clothing also exhibits cyclical fashion trends influenced by European and Western tastes and modernity.

Saudi Arabian history is significant to the tradition of dress in the Middle East because the kingdom comprises 80 percent of the Arabian Peninsula as opposed to Yemen, Oman, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Sudan, and its tradition of dress is highly representative of the significance of the land, history, and to religion. Its unification in 1932 was marked by a rising national identity and homogeneity of dress, as well as a growing interaction and trade with Egypt and Lebanon from 1945 to about 1970, the impact of oil wealth from 1970 to 1980, and beginning in 1980 the exploration of combinations of cosmopolitan fashion and various local, regional, Arab, and Islamic styles.

For Saudi Arabian men, dress was an important aspect of Arab identity and was employed to distinguish the wearer's profession and social status. Prior to unification, the *tujjar* merchants of Hejaz in Saudi Arabia, for instance, dressed in contrast to the *ulema* (religious teachers) and the *mutawwifin* who served as guides to pilgrims. The *tujjar* merchants wore long floor-length, loose-flowing coats of plain or printed light fabric with bright turbans or caps, the *ulema*, whose role was to elect the king along with members of the royal family, wore ample gowns and the *mutawwifin,* who guided the pilgrims both in prayer and in direction, usually wore less-elaborate local dress. Also differing in dress style was the *ashrāf,* who were descendants from the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad.

The rest of the male population, mostly in the Arabian Peninsula region, were traditionally seen in mid-calf-length tunics that were belted at the waist. The sleeves tended to be long and consisted of several variations, including straight then tapering at the wrists or flaring down towards the wrist to form a wing effect of differing lengths. Pants were generally full at the top and narrow at the ankle, with large gussets in the crotch. The top of the pant was overturned to the outside and stitched down to form the casing for a drawstring.

Turban headdresses were made up of a continuous strip of narrow fabric, usually 30 or 40 centimeters (about 12 or 16 inches) wide, that was wound around the head over a felt, truncated conical cap. Turban sizes varied from small to large, depending on social class. At times the cloth ends would be made of a decorated silk fabric in meticulous weaves that often incorporated repeated floral motifs or embroidered designs.

The traditional head cloth commonly worn by Saudi Arabian men today was called a *kaffiyeh*. The plain head cloths worn over felt caps, which were secured with pins or held in place by a headband consisting of a strip of cloth or rope was known as an *agal*. In the central Arab region of Najd and its hinterlands, the *agal* was simply a camel hobble (from the Arabic root *agal*, meaning "to

hobble"), which was carried on the head when not in use. Gradually this rope came to distinguish the Bedouins of north and central Arabia and the descendants of ruling families from other Bedouins.

At the same time, male sartorial style included *tiraz* bands that were intricately woven, embroidered, or painted and then sewn over one or both shoulders of a garment. Although commonly seen on men, the *tiraz* was also a feature of women's dress. *Tirazes* were adorned with Arabic script that either named the owner of the garment (in the case of royalty) or quoted a religious phrase.

In winter, men generally wore a cloak, or *bisht*, which featured piping that ran from the cuff up the seams of the sleeve and ended in a wider band down the front lapel. The winter *bisht* was made of a rough sacklike fabric, usually dyed in bright colors. In summer, men's cloaks were made of a light, fine material and tended to be black, brown, or beige, with piping made of gold thread on the cloak's sleeves. This garment was worn primarily during ceremonial occasions.

Prior to unification in 1932, Saudi Arabian women favored a long tunic or robe worn over light trousers, cut similarly to men's garments. The sleeves were close-fitting at the wrists, and bands of trim were added to the sleeves as an embellishment. The more urbanized Hejazi women wore a long, fitted dress called a *zabun*. Under this was a blouse or bodice (*sidriyya*), which was designed to be seen through the opening of the *zabun*. The blouse was fastened with buttons of silver, gold, or diamonds, depending on the wearer's wealth. The typical garment of the desert-dwelling women of the Arabian Peninsula was known as a *thobe*. These were boxlike in construction and narrowed at the hem. Either worn with a belt or loose, the *thobe* was also decorated with bands of embroidery at the hems and sleeves.

The *hijab* veil and the *burka* facemask continue to be worn by women in parts of central and eastern Arabia, as well as Iran. These have variations in meaning and use between regions, as well as between rural and urban settings. The veil and the garments that accompany it (*milaya* in Egypt, *abbayah* in Iraq, *chador* in Iran, *yashmak* in turkey, *burka* in Afghanistan, and *djellabah* and *haik* in North Africa) are manifestations of cultural practices and meanings that are firmly embedded in Middle Eastern traditions and centered around religious morality, sexuality, gender, and honor.

Although the veil has often been treated as a symbol of class identity, social mobility, and resistance or opposition to the West, it is important to note that it has since become central in the popular Western press as an indicator of colonialism and patriarchy. The fact that large groups of women in the Middle East continue to embrace it as part of contemporary everyday fashion

and clothing is indicative of the complex level of nationalism and entrenched cultural and religious codes that have always dictated the traditional clothing of the Middle East.

SIGNIFICANT DRESS REFORMS THAT CHANGED THE MIDDLE EAST

The intersection between dress, gender, and state control are important in understanding how men and women (and veiled women in particular) are felt to embody the identities of a religion or a nation. By the early twentieth century, a number of Middle Eastern countries, including Turkey and Iran, embarked on programs instigated by Turkey's Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) and Iran's Reza Shah (1878–1944) in the 1920s and 1930s to reform their social and political infrastructures. In these countries, the wearing of various types of traditional headdresses, such as the veil for women and the fez (a cylindrical cap) for men, was considered symbolic of the country's backwardness and, to some extent, its oppressiveness, and they were subsequently outlawed.

What was known as "folkloric" or "traditional" dress was closely associated with particular ethnicities and was relegated to rural areas, while fashionable indicators of social status and Western and European influences were revived. Various Arab governments decreed that regional or ethnic dress was "backward" or "primitive." As a result, the Middle East began to adopt modes of Western dress, including bowler hats, Western pants, and jackets.

Political dissidents in the Middle East denounced the wearing of such Western fashions, a sentiment that culminated in acts of defiance, a show of pride and local integrity, and physical signs of commitment to regional or ethnic autonomy. Though Reza Shah had outlawed ethnic dress in 1928, various items of men's and women's clothing, such as *dogushi* (two-eared Qashqai men's hats) were worn by dissidents in that region as statements of revived Qashqai power, autonomy, and identity, and ultimately as a physical satire of the shah's own sense of prevailing power.

Turkey and Dress Reform. The fez, which remains a global symbol of Middle Eastern fashion, is an important marker of clothing tradition. The fez was not of Turkish but of North African origin, and it bears the name of the city of Fez, the cultural and spiritual capital of Morocco. The fez is a cylindrical cap of scarlet or purple felt, ornamented with a tassel on the end of a long black cord. The earliest varieties were in the form of a bonnet with a long red, white, or black turban wound around it.

After eliminating the Janissaries (an Ottoman army corps) in 1826, Turkey's sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839), established a new army, the Asakir-i Mansur-i Muhammediye. The soldiers at first retained the *kavuk*, a padded or quilted cap around which the sash of a turban could be wound, and the *şalvar* (full trousers). Later, each man was issued a *setre* (an old-fashioned form of European frock coat) and trousers, to resemble Turkey's European contemporaries.

In order to standardize dress customs, Mahmud II introduced the fez to the Ottoman court, and further decreed the reform to civilians in 1829. Gradually the fez was accepted for general civilian use, with exception of the *ulema*, who retained the robe and turban. Civilians also adopted the European frock coat and cape, preferring trousers instead of robes and black leather boots instead of slippers. It is interesting to note that the image of this mix of Middle Eastern and European fashion was very much part of popular colonial cultural stereotypes of Middle Eastern dress. The turban and Turkish pants are also, with the fez and frock coat, part of the grand narratives of Orientalists and have widely influenced the way the West constructs its visions of the Middle East in both dress and custom.

By 1868 there were ten groups of fez makers in Istanbul. As demand for production accelerated, fez makers were brought from Tunisia, and a factory was established in the Eyüp area of Istanbul. Over time, a variety of fez styles appeared, ranging in shape, length, material, and molds. Fez making soon became a recognized national craft.

Since the discovery of synthetic dyes at the turn of the nineteenth century, Austria had become the chief centre of the fez industry. In 1908, during the Young Turk Revolution, Austrian goods were boycotted for two months by the Committee of Union and Progress in protest against the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the time, fezzes were mainly supplied to Turkey by the Austrians (because they had the only fez manufacturing plant) and during what was dubbed the "Fez Boycott" men wore instead either an *arakiye* (a form of skull cap) or a *kalpak* (a brimless sheepskin or *astrakhan* cap). By 1909, beyond the boycott, the *kalpak* had become an accepted item of dress. Nevertheless, the fez remained an integral part of male sartorial style until 1925, when Atatürk began his modernization campaign by banning the fez in favor of the wide-brimmed Western-style hat.

The tradition of veiling in Turkey can be traced from the Hittite period (1400–1200 BCE), where images of women wearing long mantles over their heads that reached to their ankles were depicted at the sites of Carchemish and Yazilikaya. The tradition continued well into the medieval period. During the Ottoman rule in the 1800s, reformers and liberals began denouncing the idea of women's protective clothing. New interpretations of the

Koran were argued in 1899, and the gradual impact of nationalism and independence meant that women were encouraged to be symbols of the new state, so much so that various Turkish elites mocked those women who resisted ideas of social progress, calling them "beetles."

In 1915 an imperial decree was issued that permitted women to discard the veil during office hours. Although initially there were numerous protests in opposition, more and more women eventually left their veils at home, opting for a Western-style hat and long coat. Although Atatürk banned the fez and advocated the wearing of it as a criminal offence, there was no action taken by the legislature against veiling. Nevertheless, as he began to build a secular nation-state in 1923, he denounced the veil, calling it demeaning and a hindrance to a civilized nation, without actually outlawing it. Educated women in Turkey began to leave the house unveiled, but still wore the *hijab*.

Soon a small veil called a *litham* became the fashion, with all the nationalists' wives adopting it as part of their clothing. Gradually, unveiling became common among women of the wealthier, educated upper classes in large towns or cities. Veiling continued in more conservative rural areas in the form of a *peçe* (veil) and a *çharshaf*, commonly made of silk or wool and usually black in color, or the more fashionable *ferece*, which also concealed the whole body and had straight sleeves extending to the length of the fingers. A type of veil *(yashmak)* was also worn over the face, and boots or decorative clogs were worn on the feet.

Iran and Dress Reform. Before 1873, the *kolah-i pahlavi*, a tall black lambskin headdress of the Qajar regime (1796–1925), was worn by Iranian men to replace the four-pointed cap of the former Afsharids regime (1736–1749). A fezlike headdress were also introduced as required dress for government officials.

Official modernization and reform programs were accompanied by dress regulations decreed by Persian ruler Reza Shah (r. 1925–1941). Reza Shah initiated a process of "westernization," which included the abolition of the chador for women and the introduction of Western-style dress for men. In 1928 the cabinet announced the correct dress for men to be a Western coat, jacket, trousers with a leather belt, and leather shoes in European styling. All government workers and school boys were required to wear the brimless *kolah-i pahlavi* hat as devised by the shah. The stipulation to wear the European-style garments was extended to all Iranian males, except Shi'i and Sunni *ulema*, non-Muslim dignitaries, and male children under the age of six.

The 1928 Uniform Dress Law came into effect in urban centers and within the year was introduced into rural regions. Noncompliance by townsmen was punishable by a fine of one to five *tomans* (later increased to thirty *tomans*) and a jail sentence of one to seven days. By 1929 a major redrafting of Iranian legal codes relating to commercial, civil, family, and penal matters involved moving away from Islamic *shari'a* law in the direction of a European legal system. The legal reform was also accompanied by an official requirement that all judges and lawyers wear secular dress instead of the long robes and turbans associated with *ulema* jurists. After returning from a visit to Turkey in the spring of 1934, Reza Shah ordered the brimmed hat (the trilby or fedora) to be worn by all Iranian men, and he required that Western lounge suits be worn by court officials. In 1935 he abolished the *kolah-i pahlavi* headdress.

In early 1936, the shah appeared at the new Normal School in Tehran to address the female students. All of the women of the royal Iranian Party were unveiled and wore Western-style clothing. By February of the same year, regulations designed to encourage the abandonment of the chador came into effect. The chador is a large semicircular piece of fabric that covers the head, hair, and body, but leaves the face uncovered. In the thirteenth century, the chador was worn with a burka, and by the fifteenth century, a black face veil made of horsehair called a *picheh* appeared as a second form of veiling. This type of veil was fastened to the head with two ties and was classified as a burka.

After the official announcement banning the chador and *picheh*, women wearing the chador were not permitted in public places. Bus and taxi drivers who accepted veiled women as passengers were subject to fines or dismissal. Doctors were forbidden to treat and admit veiled women into hospitals. Police and the armed forces were also instructed to forcibly remove any veil worn in public and to enter homes to enforce the law.

One of the unexpected effects of outlawing the chador was that the garments worn underneath became public, which exposed the poverty of many women. This resulted in the Iranian government sending its trade commission to Germany and France in 1936 to purchase 500,000 rials worth of women's ready-to-wear clothes for distribution. The ban on chadors was strictly enforced from 1936 to 1941, after which the law was eased following the Allied occupation and consequent abdication and exile of Reza Shah. Today, many Iranian women continue to wear the chador as a matter of religious and cultural principle. Once again, some in the West have come to regard this dress code as oppressive.

CONCLUSION

The clothing of the Middle East has often been used as a symbol of political and religious affiliations and

represents a sartorial history that is equally complex and controversial. Garments and fabric styles have evolved from traditional lines to the introduction of European styles, accessories, and fabrics. Similarly, the fashions of Turkey and Iran have been influenced by secularization, modernization. and legislation. Beyond this, the clothing and fashions of the Middle East communicate a set of social and political relations that are connected with notions of gender and class, as well as with the cultural construction of identity and the "modern" nation.

SEE ALSO *Education, Middle East; Ideology, Political, Middle East; Literature, Middle East.*

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Vicki Karaminas

COCHIN
SEE *Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia*

COEN, JAN PIETERSZ
1587–1629

Jan Pietersz Coen, twice governor-general of the Dutch East Indies, was born in the city of Hoorn, in the province of Holland, on January 8, 1587. Raised in a strict Calvinist environment, he received a commercial training in the firm of the Flemish merchant Justus Pescatore (Joost de Visscher) at Rome. In 1607 he entered the service of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC). Rising quickly through the ranks, in 1613 Coen was appointed bookkeeper-general of all company settlements in Asia and president of the VOC establishments at Banten and Jakarta in West Java. In 1614 he became director-general, the highest company official in Asia next to the governor-general. In April 1618 Coen was appointed governor-general by the board of directors, called the *Heeren XVII* or Gentlemen Seventeen.

In 1614, even before he became governor-general, Coen had submitted a series of recommendations to the board of directors in his *Discoers toucherende den Nederlantsche Indischen Staet* (Discourse on the State of the Dutch East Indies). First, he advocated aggressive action against European competitors and indigenous rulers. Whereas his precursor, Governor-General Laurens Reael (1616–1619), had been cautious in the

Jan Pietersz Coen. *The governor-general of the Dutch East India Company during the early seventeenth century, shown here in an eighteenth-century portrait.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

establishment of the spice monopoly as desired by the Gentlemen Seventeen, Coen had little consideration for the interests of the indigenous population. Second, Coen called for the settlement of Dutch colonists as "freeburghers" in certain parts of company territory. These European settlers could subsist on agriculture, manufacturing, and trade (though only in less lucrative commodities not monopolized by the company). In case of emergency, the "freeburghers" could also support the company militarily. Third, Coen urged the company to participate in the intra-Asiatic trade, and claimed that its profits could completely finance the purchase of commodities destined for Europe. Coen was particularly interested in the Chinese overseas trade. To achieve these goals, Coen called on the Gentlemen Seventeen to dispatch more capital and ships than they had done so far in order "to prime the pumps."

During his first term as governor-general (1619–1623), Coen's primary goal was to realize the company's wish to establish a central administrative and commercial headquarters in Asia. At the time, Banten was the main commercial center on the island of Java. Relations with the local ruler of Banten, however, were tense, and competition with English and Chinese rivals fierce. Coen gradually moved more company goods to the warehouses

at nearby Jakarta, where the VOC had had an establishment since 1610. In 1618 the English founded a trading post opposite the Dutch settlement. Coen responded to this "affront" by fortifying the VOC establishment without the consent of the local ruler. Learning that the English had captured a Dutch ship, Coen had the English settlement razed to the ground. In the ensuing hostilities, the small Dutch garrison was able to maintain itself due to divisions amongst its Jakatran, English, and Bantenese rivals. Returning with a large relief fleet, Coen put the city of Jakarta to the torch. On its ruins rose like a phoenix the VOC capital of Batavia, soon known as the "Queen of the East."

The second item on Coen's agenda was to attain a nutmeg and mace monopoly for the VOC. The Banda Islands in eastern Indonesia were the world's sole production area. Exclusive agreements with the Bandanese, however, were not observed, partly because the company was unable to provide the inhabitants with sufficient food and clothing. Coen opted for the iron fist approach and in 1621 appeared with a large force in the Banda Sea. Following the capture of the islands, the entire population, an estimated 15,000 Bandanese, either perished—at the hands of the Dutch or through starvation—or were enslaved. The depopulated islands were divided into spice gardens, worked by European freeburgher "gardeners" and slaves imported from elsewhere across the Indian Ocean basin.

Finally, Coen also had a shot at the China trade. By attacking Portuguese Macao and Spanish Manila, Coen hoped to redirect Chinese shipping to Batavia. Several blockades of Manila proved fruitless. An attack on Macao in 1622 ended in disaster, though a fort was established on the Pescadores off the Chinese mainland. The Chinese authorities, however, ignored Dutch demands concerning the junk trade. Company attacks against Chinese ships and coastal settlement proved counterproductive, and the VOC was forced to withdraw from the Pescadores to Taiwan.

At his own request, Coen returned to the Dutch Republic in 1623. He was feted and appointed company director of the Hoorn chamber. In a *Memorie* (Memorandum), Coen drew up regulations for trade by the Dutch "freeburghers" in Asia, largely corresponding with the ideas he had first expressed in 1614. The Gentlemen Seventeen approved the memorandum and, duly impressed, successfully requested Coen to accept a second term as governor-general.

Coen's second term as governor-general (1627–1629) was dominated by the two sieges of Batavia in 1628 and 1629 by the ruler of Mataram in the interior of Java. Having conquered the bulk of the island, Sultan Agung (r. 1619–1646) demanded Dutch assistance against or free passage of his forces across company territory en route to Banten. Coen rejected the demand, which led to two abortive sieges of Batavia. During the

second siege, however, Coen suddenly died, probably due to cholera, on September 21, 1629.

Jan Pietersz Coen, initially admired as the founder of the Dutch colonial empire in the East, has more recently been vilified as "the butcher of Banda." Admittedly, the harsh policies of "Iron Jan" were condemned even by some of his contemporaries. Coen's "grand design," however, was largely in accordance with prevalent mercantilist thought. In general, the company's board of directors, influenced by like-minded empire-builders such as the Rotterdam director Cornelis Matelieff, shared Coen's oft-quoted maxim "do not despair, and do not spare your enemies" (*Dispereert niet, ontsiet uwe vyanden niet*).

SEE ALSO *Batavia; Dutch United East India Company; Freeburghers, South and Southeast Asia; Moluccas.*

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Markus Vink

COFFEE CULTIVATION

Coffee (from the Arabic *qahwa,* "that which prevents sleep") is second only to oil as a legally traded commodity, with annual global retail sales at roughly seventy billion dollars.

The Rubiaceae (a large family of plants) *Coffea arabica*, *Coffea canephora* (robusta), and *Coffea liberica* require moderate temperatures, which are found in the tropics between 650 and 1,600 meters (2,133 and 5,249 feet) elevation; rainfall in the neighborhood of 1,500 millimeters (59 inches) per year; and shelter from wind, sun, and tropical downpours. Virgin jungle soils are optimal. Coffee is sensitive to drainage; too steep a slope results in fast runoff of nutrients, too little the danger of drowning. While these conditions are reasonably common in the tropics, they seldom are found together with the labor resources necessary to make coffee cultivation commercially profitable.

Coffea arabica probably originated on the plateaus of central Ethiopia. Originally cooked from green beans, by the late thirteenth century it was brewed from roasted and ground coffee beans. Coffee was used as a stimulant or aphrodisiac. Although the export of fertile coffee seeds was forbidden by the Arabian ruler, by the mid-seventeenth century the seeds had been brought to southern India.

It was the Dutch East India Company (1602–1799), however, which pioneered large-scale exploitation. Smuggling of plants to Java (an island in present-day Indonesia) in the late seventeenth century made possible a thriving agro-industry so indelibly associated with the island that Java became synonymous with coffee. This first flowering of the coffee industry was an amalgam of a mercantile system atop a feudal one.

The Dutch East India Company sold coffee on the open market in Europe, but obtained its goods by dictating price, quality, and quantity to Javanese potentates. The latter came increasingly to resemble feudal lords, complete with ownership of land, hereditary rights, and absolute control over their subjects. At the end of the nineteenth century the leaf disease *Hemileia vastratrix* harried Java and destroyed coffee cultivation in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) as well.

In 1723 a French naval officer, Gabriel Mathieu de Clieu, brought a seedling to Martinique, an island in the West Indies, from which much of the world's coffee derives. A few years later, in 1727, coffee spread to Brazil, where it thrived. At the end of the eighteenth century, Brazil's largest customer had become the newly independent United States of America, which was destined to remain the world's largest and most consistent coffee market. Although overshadowed by the combined consumption of the various European nations, Europe's not infrequent upheavals caused sharp swings in consumption.

By 1810 Brazil was exporting some 40 percent of the world's coffee, a figure that remained at 70 percent throughout much of the late nineteenth century. However, with the abolition of slavery, the Brazilian coffee industry was threatened by a scarcity of labor. The coffee barons of São Paulo

made concerted efforts to obtain free labor through recruiting southern Europeans on short-term wage contracts. The drive to assure sufficient labor, coupled with the need for scarce capital, led the plantation owners to cooperate in improving transportation, finance, and export activities.

Brazil's coffee cultivation remains extensive. Scarce resources of labor are applied to seemingly unlimited virgin forest lands, which are abandoned after exhausting their soils. The situation with regard to both land and the spin-off to other areas of development was similar in the second largest coffee-producing nation, Colombia, where manpower requirements differed sharply. There, access to land, temporarily or permanently, was granted as part of wages. This in turn led to the establishment of smallholder production, eventually resulting in conflicts between landlords and tenants. The situation is roughly similar to developments in Central America, although with an ethnic twist.

African production of robusta *(Coffea canephora)* returned to the world scene only in the twentieth century. Begun in the English colonies of East Africa (Kenya) in the 1890s, it subsequently spread to Central Africa (Congo, Cameroon, and Angola) and finally to Liberia and the Ivory Coast. Robusta is disease resistant and thus has replaced *Coffea arabica* in South and Southeast Asia. It is also more tolerant in that it can be grown at lower elevations without shade trees. Moreover, robusta is a cheaper coffee that is used to blend with better-tasting arabica, as well as for instant coffee, both characteristic of the U.S. market in the wake of World War I.

Common to most coffee-growing nations is the extent to which basic socioeconomic features—ownership of production, access to land, class conflict, and racial differentiation—were shaped by the coffee industry. Despite the fact that production systems have ranged from plantation slavery (West Indies and Brazil) through quasifeudal modes of production (Java, Ceylon) and rural proletariat (Colombia, Central America) to authoritarian regimes (Uganda, Angola), the majority of the world's coffee is now produced on smallholder plots. Thus, some 70 percent of the world's total coffee production derives from plots of fewer than twenty-five acres, which gives employment to as many as twenty million individuals.

SEE ALSO *Java, Cultivation System.*

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Mason C. Hoadley

COFFEE IN THE AMERICAS

The coffee plant, native to Ethiopia and adjacent areas or to the Arabian Peninsula, was well known in the Muslim world from ancient times. The coffeehouses that emerged as centers of social and intellectual interaction in the port cities of Europe in the seventeenth century were supplied from Red Sea sources, particularly Yemen. The plant was introduced into the Caribbean islands, the Guianas, and Brazil in the early 1700s, and was produced primarily for local consumption for some time thereafter. Large-scale commercial cultivation of coffee in the tropical regions of the Americas emerged only in the nineteenth century, as demand grew in Europe and North America and transportation technology connected remote producing areas to seaports. Thus coffee as a major international commodity is specific to the era of neocolonialism or economic dependency, notwithstanding the participation of colonial Cuba and Puerto Rico in the coffee trade in the nineteenth century.

Coffee requires a frost-free climate with well-distributed rainfall and rich soils. While cultivation is possible at sea level, the cooler climate of tropical highlands is better suited to large-scale production of a high-quality product. These conditions are met in the interior uplands of southeast Brazil, as well as in the highland areas closer to the equator in Colombia, Central America, southern Mexico, and the larger Caribbean Islands. Cultivation is relatively labor intensive through much of the annual cycle, and the spread of coffee in the Americas has been accompanied by the occupation of frontier zones by either plantations, nearly all in the hands of local landowners, or small-scale peasant holdings. It has historically involved little foreign investment in producing areas except in transportation infrastructure, especially railroads after the mid-nineteenth century. Large firms in the European and North American areas of high consumption, however, have dominated international transportation, processing (roasting), distribution, and marketing. These areas included continental Europe and the United States, where industrialization and the general expansion of wage labor and increases in the purchasing power of

working people accompanied the growth of commercial coffee production in tropical America.

As an international commodity, coffee first expanded into the Paraíba river valley north and west from the port city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in the first decades of the nineteenth century. By 1830 coffee had supplanted sugar as Brazil's most important export crop, and it held that position until surpassed by soybean exports around 1980. Slavery had been the mainstay of the plantation system introduced into the sugar areas of northeast Brazil in the 1530s, and the spread of coffee three centuries later gave slavery and the African slave trade to Brazil a new lease on life, just at the time when the antislavery movement was gaining force in Europe and some former colonial areas. In 1827, under pressure from the British government, Brazil agreed to halt the importation of slaves from Africa by 1831. Primarily spurred by labor demand in the Paraíba valley coffee sector (sugar was by then in decline), the (illegal) importation of slaves to Brazil actually increased in the two decades after 1831. Before and, increasingly, after the end of the international slave trade to Brazil in 1851, the internal transfer of slaves from elsewhere in the country, particularly the depressed sugar areas of the northeast, fed labor demand in the coffee zone, which by the middle of the century had expanded into the western plateau of the adjacent province of São Paulo.

Coffee production under slavery was as ruthless and regimented as in other slave plantation regimes. Clearing virgin forests was rough and dangerous work, after which seedlings were planted that had to be tended for three to four years before the first harvest. Gangs of workers driven by whip-wielding *feitores* (slave drivers) weeded the groves several times a year, a routine punctuated by intense labor during the harvest from September to December. The harvested beans were milled to remove the cherry-like hull, dried on brick-paved platforms, and bagged for shipment to the port. Perhaps half of the slaves on the plantation worked in activities other than coffee production, as all manual labor—construction, transportation, tending livestock, household maintenance and service, and food production, processing, and preparation—was done by slaves. Slave diets consisted primarily of locally produced maize mush, rice, beans, and manioc flour, with the occasional addition of pork, and some salted beef imported from the cattle-producing regions of southern Brazil.

Transportation of coffee to ports was by slow and expensive mule train until the railroad was built into the Paraíba valley beginning in 1855, using British and U.S. technology, capital, and rolling stock. In the following decade a railroad was built, by an English firm, over the steep escarpment separating the port of Santos and the interior plateau of São Paulo. This facilitated the spread of coffee into the rolling tablelands to the west, into which several locally financed railroads were built in subsequent decades. Just as the available land in the Paraíba valley was exhausted in the 1880s and slavery entered the decline that culminated in final abolition in 1888, western São Paulo surpassed Rio de Janeiro as the center of the Brazilian coffee industry.

A coffee blight in the colonial Dutch East Indies (Java and Sumatra) in the 1870s eliminated a major alternative source of supply, and from the mid-1880s to the mid-1890s high world prices led to rapid expansion of coffee in Brazil and elsewhere in the Americas. During the first two decades of the twentieth century Brazil supplied some three-fourths of the coffee in the world market, with São Paulo alone accounting for fully half.

From the mid-1880s to the onset of the Great Depression, São Paulo was the destination of some two million European immigrants, primarily from Italy, Spain, and Portugal, who replaced the slaves in the coffee labor force and toiled in the various industries that developed during the subsequent era of expansion. Immigrants worked as *colonos* under a complex system of compensation known as the *colonato*. Families contracted their labor as a unit, for the yearly cycle of weeding and pruning the groves, for which they received an annual wage calculated in blocks of 1,000 trees; for the harvest, for which they received a stipulated wage per basket picked; and for occasional daily labor around the *fazenda*, or plantation. In addition, they were given the use of a modest house in the *colonia* and access to land on which to plant food crops and pasture livestock, the proceeds of which were for the *colono* family's consumption or sale in regional markets. By using the extensive frontier lands of the São Paulo plateau in this way, this system solved the perennial problem of provisioning the plantation labor force. It also provided the *colono* family with a remuneration package that in good times was potentially lucrative, especially in comparison to the situation of workers in many other colonial and neocolonial plantation complexes. A significant number of *colono* families were able to use their savings from plantation work to acquire land and become coffee farmers themselves, if usually on a modest scale. By the early 1930s more than one-third of the coffee farms in São Paulo, accounting for one quarter of the state's production, were owned by first-generation immigrants.

Colombia first exported small quantities of coffee in 1835, and by the early twentieth century was exporting about half a million 132-kilogram bags per year (at a time when annual Brazilian exports averaged some 12 million bags). While most Colombian production has come from small and medium-sized farms, the formation of the National Federation of Coffee Growers in 1927 institutionalized a system whereby most Colombian coffee was marketed through what became a powerful

Shoveling Coffee Beans, El Salvador, 1955. *Workers on a coffee plantation in El Salvador collect dried and sifted coffee beans from the* beneficio, *or drying area.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

organization controlling the country's main export. As a result of astute marketing and specialization in higher-quality arabica varieties (much Brazilian production was of the *robusta* variety), Colombia's production expanded during the 1920s and especially after World War II. By the 1980s the aggregate value of Colombia's coffee exports rivaled that of Brazil (whose large internal market absorbs about half its total production).

In the nineteenth century cultivation began in the highland areas of Central America, and also in southern Mexico, as consolidating national elites encroached on indigenous lands through laws limiting corporate village

ownership, and through usurpation. Many formerly autonomous peasants were coerced or drawn into the labor force of the new export activity. German planters and coffee traders were important in some areas of Guatemala and neighboring Chiapas, Mexico, from the 1870s to World War I. Costa Rica's coffee production, like that of Colombia and adjacent western Venezuela, involved a greater proportion of smaller farms, in contrast to Guatemala and El Salvador, where larger plantations were the norm.

Coffee in tropical America has been produced under a wide variety of ecological conditions, agrarian

structures, and labor regimes, and it has at times been an important export commodity in most countries from Mexico to Brazil, to the larger Caribbean islands. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, movements were launched in consuming areas to ensure that peasant growers received fair prices for their product, even as the expansion of coffee cultivation in Vietnam and Africa brought lowered prices due to excess supply. Coffee continues to suffer the boom and bust cycles that have characterized its price on the international market for nearly two centuries.

SEE ALSO *African Slavery in the Americas; Export Commodities.*

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Thomas Holloway

COLOMBO
SEE *Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia*

COLONIAL CITIES AND TOWNS, AFRICA

Colonial rule helped pave the way for the rapid expansion of many African cities after 1960. Some older towns remained important centers of commerce and cultural life, while others were completely transformed by changing economic and political developments. Still other cities, from Bangui in the Central African Republic to Nairobi, Kenya, and Windhoek, Namibia, began as small colonial administrative centers that eventually became gigantic settlements. The evolution of cities in colonial Africa varied a great deal, especially between settler colonies in southern and eastern Africa in comparison to other regions. The motivations of migrants, city planners, and urban communities also differed considerably from one locale to the next. However, the formation of cities reflected a series of challenges and innovations in African everyday life throughout the continent, especially from roughly 1880 to 1960.

Europeans established settlements in colonial coastal enclaves before the late nineteenth century. During the heyday of Atlantic slavery, a range of European countries established small forts on the East and West African coasts. These fortifications usually were built on the site of already existing towns, and thus local communities played a key role in providing these fledging municipalities with supplies. From Cape Coast in modern Ghana to Luanda in Angola, founded in 1579 by the Portuguese, Atlantic port towns nominally under European control helped to foster a cosmopolitan society where European and African bloodlines and influences merged. Historian Ira Berlin has called members of these communities *Atlantic creoles* because of their connections to different African and European social and political networks.

The export of slaves and natural resources served as the main business of these towns. Urban inhabitants often went by both European and African names, celebrated indigenous religious ceremonies and attended Christian services, and adopted elements of European clothing. *Signares*, female traders who formed intimate and social alliances with visiting Europeans in the Senegalese port of Saint Louis, became themselves important leaders in the town's social life. European governments did not try to radically reshape these settlements. Even in the Swahili town of Mombasa (Kenya), which the Portuguese controlled from the early sixteenth century to 1694 and the site of the enormous Portuguese Fort Jesus, indigenous people rather than Europeans controlled how the city was organized.

On the coast of East Africa, the eighteenth century brought a new innovation in colonial cities that was unique in African history. Rulers of the Omani sultanate established control over Zanzibar Island (now part of Tanzania) in 1698 by driving out the Portuguese. Zanzibar became a major trading center for ivory and slaves from the East African interior during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, as well as a major producer of cloves through local slave plantations.

Omani rulers, Indian merchants, local Swahili elites, visiting European traders, and the burgeoning numbers of slaves living on Zanzibar helped to create a fluid and multicultural town identity. Slaves sought to demonstrate their equality with free Zanzibaris through adopting Islam and the dress of free townspeople.

By 1800, a stone town had been built with a blend of local and Middle Eastern architectural styles. Sultan Sayyid Said bin Sultan Al-Busaid (1790–1856), ruler of Oman, even moved his capital to Zanzibar from the Arabian Peninsula in 1840. Omani rulers in the nineteenth century brought in mirrors, plates, and even mechanical clocks featuring wind-up Austrian soldiers to show off their wealth and their prestige. Although Zanzibari leaders eventually surrendered their independence to England in 1890, the struggles for rights and shifting identities brought on in Zanzibar town in the nineteenth century continued well into the following century. Through songs, public dance performances, dress, and the formation of soccer clubs, descendants of slaves claimed their rights and challenged the power of well-off aristocratic families backed by the British.

Another regional urban heritage developed in southern Africa in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Dutch colonialists established a small colony run by the Dutch East India Company in 1652. Like Zanzibar, this small colony's towns developed an international flavor early in their history. Cape Town, the capital of the colony, housed a mix of sailors from around the world, as well as slaves brought from India and Indonesia by the Dutch, French Huguenots, and members of Khoi and San African communities who lived either as free people or as dependent clients of Boer families.

Dutch settlers to Cape Town drew from their homeland for architectural styles, but these went through local alterations. Fires, often set by slaves, influenced the building patterns of Dutch residents of the town. Afrikaans, the Dutch dialect that developed in Cape Town and other South African cities, owed much of its vocabulary to the slaves who spoke it. Once the English occupied the colony in 1814, British adventurers and missionaries also moved to the city. Although some mission-educated Africans managed to claim some political rights in Cape Town in the nineteenth century, racial tensions and struggles between Dutch and English groups provoked conflict within the city as well.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought on the creation of new colonial coastal settlements. The British government, increasingly opposed to the international slave trade, established a small port named Freetown in Sierra Leone in 1787. Former slaves who had fled American masters during the American Revolution moved to Freetown, as did captives rescued from slave vessels by the British navy in later decades. Yoruba, Kru, and other ethnic communities formed in the town, and the pidgin form of English spoken in the town became the lingua franca of much of Sierra Leone. Female traders from nearby African communities as well as of foreign descent ran businesses and became leaders in town life.

In the early 1840s, French naval officers established a fort on the Gabon Estuary that briefly became a refuge for slaves rescued from Spanish vessels. The fort, Libreville, remained a small port for over a century, but it housed West African artisans, Vietnamese convicts, and Senegalese soldiers, and it attracted Africans from all over Gabon.

The decision of European governments to support invasions of much of Africa affected cities after the 1860s. Such towns as Accra (Ghana), Saint Louis, Lagos (a Nigerian port city annexed by the English in 1860), and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) became administrative centers of imperialist expansion. In some cities, European governments moved very slowly in trying to remake the laws and spatial organization of cities. For example, British officials only gradually tried to ban slavery and engage in disputes over local leadership in Accra.

Although leaders in many coastal cities lost their previous ability to act as middlemen between Europeans and interior trade networks, townspeople in older colonial cities could also find work through their privileged access to education and their familiarity with colonial administrations. Urban settlement also altered in locales taken over by colonial governments. The defeat of the Sokoto caliphate by British forces between 1900 and 1903 left English administrators in charge of Hausa cities like Kano in Nigeria. Clerks, railroad workers, and other migrants from southern Nigeria moved to Kano. However, for decades British officials did little to disturb the institutions of slave officials or push for emancipation in Kano and other Northern Nigerian cities. Likewise, British officials in Zanzibar tried to favor slave-owning merchant families over slaves well after colonial conquest.

However, the growth of colonial authority also led to dramatic changes in some cities. European authorities pushed for segregated European and African neighborhoods in cities like Conakry (Guinea) and Freetown. Officials, strongly influenced by the growth of biological racist doctrines and associations between disease, poor hygiene, and Africans, promoted segregation on health grounds. This "sanitation syndrome," as Maynard Swanson has called this conjuncture of racial prejudice and public health, also became a means of justifying the destruction of African neighborhoods and the strict

Cape Town, South Africa. *The coastal city of Cape Town, founded by the Dutch in 1652, is now home to South Africa's legislature. The parliament building appears in the foreground of this photograph.* **TERRENCE SPENCE/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

separation of neighborhoods by racial categories in South African cities.

Concerns about bubonic plague inspired turn-of-the-century South African city planners to promote segregation, while their counterparts in the Belgian Congo after 1908 argued that the creation of separate neighborhoods based on race was needed to protect Europeans from malaria. These ideas also fit with changing notions of city management in European cities that administrators sought to apply in African colonies. However, this push for segregation based on health issues did not occur everywhere. In Libreville, for example, efforts to segregate the small city into African and European sections never came to pass, thanks largely to protests launched by mission-educated Gabonese living in the city.

From the late nineteenth century through the 1950s, the greatest move toward urbanization on the entire continent took place in South Africa. The discovery of gold and diamonds in the 1860s and 1870s led to the creation of cities, most notably Johannesburg. These cities attracted a range of Europeans, Africans, and South

Asians. After British forces defeated the independent Dutch settler republics in the second Anglo-Boer War between 1900 and 1902, officials struggled to maintain order and racial hierarchies in South Africa. Between the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and the Nationalist Party's 1948 electoral victory, city planners helped to prepare the way for the apartheid era. African farmers and herders migrated to cities by the thousands, often motivated to the massive appropriation of land by white settlers, as well as the close proximity of giant mines always in need of African labor. City officials promoted the use of passes for African men and women, and the creation of separate African-only townships, and they banned the making of beer by Africans so that customers would patronize municipally-owned bars.

Many of these policies were designed to limit the ability of women to support themselves independently in cities. City governments and some rural African leaders formed an alliance to keep women in rural areas away from cities. Economic opportunities deteriorated in over-crowded African reserves in the countryside, and often

rural women found that their husbands and relatives who had left to find work in cities did not send enough support home. Many women chose to brave government opposition and police persecution by working in cities, whether as prostitutes or bar owners, or by selling food at the markets. Some men who moved to cities formed evangelical prayer groups, while others formed gangs that battled police and robbed other Africans.

At the same time, Boer farmers hit hard by agricultural recessions in the 1920s and 1930s also moved to cities, often seeking government help to limit competition for jobs from Africans. A lively urban culture of music, cinema, and sports like football and cricket emerged from this strife. However, the willingness of many to support apartheid policies by 1948 came from European fears of African migration as well.

Historians have long taken South African urbanization as the model by which to understand the growth of African cities as a whole, although there are many differences as well as similarities. Cities in settler colonies like Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Kenya did resemble South African cities in certain respects. Much like in South Africa, city planners often tried to block the permanent resettlement of women and families to Nairobi and Salisbury (now Harare, Zimbabwe). Administrators were convinced that Africans ultimately belonged in rural locations and feared the supposedly destabilizing effects that city life had on indigenous people. Coercing Africans back to rural areas also, not coincidentally, pushed the cost of health-care and social services onto African families rather than city governments.

Many women, however, moved to these cities. Some sold produce at market. Others sought to escape restrictive marriage practices in their home communities by resettling in cities. Luise White (1990) has demonstrated how prostitutes could use their earnings to buy homes and live independently of men in cities like Nairobi. Still other women developed careers as domestic help, even while many European families preferred to hire men as cooks and domestics. The uneven growth of state, missionary, and independently run African schools in cities by the 1920s also created some job opportunities for educated Africans of both sexes. Many officials throughout settler colonies feared the formation of urban African communities that could challenge institutionalized discrimination against Africans through violent and nonviolent protest.

Outside of settler colonies, urbanization varied greatly. East African cities like Kampala (Uganda) and Dar es Salaam remained fairly small. Many cities in thinly populated parts of Central Africa were centered around administrative posts or economic centers. Officials in the German colony of Kamerun, French

Equatorial Africa, and the Congo Free State (later the Belgian Congo) of King Leopold II (1835–1909) set up posts such as Brazzaville, Yaoundé, Léopoldville (Kinshasa), Stanleyville (Kisangani), and Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) that emerged as cities in Central Africa. These settlements gradually attracted men and women for a range of reasons. They provided economic opportunities for skilled workers, a sanctuary for women trying to leave family difficulties, and better educational and health-care facilities than most rural locations.

These cities became cultural centers as well. Soccer clubs, new musical and dress styles, and independent African-run religious movements flourished. Especially in larger cities, officials often had trouble monitoring and controlling the activities of urban residents. Given that many residents of rural Central Africa faced forced-labor obligations and limited chances for social advancement between the 1890s and the 1950s, urban growth was not surprising. In some areas where the rural economy did offer profits for some Africans (in, for example, the timber industry in Gabon), the speed of urbanization lagged behind other places.

The growth rate and organization of cities in West Africa also differed from city to city. Lagos and Accra blossomed into booming cities by the 1920s and 1930s. They served as the foundation for new understandings of community as older ties based on village and clan merged into larger constructions of ethnic identity. Descendants of early African settlers often struggled through petitions, recourse to land claims, and control over ceremonies associated with the supernatural to assert their primacy despite the fact that they often were greatly outnumbered by newcomers.

These cities also became centers of political action. Africans in such cities as Abidjan in Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Porto-Novo in Dahomey (now Benin), and other French cities joined French human rights groups and pushed for reforms in the 1920s and 1930s. Saint Louis and Dakar (Senegal) had actually been given representation in France during the mid-nineteenth century, and Senegalese politicians like Blaise Diagne (1872–1934) and Lamine Guèye (1891–1968) pushed for African political rights.

Women's protest movements also became a feature of such cities as Lagos and Onitsha (Nigeria), where market women often took to the streets to protest taxes and state interference from African state-appointed chiefs. Unlike in Central Africa, where most cities did not have a large popular press, newspapers, plays, and popular fiction were widely read in West African cities by the early twentieth century. However, large West African cities shared with their Central African counterparts a vigorous music scene. Highlife, a popular style of music that blended local

percussion with horns, flourished in Anglophone cities in the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria.

Major international conflicts in the twentieth century had a great impact on African cities. World War I (1914–1918) brought a sharp rise in food prices in many West African cities as German submarines and the disruption of international trade greatly reduced shipping traffic. Between 1939 and 1945, urban life again was again transformed; World War II brought on an economic boom in many cities in southern Africa as Allied forces needed a tremendous amount of natural resources, which usually left Africa through port cities. In Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, pro-Nazi followers of Vichy France successfully battled an Allied raid in 1940. Portuguese Africa, though officially neutral in World War II, exported tea and cash crops to England and other countries.

Urbanization thus grew in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo, Mozambique) and Luanda. British and French officials became more concerned with urban development during and after the war, especially in efforts to create a stable and docile urban workforce. Efforts by colonial governments to build closer ties between metropole and empire after 1945 also remade urban space. French development money paid for the construction of apartment complexes, canals, and port facilities at Abidjan, Libreville, and elsewhere. Strikes in Mombasa, Lagos, Dar es Salaam, and other cities between 1945 and 1950 led colonial municipal governments to push for more social benefits for African city residents. Belgian officials promoted European notions of hygiene, health services, childcare, and household management through welfare programs, while British and French authorities considered providing limited social welfare for some city dwellers in the 1950s. Municipal bureaucratic structures backed by increased budgets after 1945 became the foundation for postcolonial city governments after independence.

Although most African cities became independent by the early 1960s, southern African cities remained under colonial rule for several more decades. Portuguese officials and military leaders employed the use of the secret police and security forces to maintain control over cities in their African colonies, which largely remained under their control until Portugal's withdrawal from Africa in 1975. The apartheid regime's decision to purge South African cities of most of their African urban population through forced removals in the 1960s brought widespread misery to city residents. Many African neighborhoods were bulldozed to make way for all-white housing complexes. City inhabitants played a key role in pushing for African rights from the cooperative movements of the 1940s through the nonviolent "defiance campaigns" of the following decade.

The Soweto neighborhood of Johannesburg, entirely made up of Africans, became the center of antiapartheid resistance from 1976 through the early 1990s. Street gangs, youth groups, police, and migrant workers' associations all used violence against one another, which left many Africans living in a state of endemic insecurity. In many cases, South African security forces allowed organized criminal organizations, like the Marashea gangs, to operate unchecked in many African neighborhoods. The legacy of lawlessness and brutality of the apartheid era explains much behind the extremely high crime rates of South African cities in the early twenty-first century. Just as the flourishing popular culture in African cities marks a positive development extending to the colonial period, the stark legacy of brutality in South African urban settlements also shows the impact of the colonial past today.

SEE ALSO *Apartheid; Segregation, Racial, Africa.*

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Jeremy Rich

COLONIALISM AT THE MOVIES

Since the beginning of the motion picture industry, Western colonialism has been one of the themes, and at times one of the popular themes, of European and American movies. Cinema continued the nineteenth-century western European and American trend of telling romantic, exotic, and patriotic stories of expansion, conquest, and—increasingly—mission, or bringing the benefits of "civilization" to the "inferior races." Such stories had earlier been told in paintings, popular books, museums, illustrated journals, juvenile literature, and comics. Over the decades of the twentieth century, films with "imperial" and "colonial" themes celebrated and glorified imperial adventures and colonial triumphs and crises. Popular movies projected more myth than reality regarding the nature of colonialism, particularly as experienced from the indigenous African and Asian perspectives.

After World War II (1939–1945), and particularly by the 1970s and 1980s, Western filmmakers began to portray colonial encounters in more complex and nuanced ways. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, cinema around the world, from the perspective of both filmmakers and audiences, remained drawn to the themes of Western colonialism and, particularly, the difficult issues and problems created by the colonial encounters between Europeans and non-Europeans.

Colonialism at the movies began at the dawn of the motion picture industry in the late 1900s. A fifty-second reel about the French colony of Annam (central Vietnam) in Indochina was made by Gabriel Veyre (1871–1936), a collaborator of the Lumière Brothers (Auguste [1862–1954] and Louis Jean [1864–1948] Lumière, the inventors of cinema in Europe) in 1897. This short, entitled *Enfants annamites ramassant des sapèques devant la pagode des dames,* shows two French women giving money to a group of Vietnamese children who scramble and fight for every coin.

Only a small fraction of French films made in the 1920s and 1930s were colonial in subject or made in exotic locations. The Franco-Moroccan films of the 1920s respected local Berber customs, and the best "colonial" French films of the era, *Le Sang d'Allah* (The Blood of Allah, dir. Luitz Morat, 1922), *Itto* (dir. Jean Benoît-Lévy, 1934), and *Pépé le Moko* (dir. Julien Duvivier, 1937) provided realistic and ethnographically informed representations of North Africans. *Pépé le Moko* was popular in the United States. It was remade by Hollywood as *Algiers* (dir. John Cromwell, 1938). These films helped establish the exotic casbah in the imagination of Americans and contributed to the success of Michael Curtiz's *Casablanca* (1942). The American cartoonist Chuck Jones (1912–2002), who joined Warner Brothers in 1938, apparently was inspired by *Pépé le Moko* when he created his character Pepe Le Pew, who was debonair in a skunklike way.

French film critics constantly praised French filmmakers for their attention to *actualités*—not unlike nineteenth-century art critics who praised the North African paintings of French artist Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) for their authenticity and transparency. French film critics, of course, reacted against the American and British "French Foreign Legion" films of the era, such as *The Sheik* (dir. George Melford, 1921), *Son of the Sheik* (dir. George Fitzmaurice, 1926), *The Spahi* (1928), and *Beau Geste* (dir. Herbert Brenon, 1926; and William Wellman's 1939 remake). French filmmakers, however, made their share of colonial adventure stories that shored up the idea of empire and idealized the Foreign Legion as the "thin white line" defending civilization from the Arabs. David Henry Slavin counts fifty such films set in North Africa in the 1920s and 1930s that "legitimated the racial privileges of European workers, diverted attention from their own exploitation, and disabled impulses to solidarity with women and colonial peoples" (2001, p. 3).

The British, with an empire upon which the sun never set, had uncounted colonial topics and stories that provided themes for popular feature films from before World War I (1914–1918) to the 1950s. The British and Colonial Kinematograph Company began the production of films in 1908 and produced a number of movies in colonial locales. The British Board of Film Censors, beginning in 1912, insured that "controversial" issues were avoided and only "wholesome imperial sentiments"—as the dominion premiers agreed in 1926—would be disseminated in the three thousand cinemas operating in Britain in the late 1920s (MacKenzie 1999, p. 226).

In the mid-1930s the Hungarian-born British producer Alexander Korda (1893–1956) produced his "Empire Trilogy," three popular films directed by his brother Zoltan Korda (1895–1961) that glorified the British Empire: *Sanders of the River* (1935), *The Drum* (1938), and *The Four Feathers* (1939). *Sanders of the River,* about a British district commander allied with an African chief played by the American actor Paul Robeson, so offended Robeson's sense of racial stereotyping that he attempted unsuccessfully to buy the rights to the film and all prints to prevent its distribution. *The Drum*, about a native Indian prince who gave assistance to a Scottish army regiment to overcome a rebel tyrant, triggered Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay in 1938.

One of the favorite colonial stories, a 1902 novel by the British author A. E. W. Mason (1865–1948) about the courage of a former British soldier during the Sudan

campaign of 1898, *The Four Feathers* was first made into a film during World War I and was remade by Zoltan Korda in 1939. The 1939 film presented the Sudanese enemy, the Arab dervishes, and the African "Fuzzy Wuzzies" as mindless warriors in the service of a madman. These and other British films with colonial themes of the 1930s offered little justification for empire other than, writes Jeffrey Richards, "the apparent moral superiority of the British, demonstrated by their adherence to the code of gentlemanly conduct and the maintenance of a disinterested system of law and justice" (quoted in Nowell-Smith 1996, p. 364). (Mason's 1902 novel has appeared on film seven times, including a 2002 version by the Indian director Shekhar Kapur. Kapur's film, unlike the previous ones, injected a dose of anti-imperialism in its double perspective of how British imperialism affected the subordinate native people and the British and native soldiers who enforce foreign rule.)

Italy's film industry during the fascist regime of Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) in the 1920s and 1930s was intended to create statist, nationalist, and imperialist propaganda, as Mussolini noted when he paraphrased Russian Communist leader V. I. Lenin (1870–1924): "For us cinema is the strongest weapon" (quoted in Nowell-Smith 1996, p. 354). In fact, however, official, "fascist" films constituted only a small percentage of Italian productions between 1930 and 1943. Fascist filmmakers, however, did produce movies about Italy's "African mission" with *Squadrone bianco* (White Squadron, dir. Augusto Genina, 1936) and *Sentinelle di bronzo* (Bronze Sentries, dir. Romolo Marcellini, 1937). The great costume drama and epic *Scipione l'Africano* (Scipio the African, dir. Carmine Gallone, 1937) reminded Italian audiences that Italian (Roman) soldiers had conquered Africa before and would do so again.

The Nazi state in Germany through the Ministry of Propaganda made many more films than the Italian fascist state, but there was little interest in overseas imperialism. Of the more than one thousand feature films produced in Germany between 1933 and 1945, few dealt with subjects other than Germany. *La Habanera* (dir. Douglas Sirk, 1937) and *Germanin* (dir. Max Kimmich, 1943), about Latin America and Africa respectively, focused on fever, sickness, and premature death.

The Soviet Union, officially anti-imperialist, made internationally recognized avant-garde films in the 1920s, but under Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) in the 1930s and 1940s production declined, as did quality. During World War II and the buildup to the war, Soviet cinema fell back on Russian imperial themes to promote nationalism and support for the state. *Kutuzov* (dir. Vladimir Petrov, 1944) presented Mikhail Kutuzov (1745–1813), the general who saved Russia from the Napoleonic invasion, as a

loyal Russian and brilliant strategist. The great Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) in *Ivan grozny* (Ivan the Terrible, part 1, 1945) depicted the sixteenth-century czar as a troubled character but great national hero. The film was begun on Stalin's request, but the dictator viewed it as a critique as his own autocracy and banned it. During the Stalin years, the Soviet republics were permitted to make their own film epics about national heroes (*Bogdan Khmelnitsky* [dir. Igor Savchenko, 1941] in Ukraine, for example), but the Soviet censors made sure that these were heroes who had never fought against Russian oppressors.

By 1929 over 80 percent of the world's feature films came from the United States, and most of those from Hollywood, California. The United States had long viewed itself as an anti-imperialist nation, despite its expansion across the transcontinental West, its seizure of Native American lands and Mexican provinces, and its late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century adventures in overseas acquisitions of Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the Panama Canal Zone. American filmmakers, and apparently American audiences, were not interested in any American "empire" other than the "Wild West" and cowboys and Indians.

The *western* dominated American cinema from the silent period through the 1950s. Not unlike French and British colonial films, American westerns contrasted white civilization and Indian "savagery," as well as the conflicts within newly settled colonial societies. Many American western films, beginning with *The Battle at Elderbush Gulch* (1913) directed by D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), present the advance of the frontier as a triumph of character and heroism. Not all westerns before the 1960s and 1970s, however, were vehicles for anti-Indian propaganda. Hundreds of early silent films were based on the popular Wild West shows of Buffalo Bill, Broncho Billy, Tom Mix, and others that had genuine Indian performers who provided the attraction of an exotic and clichéd past. A number of feature films, from Griffith's *The Squaw's Love* (1911) to Howard Hawks's *Broken Arrow* (1950) and John Ford's *The Searchers* (1956), presented sympathetic portraits of Indian life and relations with whites, and complex observations on the nature of American racism. The famed "Cavalry Trilogy" directed by John Ford (1895–1973)— *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *Rio Grande* (1950)—was scathing in its portrayal of U.S. Indian agents, cavalry officers, and other whites who took advantage of the Apaches or misunderstood them.

Americans were as interested in the adventure and romance of the British and French overseas empires as the British and French were themselves, although American films set in the French and British empires

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BOLLYWOOD

The roots of India's Mumbai-based cinema industry, informally known as Bollywood, stretch back to July 7, 1896, when the Lumière Brothers showed six silent short films at a Bombay hotel. However, Dhundiraj Govind Phalke (Dada Saheb Phalke) has been recognized as setting the industry in motion with the production of *Raja Harishchandra*. Introduced in Bombay on May 3, 1913, this film was the country's first totally indigenous silent feature. Silent films soon proved popular, in part because they provided entertainment that transcended the barriers to communication created by India's great diversity of languages.

A formal film industry structure emerged in Bollywood during the 1920s, and by the 1930s the organization of India's cinema industry very much resembled the manner in which Hollywood was organized in the United States, with studios directly employing actors and directors. This structure eventually changed due to the influence of independent producers.

Silent films quickly gave way to pictures with sound during the early 1930s. The Imperial film company released *Alam Ara*, India's first "talkie," on March 14, 1931. In addition to creating indigenous language barriers, talkies also isolated India from Western films, allowing Indian films to flourish. A number of productions that addressed social injustice were produced during the 1930s, and the industry continued to create significant films during the 1940s.

The 1950s marked the so-called "golden age" of Bollywood. As the *Economist* noted in its September 15, 2001, issue, in a review of Nasreen Munni Kabir's book, *Bollywood: The Indian Cinema Story*: "Back in the 1950s film makers such as Mehboob Khan, Raj Kapoor, and Guru Dutt rode on a wave of intellectual dynamism that had been whipped up by the raising of the Indian flag at independence. These directors were happy to take on realistic themes, such as caste, morality and the place of women in a fast-changing world."

During the 1960s color films emerged, and Bollywood began to concentrate heavily on the production of escapist, romantic pictures. Some have characterized the Indian films of this decade as being produced mainly with box office receipts and distributors in mind. Directors like Ritwik Ghatak, Satyajit Ray, and Mrinal Sen pioneered the New Indian Cinema in reaction to such films, by focusing on the production of more artistic pictures with social significance.

During the 1970s big-budget Bollywood productions tended to focus on the themes of action and revenge, even as New Cinema productions continued to be released. Some have argued that Bollywood reached an all-time low during the 1980s, which they see as an era marked by films of poor quality. After declining in number during the 1970s, roles for female actresses virtually disappeared. The 1990s saw a trend toward "glamorous realism," which brought a return to romantic films and the reemergence of strong roles for female actresses. In addition, the introduction of satellite and cable television created new entertainment options and new venues for music drawn from Indian films.

By the early twenty-first century, Bollywood had produced, since its humble origins, roughly 27,000 feature films and many more short films. Bollywood continues to produce more than 100 films per year.

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were often more attuned to non-European sensibilities. In 1916 Hollywood made Anatole France's novel *Thaïs* (1890) into *The Garden of Allah* (dir. Colin Campbell). This story about very little, a man and a women abandoning their religion and seeking their selves in the North African desert, was remade in 1927 (by Rex Ingram) and in 1936 (by Richard Boleslawski) in the United States, apparently because of the popularity of the exoticism and romance of the desert.

The Sheik (1921), the film that made the Italian-born actor Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926) a star, involves a London socialite traveling across the Sahara, where she is attacked by bandits. She is rescued by Sheik Ahmed Ben Hassan (Valentino), and the English lady and the Arab sheik fall in love. North Africa also served as the setting for *Beau Geste*, an adaptation of a British story about three English Geste brothers and the French Foreign Legion. This story, set in French North Africa, highlighted the virtues of English and French manliness and brotherhood in the context of relentless Arab attacks.

The 1930s became the golden age of British colonialism in Hollywood and the classic action-adventure

***Gunga Din* Poster, 1939.** Gunga Din, *director George Stevens's take on Rudyard Kipling's smug commemoration of a loyal Indian water-bearer, portrays British soldiers as brave and heroic.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

spectacular. Henry Hathaway's *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1934), a blockbuster success in America and Britain, is a melodrama about three British officers stationed in northwest India. This film set the civilized British soldiers against the ruthless and treacherous Afghan rebel Mohammed Khan, who tortured well-bred Englishmen. The success of *Bengal Lancer* brought more films like it: *Clive of India* (dir. Richard Boleslawski, 1935), *Storm over Bengal* (dir. Sidney Salkow, 1938), *The Sun Never Sets* (dir. Rowland Lee, 1939), *Gunga Din* (dir. George Stevens, 1939), and *Stanley and Livingston* (dir. Henry King, 1939).

Gunga Din, George Stevens's (1904–1875) take on the British author Rudyard Kipling's (1865–1936) smug commemoration of a loyal Indian water-bearer, naturally portrays the British soldiers as brave and heroic. However, the anti-British enemy is noted to be lovers of "Mother India" and therefore not mindless fanatics

but believers in a worthy cause. Kipling's multicultural theme, and the one often pushed by liberal American filmmakers, was found in the story of Gunga Din, who was a nobody and who in the end sounded his bugle, warned the troops, rescued his friends, and saved the day.

Prior to World War II, French, British, and American films rarely deviated from the accepted values and norms of their times regarding the framework of colonialism. Filmmakers took the dichotomy of civilized settlers and primitive natives for granted. However, not all films on colonial subjects followed these rules. The disintegration and liberation of the European colonial empires in the decades following 1945 transformed the way the West understood colonialism and therefore changed cinema's view of colonialism. This change did not happen immediately. *King Solomon's Mines* (dirs. Compton Bennett and Andrew Marton, 1950, a remake of the 1937 British film), *Storm over Africa* (dir. Lesley

Selander, 1953), *West of Zanzibar* (dir. Harry Watt, 1954), *Zulu* (dir. Cy Endfield, 1963), and *Khartoum* (dirs. Basil Dearden and Eliot Elisofon, 1966) continued to portray the British colonial soldier or adventurer as the noble agent of "civilization." The story of how Muhammad Ahmad, the Mahdi, an Islamic mystic, organized an army and drove the British out of the Sudan in 1885 is told in *Khartoum*. British General George Gordon (1833–1885), martyred in the campaign, was played by the handsome and heroic American actor Charlton Heston. The British actor Laurence Olivier, as the Mahdi, on the other hand, presented a lunatic religious fanatic, an Islamic stereotype that was reinforced in later movies from time to time.

By the 1960s, with the demise of most of the European empires, Western filmmakers had begun their passage into cinematic collective guilt, cultural self-condemnation, and moral instruction. *La bataille d'Alger* (The Battle of Algiers, 1966), an Italian film directed by Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919) about the anticolonial uprising against French colonialism in the capital of Algeria from 1955 to 1957, brought the bitter history of colonialism and anticolonialism to life in French cinemas and everywhere else. This documentary-style film won awards in Venice, London, and Acapulco largely because of its obvious political perspective, a defense and justification of the National Liberal Front (FLN), the Algerian insurrectionary organization. Bosley Crowther, writing the review for the *New York Times*, observed that Pontecorvo's film was essentially about valor, "the valor of people who fight for liberation from economic and political oppression. And this being so, one may sense a relation in what goes on in this picture to what has happened in the Negro ghettos of some of our American cities more recently" (Crowther 1967/2004, p. 82).

French audiences, along with other Europeans and Americans, were outraged by the provocations, torture, and killings that *The Battle of Algiers* attributed solely to the colonial police and the French army. The terrorism of the FLN is explained by the planting of a bomb by the police in a crowded apartment building. Although the police and the army committed many abuses and crimes in the war, this particular event was a fabrication of the filmmaker. The insurrection began in August 1955 when the FLN launched a campaign to murder every French civilian and official in the country. FLN death squads killed men, women, and children, and immediate French reprisals led to mass arrests and more murders. This war, a bloodbath of atrocity and reprisal that began in 1955 and continued until the cease-fire of 1962, killed more than eighty thousand French settlers and soldiers and many hundreds of thousands of Muslim Algerians. Neither *The Battle of Algiers* nor the more commercial American film *Lost Command* (dir. Mark Robson, 1966)

provided any kind of nuanced or even historically reliable and complete picture of this tragic war.

By the 1960s and 1970s, the sins of European colonialism were being compounded with those of the American war in Vietnam in British and American films. Tony Richardson's *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1968), a film about the British war against Russia in the Crimean Peninsula in the 1850s, abandoned the heroics of both the 1854 poem by Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809–1892) and Michael Curtiz's 1936 American film on the same subject. In Richardson's version, the doomed Light Brigade is a symbol of everything wrong with Victorian England: jingoism, elitism, ideological blindness, and strategic bungling.

Zulu Dawn (dir. Douglas Hickox, 1979), the prequel to 1964's *Zulu*, depicted the Battle of Isandhlwana of 1879, which was the worst defeat of the British army in Africa. This anti-British epic contrasted the peaceful yet heroic Zulu (as suggested by the title) with the arrogant and stupid British. Director Hickox (1929–1988) and screenwriter Cy Endfield (1914–1995) compared the British in Africa to the Nazis. Prior to the British invasion of Zululand, the colonial governor is made to say, "Let us hope that this will be the final solution to the Zulu problem" (quoted in Roquemore 2000, p. 373).

American westerns by the 1970s presented the white man as the savage antihero and the Indian as the respectable and courteous husband, brother, citizen, and leader. *Little Big Man* (1970), directed by Arthur Penn (b. 1922), tells the story of Jack Crabb, the sole survivor (perhaps) of George Armstrong Custer's "Last Stand" in the 1876 Battle of the Little Bighorn in Montana Territory. Penn demystifies a vain and neurotic Custer and sadly allows the audience to see the extinction of the Cheyenne (who call themselves "human beings") through the story and eyes of Jack.

The propagandistic *Soldier Blue* (dir. Ralph Nelson, 1970) focused on the U.S. Cavalry's 1864 Sand Creek massacre in Colorado. The murderous glee of most of the racist soldiers was reflected in the outrage of the one appalled hero. This film, like *Little Big Man*, made visual references to the Vietnam War and American "atrocities," such as the infamous My Lai massacre of March 1968. The ultimate triumph of this cinematic revisionism was Kevin Costner's *Dances with Wolves* (1990), a three-hour epic about the Lakota Sioux that portrayed the Indians as peaceful, sophisticated, and above all civilized people in contrast to the violent, incompetent, and barbaric white soldiers. This beautiful atonement for Hollywood's too many "Injun" insults won seven Academy Awards, including Best Picture. The "evils of civilization" and the "conquest of paradise" themes

continued to be explored through fabulous cinematography *1492: Conquest of Paradise* (dir. Ridley Scott, 1992) and *The New World* (dir. Terrence Malick, 2005).

One of the most important themes in colonial studies, as well as in colonial films, is the allure of the "other" or the exotic, that is, the attraction or enticement of colonial culture and the temptation of "going native." The usual or "normal" assumption that the *other* culture is offensive, savage, unsophisticated, and generally uncivilized is reversed when a hero or heroine adopts not only the outward signs and customs of the foreign and colonial culture, but in the most personal, physical, and emotional manner "becomes" the other. We see this with Costner's Lieutenant John Dunbar, who easily abandons his soldierly, white, and American identity in order to become "Dances with Wolves," the husband of "Stands with a Fist" and a member in good standing of one band of the Lakota Sioux.

One of the classic films of British colonialism, indeed one of the classic films of all time, David Lean's *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), is the story of an eccentric British officer, T. E. Lawrence (1888–1935), who joined forces with Arab tribesmen during World War I and became a legendary man of the desert. Peter O'Toole's Lawrence was, like his Arab allies, a magnificent warrior, both courageous and enigmatic. Lean also shows Lawrence as the fallible westerner, whose good intentions for Arab independence allowed his confidence to turn into arrogance and bloodlust. Although Lean and scriptwriter Robert Bolt had no difficulty presenting the Turks as vicious enemies, their portraits of the Arabs were as attractive yet indistinct as the desert cinematography. The vain and weak Prince Feisal who led the tribes of the peninsula was played by Alex Guinness as cagey, educated, and wise.

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a new wave of what would generally be called rich and complex colonial stories in the movies. Not since the 1930s had English-speaking movie houses seen so many colonial stories about India and Africa. *Staying On* (dir. Silvio Narrizzano, 1981), *Heat and* Dust (dir. James Ivory, 1982), *Gandhi* (dir. Richard Attenborough, 1982), *A Passage to India* (dir. David Lean, 1985), *Out of Africa* (dir. Sydney Pollack, 1985), *The Mission* (dir. Roland Joffé, 1986), *Dien Bien Phu* (dir. Pierre Schoendoerffer, 1991), *Indochine* (dir. Régis Wargnier, 1992), *L'Amant* (The Lover, dir. Jean-Jacques Annaud, 1992), and the 1984 British television series *The Jewel in the Crown* were beautiful, passionate, and popular films about colonial relationships. In most of these films, the nature of colonialism and the colonial relationship is viewed from the perspective of a European. In *Indochine*, for example, French colonialism in Vietnam from the 1930s to the

Lawrence of Arabia **Poster, 1962.** *One of the classic films of British colonialism,* Lawrence of Arabia *depicts T. E. Lawrence as the fallible westerner, whose good intentions for Arab independence allowed his confidence to turn into arrogance and bloodlust.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1950s is seen through the eyes and experience of a privileged daughter of a rubber plantation owner, Eliane de Vries (played by the French actress Catherine Deneuve). When Eliane adopts a Vietnamese orphan and is radicalized by the Communist revolution, the audience is taken on the journey of anti-French sentiment that pushed the Vietnamese into rebellion, revolution, and the war against the French.

The rest of the world—North Africans, Arabs, Latin Americans, Africans, Indians, Asians, and others—have been making films since the beginning of filmmaking. French-Moroccan filmmakers in the 1920s and 1930s made dozens of quality films about contemporary life and history. In many parts of the world, and not simply in colonies, early filmmaking was the result of joint productions between Europeans and locals. States created national studios to support local directors and

screenwriters and to finance national productions. In Algeria, for example, the newly independent revolutionary state set up Casbah Films in 1962, led by Yacef Saadi, which coproduced *The Battle of Algiers*. By the 1950s and 1960s, films from the so-called third world, such as *Bharat Mata* (Mother India, dir. Mehboob Khan, 1957) from India and *Bab El Hadid* (Cairo Station, dir. Youssef Chahine, 1958) from Egypt, were becoming recognized around the world.

Colonial themes have appeared in many films from the third world, although, perhaps surprisingly, this topic has never been dominant. In the non-Western cinema, as in the West, filmmakers and audiences are drawn to a wide variety of stories. Films on colonialism from the third world, like those from the West, can be divided into two groups: the many films that feature nationalist and politicized lectures on the evils of colonialism, and the fewer eloquent stories that reveal the weakness of the seemingly strong empires and the strength of the apparently oppressed people. Satyajit Ray (1921–1992), India's best-known director, took the second approach in *Shatranj Ke Khiladi* (The Chess Player, 1977). The French-Egyptian production *Al-Wida'a ya Bonaparte* (Adieu Bonaparte, dir. Youssef Chahine, 1985) is an intimate focus on Napoléon Bonaparte's 1798 Egyptian campaign; the film translates colonial relations into the homosexual love affairs of a Frenchman and two Arab brothers. Private dramas acquire political dimensions that, given the context of colonialism, alter even the best intentioned of human contacts.

The movie *Lagaan: Once Upon a Time in India* (dir. Ashutosh Gowariker, 2001), a nearly four-hour period film set in 1893, is a masterpiece from Bollywood (the Bombay-based Indian film industry) by Bombay's hottest movie producer and actor, Aamir Khan. Set in the little village of Champaner near a British cantonment, the villagers discover that they must pay twice the amount of *lagaan* (land tax) because the local Indian prince does not eat meat. The arrogant British officer in charge demands complete obedience but is willing to make a bet: The soldiers will play a game of cricket with the villagers (who have never played the game). If the villagers lose, they must pay triple the tax. Khan, playing a young farmer, organizes the village and obtains the support and instruction of the British officer's sister. What starts out as a gesture of pity evolves into an exotic love story. In the end, naturally, the simple villagers triumph over the sophisticated British at their own game, the weak beat the strong, and the oppressed obtain justice.

Although they had many opportunities, Khan and Gowariker did not paint the Indian villagers and the British soldiers with the broad ideological brush strokes that even the best filmmakers have been known to use, as

can be seen in *The Mission, Dances with Wolves, 1492: Conquest of Paradise,* and *The New World*. In *Lagaan*, both villagers and British soldiers are portrayed as people, people with their particular problems and flaws. The audience is inspired by the villagers' spirited efforts to build a cricket team, but also grateful to the filmmakers for refusing to slip into the easy path of portraying the ordinary British soldiers as racist and violent monsters.

As is true with many Bollywood pictures, *Lagaan* is a musical filled with singing and dancing and is perhaps one of the best movies yet made about Western colonialism. It is mostly in Hindi, with subtitles in English. Other films may be more important—*Lawrence of Arabia, Gandhi, The Rising* (dir. Ketan Metha, 2005)— but *Lagaan* blends the serious and humorous, a love story and the love of sports, the imperial colossus and the peasant village in the middle of nowhere, and interesting stories of individual characters.

Perhaps the greatest historical epic film ever produced in India is Metha's *The Rising*, a telling of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857 (called the "First War for Independence" by Indians) against the British East India Company. This film concentrates on the life of Mangal Pandey, the sepoy who started the rebellion, who is played by Aamir Khan.

For students and teachers, scholars and readers, and movie fans and history buffs, the world's filmmakers have offered many movies about colonialism, far more than can be touched upon in this short entry. The adaptation of this relatively new art form to the historic events, classic stories, great personalities, moral dilemmas, and personal relationships of Western colonialism has produced great film epics, exciting dramas, exotic romances, good and bad propaganda, and much more. In the early twenty-first century, filmmakers have new technologies and special effects, as well as more money, to produce epics, and they have barely touched many of the great stories of modern colonialism and empire.

The desire to see colonial cinema, from the filmmakers of Hollywood and Bollywood, from the studios of France, Britain, and Mexico, as well as Senegal, China, and Egypt, is a continuing and widening challenge, like finding and reading good and interesting colonial history and historiography. Cinephiles search video and DVD shops and now the Internet, looking for both the classic colonial movies and the lesser-known Western and non-Western films that have explored colonial themes. Scholars are researching how "empire cinema constructed the colonial world" (Chowdhry 2001), and professors are teaching courses in colonial cinema. Nearly every university in the United States offers courses in film studies, and courses on films about Western colonialism are not

uncommon. It is a great time to be watching colonialism at the movies.

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COLONIAL PORT CITIES AND TOWNS, SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

The term *colonial port city* evokes, in a Southeast and South Asian context, images of sprawling cosmopolitan urban centers, with their polyglot trading communities, linking long-distance maritime trading and shipping networks with regional movements of people, commodities, and ideas. Such cities are also seen as foreign enclaves, socially, morphologically, and culturally distinct from their hinterlands, but exercising economic and political control over them, tying these areas into imperial and global economic modes of production and consumption. Historically, they often served as regional or imperial capitals for the various European empires of the region.

In nineteenth- and twentieth-century South and Southeast Asia, such cities included Aden, Karachi, Bombay, Madras, Colombo, and Calcutta along the littorals of the Indian Ocean; Penang, Melaka and Singapore along the Straits of Melaka; Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya, and Makassar around the Java Sea; and Saigon, Hong Kong, and Manila on the South China Sea.

While the origins of these cities can be traced to the fortified Asian and European-controlled port towns established in these regions between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the colonial port city can easily be distinguished from their predecessors out of which they developed. They differ not only in terms of size and morphology, but also in terms of the extent of control colonial cities exercised over their hinterlands, the scale and scope of the commercial, financial, administrative, and socio-cultural functions they handled, and their role in integrating their respective hinterlands into broader structures of the colonial economy.

THE EUROPEAN PORT TOWNS

The commercial functions of the European port towns, including Manila, and their political and economic environments shaped the towns' social and physical morphology and their roles between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Foremost among the factors that defined these port towns was their cosmopolitanism. Rhoads Murphey (1989) has argued that this cosmopolitanism was

inextricably linked with the commercial functions of such towns. It was an outgrowth of the European trading companies' desire to gain access to preexisting structures and networks of trade in Asia, and was reinforced in the early modern period by the social structuring of trade and occupations in the region along ethnic, religious, and, in the case of the Indian subcontinent, caste lines.

Attracting particular ethnic trading communities and artisan groups to the new European port towns was often seen as crucial to the towns' success. In Southeast Asia, these port towns were usually polyglot centers with Chinese, Arab, Malay, Bugis-Makassarese, Balinese, and Javanese communities. However, it was the Chinese who were the most important migrant community in the development of port towns in Southeast Asia, from the Dutch-controlled Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya, and Makassar, to the Spanish port town of Manila and the British port towns of Penang and Singapore. This was because of their connections with China and Chinese trading networks (especially maritime trade), and their relative amenability to control, despite several major revolts and massacres in Batavia and Manila respectively. Chinese based in the port towns not only mediated regional and transregional trade with China, but also brokered the movement to these port towns of Chinese laborers and artisans, many of whom were ultimately responsible for the construction of new towns and the expansion of old ones into the hinterland. They were usually part of established networks of *peranakan* or localized Chinese, many of whom had converted to Islam. This pattern of urban development was replicated in the northern Javanese port towns of Semarang, Surabaya, Jepara, and Tegal.

In South Asia, too, diasporic trading communities, both regional and trans-regional in origin, were crucial in the establishment and functioning of the European port towns, especially Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Pondicherry—although the Dutch ports, Paleacat and Negatpatnam, because of their monopolistic policies aimed at protecting Dutch East India Company (EIC) trade, tended to view such communities as competitors. The founding of Bombay and the establishment of Madras by the English East India Company were followed by attempts to attract Hindu, Jain, Muslim, Parsi, Jewish, and Armenian Christian merchants from neighboring ports, through offers of trading privileges, customs exemptions, freedom of religion, and corporate privileges. Families and networks from other regions of South Asia, such as the Gujaratis, Rajasthanis, Telegus, and Marwaris, were also active in the trade between these port towns and their hinterlands. Prominent Jews in Cochin were central in transactions between the local ruler and the Dutch EIC, and even established contacts with Dutch Jews in the Netherlands.

Religious freedom and religious tolerance were both important dimensions of the port towns' cosmopolitanism. Except in the Philippines—where Catholicization was one of the main colonial objectives, notwithstanding the presence of Chinese and other non-Catholic traders—the promotion of religious tolerance as a way of attracting and holding different merchant groups was a key European trading company policy. The Dutch, after defeating the Portuguese in the port town of Cochin, granted religious privileges and liberties to the Jewish merchant community. Religious differences remained important as a marker of communal distinction, however, although this did not prevent people from marrying out of their religion. While there was a general tolerance of religious diversity in the Dutch port towns, there was also a drive to "Europeanize" local forms of Christianity. The Dutch Reformed Church attempted to socialize local Christians, either Catholics or new converts through marriage, into what was considered to be proper Christian society in the Indies. The churches in the port towns were seen by trading company officials as important bastions of European society and ideals.

The administrative organization of European port-town society along ethnic, religious, and in the case of India, caste lines was reinforced by the segregated residential patterns of the different communities. As with their Asian counterparts, such as Surat, Masulipatnam, Melaka, Ayutthaya, and Makassar, the South and Southeast Asian port towns were organized in a manner that reflected the limited ability of Europeans to fully administer them, due to the European's lack of social and cultural capital, and the costs of any such attempt at direct control. A policy of semi-autonomous governance, with more important matters handled through consultation between the trading company councils and community leaders, was the usual practice.

In the Dutch port towns of Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya, Tegal, and Makassar, hierarchies of ranked leaders (from lieutenant to major) were set up for each ethnic community, while in some instances, as with the Chinese in Batavia and Semarang, communal bodies like the *kongkoan* were established to administer cases involving the local Chinese community. Where this *kapitan* system was not used, as in the Straits Settlement ports of Penang and Singapore, informal structures involving different communal organizations (based on shared place of origin, language, and family clan names) and secret societies were used by the Chinese communities for organizing themselves and by the state for maintaining order.

In Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Pondicherry, and Cochin too, each of the religious, ethnic, and caste communities were allowed to set up their own *panchayats* or councils for the governance of affairs related to their

Boats on the Pasig River, Manila. *The Pasig River runs through the center of Manila, a colonial Spanish port that grew to become the largest city in the Philippines.* JOHN WANG/PHOTODISC GREEN/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

respective communities. They also tended to congregate around symbolic centers, especially shrines, temples, mosques, or churches, associated not only with their religious affiliation as a whole, but also with their places of origin and with other ethnic or caste markers.

Despite this segregation along ethnic, religious, and caste lines, the growth of *mestizo* (mixed-marriage or hybrid) populations was also an important feature of these European port towns. In Batavia and other Dutch EIC port towns in the archipelago, intermarriages between trading company officials and local women, often Indo-Portuguese mestizos or slaves, were common and seen as inevitable. So was the practice of concubinage, because of the disproportionate gender ratio in migrant populations. The Portuguese, and later, the Dutch, saw this group of mestizos as crucial to the establishment of a community with links and loyalty to the Europeans.

The emergence of *peranakan* society in Java and other parts of the East Indies through the marriage of local women to Chinese men—who chose to retain their "Chineseness," albeit in rather hybrid cultural forms— paralleled the growth of the Chinese mestizo populations in Manila and its environs. In the *ommelanden* or suburbs

of Batavia, intermarriage between different ethnic communities from the Indies, and the residential patterns of these groups, often frustrated the attempts of the Dutch to segregate them, leading to groups with mixed ethnicities, even among groups commonly labeled as *native*.

Such hybridizations often presented problems for the Europeans in the port towns in their efforts at classification and taxation, and in the administration of legal cases. It also led to rivalries between the different communal hierarchies and structures established in these towns with the blessing of the European rulers. In Makassar, for example, there were disputes between the Captains of the Malay and Chinese communities over the relative status of men and women who married across the ethnic divide, especially for Chinese *peranakan* who chose to remain Muslim. The control over people was crucial to the power and authority of ethnic community leaders. In certain cases, like the Malay community, the leader was obliged to render and coordinate labor services for the colonial administration.

These European port towns, perhaps with the exception of Manila, never came to dominate the trade or the populations of their respective regions or subregions, nor

attain the scale and scope of their Asian counterparts, or of the later colonial port city. Despite their morphological differences from Asian port towns or other settlements in parts of South and Southeast Asia, they had only a limited impact on their hinterlands and political environment.

Their claims to commercial monopoly, even in the area of spices like cloves and nutmeg, was continually undermined by the various Asian and private trading networks, even where they managed to control the "hinterland" producing these items. The European trading companies depended on local rulers and local merchant networks in the hinterland for access to various products—as in Cochin, where they were forced to deal with the raja and other local rulers in order to obtain commodities such as textiles and peppers.

Even in regions where Europeans had port towns, such as Bombay and Calcutta in the case of the British, they maintained factories in Asian port towns controlled by petty rulers or inland empires—such as the towns Surat and Masulipatnam, at various times under the sway of the Mughals and Marathas—or their respective representatives or tributaries. In Calcutta, and Bengal as a whole, the English EIC had to operate through a network of local rulers—like the Nawab of Bengal and other local princes—purporting to act for inland empires (such as the Mughals), and with a host of trading communities organized along ethnic as well as kinship lines.

While European port towns did influence the politics and trading patterns of the hinterlands by their presence in regional markets, and sometimes through violent means, their direct impact in terms of restructuring relations and trade was mild compared to the colonial port cities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their aims were fundamentally different, and in the case of the European trading companies, commercial and limited.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY TRANSFORMATIONS AND THE RISE OF THE COLONIAL PORT CITY

The emergence of the colonial port city was predicated on changes in imperial vision that became more evident by the middle of the nineteenth century. These were not sudden or momentous changes, but the culmination of a series of overlapping processes. Their beginnings can be found in the eighteenth century and in the convergence of several factors that reinforced the position of certain European port towns and transformed them into rapidly expanding port cities operating within new political, economic, and technological frameworks. The military, political, and administrative incorporation of the hinterlands of the port towns into their respective imperial frameworks meant, in different places, varying degrees of transformation of the relationships between the colonial state, local rulers and elites, and society-at-large

in the hinterlands, leading, in turn, to changes in the relationships of land-ownership, production, and trade.

The eighteenth century saw the extension of British and Dutch control in the hinterlands of strategic parts of South Asia and Southeast Asia, namely on the east coast of the Indian Subcontinent and the west coast of Java, respectively. The context and pretext was the decline of inland empires, namely the Mughal in India and the Mataram in Java, and the subsequent political instability created by aspiring powers (like the Marathas in India) and contesting claimants in imperial, regional, and local contexts. Nevertheless, the aims of the British and Dutch remained conservative. In both these regions, they claimed, at least in principle, to be the representatives or *diwan* for the declining Mughal Empire and the Kartasura court, respectively, and continued to operate through established local rulers or "political entrepreneur" princes.

The integration of these hinterlands into new political and administrative structures was a long-term process, accelerated by the taking over of the British and Dutch trading companies' interests and territories in South and Southeast Asia in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by their respective national governments in Europe, after the collapse of the Dutch EIC in 1799 and the Indian Mutiny of 1857. This process saw the incorporation of local elites and rulers into a new system of governance, in which their executive powers were much diminished or restricted to cultural or religious spheres, alongside an expanding European bureaucracy. Many local rulers lost their previous sources of income, which were mainly derived from tribute and other forms of direct fiscal exactions, and received instead a fixed income from the state, which they thus became dependent upon. This process was paralleled by a codification of laws concerning land, settlement, and movement of people that was based on European legal notions and understandings of local customs, and put the relationship between the colonial state and local elites on a new footing.

These changes paved the way for the economic transformation of the hinterland, first through trading company and state-sponsored enterprises, such as the cultivation system in Java and West Sumatra, and subsequently through the influx of western capital into the new extractive industries and plantation economy of east Sumatra, Java, Malaya, and the islands of Riau, Bangka, Belitung, and Borneo. The industrial and agricultural revolutions in late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, especially in Britain, changed the patterns of Eurasian trade, in terms of mass production capability and by creating the affluence that increased demand for tropical foods, beverages, and other consumption items, as well as raw materials.

These revolutions reinforced the importance of colonial port cities by making them gateways into the new hinterlands for investment capital, labor, and technology. This was evident in the mass migration of Chinese and later Indian and Javanese labor to Malaya, and of Chinese and Javanese labor to Sumatra. It was also reflected in the creation of new satellite towns linked to the port cities of Singapore and Penang and Kuala Lumpur-Klang in northwest Malaya, which became the main collecting, distributing, and processing centers.

Technological changes in maritime and land transport and communications strengthened the positions of the colonial port cities in their regional contexts. The advent of the steamship and the growing traffic of cargo and shipping resulted in a rapid increase in the draught, tonnage, and sophistication of the ocean carriers, which were well beyond the capabilities of the existing ports. The costs of building specialized port facilities, whether through state enterprise or through private corporations, or both, often meant that such facilities were concentrated in areas of highest traffic.

Port cities also became important regional centers for industrial production and for the distribution of manufactured products from the metropoles. This led to the expansion of the cities beyond their old physical confines, namely the town walls and forts. Their architectural appearance also achieved a certain uniformity, as part of a colonial style. This was a very drawn-out process, which in the case of primary colonial cities like Batavia and Manila had begun much earlier. As cities developed industrial economies, distinctions in terms of class became as important as the divisions of ethnicity and religion.

The effects on the hinterland were evident in the increasing migration into the cities in search of opportunity. The port cities also began to take on cultural, social, and economic roles vis-à-vis the hinterland to a much greater extent, especially through their monopoly of print media and through becoming the site of new secondary and tertiary educational institutions. New patterns of migration also created new divisions within and changing attitudes toward existing migrant communities. The growing number of women migrants resulted in changing attitudes toward the mestizo and *peranakan* communities.

Marriage between European men and local women became increasingly frowned upon, as was concubinage, due to a growing ethnic divide based on racial (rather than cultural) conceptions and associations of Asia with weakness and moral debasement. The *peranakan* Chinese communities in Indonesia and in British Malaya were also coming to terms with the sociopolitical implications, in some quarters, of the cultural differences between an English-educated *peranakan* elite and the Chinese-educated business and intellectual elite.

Thus, just as these port cities became sites of ethnic and cultural mixing, like the older colonial European port towns, which made them socially and morphologically distinct from their environs and hinterland regions, they also became sites of ethnic competition and conflict. The growing scale of foreign migration (European, Chinese or Indian depending on the region in question) after the 1870s, and the increasingly apparent class and economic divisions along ethnic lines in these cities, provided the seeds for ethnically charged politics during the nationalist period.

It was in the colonial port cities that important branches of emergent nationalist and political organizations were formed. These cities were important sites and nexuses of movement, first for commerce, work, and administration, but later, also religious, educational and in terms of print and media. They gradually encapsulated both "foreign" diasporic networks, as well as local and regional systems. Thus, they became important channels for the movement of ideas, technology, and people between the region and the world, especially the colonial metropoles, and other Asian capital port cities (colonial or otherwise). They became the sites in which these "new" tools were harnessed to ideologies and movements that challenged the colonial order.

They provided the contexts for the creation of new elites whose educational background and professional or commercial dealings allowed them to straddle different worlds—the local-regional environments and the different European and Asian diasporas. This was as evident in Colombo and Calcutta in the Indian Ocean rim as in Singapore, Batavia, and Semarang east of the Bay of Bengal. In colonial Java, the port city of Semarang hosted the first meeting of the socialist Indische Partij in the Dutch East Indies and was also the base of one of the radical branches of Sarekat Islam influenced by the communists. Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, to different degrees, were also sites of such cultural dialogues and debates, with important consequences for emerging nationalist movements in India.

Port cities also came to play important roles as gateways for new ideas and new types of political and social consciousness, from Europe as well as from other Asian centers, such as Mecca, India (for Indonesia and British Malaya), China, and Japan. Circles and movements associated with socialism, nationalism, modernism, and religious reformism often emerged in these port cities due to the cities' population size and economic and social characteristics.

CONCLUSION

The colonial port city can be distinguished from the European port town in terms of its dominance over the

hinterland, the scale and scope of economic, administrative, and port functions arrogated to it, and its function in linking the hinterland to a global and regional colonial political economy oriented toward a metropole in Europe. This concentration of functions was a reflection of the earlier strategic importance of the towns and of the relative success of the European trading companies and their successor colonial states, as well as of various technological developments, which began in the eighteenth century but accelerated after the mid-nineteenth century.

Parallel to these processes, new port hierarchies developed. Malacca, the old maritime stalwart of the Straits bearing its name, came to be displaced by the new British ports of Penang and Singapore, due to a combination of factors in the late eighteenth century. These included Anglo-Dutch rivalry and diplomacy, the nexus between English and European country trade networks and Asian shipping networks, and the regional politics in the Straits and Java Sea region in this period. Penang became the center of the northern Straits region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, while the founding of the other free port of Singapore, further challenged the position of Dutch-controlled Malacca. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty led to British control of these three ports on the peninsular side of the Straits of Malacca.

In the course of the nineteenth century, Singapore, due to its free trade environment, its strategic location in terms of maritime routes with China and with the eastern archipelago, and the operations of the European country trade (especially with respect to opium, became the primary port in the Straits region. The gradual concentration of administrative, technological, and other functions in the settlement further augmented its importance in the peninsular economy. Penang, in the context of Singapore's rise as the main entrepôt for Malaya and the western archipelago, was able to maintain its position due to the extension of colonial rule over its economic development of its hinterland under colonial auspices, by predominantly Chinese labor, capital and enterprise, of first tin mining in the northern Malayan hinterland in the late nineteenth century. It was followed by the influx of European capital and technology, first in the tin fields, and subsequently in the rubber industry after the late 1890s.

In Java, the establishment of Batavia as the main stapling port for the Dutch East India Company in its Asian trade, and the gradual territorial expansion of the Company after the 1670s, both along the north coast of Java and in the hinterland, led to the subordination, through force and then policy, of the other major maritime centers on the northern coast. This included Semarang, Surabaya, Japara, and Cirebon, among others.

It restructured the hierarchy of polity and trade in the region. Nevertheless, these ports remained important in the regional trade, namely within the Java Sea, and with the Straits of Malacca.

Furthermore, Company policy and development of the hinterlands into centers of production for the European market changed the relationship between coast and hinterland yet again, as Mataram, the major inland power in central Java was gradually fragmented and subordinated to Dutch rule and sovereignty from the coast by the mid-nineteenth century. The gradual creation of the colonial state in Java with Batavia as the administrative, communications and transport capital, first under the East India Company and state-sponsored enterprises, and subsequently private European corporate ventures, saw the reinforcement of its position within the coastal port network.

Nevertheless, policy and economic changes after the 1870s, which saw the influx of European capital and technology into the Dutch possessions in the east, saw the further transformation of the regional ports into major players in the regional market. The development of the plantation economies, especially sugar, and tobacco, led not only to the resurgence of ports like Cirebon, Semarang and Surabaya, but also to the development of new port centers like Deli (now Medan) on the northeast coast of Sumatra.

In South Asia, Colombo outstripped Galle (with its better harbor) because of its access to the commercial agricultural areas in the southwest of the island, and the construction by the British of port facilities and a road and rail network oriented toward it. British imperial success no doubt led to the growth of Britain's colonial port towns on the subcontinent—namely Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—relative to other European port towns like Pondicherry, Cochin, Paleacat, and Negatpatnam, as well as Indian ones like Surat and Masulipatnam.

In the Philippines, the continued importance of Manila was based on similar processes of colonial expansion, concomitant with infrastructural, commercial, and economic transformations, as seen in Java, Malaya and Ceylon. It reflected the geopolitical patterns of territorial expansion by the Spanish, as well as the ways in which the Spanish (and Chinese) commercial systems based on Manila connected with regional trading networks. The development of the hinterland and expansion to the other islands outside Luzon expanded the networks of ports, but Manila nonetheless retained its importance as the commercial, administrative, religious, and cultural center for the colonial Philippines.

The convergence of various political, administrative, economic, and technological forces in the nineteenth century determined the fortunes of earlier European port

towns, and bound the selected ones that made the transition to colonial port city status more closely to the hinterland than their predecessors ever had been. The new port cities were also able to dominate their hinterlands to a hitherto unprecedented extent, and to play a leading role in shaping the economic and even socio-political landscape.

They played leading roles in mediating the flow of capital, people, ideas, and technology between Europe and Asia, as well as across colonial (and often linguistic) boundaries in Asia. Ironically, these cities also provided the contexts and nexuses for political and ideological movements that challenged the colonial order, often with concepts, methods, organizations, and technologies, derived from the metropole and Europe.

Nevertheless, the continued importance of these colonial port cities in the postcolonial period underlies the deep foundations of the hinterland/port city relationship and its centrality to the new nation-states, which despite their supposed antithesis to the colonial state and colonialism, retained many of its functions, structures and attitudes. The position of many of these port cities, especially the capital cities, have been strengthened rather than weakened in the post-colonial period.

SEE ALSO *Batavia; Bombay; Calcutta; Freeburghers, South and Southeast Asia; Singapore.*

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Keng We Koh

COLONIZATION AND COMPANIES

In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, a great deal of Europe's long-distance trade, cross-cultural contact, and colonial enterprise was designed, engineered, and managed not by monarchies or the state, but by companies. These companies, whether primarily designed for plantation or long-distance trade, generally possessed royal charters that detailed rights to wage war, conduct diplomacy, control commerce, and administer settlements in the known and undiscovered world. While their propriety and viability has been a matter of debate since their creation, such bodies were a crucial feature of early modern European empires.

EARLY EXPERIENCES

The ideas of corporate partnership with both public and private rights had intellectual and legal roots in the late medieval financial associations of the Mediterranean,

northern European guilds, and other kinds of corporate bodies, such as towns, universities, and ecclesiastical establishments. Perhaps the most famous early experiment with such an arrangement was the Hanseatic League, an association of traders from various northern German cities and states. The Hanseatic League dominated the late medieval Baltic and Russian trades, maintaining its own enclaved settlements, legislative assemblies, and military.

The Hanseatic League and other such efforts to protect intra-European trade ultimately gave way to the rising power of European national states by the sixteenth century. However, European monarchies and republics often lacked the resources or will to protect directly extra-European overseas commerce and colonization. Such efforts demanded much more capital, sustained over much vaster distances and longer periods of time, than these states could or would muster. It also necessitated an even more elaborate organization, not just for commerce but also for diplomacy, defense, and governance abroad than was within reach of any individual merchant.

Though the Spanish and Portuguese empires, the pioneers of European expansion, were for the most part the business of the monarchy and state, companies did emerge as crucial to this project. Companies for trade or associations of *conquistadores* were usually more or less unchartered partnerships, coordinated or theoretically sanctioned by state institutions like the Spanish Council of the Indies and its subordinate, La Casa de Contratacion, (House of Trade) or the slightly more independent Portuguese Estado da India (State of India).

The Consulado de Sevilla, which began as guild for the Spanish American traders, soon had a de facto monopoly on legal Atlantic commerce. Spanish officials and political economists also began to entertain the idea of chartered monopoly companies as a solution to smuggling, piracy, and attacks from European rivals. Portugal's Brazil Company (1649–1720) was responsible for organizing the Atlantic trade into fleets and armed convoys, and became even closer to a monopoly after individuals' voyages were outlawed in 1660. Still, other Portuguese attempts to form companies in the seventeenth century were less successful, including the Companhia do Comércio da India Oriental (East Indies, 1628–1633), and the Companhia de Cachéu e Rios de Guiné and Companhia do Cabo Verde e Cachéu (West Africa, 1676 and 1696 respectively).

Since other European leaders were largely reluctant or unable to challenge the Iberian empires directly, such efforts were left primarily to private "adventurers" with either tacit or explicit state endorsement. Though the exploits of privateers, explorers, and merchants like Francis Drake (ca. 1543–1596), Walter Raleigh (ca.

1554–1618), and John Hawkins (1532–1595) are perhaps the most famous, important challenges to Portuguese and Spanish maritime and colonial dominion were organized collectively in "regulated" companies, like the English Russia (or Muscovy) Company (1553) and the Levant (or Turkey) Company (1581). These were guildlike conglomerates in which merchants funded and prosecuted their own trade but shared chartered rights, some infrastructure, and diplomatic representation.

THE JOINT-STOCK COMPANY

This model did not, however, prove adequate for the political and commercial risks of trading in areas of the world that were more distant, dangerous, and uncertain. For this, northern European traders, particularly in England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, turned to the joint-stock company. This kind of company was much more novel, though increasingly in use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for local trades and industries, such as mining, fisheries, manufacturing, public works, and financial services. The joint-stock company solved a range of political and entrepreneurial problems specific to long-distance trade and colonization. Unlike in the regulated company, capital stock was raised through investment, not the trade itself. This allowed companies to accumulate much more money, which would be more permanent, liquid, and able to absorb much greater risks.

The joint-stock system also involved new constituencies in overseas activities, including the gentry and nobility, which had little place in a regulated or unincorporated trade. Politically, these bodies were corporate singularities, legal "persons" with an expectation of institutional permanence and "perpetual succession." They also had the rights and duties of self-governance and did so through an often sophisticated hierarchical internal and external political organization. Neither public nor private, these companies were bodies politic in themselves.

From the mid-sixteenth through the seventeenth century, there was an explosion in the number of joint-stock companies, particularly in the English Atlantic: the Guinea Company (1618) and later the Royal African Company (1672) in West Africa; the Somers Island (Bermuda) Company (1615) and the Providence Island Company (1630) in the West Indies; and the Newfoundland Company (1610), the Virginia Company (1606), and the Plymouth (1606) and later Massachusetts Bay Company (1629) in North America. A good number of these companies lasted only decades, but they laid the foundations for the English slave trade, Atlantic commerce, and "foreign plantations" in the Americas.

The Massachusetts Bay Company, though never having much of a trade, continued to govern its colony

Jamestown, Virginia. *Situated on the banks of the James River in present-day Virginia, Jamestown was established by the Virginia Company in 1607 and became the first permanent English settlement in America. Jamestown is depicted here as it may have looked in the early seventeenth century.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

almost to the end of the seventeenth century. In fact, much of the literature and propaganda behind these companies, like Richard Hakluyt's (ca. 1552–1616) *Discourse on Western Planting* (1584), insisted that commerce was only one goal of such expansion, which also promoted Protestantism, could rival Spain, and add to the national "fame." Furthermore, settlement and exploration had the potential to open a new path to Asia through a much-pursued "Northwest Passage." The Hudson's Bay Company (1670), which commanded the English fur trade and settlements in Canada, was founded with this initial goal in mind.

Unlike the English, early Dutch expansion in the Atlantic was prosecuted under the auspices of one all-encompassing company. The Dutch West India Company (West-Indische Compagnie, 1621) was given a monopoly on all Dutch trade in the Atlantic basin. It established slave-trading forts in West Africa and settlements in the West Indies and North America, most notably the New Netherlands (later lost to the English and restyled New York). Though it was ultimately unprofitable, the Dutch West India Company took a leading role in establishing colonies, regional monopolies, and well-armed fleets and garrisons against the Iberian powers. Though some contemporaries saw such efforts as unsuccessful, raids on Spanish and Portuguese shipping in the company's first decade yielded over five hundred prize ships. In 1624 its forces briefly seized the Brazilian town of Bahia, and the company soon had established itself in parts of Brazil, Venezuela, and the Caribbean. The Dutch West India Company's only real source of profit, though, was its monopoly on the gold trade, which also led to a more permanent Dutch presence in West Africa as well.

Ultimately, perhaps the most profitable and powerful of these new joint-stock companies were the English and Dutch efforts to rival the Portuguese in Asia. As early as the seventeenth century, the English East India Company (1600) and the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1602) began to dominate the Eurasian trade in spices and other Asian goods; they also established and governed colonial cities, maintained military forces, fought wars, and conducted diplomacy. They set the stage for future European

expansion in Asia, and served as models for a number of other European efforts at prosecuting a trade in the East.

France, Sweden, Denmark, the Holy Roman Empire (Austrian Netherlands/Ostend), and Scotland all established their own East India companies in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, with varying success. The Company of Scotland (1695–1707) even planted a short-lived colony in Panama with the twin goals of strategically disrupting Spanish American power and using the isthmus as a bridge between the West and East Indies—an idea only realized two centuries later in the Panama Canal.

COMPANY, STATE, AND EMPIRE

The independence from their respective states marked the crucial difference between these Dutch and English companies and their Iberian rivals. Still, as European national and dynastic rivalries spread across the globe, these companies assumed powerful roles in actively defining the future of European empire more generally. Controversies over such companies were at the heart of seventeenth-century political economy debates that shaped contemporary and future imperial policies. The East India companies in particular also contributed to empire as critical players in the seventeenth-century "financial revolution," underpinning state expansion as a source of revenue, through customs, excise, and state debt.

The most explicit use of companies for state building was found in late seventeenth-century France. There were French attempts in the early seventeenth century to rival Dutch and English expansion, under the stewardship of Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642, chief minister of France from 1624 to 1642), but the Compagnie du Corail (Barbary Coast), Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France (Americas), and the Compagnie des Indes orientales were almost immediately failures. More dramatically, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683, intendant and comptroller-general under King Louis XIV [1638–1715] from 1661 to 1683), used his Compagnie des Indes orientales and Compagnie des Indes occidentals as part of a broader scheme of state imperial expansion, commerce, finance, and even as farmers of colonial revenue, such as tobacco. Unlike in England or the Netherlands, the French state was the largest investor in these projects and had a greater hand in their administration.

This power of colonial companies did have its limits. Interlopers, pirates, and smugglers were difficult and costly to contain, and profits were hard to sustain. The French companies in particular were notoriously unsuccessful as business enterprises. Furthermore, early eighteenth-century crises in stock markets that emerged alongside these companies sent shocks through this system.

In 1720 the "bubbles" burst on two notorious overseas colonial schemes. A frenzied run and crash in the stock of the French Mississippi Company, which was initially chartered to trade in and govern Louisiana but was soon quixotically given control of all French Asian trade, caused a financial crisis in France that some historians list among the long-term causes for the French Revolution (1789–1799). In 1719, the British South Sea Company (1711), which had been vested with a monopoly on the South Sea trade and the Atlantic slave trade, attempted to assume the entire British state debt. Although the stock had no real assets behind it, speculation drove up its price from about £100 (British pounds) to over £1000 in six months. When the bubble of speculation burst, the ensuing panic led in 1720 to a crash in the company, the inchoate British stock market, and the political system that had so wholeheartedly backed it.

Meanwhile, as modern European national states continued to grow, they began to assume a much more direct role in their colonial empires. By the end of the seventeenth century, the English Crown and Parliament had created a Board of Trade (1696) to govern the Atlantic trade, put the Royal African Company and Newfoundland fisheries under increasing scrutiny, and attempted to absorb American colonies previously held under proprietary charters. In the next century, emerging liberal economic ideologies, most notably those detailed in Scottish economist Adam Smith's (1723–1790) *Wealth of Nations* (1776), argued that monopolies and colonial companies were detrimental to trade and national wealth. The Compagnie des Indes had its exclusive privileges withdrawn in 1764, and the Dutch West India Company was absorbed by the state in 1791 and abolished in 1794. The English East India Company, which had acquired its own territorial empire in South Asia by midcentury, fell under increasing state scrutiny and was progressively shorn of its monopoly (1813), trade (1833), and governance (1858) and was eventually abolished entirely (1873).

As the northern Europeans were abandoning the system of colonial companies, the Spanish Crown began to entertain numerous proposals for monopoly companies in an attempt to keep its American empire afloat. The Havana Company (1740) was given a monopoly on the tobacco trade of Cuba (1740), and the Barcelona (Catalan) Company (1755) was chartered for trade to Santo Domingo (in present-day Dominican Republic), Puerto Rico, and Margarita (in Venezuela).

The most famous and successful of these eighteenth-century efforts was the Real Compañia Guipuzcoana de Caracas (1728), or the Caracas Company. This company set about developing Venezuela's economy and defending it from the Dutch. The Caracas Company was soon

granted an indefinite monopoly, but under the pressure of wars with Britain and abuses within the company, Spain began to favor free trade as a means for rescuing its declining empire. The Caracas Company was absorbed into the newly chartered Philippines Company in 1785, which turned out to be the last holdout among these Spanish monopoly companies. It endured, if only in name, until 1834. Though free trade and liberal political philosophy on the one hand, and imperialism as a political ideology on the other, reached their apotheosis in the nineteenth century, European powers increasingly turned back to private companies as agents for colonization. Indeed, joint-stock companies became the vanguard of certain European colonial efforts, particularly in Africa. Corporations like George Goldie's (1846–1925) Royal Niger Company, Cecil Rhodes's (1853–1902) DeBeers Consolidated Mining Company and British South Africa Company, the British and German East Africa companies, and, perhaps most famously, Belgian King Leopold II's (1835–1909) International African Association, which acquired the Congo under the "Partition of Africa" in 1885, among many others, were critical in administering and defining modern European colonial empires.

SEE ALSO *Cacao; Coffee Cultivation; Company of New France; Conquests and Colonization; Massachusetts Bay Company; Virginia Company.*

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Philip J. Stern

COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER
1451–1506

Christopher Columbus was an Italian navigator and explorer whose four voyages to the Americas "opened the gates" for western Europe's overseas expansion.

Columbus was born in Genoa, a thriving commercial port on the Mediterranean Sea, in 1451—the same year as Queen Isabella (1451–1504). Two years later, Ottoman Turks took control of Constantinople (present-day Istanbul, Turkey), the last Christian foothold in Asia. Columbus thus grew up among merchants seeking new routes to the silks, spices, and gold of the "Indies" to circumvent the routes that the Turks had restricted.

By age twenty, Columbus was a full-time trader with the Spinola family, sailing the Mediterranean and the Ocean Sea (the Atlantic) north to England. Shipwrecked off the coast of Portugal in 1476, he swam ashore near Prince Henry the Navigator's (1394–1460) school for mariners in Sagres. Columbus then moved to Lisbon, where he took up mapmaking. Lured by the sea, he sailed south to Portuguese trading forts along the African coast and far north of England, improving along the way his knowledge of commerce, navigation, and sea and wind currents. In 1479 he married Felipa Moniz Perestrello, an impoverished Portuguese noblewoman whose father had been raised by Henry the Navigator and was now governor of Porto Santo in the Canary
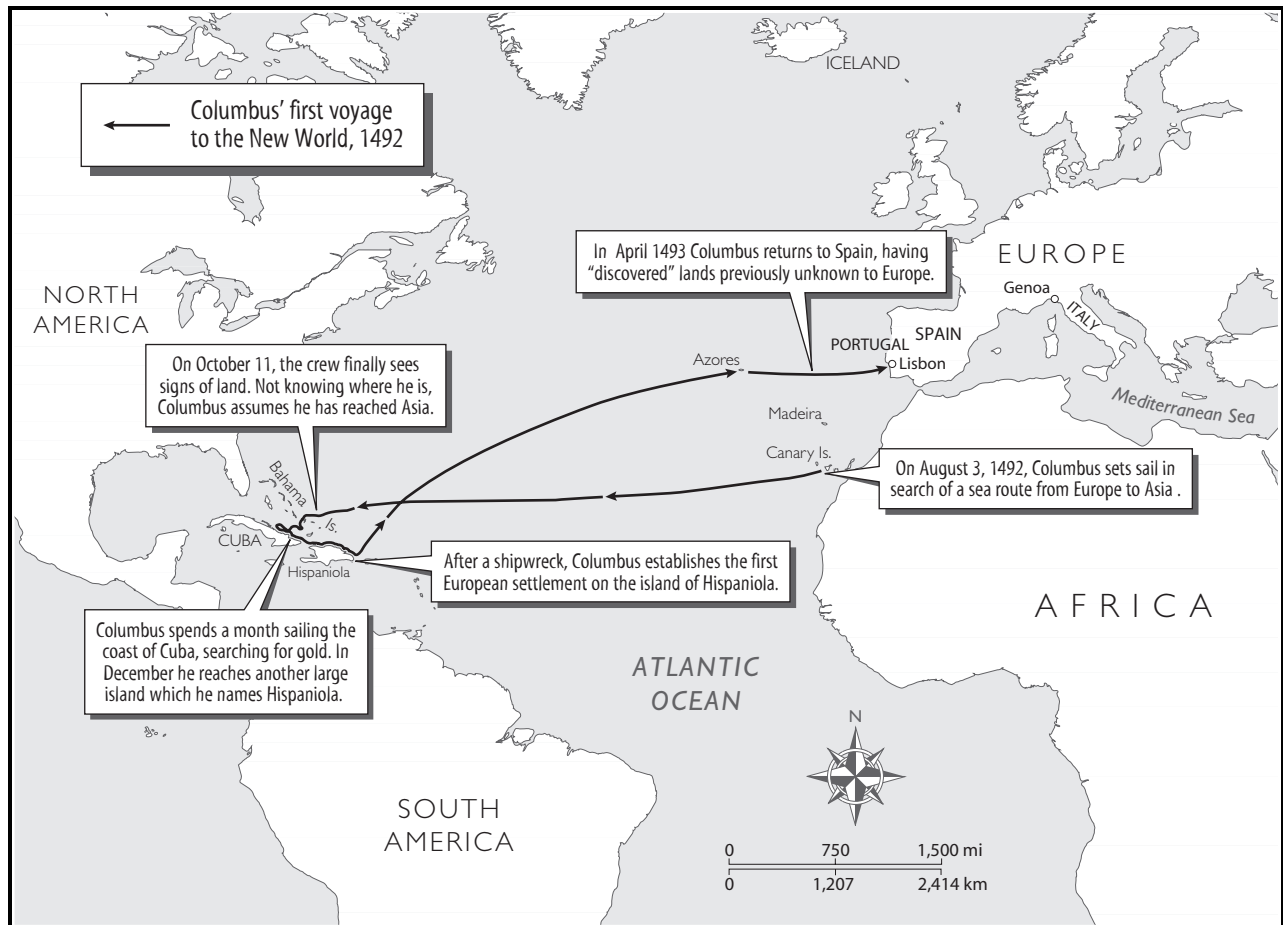
The Voyages of Columbus. *Christopher Columbus's four voyages to the Americas during the 1490s and early 1500s set off a new era of European competition, exploration, and expansion.* **MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.**

Islands. Perestrello gave his son-in-law all his papers and nautical instruments.

It may have been while residing on Porto Santo, watching the sun set to the west and thinking about his future and that of his newborn son Diego (Felipa died shortly after giving birth), that Columbus came up with the idea for his Great Enterprise of the Indies—an enterprise that would take him west across the Ocean Sea to the riches of the East faster than the circum-African route the Portuguese were seeking. After Paolo Toscanelli (1397–1482), a scholar in Florence, confirmed that such an enterprise was feasible, Columbus approached King John II (1455–1495) of Portugal for backing. King John turned him down.

Columbus spent eight frustrating years seeking backing from the Spanish monarchs. In 1492, triumphant but broke after finally reconquering Granada, the last Moorish stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula, Queen Isabella agreed to support Columbus and his enterprise. She needed money, and she admired Columbus's religious fervor.

Leaving Palos, Spain, on August 3, 1492, and stopping in the Canary Islands for fresh food and water, Columbus and his men sailed west in three ships, the *Niña*, *Pinta*, and *Santa María*. They sighted land on October 12, an island that was part of a continent previously unknown to Europeans, later called America, though Columbus believed he had reached islands off the Asian continent.

Columbus returned to Spain in 1493 as viceroy and governor of the Indies, a title granted to him along with "admiral of the Ocean Seas" and a percentage of the Spanish Crown's profits through the legal agreement (capitulations) he had signed with the crown. He was quickly granted permission to return and colonize the island of Hispaniola, which Columbus said was rich with gold—1,200 Spaniards accompanied him in 17 ships. Although Columbus was an excellent navigator, he was not a good governor. So many complaints were made against him and his two brothers that the crown permanently replaced him as governor in 1502.

Columbus made two more exploratory voyages in 1498 and 1502. On his last voyage, he explored the eastern coast of Central America, seeking a strait to the Indian Ocean. Many scholars think he died without knowing he had discovered a new continent. Columbus's notes indicate that he realized it, but could not admit it, for that would nullify the capitulations and the benefits that were to be passed on to his heirs.

Columbus's discoveries of new lands, mineral wealth, and new people and animals, and the idea of a strait through the American continent to Asia, set off a new era of European competition, exploration, and expansion.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish; European Explorations in South America; Vespucci, Amerigo.*

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Lynne Guitar

COMMODITY TRADE, AFRICA

The first Portuguese navigators to cruise along the African coast in the fifteenth century were particularly interested in gold, but they also bought slaves, pepper, gum arabic, ivory, hides, beeswax, and dye-woods. Slaves soon became the most important commerce between Europeans and Africans, but in the late seventeenth century, two-fifths of the trade of the British Royal Africa Company was still in commodities. Gold was the most important export from the Gold Coast until the late seventeenth century. Gum dominated exports from the Senegal River. The major limitation to development of trade was the cost of shipping, which limited exchange to commodities that had a high value for their weight. European ships also carried African cloth and food products between different African ports.

By the late eighteenth century, European shipping had become more efficient. The Industrial Revolution was creating new needs. Machinery needed lubrication, which was provided by vegetable oils. Nineteenth-century Europe also saw an increasing concern with personal cleanliness, particularly in Britain. Soap was made from vegetable oil. Palm oil exports to Britain from West Africa began in the 1790s, rose to 1,000 tons a year in 1810 and over 40,000 tons in 1855. French consumers were not interested in the soft yellow soap the British industry produced from palm oil, but French industrialists learned to produce an attractive soap from peanut oil. Starting with a small purchase in Gambia in 1833, peanut exports rose to over 200 tons in 1845 and over 5,500 in 1854.

The growth in vegetable oil production was also stimulated by a dramatic shift in the terms of trade, that is to say, what producers received in exchange for what they produced. The Industrial Revolution meant that cotton cloth, by far the most important African import, was produced at prices as low as 5 percent of earlier prices.

In the years that followed British abolition of the slave trade in 1807, Britain used diplomatic and naval pressure to shut it down. The new commerce is often called "legitimate trade" by comparison to the slave trade. The slave trade was, however, illegitimate only in the eyes of Europeans. The slave trade persisted into the 1860s, but West Africans increasingly found it wiser to focus on producing commodities, often using slave labor to do so. The slave trade within Africa thus continued. Slaves were used not only as agricultural labor, but also for mining gold and in extracting gum from acacia trees, which grew in desert-side areas. The best measure of the demand for slaves is that prices of slaves within Africa dropped slightly after 1807, but by 1830 they were higher than they had ever been.

The emphasis on commodity production in West Africa often contributed to a radical change in social and political structures. Income from the slave trade went primarily to kings, chiefs, and military leaders, that is to say, to those who commanded military forces. Peanuts and palm oil were produced by peasants, and though the traditional state tried to extract revenue from them, peasants received much of the profit and were often able to purchase weapons. During the course of the nineteenth century, much of the West African population was pulled into the market economy as producers of palm oil and peanuts.

The development of steamboats dramatically reduced the cost of shipping. From the middle of the nineteenth century, steamship companies began calling regularly at African ports, making it possible for both European and African merchants with limited capital to buy space and participate in the export economy.
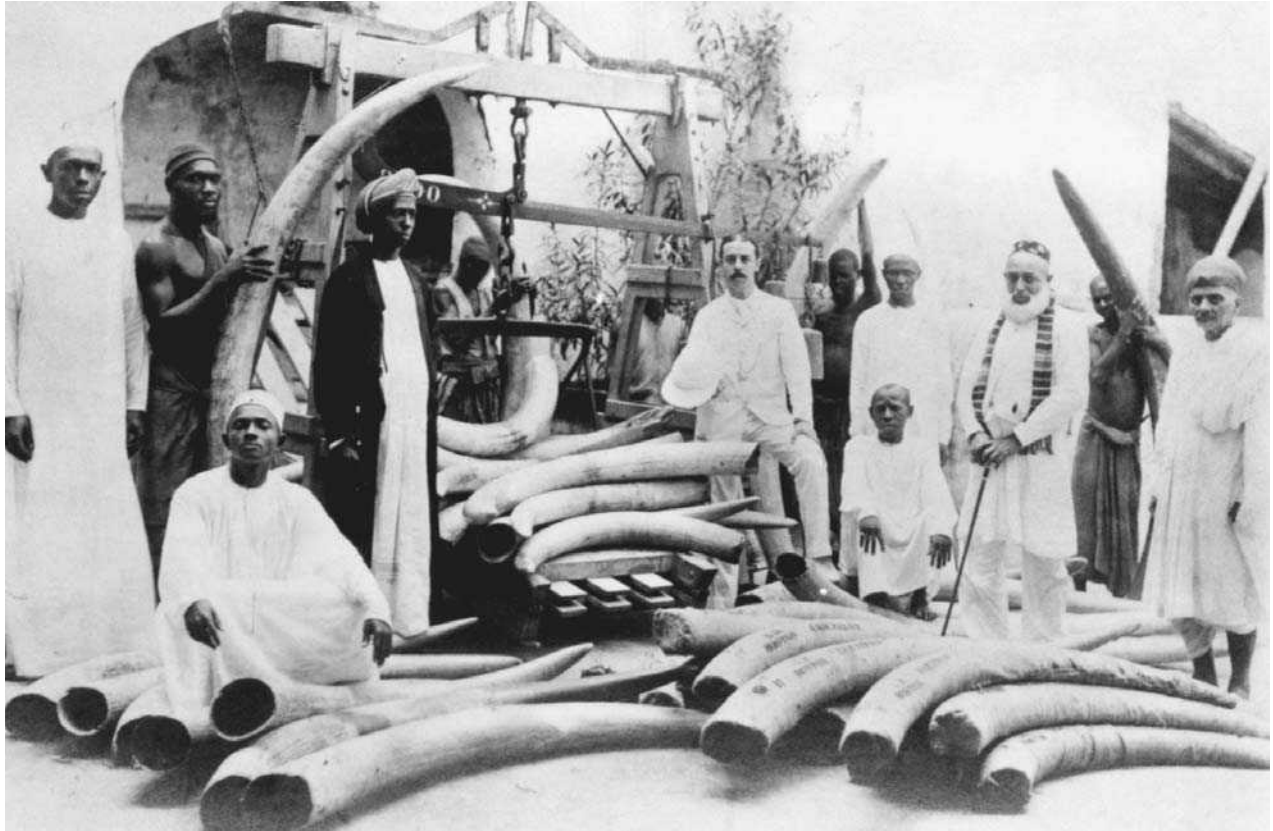
Late Nineteenth-Century Ivory Traders in Zanzibar. *Next to the slave trade, trade in ivory was the most profitable enterprise in Zanzibar during the nineteenth century.* © **BOJAN BRECELJ/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

The early growth of a peasantry was more characteristic of West Africa than of other parts of the continent. Palm oil exports were important in parts of Equatorial Africa, but in most of the rest of the continent, the pattern was different. The Cape Colony lived primarily off shipping to Asia. Though Cape entrepreneurs developed a trade in wool, South Africa remained an economic backwater until the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and of gold in 1884 began the transformation of South Africa into a modern industrial state.

In East and Central Africa, people were less numerous and elephants more so. The Industrial Revolution stimulated demand for ivory products by rapidly increasing the size and wealth of the European upper classes. Carvers competed for scarce ivory with industrialists, who used it for piano keys and billiard balls. Well-armed hunters fanned out across the region, often decimating elephant herds in a short period of time. Hunters often also engaged in slaving, and the caravans that moved toward the coast included both slaves and elephant tusks. As elephant herds were reduced, slaves became more important.

The largest market for slaves was the clove plantations of Zanzibar (in present-day Tanzania). From 1818,

Sayyid Said (r. 1806–1856), sultan of Oman and Zanzibar, had encouraged his Arab countrymen to develop clove plantations. He also encouraged Indian financiers to settle in the port cites of the coast and provide funding for traders going into the interior. Zanzibar thus became the hub of a vast commercial empire and an important port of call for European and American shipping

Slave exports were largely a byproduct of the demand in Zanzibar. Zanzibari clove production expanded so dramatically that by the mid-1840s, it surpassed demand and the price began to drop. During the second half of the century, slaves flowed increasingly into coastal plantations that produced sesame, copra, and grain directed toward both local and international markets. Concentrations of slaves also produced food crops around the major trade hubs and port cities.

After the middle of the nineteenth century, the terms of trade changed. Prices were no longer improving for the African producer. In spite of this, the demand for new products increased. The European textile industry found a new source of cotton in Egypt, but was less successful south of Sahara, partly because of problems of quality control, partly because local weavers were often willing to

pay higher prices than European importers. Coffee, a crop first domesticated and traded from southern Ethiopia, was developed as a plantation crop on the island of São Tomé from about 1850. It was also introduced in Angola, Liberia, and Madagascar. Cocoa was introduced as a plantation crop to São Tomé in 1822 and to the island of Fernando Póo (now Bioko, Equatorial Guinea) in 1836. Cocoa pods were taken to the Gold Coast in 1879, where cocoa spread rapidly as a smallholder crop. By 1911, the Gold Coast was the world's largest cocoa producer, exporting almost 45,000 tons a year.

The development of industrial processes capable of converting latex into rubber and the use of rubber for bicycle and, later, automobile tires created a rapidly increasing demand from about 1870. In the Congo, brutal methods were used to force rural dwellers to work as tappers of latex trees. In areas with a more developed market economy like Guinea, African traders fanned out in forest regions to buy latex. For a number of years, rubber replaced peanuts as the most important export of France's African colonies. Then, in 1908, the same year that a scandal over the methods used to gather rubber forced Belgium's King Leopold II (1835–1909) to yield control of the Congo, plantation rubber from Malaya came onto the market. The price for wild rubber declined rapidly. The only major plantation rubber operation in twentieth-century Africa was the Firestone concession in Liberia.

Colonization stepped up the level of commodity production. Railroads were built into potentially productive areas. Steamboats were placed on navigable rivers and lakes. During the period between the two world wars, roads were built. The imposition of taxation forced Africans to either produce cash crops or, if they lived in areas distant from markets, to sell their labor in areas that were better suited for cash-crop production.

A mineral economy was developed in southern Africa, centered around gold in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, copper in the Congo and Northern Rhodesia. Uganda became a major producer of cotton and coffee. Tanganyika (German East Africa) produced sisal. In real terms, the value of West Africa's exports multiplied fifteen times over a fifty-year period. In 1951 the Gold Coast was the world's largest cocoa producer with 300,000 tons of exports.

Africans were coerced by the colonial regime in many ways. Forced labor was used to build roads and often to harvest settler crops. High taxes were used to force people into the market economy. In the Congo, peasants were often assigned quotas of certain crops they had to produce. In spite of this, African innovation and enterprise was crucial to much of what happened. Men migrated to seek work without being coerced. In Ghana,

peasants devised ways to generate capital, spread risk, and acquire land. Knowledge of how to grow cocoa was spread in Ghana by peasants and by the Swiss Basle mission. In Nigeria, it was spread by African independent churches. In Northern Nigeria, the government wanted peasants to grow cotton, but the price paid for peanuts was higher. In Senegambia, peasants with land devised ways to attract migrant laborers. Truck and taxi transport was developed largely by African entrepreneurs.

SEE ALSO *Sub-Saharan Africa, European Presence in.*

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Martin Klein

COMMONWEALTH SYSTEM

The evolution of the Commonwealth paralleled the deconstruction of the British Empire through the twentieth century, and the changing meaning and purpose of the Commonwealth reflected British efforts to maintain some influence as formal empire declined. Originally a small group of self-governing white dominions within the empire, the Commonwealth is now a voluntary association of over fifty nations, independent of British control, but linked by the culture of a common colonial heritage.

By the early twentieth century, the settler colonies of the British Empire had achieved self-rule as dominions, although they were still largely dependent on Britain for

defense and financial assistance. Following their participation in the First World War (1914–1918), these dominions, especially Canada, South Africa, and the new Irish Free State, moved for clarification of this status. The 1926 Imperial Conference declared the dominions to be autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The ambiguity of this definition led to pressure to translate Arthur James Balfour's (1848–1930) sentiments into constitutional law. The result was the 1931 Statute of Westminster, which formally declared the autonomy of dominion governments and their complete freedom from any dictates of the Westminster Parliament.

The rapid decolonization that followed 1945 brought significant change to the Commonwealth. Ireland declared itself a republic and left the body in 1948. Independent India wished to remain in the Commonwealth, but as a republic with no allegiance to the Crown. Determined to maintain the Commonwealth as a means of exercising informal influence, Britain moved to alter the association's nature to keep India within the fold. In 1948 the word "British" was dropped, creating a Commonwealth of Nations, and in 1949 the London Declaration stated that the monarch was only the symbolic head of a Commonwealth of freely associated states. India thus stayed in, and the precedent allowed later postcolonial states like Ghana and Nigeria to participate in the group as well.

In this incarnation, the Commonwealth since the 1960s has sought both meaning and relevance. The Singapore Declaration (1971) and the Harare Declaration (1991) reaffirmed the Commonwealth as committed to democracy, human rights, and economic development. Contradictions appeared though, as member states pursued their own economic interests (Britain in Europe, for example) and as states moved from democracy to dictatorship.

Relations between Britain and its former colonies were strained during the 1980s over issues like immigration, foreign policy, and sanctions on the apartheid-state of South Africa. However, there were also examples of successful cooperation. Various Commonwealth-sponsored trusts and organizations have provided funding and economic and technical advice to developing nations within the body. The Commonwealth has acted politically, too, providing a forum in the late 1970s for negotiations to end white rule in Rhodesia, and imposing sanctions on states like Nigeria and Zimbabwe for undemocratic and violent actions.

The 1990s saw a few notable events as well. In 1995 Bermuda voted against autonomy and to remain a Crown Colony. Moreover, a British desire to forge new economic relationships in Asia, after the loss of Hong Kong especially, led to a renewed interest in the association, and the proclamation that 1997 was "The Year of the Commonwealth."

SEE ALSO *Australia; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Andrew Muldoon

COMPAGNIE DES INDES ORIENTALES

SEE *French East India Company*

COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE

Founded in 1627 by Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), the chief minister of France, the Company of New France was designed as a vehicle for advancing French colonial claims in North America. Since the late sixteenth century, the French monarchy had granted monopoly rights over the Canadian fur trade to a succession of consortiums. Each was required to promote settlement, but none found it profitable to comply; consequently, there were only about one hundred colonists on the ground by 1625, some at Quebec and others far away in Acadia on the Atlantic Coast. With the establishment of the new company, the Bourbon state signaled a willingness to involve itself much more directly in colonization than heretofore and to channel considerable resources into New France.

Like the Dutch East India Company and the Virginia Company, the Company of New France was designed to mobilize private fortunes in the service of state projects overseas. However, rather than opening the enterprise to all profit-seeking investors, Richelieu exercised tighter control on behalf of King Louis XIII (1601–1643), appealing to a small circle of one hundred shareholders, mainly courtiers, officials, and ecclesiastics; the enterprise became known as the "Company of the Hundred Associates." Shareholders sought not only

monetary return on their investments, but also royal approval and the prospect of receiving titles of nobility.

Its charter awarded the company feudal title to all of North America from Florida to the Arctic Circle, with rights of property, jurisdiction, and government; there was no mention of English claims or of existing indigenous possession of this almost limitless domain. The company later granted large territories along the Saint Lawrence as fiefs to favored individuals and ecclesiastical bodies. These latter, known as *seigneurs,* could then award farm-size portions of their estates to rent-paying settlers. Thus was seigneurial tenure established in Canada, an arrangement that would survive long after the Company of New France was defunct.

Additionally, the company was to enjoy a fifteen-year monopoly over all import/export trade, with an exemption from commercial duties; after 1643 the monopoly would cover only furs and skins; and colonists could trade freely with the Indians, but they had to sell their furs to the Company of New France at a specified price. In return, the company was required to bring to New France four thousand settlers—every one of them French and Catholic (Louis XIII signed the charter during the siege of Huguenot La Rochelle)—and to bear the expenses of the civil and ecclesiastical administration.

Rather more than the contemporaneous colonial charters granted by the British Crown, that of the Company of New France expressed a religious purpose. Colonization, it stated, was "for the purpose, with divine assistance, of introducing to the people who inhabit [Canada] the knowledge of the Only God, cause them to be civilized and instructed in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion." Protestants were not welcome, it implied.

A second distinctive quality of the charter is the aspiration expressed to encompass native nations within the colonial project. While granting no recognition to Indian sovereignty or property, this document looks forward to a time when natives and settlers would unite under the cross and the crown. Indigenous converts to Christianity would henceforth "be considered and reckoned natural born subjects of France," with full legal rights. Many of the legal provisions of the charter, as well as the ideals of Catholic purity and native-French partnership, would remain powerful forces throughout the history of New France.

The new company's history began on a disastrous note. War broke out with England just as it was getting organized and a company of privateers led by the Kirke brothers rushed to take possession of the post at Quebec and then captured the company's first fleet, together with all the supplies and settlers on board, in 1628. Four years later, New France was restored to France and the company began its work anew under the leadership of the governor of New France, Samuel de Champlain (ca. 1570–1635).

Settlers did arrive in both Saint Lawrence (Canada) and Acadia, the majority of men enlisted in France as *engagés* (indentured servants) on three-year contracts, but their numbers fell short of the four thousand required by the company's charter.

The company did take its religious mandate seriously and, to that end, shipped along with the earliest settlers a small contingent of Jesuits charged with evangelizing the indigenous nations and bringing them into the Christian fold. With their base at Quebec and missionaries ministering to the Hurons and other inland tribes, the Jesuits were a dominant presence, not only in the emergent colonial church, but also in the civil politics of Canada under the Company of New France.

A group of idealistic lay Catholics arrived from France in 1641 with the aim of furthering the same cause of converting the "savages." They pushed up the Saint Lawrence to establish what they hoped would be a Christian utopia of Indians and French on the island of Montreal. Though only partially successful in their missionary objectives, the founders of Montreal did succeed in extending the French presence westward. Their frontier settlement controlled a strategic crossroads of waterways linking the Great Lakes, the north, and the Saint Lawrence estuary, and as a result, it quickly emerged as the thriving center of the fur trade.

Meanwhile, the separately administered Acadian colony received an initial injection of supplies and settlers under the leadership of Isaac de Razilly, a leading member of the Company of New France. After Razilly's death in 1635, however, the neglected colony lapsed into a period of chaos and civil strife until it was captured by New England forces in 1654.

In 1663 the crown, in the person of Louis XIV's (1638–1715) minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), intervened once again in the affairs of New France, proclaiming that the company had neglected its duty to establish the colony on a solid footing. At this point, there were only about 2,500 French settlers on the Saint Lawrence, their livelihood excessively dependent on the fur trade, and they were very much on the defensive in the face of Iroquois attacks. The government blamed the company, which it promptly dissolved, and took charge of New France as a crown colony.

SEE ALSO *Colonization and Companies; Conquests and Colonization; Massachusetts Bay Company; Mercantilism; New France.*

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Allan Greer

COMPRADORIAL SYSTEM

An arrangement whereby a local intermediary helped foreigners conduct trade, the compradorial system was used in various parts of East Asia. It was most prevalent in China, where it originated in the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644), but came to prominence in the early 1800s during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). The term "comprador" derives from the Portuguese word for "buyer" (*compradore*). When the monopolistic *cohong* (or Canton) system was abolished in 1842 after the first Opium War (1839–1842), compradors replaced the traditional Hong merchants as the main commercial intermediaries between Chinese and Western traders.

Even after the abolition of the *cohong* monopoly, many obstacles hindered free trade: linguistic and cultural barriers, currency differences and complexities, different weights and measures, and varying commercial and social customs. The compradorial system became more prevalent after the second Opium War (1856–1860), which opened more Chinese ports to foreign trade. Western firms also used Chinese compradors in Japan, mainly at Nagasaki (the only place Chinese merchants had been allowed during the Tokugawa period [1603–1867]) and Yokohama. When Japanese firms started to trade in China at the end of the nineteenth century, they also relied on Chinese compradors.

The compradorial system was indispensable for the rise of Sino-foreign commerce. Hired for their honesty and reliability but mainly for their ability to provide customers, compradors were critical links between Chinese commerce and foreign firms. Because foreign firms owed much of their success to their compradors, they competed for the best compradors. The incentive for hiring a comprador for even a short period was great because a foreign firm generally kept in close touch with its comprador after he eventually became an independent merchant, thereby further widening the firm's range of potential customers. Some Western company officials were so dependent on their compradors that they were hardly aware of how their businesses in China functioned below the highest levels of operation.

By the end of the nineteenth century, compradors were among the richest men in China. Famous compradors include Zheng Guanying (1842–1922), who after working for Butterfield and Swire became a prominent merchant in his own right and in the late 1800s called for China to use commercial warfare to strengthen its modern economy; Zhu Dachun, the comprador for Jardine and Matheson in Shanghai from the 1890s to 1900, and one of the wealthiest men in China; and Robert Ho Tung (He Dong) (1862–1956), the Eurasian comprador for Jardine and Matheson in Hong Kong from 1883 to 1900 and the richest man in the colony.

The terms "comprador" and "compradorial" have also been used pejoratively to describe any type of economic or political collaboration with colonial or neocolonial exploiters—not only in Asia, but also in Africa and Latin America. This usage derives from criticism in the 1920s of the compradors as the running dogs of imperialism. Chinese Marxist scholars have generally viewed the compradors as a result of China's unique semicolonial, semifeudal state and as spearheads of the economic imperialism that drained China's wealth, stifled Chinese-owned enterprises, and upset China's traditionally self-sufficient economy. They argue that the comprador system was not simply an economic arrangement, but a tool for suppressing Chinese nationalism and weakening China's sovereign rights.

The system eventually fostered a giant class of merchants and officials who ultimately helped foreign firms influence China's economy and government in the late 1800s and early 1900s. According to this argument, through their compradors the foreigners were able not only to open Chinese markets, but also to penetrate traditional guilds, hongs, and other commercial organizations, force the Qing government to implement Western-style enterprises, and ultimately to control most of China's largest industries, exports and imports, and shipping.

For scholars who believe that international trade and investment was beneficial to China's economic development, however, the compradors are heroes rather than villains. As the first Chinese to invest in modern enterprises, they were crucial to China's industrialization and economic modernization. They created external economies, promoted a national market, stimulated mercantile nationalism, and channeled Chinese savings into modern investments. Furthermore, because the compradors eventually became the rivals of the Western firms, they ended up curbing foreign economic intrusion.

The compradorial system began to decline in the early 1900s, mainly because foreign merchants became more knowledgeable about China while Chinese merchants became more experienced in foreign trade, but also because the development of modern banking and credit services made the system less necessary. Still, most foreign companies in China continued to rely on Chinese managers or Chinese agents, whereas the compradorial system survived in Hong Kong until after World War II (1939–1945).

SEE ALSO *China to the First Opium War; China, First Opium War to 1945; Imperialism, Marxist Theories of.*

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John Carroll

COMPRADORS
SEE *Compradorial System*

CONQUESTS AND COLONIZATION

The voyages of exploration that began in 1492 provided the Crown of Castile with a unique opportunity to take the lead role in the process of westward expansion and the creation of New World empires. No such intentions, of course, were in evidence when, in August 1492, Genoese mariner Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) sailed out of the port of Palos in southwestern Spain in search of a sea passage to the Orient.

There being no reason to believe that Columbus would reach lands other than the fringes of Asia, he and his sponsors, the Catholic monarchs Isabella (1451–1504) and Ferdinand (1452–1516), envisaged no more than the establishment of a chain of fortified trading posts similar to the *feitorias* pioneered by the Portuguese in Africa. Staffed by salaried crown employees, the Spanish *factoría* was to serve as the means through which to obtain high value goods (principally, it was hoped, gold and spices) without the need to settle the land and exploit it directly.

However, early reports of the potential of the Indies, the name by which Spain's New World possessions came to be known, and especially of the large island of Hispaniola (now occupied by Haiti and the Dominican Republic), with its large population as yet to be exposed to Christian teachings, were sufficient to persuade Isabella and Ferdinand to redefine their objectives, and abandon the trading-post model in favor of that which was more familiar to Castilians, namely, occupation and settlement.

Columbus's second expedition, undertaken in 1493, consisted of more than one thousand men of varied trades and occupations, supplied with all the necessities, including agricultural stock, to found a colony capable of providing the resources for continued exploration of the surrounding area. Most of this first wave of emigrants either died or returned to Spain broken and disillusioned by the harsh reality of life on Hispaniola. But as news of the discoveries spread from Seville through Andalusia, Extremadura, and eventually throughout Castile, thousands of men, motivated in part by a spirit of adventure, but attracted above all by the prospect of untold wealth, made their way across the Atlantic, steadily increasing the Spanish presence and providing a pool from which future expeditionary leaders would draw to man further voyages of exploration within the Caribbean and beyond.

Hispaniola was soon to be overshadowed by Cuba and especially by the mainland territories of the Aztecs and Incas. But the occupation and settlement of this, the first permanent European colony in the Western Hemisphere, was crucial in enabling Spain to formulate the policies and practices that were to make possible the acquisition of an empire and to develop the institutions through which it was to be governed for the following three centuries.

One such practice was that whereby the Spanish Crown, unwilling to take direct control of, or invest heavily in, the incorporation of new territories, relied on entrepreneurial individuals to organize, finance, and undertake the exploration, conquest, and settlement of unexplored regions, in exchange for wide-ranging political and economic privileges, or *mercedes*. These agreements took the form of a contract or license called a *capitulación*, which stipulated the duties and responsibilities of the expeditionary leader, as well as the privileges he could expect to enjoy in the newly subjugated area.

Principal among these duties and privileges were the military title of *adelantado*, the governorship of the territory concerned, and preferential rights over its economic resources so as to enable him to pay off his investors, reward his followers, and derive a handsome profit for himself. To this end, the crown also sanctioned the introduction in the Indies of another key institution—that of *repartimiento*, later to become the *encomienda*. Literally a distribution to selected individuals of designated groups of Indians for the purpose of labor and tribute, *repartimiento* served as the means whereby new territory was secured, its economic potential developed, and its most "deserving" conquerors and early settlers appropriately rewarded.

The notion of reward for services originated in the *reconquista* (reconquest), the centuries-long advance against the Muslims within the Iberian Peninsula, and was successfully extended to the colonization of the Canary Islands beginning in 1479. In the New World, it proved a crucial method for promoting, at minimal cost to the crown, the speedy occupation of the vast territories that were to comprise Spain's empire in America.

Over the decades that followed Columbus's first landing in the Bahamas in October 1492, dozens of *conquistadores*, many but not all of whom were minor nobles or hidalgos who saw military service on behalf of the crown and the Christian religion as the most promising route to social advancement, led bands of followers of lesser social status (soldiers, sailors, blacksmiths, bakers, tailors, and scribes, among others) into the waters surrounding Hispaniola and onto the mainland beyond. The lure of wealth and control of Indians being the principal incentives for participation in expeditions of conquest, new areas that failed to yield sufficient resources to satisfy the high expectations of its conquerors and first settlers, the arrival of large numbers of emigrants ambitious for wealth and status of their own, or even rumors of the existence of richer and more densely populated lands elsewhere, invariably stimulated further exploration. In this way, each territorial gain served as a launching pad for another advance into the surrounding area: Those who endured the hardships of the Atlantic crossing and the discomforts and dangers of an unfamiliar and hostile environment did so not in the expectation of new opportunities for work, but to live on the fruits of the labor of others. Over time, as Spaniards consolidated control over the most rewarding and densely populated parts of the hemisphere, *capitulaciones* declined in utility, but they continued to be employed late into the colonial period as a method for extending Spanish domination over the peripheries of empire.

Critical to the Spaniards' fortunes were the responses of local indigenous populations. Thus, the early occupation and settlement of Hispaniola were facilitated by the initially amicable reaction of the Taíno peoples. Surprised by the unexpected arrival of men so different from themselves, and unaware of the long-term implications of a development for which nothing in their prior experience had prepared them, those Taíno *caciques* (chiefs) with whom Spaniards first made contact were sufficiently curious about, and impressed by, the newcomers and their glass and metal objects not only to engage in trade but to offer hospitality and protection.

Resistance mounted as the real objectives of the Spaniards were gradually revealed and as the Taíno began to experience the consequences of colonization—enslavement, forced labor, the destruction of crops by European livestock, and the impact of European diseases to which the indigenous peoples of the Americas, having developed in isolation from the rest of the world, had no acquired immunity. For the peoples of Hispaniola and neighboring islands, disease was to be the most devastating effect of conquest: Within a few decades of contact, their populations had been virtually wiped out by repeated outbreaks, the most damaging of which were smallpox, measles, and influenza. Sporadic resistance notwithstanding, the initial welcome offered by Hispaniola's *caciques*, combined with the continuing assistance of at least some among their number, permitted the Spaniards to establish a firm and permanent foothold on the island without a full-scale conquest of the kind that would subsequently be necessary almost everywhere the Spaniards went on the mainland.

The conquest of mainland peoples proved considerably more costly. Nevertheless, within just a few years of landing on the coasts of Mexico (1519) and Peru (1532), Spanish *conquistadores* under the leadership of Hernán Cortés (ca. 1484–1547) and Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) respectively, had taken possession on behalf of the Spanish Crown of the large, rich, and densely populated empires of the Aztecs and the Incas. A number of factors came together in the early sixteenth century to deliver the Spaniards quick and decisive victories.

First, Cortés and Pizarro, though they began their conquests more than a decade apart, were immeasurably advantaged by the political situation prevailing in the Aztec and Inca empires at the time of the arrival of the Spanish. Both empires had come into being over a period of approximately a century prior to contact through the incorporation by conquest or intimidation of weaker neighboring groups. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, both empires were driven by internal discontent, attributable in large part to the resentment of subject peoples deprived of their former autonomy and required to pay tribute to their imperial overlords.

For those under the dominion of the Aztecs, tribute could include the provision of sacrificial victims to the god Huitzilopochtli, upon whom the survival of the universe was thought to depend. Among the Incas, such tensions were further complicated by division within their own ranks arising from a bitter war of succession between the half-brothers Atahualpa (d. 1533) and Huascar (d. 1532), caused by the death of their father and Sapa Inca (emperor), Huayna Capac, in the mid-1520s. The emperor was an early victim of a smallpox epidemic that spread through native trade routes years before Europeans penetrated Inca-controlled territory.

Internal divisions within the Aztec and Inca empires proved absolutely critical to the Spaniards. Some native groups, clearly aware of the ways in which the numerically insignificant but militarily powerful Europeans

could aid their struggle against imperial domination, made the decision to ally with the newcomers in the belief that a combined Spanish-Indian force offered them the best chance of regaining their independence.

Such alliances between Spaniards and resentful subject peoples within Aztec and Inca domains were made possible by the initial vacillation of the emperors Motecuhzoma (Montezuma, ca. 1466–1520) and Atahualpa—a second factor that was to have a decisive effect on the course of the conquests. Motecuhzoma, though fully informed of the activities of the Spaniards who had disembarked on the Mexican coast, made the decision to await developments before responding to a threat he did not yet fully understand. Why he hesitated remains a matter of debate, but the consequences of his inaction are well known. The delay in confronting a Spanish force comprising fewer than six hundred men enabled Cortés to make contact with the Totonacs of Cempoallan and, even more importantly, the independent kingdom of Tlaxcala, from whose peoples Cortés obtained intelligence, as well as the manpower and material resources that would make possible the conquest of the Aztec Empire.

In Peru, Atahualpa made a similar error of judgment. Having recently emerged victorious from civil war, the new emperor was sufficiently curious about the identity of the Spaniards, and confident of his ability speedily to dispatch a mere 168 men, to allow Pizarro to enter Inca territory in safety. The Inca failure to react quickly enough proved their undoing. Taking advantage of the surprise caused by horses and firearms, Cortés and Pizarro seized the emperors by force, in both cases provoking confusion, destabilizing the leadership, and delaying a concerted response. For Pizarro, the success of his daring act proved especially significant, for he was to gain not only the support of groups determined to overthrow Inca rule, principal among whom were the Huanca and Cañari, but also of the supporters of the recently defeated Huascar.

However crucial the seizures and subsequent deaths of Motecuhzoma and Atahualpa, these events marked only the beginning of the conquests of the Aztec and Inca empires. Both peoples had strong traditions of warfare, as well as large, well-trained, professional armies that had enabled them to control extensive territories and dominate millions of subject peoples. Both the Aztecs and Incas quickly overcame their initial hesitation, readily adapting to new circumstances, alien weapons, and forms of fighting entirely different from their own. Both fought on home ground, ensuring regular access to supplies and reinforcements. And both proved formidable and fanatical adversaries, capable of driving the Spanish to the limits of their endurance and inventiveness.

Sixteenth-century Spaniards, however, had a further, technological, advantage which, though certainly not the most decisive factor in their victories, aided their search for allies and gave them an important edge over their enemies at crucial points in their conquests. In the final battle for the Aztec capital Tenochtitlán, for example, the large vessels, equipped with artillery, that were built by the Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies allowed them to take control of the lake waters surrounding the city at precisely the time when its inhabitants were also suffering the effects of a devastating smallpox epidemic, rendering further resistance ineffective.

The degree of centralization that characterized the Aztec and Inca empires meant that, once the native leadership structures had collapsed, the transfer of power to the Spanish was relatively swift. The process of consolidating control over the outlying reaches of the empires, and the extension of Spanish domination beyond their perimeters, now propelled further expeditions or *entradas* into the unknown. At the same time that the Spanish Crown encouraged the ambitious and adventurous to seek new opportunities for wealth and glory, however, it sought also to limit the powers of conquerors and first settlers. In addition, though it sometimes failed in these objectives, the Spanish Crown sought to protect its native vassals from excessive exploitation and bring about their conversion to Christianity.

SEE ALSO *Christianity and Colonial Expansion in the Americas; Colonization and Companies.*

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COOK, CAPTAIN JAMES

SEE *Pacific, European presence in*

COOLIE TRADE

SEE *Chinese Diaspora*

COPPER TRADE, ASIA

Japanese copper was a significant commodity in intra-Asian trade. High-volume trade in copper began in the mid-seventeenth century. Chinese merchants and the Dutch United East India Company (VOC) exported copper from Nagasaki, and Japanese traders exported it through Tsushima. Exports rapidly increased due to the prohibition of silver exports from Japan in 1668. In the late seventeenth century the Japanese copper trade reached its peak. In the 1690s Chinese merchants on average annually exported 2,826 tons of copper, while the VOC exported 1,098 tons, and the Japanese sent 344 tons to Korea.

Japanese copper was consumed worldwide. In the seventeenth century it was imported to Europe by the VOC. However, Asia was the main consumer. Chinese junks delivered to the Chinese mainland, especially to ports in the Yangzi delta, and until the early eighteenth century to Southeast Asia, to places such as Tonkin and Ayutthaya. The VOC exported to South Asia. In terms of volume, Gujarat was the most important recipient during the seventeenth century, whereas Coromandel and Bengal were the major recipients during the eighteenth century. Copper exported via Tsushima was sold to Korea.

Japanese copper was used for artillery, household utensils, religious goods, and, most importantly, coins. In China and Korea, almost all of the Japanese copper was supplied to the mints to produce currency. A percent of the copper exported on Chinese junks was reexported by European private traders to South Asia. Competition existed for the role of deliverer to the South Asian market. In the 1710s, however, the VOC established a monopoly to deliver Japanese copper to South Asia. The Chinese government began to purchase all of its Japanese copper from the Chinese traders to Nagasaki, to meet domestic demand. European private traders were excluded from that transit trade of Japanese copper. Copper imported into South Asia was mainly smelted for minting by the VOC or by local Indian governments.

In the early eighteenth century, Japan began to restrict exports due to a decline in copper production. This created a crisis for the VOC, which had constructed its own trading network in Asia and pocketed profits from the intra-Asian trade of the seventeenth century. The VOC imported Japanese copper to South Asia and exported cotton textiles to Siam. They then delivered Siamese commodities such as deerskins and sappanwoods to Japan. Through this triangular trade, the VOC gained profits, which were used as capital for the pepper and spice trade in insular Southeast Asia. The VOC petitioned the Japanese government for the continued availability of a constant annual volume of copper allocated for export. Nonetheless, it saw a decline in its copper exports: throughout the eighteenth century the VOC exported around 500 tons per year.

From the 1730s, the English East India Company exported European copper to India. This copper was mainly produced in Britain, where volumes of production rose year by year in the early decades of the Industrial Revolution. The English trading company's annual copper imports into India reached 872 tons in the 1760s and 1,575 tons in the 1790s. Yet, this British copper trade was not as profitable as the trade in Japanese copper, because British copper was not as highly valued at Indian markets as Japanese and was only suitable for making brass and artillery.

Political instability in the Dutch homeland in the 1790s and the final loss of the Dutch establishments in South Asia in the early nineteenth century led the Dutch business in South Asia to a crisis. While the British copper industry was more expanded, Chile emerged in the nineteenth century as a copper supplier to the global market, and Japanese production fell off. It was not until the late nineteenth century that Japan recovered large-volume copper exports by introducing Western techniques for copper production.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; Empire, Dutch.*

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COROMANDEL, EUROPEANS AND MARITIME TRADE

Coromandel is the name given to the flat and agricultural southeastern stretch of India's coastline. Fragmented by

numerous river deltas, Coromandel offers many suitable harbors including Pulicat, Madras (now Chennai), Pondicherry, Cuddalore, Tranquebar, Karaikal, Nagore, and Nagapattinam. Historically, the region emerged as significant through the production of textiles for export, carried by Muslim Kling and later Chulia merchants as far afield as the Burmese and Thai kingdoms, the sultanates of the Malay peninsula, north and east Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas, the Persian Gulf, and southern Arabia. It is hard to say that any one of these trading ports became preeminent in the early modern period, although with the rise of the kingdom of Golconda and its mining activities, Masulipatnam in north Coromandel became an important regional entrepôt. The scattered locations of Coromandel ports was partly a reflection of the export trade in textiles, whose production was distributed evenly across the region. Besides the oceanic trade there was considerable coastal trade northward up to Orissa and Bengal, southward to Sri Lanka, and westward to Malabar and Gujarat. In this, Muslim settlers from the Arabian Sea and local Islamic merchant communities traded side-by-side with long-standing Hindu merchant groups such as the Telugu and Tamil Chetty, though a gradual shift of Telugu interests southward suggests they may have been displaced by competition. The import trade, by contrast, was never of any great significance, except at Masulipatnam, as it consisted mainly of trade in minerals and the local movement of rice and other foodstuffs.

Europeans were attracted from the outset by the possibilities of procuring textiles for export, though the extent of sixteenth-century Portuguese involvement in the Coromandel carrying trade is questionable. In any case, the Portuguese, who were initially attracted by the legend that the apostle St. Thomas was buried at Mylapore, were never present in great numbers. Around 1540 there were perhaps six to eight hundred across Coromandel, but their settlements remained largely outside state control. According to the *Lembrança das Cousas da Índia*, written in 1525, only one state vessel was active in Coromandel.

In the seventeenth century, however, Coromandel offered crucial trading posts for the Dutch, who opened factories in Pulicat, Sadras, and Masulipatnam. As Hendrik Brouwer explained in 1612, the Coromandel Coast was "the left arm of the Moluccas, because we have noticed that without the textiles of Coromandel, commerce is dead in the Moluccas." The English by contrast were slower to patronize this coastline, and instead concentrated their trading activities in Persia and Surat in Gujarat. Only in 1644 did they build Fort St. George, around which developed the city of Madras, which prospered from its trading activities. This trade represented above all the harnessing of the European demand for

calicos, woven in Coromandel from raw cotton imported from the Deccan. The cloths produced were a variety of plain cloths (muslins and calicos) and patterned chintz. The weavers worked as household units, were organized into a number of castes under a community leader (*careedar*), and proved a mobile workforce, though they were sometimes forced to revert to agricultural livelihoods on account of competition from the emerging English machine industry and shortages in raw cotton supplies. They were paid well above a subsistence wage, though not as much as skilled laborers.

The Dutch and English were joined by the Danes, who established themselves at Tranquebar, and the French at Nizampatnam, Karaikal, and Pondicherry, which they acquired in 1674. With the arrival of Joseph Dupleix, who became governor in Pondicherry in 1742, the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales took on a martial bent. It provoked war with the English by invading Madras in September 1746, although the port was returned shortly afterward by international treaty. In 1750 Dupleix intervened in the succession dispute that followed the death of the Nawab of the Carnatic by thwarting the designs of another Muslim ruler, the Subahdar of the Deccan; shortly afterward, the French also blocked the Subahdar's attempts to control the province of Tanjore.

The English East India Company, despite its traditional aversion to warfare, could no longer afford to stay out of the conflict and intervened. Demonstrating greater skill in the field, the British army overwhelmed a French force protecting their puppet, Chanda Sahib, and further setbacks such as the failure to storm Muhammad Ali's citadel in Trichinoply undermined Dupleix's support back in France, forcing the governor's recall in 1754.

The French and the English continued to contest the region more ruthlessly than before, but a three-month French siege of Madras at the end of 1758 this time failed and the French were twice routed by local armies supported by the English in the Northern Circars. The French garrison at Pondicherry itself finally fell to the English in January 1761.

This complex of circumstances had, in the meantime, given rise to a situation in which the English could not easily extricate themselves from landholding and the development of colonial governance. Fueled by the appetite of young men bent on career and personal fortune, the Franco-British conflict in the Carnatic, together with concurrent developments in Bengal, had unwittingly set the foundations of the British Empire in India. For Coromandel, colonial rule meant the weaving industry falling under the total control of the English between 1795 and 1800, although when tensions arose the weavers still demonstrated themselves capable of collective protest.

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CORTÉS, HERNÁN
1484–1547

Hernán Cortés shared many of the characteristics of the sixteenth-century Spanish conquistador. Born in Medellín in the province of Extremadura in Spain, Cortés was a minor noble driven principally by the quest for wealth and glory. Ambitious for political power, he played a key role in the conquest of the Aztec Empire and the incorporation of its peoples into Spain's New World dominions.

Cortés's swift defeat of the Aztecs (1519–1521), like Francisco Pizarro's (ca. 1475–1541) victory over the Incas (1532–1533), was facilitated by the cooperation of hundreds of thousands of native allies. The sheer number of Indians fighting alongside a few hundred Spanish *conquistadores* gave the events of 1519 to 1521 the character of a great Indian uprising against Aztec domination. Though undoubtedly aided by propitious timing, Cortés's diplomatic skills were crucial in the forging of lasting alliances with the independent kingdom of Tlaxcala, which had been encircled and was vulnerable to Aztec conquest, and with the numerous subject peoples who, resentful of Aztec imperial rule, joined the fighting forces that overcame the ferocious Aztec war machine.

Cortés's audacity and determination, even when the odds were clearly stacked against him, also played a significant part in the Spaniards' success. An early decision to undertake the conquest in defiance of the governor of Cuba's strict instructions to limit his activities to exploration and trade, placed Cortés in real danger of a charge of treason should he fail to deliver to the king the largest and richest territories thus far encountered in the Americas. Only this driving need to succeed can explain the recklessness and inventiveness of his decisions: the scuppering of his ships to prevent the followers of Cuban governor Diego Velázquez (ca. 1465–1524) from abandoning the enterprise; the return to the Aztecs' island capital, Tenochtitlán, even after an ignominious Spanish retreat during the Noche Triste (Night of Sorrow) and the loss of hundreds of his men; and the building, with Tlaxcalan assistance, of a fleet of brigantines equipped with artillery to take control of Lake Texcoco, which cut off Tenochtitlán's food supplies and weakened severely the capacity of its people, already suffering the effects of a traumatic smallpox epidemic, to further resist.

Notwithstanding the skill and tenacity with which he led the conquest of Mexico, Hernán Cortés stands apart from his fellow conquistadors in one crucial sense. Having witnessed the tragic consequences of the kind of colonization that had taken place in the Caribbean, its peoples virtually destroyed within a single generation following the Columbian voyages, he sought to ensure that no such catastrophe was repeated in New Spain. Nevertheless, as governor from 1522, he faced the unenviable task of advancing several irreconcilable aims: to secure control over the Aztecs' former dominions, redirect native tribute and labor to support a growing Spanish population, and provide his followers with the livelihoods to which they aspired and which they considered their rightful reward for participation in conquest, while at the same time protecting indigenous peoples from exploitation and abuse. Thus the *encomienda*, a modified version of the *repartimiento* first introduced in Hispaniola, was extended to the Mexican mainland, and Cortés was one of its principal beneficiaries.

Despite personal reservations, Cortés believed that the *encomienda,* with its duties towards Indians carefully defined, was necessary to encourage permanent settlement, the development of a stable society, and profitable exploitation of the colony's resources. His authority in New Spain was to be short-lived, however. To limit the powers of conquerors and *encomenderos*, officials loyal to the authority of the crown soon made their way to the new colony: It was they who were to be responsible for its government until Mexico became independent exactly three hundred years later.

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COTTON

Cotton, a plant of the mallow family, produces fibers that can be woven into cloth. It has been valued since antiquity and its cultivation was an important factor stimulating European colonialism in regions of Asia, Africa, and the Americas; it is still a major trade commodity. Numerous species of cotton exist, but four are of commercial importance: *Gossypium arboreum* (native to Asia), *G. herbaceum* (native to Africa), and *G. hirsutum* and *G. barbadense* (both native to the Americas). Cotton plants originated in tropical regions, but are now grown worldwide in a variety of climate zones where adequate heat and water are available. The cotton plant produces capsules, called bolls, in which seeds are surrounded by a fluffy fiber, or lint. Cotton producers generally divide cotton into two types: short-staple cotton, which has shorter fibers about one inch long, and long-staple cotton, which has fibers reaching two inches in length. Long-staple cotton is more valuable, as it produces a higher quality cloth. Most cotton grown today produces white or cream-colored fibers, but many other colors, including yellow and brown, also exist. Cotton cloth is comfortable in hot climates and is insect resistant, easily washable, lightweight, and easily dyed. Cotton seeds have a variety of industrial applications, including being used in the manufacture of oils, soaps, detergents, cosmetics, fertilizers, and animal foods.

Cotton was known and used in ancient Egypt, India, China, and the Americas. Europeans probably learned about the value of cotton garments as a result of British and French commercial activities in India in the seventeenth century. Cotton fibers brought back from India led to the establishment of a cotton textile industry in Britain, especially in the city of Manchester. Cotton textile producers originally faced restrictions placed on them by the government at the behest of wool growers, who realized that cotton cloth would compete with woolens. These restrictions were largely unsuccessful, however, as the public increasingly demanded cotton cloth. Cotton in seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century England was spun at home as a cottage industry, but with the Industrial Revolution production began to shift to large industrial mills. New spinning techniques and new mechanical looms stimulated the growth of the cotton textile industry by making cotton production easier and less expensive. The invention of the cotton gin by the American Eli Whitney in 1793 allowed cotton seeds to be easily removed mechanically, eliminating the slow and laborious process of removing the seeds by hand and lowering the cost of cotton production.

To sustain the increased levels of production made possible by industrialization, the British needed new sources of cotton. Both Egypt and the American South
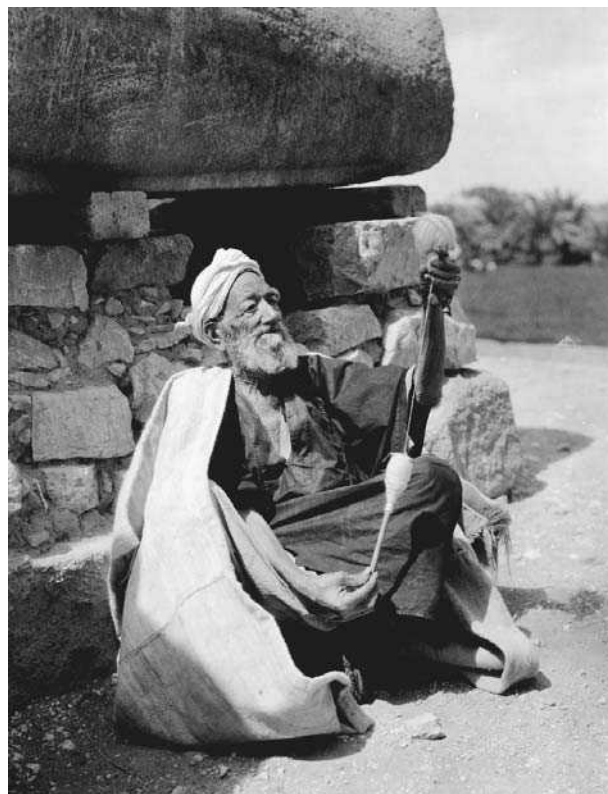
Spinning Cotton, 1920s. *This elderly Egyptian man spins cotton by hand using a simple, centuries-old spinning technique.* © UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

emerged as important centers of cotton cultivation supplying British textile mills. India was also a producer, though its cotton was generally considered to be of lower quality, and lack of adequate infrastructure in India made export difficult. The demand for cotton and the resultant need to secure cotton supplies prompted British imperial expansion, and made Egypt and the American colonies especially important. The same applied to the French, who established cotton plantations in their own colonies in the West Indies and in West Africa.

COTTON AND THE RISE OF MODERN EGYPT

Cotton was essential in the rise of modern Egypt, which became a major cotton-producing region in the nineteenth century and continues to be a major producer today. The rise of Egypt's cotton industry was largely due to Muhammad ʻAli (there are various spellings of his name), ruler of Egypt from 1805 to 1848. Muhammad ʻAli's consolidation of Egyptian power and his early modernizing policies have earned him the name "Father of Modern Egypt."

Muhammad 'Ali (ca. 1769–1849) was born in Albania. As a soldier in the Ottoman army, he rose through the ranks, eventually becoming governor of Egypt, which was then a part of the Ottoman Empire. An autocratic, ambitious, clever, and crafty person, he quickly became the ruler of a virtually independent Egypt, after eliminating the Mamluk rulers in 1811. Muhammad 'Ali recognized that he could enhance Egypt's independence by using profits generated by cotton exports to expand the military and develop infrastructure. He used cotton profits to finance military expeditions into Syria and other Ottoman territories and to establish industry in Egypt.

Muhammad 'Ali encouraged European experts and technicians to settle in Egypt. Louis Alexis Jumel (1785–1823), a French textile engineer, came to Egypt in 1817 as the director of a spinning mill. A few years later Jumel discovered a cotton bush in a Cairo garden that was producing a superior kind of cotton, with a long staple and strong fiber. Jumel tried growing this cotton himself, and was successful in producing cotton of much greater quality than that previously grown in Egypt. Realizing that this new kind of cotton could revolutionize Egypt's cotton industry and generate large profits for the Egyptian government, Muhammad 'Ali financially supported Jumel's cotton research.

The new Jumel cotton was much in demand in Europe. Under Muhammad 'Ali's orders, Egyptian peasants, called *fellahin*, began extensively planting Jumel cotton in the delta of the Nile River. The government monopolized the cotton industry, buying raw cotton directly from the growers and selling it directly to European traders. Muhammad 'Ali also organized irrigation projects, provided credit and seed to the peasants, and brought in additional technicians from Europe. Cotton growing required a lot of labor (as did ginning), but under an authoritarian government the peasants had little choice but to accept the orders to grow cotton; the peasants, however, also realized that they too could profit from growing cotton. Muhammad 'Ali tried importing American Sea Island cotton, which was considered the world's best in quality, but this experiment was not successful, as the American plant did not grow well in Egypt (and actually caused an overall decline in cotton output as new fields were dedicated to it). Eventually, however, Sea Island cotton was successfully crossed with the Jumel variety.

By 1836 cotton accounted for 85 percent of Egypt's revenue generated from agricultural commodities, and cotton industries employed about 4 percent of the population, or about two hundred thousand people, during the 1830s. Muhammad 'Ali also constructed factories in Cairo to gin, spin, and weave cotton, bringing him into conflict with the British, who wanted Egypt to produce only raw cotton and feared that textile manufacture would compete with their own cotton mills. Muhammad 'Ali attempted to impose an import substitution policy in Egypt, to protect Egyptian industries, to limit the importation of foreign textiles, and to achieve a favorable balance of trade, but after Egypt's unsuccessful military ventures in Syria, he was forced to agree to the Anglo-Ottoman Convention of 1838, which abolished free trade and undermined Egyptian industry. Muhammad 'Ali was successful in Syria until the Great Powers, especially Great Britain and France, decided he was becoming too powerful and set out to clip his wings by intervening militarily. Against the Ottomans he had done very well.

Egypt gradually became incorporated into the greater European economic system as a supplier of raw materials. The cotton boom of 1861 to 1866, during the American Civil War, raised prices and increased production. Cotton cultivation had four major effects on the Egyptian state. First, it changed the nature of agriculture, shifting the focus to export crops and especially cotton. Second, it changed Cairo's relationship with the rest of the country, as the capital became an industrial center and purchaser of cotton, even as governmental decentralization gave the provinces greater political autonomy. Third, it integrated the Egyptian economy into the European one. Fourth, it increased state profits and allowed Egypt to engage in industrialization and modernization. Overall, cotton production helped Egypt assume a greater level of economic independence and control than was typical for colonized states, and helped bring about its current position as a leading Arab country.

COTTON IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH

The development of English cotton mills in the seventeenth century stimulated the demand for raw cotton, and Britain attempted to ensure supplies by encouraging plantations in British colonies. The American South was highly suitable for cotton growing. Up until the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, only the long-staple, or American Sea Island, cotton (*G. barbadense*) was profitable. This cotton could only be grown in the hot and humid coastal areas of the Carolinas and Georgia. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 allowed the short-staple cotton, *G. hirsutum*, to be easily deseeded and thus cheaply produced. This type of cotton grew well in interior regions of southeastern and western North America, and its increased production soon led to the confiscation of Native American lands and stimulated extensive settlement in such states as Alabama and Mississippi, which became centers of the cotton industry. Because cotton production required cheap labor, African slavery became the basis of the production system. The expansion of the cotton industry increased the demand for slaves.

Egyptian Cotton Ready for Transport on the Nile River. *Large bales of cotton are loaded on a barge at the banks of the Nile River in Egypt in the 1950s.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Cotton was important in the development of the United States as an industrial power. In New England states such as New Hampshire and Massachusetts, entrepreneurs established their own cotton mills, producing textiles that competed with those of Britain. New England competed with Britain both for the supply of raw cotton and for markets for cotton textiles. New England cotton mills provided employment and, as output increased, European immigration was encouraged to meet the demand for new mill workers. Cotton profits were also used to stimulate other industries, helping the United States to become an industrial country not long after its independence.

Though cotton had an important role in the formation of American industries, it was also a source of conflict. Mills were located in northern states; production in the South was dependent on slave labor. The conflict over slavery in the United States was largely stimulated

by cotton and was a major cause of the Civil War (1861–1865), although much cotton was also produced by those not owning slaves. The expansion of cotton production in states of the lower Mississippi Valley also stimulated conflict over the question of whether or not these new states should allow slavery, as did Northern protective tariffs on these states' textile products. During the Civil War the North blockaded Southern ports, so that cotton could not be exported to Britain. This action drove up the worldwide price of cotton, and Egypt was one of the main beneficiaries of an increased price.

After the Civil War, the cotton industry was in a difficult position, as crops had been destroyed by war, the plantation system had broken down, and slavery was abolished. In the 1880s industrial cotton mills began to relocate from New England to Southern states, taking advantage of lower wages. By 1929 over half of the country's cotton mills were in the South. In 1894 the boll weevil, a small insect that attacked cotton plants, devastated much of the Southern cotton industry, contributing to the region's increasing poverty. Cotton production began shifting to Texas and California, which today are the two leading producing states, by 1930, and was dominated increasingly by large agribusinesses, rather than family farms. Cotton's difficulties continued into the 1980s, with the development of new synthetic textiles and the relocation of many mills to Asia. Within the past few decades, however, cotton has experienced a resurgent demand: Prices have risen and production has increased as consumers return to natural fibers.

Cotton was an important crop during the colonial era and remains one today. It is used for such textiles as the denim used in jeans, important in American and global clothing fashions. It helped stimulate economic development in places such as Egypt, whereas in other areas, such as the American South, it retarded economic growth while allowing milling regions such as Britain and New England to prosper. Overall, cotton played a key role in stimulating Western imperial expansion and industrialization.

SEE ALSO *Muhammad Ali.*

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CREOLE NATIONALISM

The concept of Creole nationalism is increasingly employed in studies of nineteenth-century nationalism, most notably with reference to the independence period of Latin American history (1808–1826). The precise genealogy of the concept is unclear. While the term *nationalism* had long been employed, often loosely, to describe the creation of the Latin American republics, Creole nationalism appears to derive from the more familiar Creole patriotism. John Leddy Phelan had linked the "first glimmerings of a Mexican national consciousness" (1960, p. 760) to the late colonial Creole neo-Aztecism, but it fell to D. A. Brading to bring Creole patriotism to the forefront of Latin American historiography in his study of the emergence of Mexican nationalism, whence it found its way into the wider historiography on Latin America.

Brading locates the transformation of Creole *patriotism* into Creole *nationalism* at the Congress of Chilpancingo in 1813, at which the first Mexican Declaration of Independence was framed: "Creole patriotism, which began as the articulation of the social identity of American Spaniards, was here transmuted into the insurgent ideology of Mexican nationalism" (1991, p. 581). However, the concept's widespread presence in studies of European nationalism and of nationalism as a discrete field of study dates from the publication of Benedict Anderson's seminal *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983).

To a degree, the emergence of Creole nationalism depended upon the enormous expansion of the public sphere after 1850, above all the increasing availability of newspapers and other printed materials. The spread of literacy was reflected in literary output. Scholars have followed Anderson in focusing on fictional literature as a site for exploring nationalism, though most would locate the beginnings of a mature nationalist sentiment only from the last decades of the nineteenth century; indeed, the best example of a Creole nationalist novel comes not from Latin America but from the Spanish

Philippines—the martyred José Rizal's (1861–1896) *Noli Me Tangere* (Touch Me Not) of 1887.

Anderson's contribution to the study of nationalism generally was to focus attention on American political projects and relate these to debates on the origins and nature of European nationalisms. His thesis had in certain measure been adumbrated in Hugh Seton-Watson's *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (1977). Historical and political science writings on nationalism had assumed that it was a European innovation—whether "primordial" or of post-1789 genesis—thereby blithely discounting the possibility that nationalism might have emerged outside of Europe.

Anderson challenged this assumption. As he put it, the "close of the era of successful national liberation movements in the Americas coincided rather closely with the onset of the age of nationalisms in Europe" (1991, p. 67). The qualifier implies that American nationalism was solely a Creole ideology and movement(s), and is commonly used with reference to elite rather than subaltern Creole groups; indigenous, *casta* (mixed-race), and "free black" and slave groups are thus excluded from nationalist projects, whether incipient or consummated. This raises the conundrum of how a valid nationalism can be said to exist when it excludes the vast majority of the putative "nation." Accordingly, historians have sought alternative neologisms to describe a relatively sophisticated, sometimes radical, elite Creole yearning for a greater measure of authority and control in the affairs of each respective viceroyalty—something akin to dominion status appears to be the ruling assumption.

Historian Eric Van Young views the Mexican insurgency of 1810 to 1821 as the "first great war of national liberation" (2001, p. 7)—albeit embracing two wars, anticolonial and internecine—while Alan Knight prefers the rubrics of "proto-patriotism" or "proto-nationalism" to describe the same events, arguing that Creole nationalism "was far from requiring the establishment of a Mexican nation: it sought, rather, a relaxation of metropolitan control, a greater measure of home rule" (2002, p. 284). It is clear that in the well-studied case of Mexico, a great popular insurgency in the countryside, studded with messianic and "naive monarchical" features, was largely independent of alternative political projects by elite Creole groups in Mexico City and other large urban centers.

That the terms *Creole patriotism* and *Creole nationalism* are so often used interchangeably reflects a very real ambivalence on the part of historians both about the inherent vagueness of the concept and its applicability to the foundational histories of the Latin American republics. Some historians interpret the palpable Creole

awareness of their distinct identity, and their raft of grievances via-à-vis American-based peninsular Spaniards, as a Creole *conciencia de sí* (awareness of self) or a maturing "American identity" that was strongly cultural in expression. This seems altogether different from Anderson's formulation of nation as "something capable of being consciously aspired to early on, rather than a slowly sharpening frame of vision," (1991, p. 67) though his definition approximates more to the concept of "amor a la patria y pasión nacional" (love of fatherland and nation and passion for one's nation) developed by the influential Spanish Benedictine Fray Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676–1764)—who also defended Creole talents—in his encyclopedic *Teatro Crítico Universal* (Universal Theater of Criticism, 1753–1755).

Certainly, the roots of Creole nationalism lay deep, the product of the three-century-long rivalry between Creoles and peninsulars over the latter's preferential access to jobs in the upper reaches of colonial government and the judiciary; indeed, over their arrogant bearing and dismissive view of the Creoles as feckless and morally and intellectually inferior to peninsular Spaniards (a view that implied that the Americans' very environment rendered them ipso facto decadent and unfit for high office). This pejorative view of Americans was actively countered in the public sphere, with Creole intellectuals mounting a spirited defense not only of the innate personal qualities of Creoles but also of all things American.

These Creole-peninsular tensions were especially marked in Mexico, and it was there that Creole worth found its staunchest defenders, most notably the historian and statesman Carlos María de Bustamante (1774–1848) and Fray Servando Teresa de Mier (1765–1827)—especially against radically anti-Creole Spanish publicists like Juan López de Cancelada. More impartial judges, such as Feijoo and Humboldt, buttressed Creoles' pride in their achievements, although it was Humboldt who also averred that Creole identity was predicated on Spanish foundations, because "the colonies have neither history nor national literature … [and] … have lost their national individuality" (Brading 1991, p. 519). Elsewhere, the writings of the Italian Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavigero (1731–1787) and the abbé Dominique de Pradt (1759–1837) served to combat the disparaging observations of Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707–1788), Guillaume-Thomas Raynal (1713–1796), Corneille de Pauw 1739–1799), and William Robertson (1721–1791), who had all disseminated disdain for Creole achievements, character, and capacities.

North American independence offers a different vision of hemispheric nationalisms. It is clear that the formation of the United States represents a case of

nationalism in action, but one that excluded the numerous indigenous and slave populations in a manner similar to the exclusion of indigenous, mixed-race, and African descendants from the process of Mexican independence. If the patriot movement in the thirteen American colonies may be regarded as genuinely nationalist, why then not the "war of national liberation" in Spanish America?

By the same token, if the Spanish War of Independence (the Peninsular War, 1808–1814) from French occupation is conventionally seen as a nationalist endeavor, why not the coeval, Spanish-American wars of independence from Spain itself? The United States exemplifies the way in which an imagined national community could be expansionist. The thirteen colonies at independence approximated the size of Venezuela, but burgeoned as a national bloc with the addition of French Louisiana, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Alaska, and Hawaii. Creole nationalism carried within it the seeds of expansionism.

Nevertheless, the concept of Creole nationalism contributes little to an understanding of the several transnational political projects of the Latin American independence era. Creole elites were behind both the formation and destruction of the short-lived, failed states of Greater Colombia (1819–1830) and the Central American Republic (1823–1830). Moreover, the political imaginaries of Simón Bolívar (1783–1830) and Francisco de Miranda (1750–1816) embraced a continent (South America), while a project for a New Peruvian Empire that would unite southern Peru and the regions that became Bolivia and Argentina emerged in the course of the failed Cuzco Revolution of 1814 to 1815.

Moreover, Mexican independence eventually came in the form of a short-lived empire (1822–1824), and Brazil remained an independent empire from 1822 until 1889. Indeed, some Creoles had aspirations to a constitutional monarchy, notably those of Miranda and the Argentine "liberator" José de San Martín (1778–1850). Insofar as "Creole nationalism" has any utility as an explanation of national formation in Spanish America, it surely underscores also the weakness of Creole nationalist endeavors and the innate impracticality of alternative Creole political imaginaries.

Within Spanish America, Creole patriotism seems at certain times and places to be robust, elsewhere to be paper-thin, opportunistic, and transitory. Many historians therefore would argue that, at independence, the state preceded the nation and the onset of nation, and nationalism is to be found in the late nineteenth century. Argentine nationalism seemed like an expression of the aspirations of Buenos Aires Province, as with so much of Argentine history. The sense of being Uruguayan or Paraguayan seemed hedged by localism, and nationalistic aspirations were defined more by antipathy to the Creole

expansionism of Argentina and Brazil than by dissatisfaction with Spanish rule per se. In Brazil, an emerging Creole patriotism tended also to be subservient to regional identity, thereby precluding much in the way of a widespread identification with nation.

As Anderson puts it, that "well-known doubleness in early Spanish-American nationalism, its alternating grand stretch and particularistic localism" (1991, p. 62), was evident in all Latin American nationalist movements during the Atlantic revolution. Manifestly lacking in most Creole nationalist projects was a sense of social cohesion and inclusiveness, of cross-class and cross-racial horizontal solidarity. Only the failed Cuzco "Revolución de la Patria" of 1814 to 1815 witnessed an alliance that cut across all social categories, a somewhat rickety political bridge between elite and subaltern Creole, caste, and indigenous groups.

In Anderson's view, Creole nationalism provided the missing ingredient in forging an imagined community that allowed colonial subjects to defend themselves against empires and *anciens régimes*. However, in federal or poorly integrated republics or "empires," Creole nationalism was a fragile plant with shallow roots that sprouted unevenly. It flowered for a few decades and, having served its purpose, wilted with the onset of republican rule, which provided more fertile ground for Creole identity and self-interest.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish.*

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CROWN COLONY

A Crown Colony is a British overseas territory under the direct authority of the British Crown. As such, a Crown Colony does not possess its own representative government and is not represented in the British Parliament. The colony is administered by a governor appointed by the Crown and responsible to the colonial office (or its forerunners) and, from 1966 onward, to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London. The governor has wide-ranging authority and is assisted either by an appointed advisory council or by both a legislative and an executive council. Council members were usually appointed by the governor. Only at a later stage did Crown Colony government in some colonies rely on elected councils.

Crown colonies should be distinguished from other forms of colonial administration such as company rule (overseas territories administered by a private merchant company, e.g., India until 1858), dominions (self-governing territories, e.g., Canada from 1867, South Africa from 1910, protectorates (territories under the protection of the British Empire, many of which later became Crown Colonies (e.g., Aden, Nigeria, Uganda, Zanzibar), or Crown dependencies such as the Channel Islands or the Isle of Man.

Crown Colony government was devised to put the colonies under closer metropolitan control with little place for local initiative. During the eighteenth century many white settler colonies in North America had made significant advances toward representative government resulting in an increased power of the elected assemblies. After American independence in 1776 this process slowed down and the British tried to limit the power of local elected bodies. The centralized system of Crown Colony government had originally been designed for the colony of Martinique by Lord Hawkesbury (1770–1828) and was quickly introduced to the newly conquered or ceded colonies in the West Indies (Trinidad in 1802, St. Lucia in 1814), Africa (Cape Colony in 1814, Mauritius in 1814), Asia (Ceylon in 1802), and Australia (New South Wales in 1824, Van Diemen's Land in 1825, Western Australia in 1829). Most of these were non-settler colonies with a substantial indigenous population

or convict colonies that—to the central government—seemed unfit for representative government.

During the 1820s and 1830s, Crown Colony government in many of these holdings was reformed and the governor's advisory council was replaced by appointed legislative and executive councils. New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Western Australia, Ceylon, Mauritius, Trinidad, and Cape Colony were among the reformed colonies. For London, Crown Colony government proved to be a valuable tool of colonial administration and was applied to most of the newly acquired colonies during the nineteenth century. Until the creation of the Commonwealth of Nations in the Statute of Westminster (1931) only the most important Crown Colonies with a significant white population were granted dominion status. Between 1855 and 1890 the six Australian Crown Colonies became self-governing. The Union of South Africa received dominion status in 1910. Lesser colonies with only a small white population often received self-government relatively later on (e.g., Ceylon in 1948 and Belize in 1964). In 1997 Britain handed back its last remaining Crown Colony, Hong Kong, to China.

SEE ALSO *China, After 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, to the First Opium War; Empire, British, in Asia and Pacific; Hong Kong, from World War II; Hong Kong, to World War II.*

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Roland Wenzlhuemer

CURZON, GEORGE NATHANIEL
1859–1925

Lord George Nathaniel Curzon was a conservative British statesman whose positions included viceroy of India and

foreign secretary. Born into the aristocracy, Curzon became interested in the British territories in Asia during his years at Eton College and became acquainted with the future regent of Persia, Naser ul-Mulk, at Oxford.

After entering the British Parliament in 1886, Curzon traveled extensively in Asia throughout the next decade and expanded his perception of the empire's civilizing role. In 1889 Curzon undertook a 1,600-mile (2,575-kilometer) trek through parts of Persia by horse, after which he wrote a massive book about Persia and his travels. *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892), in its day the authoritative account of Iran during the Qajar period (1797–1925), describes the history, economy, government, geography, and the political situation in Persia at the time, emphasizing Curzon's concerns about Russia's ongoing interests in Qajar affairs. Curzon never returned to Persia, but it remained a pet concern, largely because he perceived Persia as a crucial buffer between Russia and India.

Curzon's first major post was viceroy of India (1899–1905), which was controversial since Indian nationalists perceived many of Curzon's reforms as mechanisms to strengthen imperial control. Curzon resigned from the post in 1905 after experiencing rivalry with Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850–1916), general of the Indian army.

After serving in the war cabinet during World War I (1914–1918), Curzon became British foreign secretary (1919–1924). The postwar settlements exasperated Curzon, particularly his dealings with Prime Minister David Lloyd George (1863–1945). Anticipating the force of Turkish nationalism, Curzon advised giving the Turks independence in Anatolia, but the prime minister disregarded his counsel. Rather, Turkey was hardly mentioned during the peace conference at Versailles, and the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) carved up most of the Ottoman Empire amongst the Allies, effectively denying Turkish sovereignty.

In 1923 Curzon chaired the Conference of Lausanne, at which Turkey renegotiated the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. Ismet Inonu (1884–1973), who represented Turkey and was partially deaf, exasperated Curzon throughout the proceedings by continually asking Curzon to repeat himself and by ignoring Curzon's long lectures opposing Turkish demands. Curzon's role in the conference was successful because he was able to secure some major objectives in challenging circumstances for a diplomat; Britain was in no position to resume war, unlike the Turks, who were prepared to fight. Turkey, however, secured a far better arrangement than at Sèvres, as Turkey recovered much territory, gained full sovereignty, and paid no war reparations.

Curzon controlled British interactions with Persia following the war and shaped the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, which was a policy disaster. Curzon had both imperial and paternalistic intentions as he aimed to help Iran's development, secure British influence in Iran, and eliminate Russian interference. However, Iranians perceived it as a means of making Iran a protectorate and rejected the agreement outright, largely because of the secrecy with which it was arranged.

Although Curzon was expected to become the prime minister in 1923, he was denied the position. Historians have tended to treat Curzon harshly, most likely due to his arrogant temperament as a politician and an administrator; however, he also produced impressive accomplishments as a scholar and a mixed record as a diplomat.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British.*

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Elizabeth Brownson

D

DAUM, PAULUS ADRIANUS
1850–1898

With the exception of Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker, 1820–1887) with his famous novel *Max Havelaar* (1860), Paulus Adrianus Daum is the most important author of Dutch Indies literature of the nineteenth century. The ten "Indies" novels he wrote between 1883 and 1894 appeared originally as serials in Indies newspapers.

Daum was born in The Hague. He began his journalistic career in his native town in 1876. By then he had already achieved a certain reputation as the author of (extremely romantic) novelettes. In 1878 he was appointed coeditor of the newspaper *De Locomotief* (The Locomotive) in Semarang on Java. Within a year he became its editor-in-chief. It was the start of what was to become a truly remarkable career. After *De Locomotief,* Daum managed the newspapers *Het Indisch Vaderland* (The Indies Fatherland, also published in Semarang, 1883–1885) and the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (Batavian News, 1885–1898), which under his leadership became the most widely read paper in the Indies.

Daum's appointment as a leader of *De Locomotief* offered him the freedom to display his abilities to the full. The social climate in the Indies was much more informal than in Holland, and the newspapers, too, were considerably livelier than at home. It was therefore in his Indies journalism that Daum was able to develop his stylistic skills.

It was during his first years in the East, too, that Daum became acquainted with the works of the French novelist Émile Zola (1840–1902). Zola's conception of literature brought about a complete reversal of Daum's views on literature. Like Zola, Daum began to regard observation and realistic representation as the primary goal of literature. Nevertheless Daum was also critical of Zola: unlike him, Daum did not consider the "scientific method" essential for the writing of novels. For Daum, the essence of Zola's naturalism lay in realism.

When Daum decided to write a novel himself, he knew exactly what he wanted to create: a novel that would contain an objective picture of a piece of colonial reality. He knew about the realities of the Indies as no other European: apart from the fact that he lived in the colonial society, he was, because of his journalistic observation post, shrewder than others in perceiving what went on in that society. And as a writer who had already won his spurs in journalism, he was well aware of his own ability.

In 1883 Daum published his first novel: *Uit de suiker in de tabak* (From Sugar to Tobacco). Other well-known novels are *Goena-goena* (1989), *Indische mensen in Holland* (Indies People in Holland, 1890), and *Ups en Downs in het Indische leven* (Ups and Downs of Life in the Indies, 1892). Daum's novels are set in the European society of the Indies during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They describe the lives of planters and civil servants, of Eurasians in their marginal position, and of native Indonesians insofar as they participated in European society—as servants, for example, or as concubines of white masters. But the main subjects are the Europeans, depicted against the background of their expatriate community. Readers are told of their superficial materialism, their ambitions, and their love lives, both inside and outside marriage. Not only the "ups" of life in the Indies are described, but also the "downs"— the murder and suicide, the moral and mental decline,

the despair and the loneliness of people disillusioned by the circumstances in which they find themselves.

In mid-1898 Daum's journalistic career abruptly came to an end. Because of a serious illness of the liver, he was forced to leave hurriedly for the Netherlands. It was all in vain. He died in September 1898 and found his resting place in the cemetery in Dieren (near Arnhem). He was just forty-eight years old.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Dutch; Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker).*

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DECOLONIZATION, EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

In China the creation of foreign colonies and semi-colonial territories dated from 1557, when Portugal established a settlement at Macau (Aomen) in the Pearl River estuary on the South China Sea. After the Sino-British Opium War of 1839 to 1842, the first of many "unequal treaties" was imposed upon China by the victorious British government, which forced China to cede territory, allow special trade advantages, and accept foreign courts in its major cities. Britain assumed sovereign control over Hong Kong, an undeveloped island off China's southern coast near Canton (Guangzhou). Following this precedent Germany, France, Russia, the United States, and Japan all gained privileges and "extraterritorial" legal concessions in China, creating informal empires based on commercial and legal control. China even formally ceded Macao to tiny Portugal in 1887. Unable to protect itself or its former tributary states, China permitted the colonial powers to seize control of Manchuria, Indochina, and Korea. Except for Macau, all of these territories were occupied by Japan during World War II, and the informal colonial structures were abruptly replaced by Japan's military occupation government.

Japan's surrender in 1945 allowed the Nationalist (Guomindang) government to resume its authority over China. A bitter civil war ensued between the Nationalists and the Chinese Communists, and Britain quickly reoccupied the colony of Hong Kong. When the Communists assumed control of China in 1949, inaugurating a new government, the People's Republic of China (PRC), they insisted that China recover all its traditional territories, including Macau, Hong Kong Island (ceded to Britain in 1842), the nearby Kowloon Peninsula (ceded in 1860), and the adjacent "New Territories," which had been leased to Britain for ninety-nine years under an 1898 agreement. China allowed the colony to remain, but in the 1980s the British government recognized that as expiration of the lease loomed, it could not sustain Hong Kong without the New Territories, which housed the colony's electricity, water, and waste management facilities. Sino-British negotiations resulted in the return of the entire colony to Chinese sovereignty in 1997. Similar Sino-Portuguese talks led to the reversion of Macao to the PRC in 1999.

In August 1945, Japan's defeated colonial administrators in Korea transferred power to the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (CPKI), which was led by the nationalist Yo Un-hyong. Relying in part on the Allies' declaration at the 1943 Cairo Conference that postwar Korea would be independent, Yo called for Korean self-determination. Hundreds of anti-Japanese nationalists imprisoned during the war were released, and within weeks helped to create CPKI cells across the country. New mass-membership organizations composed of students, women, peasants, and industrial workers were also formed. At the July 1945 Potsdam Conference the United States had agreed to allow Soviet forces to occupy Korea, but Japan's sudden surrender provoked a policy change: U.S. forces were dispatched to occupy the southern half of the Korean peninsula. With Soviet and American troops advancing, the CPKI split into distinctly pro- and anti-communist factions and began to realign into northern and southern groups. Separate regimes quickly took shape: Communist North Korea, led by anti-Japanese guerrilla fighter Kim Il-sung and supported by the Soviet Union and the new mass membership organizations, and pro-Western South Korea, led by former exile Syngman Rhee and supported by the United States.

Japan's wartime military government surrendered in August 1945. Its civil structure was reorganized during the ensuing American military occupation, which lasted until 1952. Although Japan was never formally colonized by the United States, it did accept American control over its postwar economic and military development. The United States maintained military bases in Japan and

directly administered the island of Okinawa until 1972, when it was formally returned to Japan.

In the Pacific, Germany's far-flung colonial empire had collapsed with its defeat in World War I. Australia and New Zealand assumed control of German territories south of the equator, while Japan appropriated those to the north. After Japan's defeat in 1945, its Pacific possessions either reverted to their pre–World War II European administrators or fell under U.S. military occupation. The American empire in the Pacific had been growing since the 1898 Spanish-American War, after which the victorious United States had seized control of the Philippines, Guam, and American Samoa. Hawaii was also annexed in 1898. After World War II the United States granted full independence to the Philippines, but incorporated Hawaii as a state in 1959, because of its strategic location in the central Pacific. In American Samoa, self-government measures were introduced in 1948, including creation of a legislative body. In 1978 the U.S. House of Representatives accepted a delegate from Samoa, which became an unincorporated territory of the United States. Guam's relationship with the United States paralleled that of American Samoa, although it has no legislative representative in Washington. During the 1980s both Micronesia and the Marshall Islands, which had been occupied by U.S. forces during the war, asserted their independence but entered into "Compacts of Free Association" with the United States: America guaranteed the defense of the islands, and in return secured access to island-based military facilities.

The end of World War II was a watershed for many other Pacific Island territories. Under United Nations auspices, Australia and New Zealand acquired control of Western Samoa, Nauru, the Cook Islands, Niue, Papua, and New Guinea, and oversaw the pace and political design of decolonization in each. Western Samoa was the first to achieve independence, in 1962, after New Zealand supported the early introduction of self-government institutions. The Cook Islands were self-governing by 1965, although they maintained close political ties with Wellington. Australia's charge, Nauru, became independent in 1968, while the new nation of Papua New Guinea, created under Australian supervision, became fully independent in 1975 and joined the British Commonwealth. The latter nation's territory includes the island of Bougainville, where an armed struggle for independence from the government of Papua New Guinea developed during the 1990s.

Britain's Pacific possessions, like those of Australia and New Zealand, experienced accelerated progress toward decolonization during the 1960s. Fiji and Tonga achieved independence in 1970, the Solomon Islands in 1978, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (as Tuvalu and Kiribati) in 1978 and 1979. The unique Anglo-French condominium over the New Hebrides, established in 1906, persisted through the decolonization process. New Hebridean nationalists launched protests over colonial control of traditionally common lands, and political discontent spread during the 1960s. France reluctantly agreed to allow formation of a local assembly in 1974, and independence was granted in 1980 to the archipelago, renamed the Republic of Vanuatu, making it the last of Britain's Pacific possessions to be decolonized.

By contrast, Vanuatu was the first French Pacific possession to achieve independence. French Polynesia, a group of islands in the central South Pacific that includes Tahiti, the Austral Islands, and the Marquesas chain, came under French control in the 1840s, and most of the islands were incorporated as a single colony, Oceania, in the 1880s. Maintained by France as an overseas territory throughout the twentieth century, Polynesia has a skeleton territorial government, but most administrative decisions emanate from Paris. Isolated atolls have been used since the early 1960s for French nuclear weapons development and testing. France has been equally unwilling to decolonize New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, which were occupied by France in 1853 and formally became a French overseas territory in 1946. Referenda held in 1958 and 1987 demonstrated firm local approval for continuing French rule. Some limited local autonomy has been introduced in New Caledonia, and a 1999 agreement provides for gradual progress toward independence, which is slated for perhaps as early as 2013.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism, East Asia and the Pacific; East Asia, American Presence in; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire, British, in Asia and Pacific; Occupations, the Pacific; Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in; Self-Determination, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Laura M. Calkins

DECOLONIZATION, SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

European imperial retreat from sub-Saharan Africa, usually described as decolonization, was one of the most sudden and momentous transformations in the history of the modern world. It occurred in the aftermath of World War II. Although the granting of self-government was not entirely novel prior to the end of the war in 1945, given the independence of Liberia in 1848, South Africa in 1910, and Ethiopia in 1943, the postwar imperial transformation was nevertheless unprecedented. Between 1945 and 1965, almost all European African colonies—except the former Portuguese territories, Angola and Mozambique—regained their independence. So sudden and dramatic was the process leading to decolonization that it has since become known as "the winds of change." Some profound questions have continued to engage scholars since the demise of European colonies in Africa. For instance, to what extent was decolonization consciously planned and directed by imperial powers? Why did European withdrawal from Africa occur when it did—after the end of World War II? How did the various European powers approach the process of devolution of power? It is the purpose of this article to address these questions and to hazard a simplified analysis of this rather puzzling process.

The decolonization process in sub-Saharan Africa was quite complex, and an adequate explanation of the phenomenon must address its causes and course, including its timing, planning, and pace. The speed with which European empire crumbled following the end of World War II, and the manner in which it did so, suggest that the war was a primary cause of decolonization. It produced a chain of events globally to which imperial Europe was susceptible. Though the war was quite pivotal in the demise of European empire, several other factors—including African nationalism, the origins of which preceded World War II—cannot be ignored in any analysis. Thus, even if one may partly concur with John Flint that the decolonization process "began well before the war started," his conclusion that the dynamic for change lay in London and not in Africa remains far-fetched (1983, pp. 389–394). This position disregards other potent forces for change such as African nationalism, Asian nationalism, U.S.-U.S.S.R. Cold War rivalry, and the United Nations. As Robert Pearce argued, decolonization was marked by "false starts, incompatible expectations, and changes of speed and direction. There was no immediate, no steady, and no straightforward crystallization of colonial policy towards Africa" (1984, p. 77). During World War II, officials of the British government, the supposed planners of the process, were confused about the method, nature, and pace of disengagement from empire; their thoughts and actions were mostly in response to both internal and external pressures.

While some European political leaders such as Oliver Stanley of Britain and Charles de Gaulle of France felt that self-government within the framework of the empire made sense, any notion of full independence belonged to the remote future. Thus, in 1943, Herbert Morrison, the British home secretary, stated, "It would be ignorant, dangerous nonsense to talk about grants of full self-government to many of the dependent territories for some time to come. In those instances it would be like giving a child of ten a latch-key, a bank account, and a shot-gun" (*Manchester Guardian*, January 11, 1943; as cited in Louis 1977, p. 14). Within a rather short period of twenty years, however, almost all European colonies in sub-Saharan Africa became completely independent. Undoubtedly, the aftermath of World War II changed everything; it strengthened African nationalist movements and consolidated global sentiments against colonial rule, thereby forcing imperial powers to begin to think about exit strategies. As Melvin Goldberg puts it, "Only after the war did the powers begin to take decolonization seriously, and even then the speed at which it proceeded was neither anticipated nor welcomed in many quarters" (1986, pp. 666–667). Clearly, control of the rate of change lay elsewhere outside the command of imperial powers; African nationalists and the global mood dictated decolonization's pace and momentum.

With its rhetoric of antiracism, antifascism, political freedom, and self-government, the World War II era marked a turning point during which African agitation for independence not only became more widespread and intense but also could no longer be silenced. The experiences of African servicemen and of those on the home front exposed European hypocrisy regarding racism, imperialism, and European claims to be the bearers of a superior civilization. Allied propaganda against Nazi Germany and the psychological effects of African participation in the war did much to develop mass

consciousness of racism, oppression, and unjust colonial rule. The big lesson for Africans was that they fought and suffered to preserve for others the freedom and self-determination they did not have back home. Thus, early in 1945, a Nigerian serviceman wrote from India to the prominent Nigerian nationalist leader Herbert Macaulay: "We, overseas soldiers are coming back home with new ideas. We have been told what we fought for. That is 'freedom.' We want freedom, nothing but freedom" (Davidson 1994, p. 65). Clearly, the war demystified the long-standing claim of European racial superiority, as Africans fought alongside white soldiers and won many battles. Furthermore, African notions of "whites" as superior beings or demigods were shattered by the war. African serviceman, as Ndabaningi Sithole pointed out, "saw the so-called civilized and peaceful and orderly white people mercilessly butchering one another just as his so-called savage ancestors had done in tribal wars. He saw no difference between so-called primitive and so-called civilized man" (1959, p. 47). World War II, therefore, exposed serious contradictions in European colonial rule in Africa and helped to sharpen anticolonial sentiments and strengthen nationalist movements.

The war's social, economic, and political consequences changed the perspectives of Africans and led to heightened anticolonial militancy. As Basil Davidson has observed, the effects of the war "upset rural stability" (1994, p. 63). During the war, economic control by Europeans became more stringent than ever before. Increased production of cash crops was brutally enforced to support the war effort. In both French and British territories, forced (corvée) labor was imposed as exports continued to be hampered by inadequate transportation resulting from fear of enemy submarines. The hardships created by the war were partly responsible for the emergence of several trade (labor) unions across Africa. Increased political awareness created by wartime conditions led unions to employ strategies such as strikes and boycotts after the war. The general strike mounted by Nigerian railway, postal, and other government workers in 1945, which almost paralyzed the colonial regime, was one of the largest and most effective of such actions. The organizational efficiency and the potency of this strike constituted a serious warning sign for imperial Europe. The solidarity of the strikers, as John Hargreaves argued, "showed how wartime hardships had increased class-conscious militancy" (1996, p. 76). Unexpectedly, the strike produced positive results, as a Commission of Enquiry concurred with the workers' demand for a 50 percent cost-of-living raise. Such concessions to workers were unprecedented and nationalists were quick to fathom the larger implications, that organized protests would now elicit positive results.

International factors also hastened the course of decolonization in the postwar years. The anticolonial posture of the new superpowers—the Cold War rivals, the United States and the Soviet Union—spelled doom for European rule in Africa. The United States opposed colonialism because "it was antithetical to free trade and self-determination—both ideals that the United States had lauded in the Atlantic Charter (1941)," and the Soviet Union attacked colonialism because Marxist-Leninist philosophy described it as the "highest stage of capitalism" (Gilbert and Reynolds 2004, p. 324). Secondly, the United States, which emerged as a global power during World War II, suddenly developed an intense economic and geopolitical interest in the British Empire, including its African components. Thus, the superpowers' diplomatic support for decolonization was not necessarily a benevolent gesture aimed at benefiting Africans; indeed, the continent soon became a theater of Cold War superpower conflicts, with dire consequences. Roger Louis and Ronald Robinson argue that as the center of world power shifted from London to Washington (and later to Moscow as well), "the British felt the blow to their economy and their colonial position throughout the world." The shock emanating from this global power shift triggered "the changes of mind on the part of the British that eventually accelerated the transfer of power and the nationalization, or Africanization, of the colonial administration" (1982, p. 31).

Thirdly, the anticolonial posture of the United Nations, formed in 1945 and dedicated to world peace, was a boon to those seeking decolonization. Article 73 of the U.N. charter called on members still possessing colonies to recognize the political aspirations of their colonial subjects, to begin to develop self-government, and to assist colonial subjects in developing free political institutions appropriate to their stage of development. This article represented a moral and political statement that colonialism was no longer acceptable to the international community, and that all European colonies in Africa and Asia had the right to self-determination. In addition, the U.N. provided nationalists with a powerful forum and international moral authority with which to keep the pressure on the imperial powers; it was "a powerful instrument in the long and dangerous process of dismantling colonialism" (Sithole 1968, p. 59). Fourthly, the Atlantic Charter of 1941 adopted by U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill proved antithetical to colonialism. Article III of the Atlantic Charter, for instance, declared that signatories must "respect the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live" (Davidson 1994, p. 66). Although Churchill, de Gaulle, and Roosevelt later quibbled over the meaning of "all peoples," the declaration had serious implications

for Afro-Asian nationalists, including Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, who claimed it should "apply to the colonies in the form of responsible self-government" (Wilson 1994, pp. 54–55). The debate about the import of this declaration ultimately aided the nationalists' cause.

Both Asian nationalism and the successful attainment of postwar independence by former British and French colonies including India, Pakistan, Burma, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Sri Lanka were quite inspirational. The Gold Coast nationalist Kwame Nkrumah even adopted Mahatma Gandhi's anticolonial strategies of positive action and passive resistance. If Africans were inspired by these changes, the colonial powers saw in them a warning that Africa might be susceptible to similar revolts. The importance of even the threat of nationalist resistance in shaping colonial policy or prompting retreat can hardly be ignored. French experiences in Madagascar, Tunisia, Algeria, and Vietnam constituted sufficient lessons that despite their relative weakness, resistance movement present in sub-Saharan Africa by 1948 might pose a serious threat to colonial rule. Arguably, then, it would be a mistake to minimize the contribution of African nationalism to the demise of European rule, even if African nationalism was not as forceful in the 1940s as it was in the late 1950s.

The stages of nationalist mobilization varied from one region to another and from one territory to another. In West Africa, nationalist movements were far more advanced than in East, Central, and Southern Africa. As far back as the late nineteenth century, a class of highly educated Africans had begun to emerge in West Africa among the Creoles of Sierra Leone (descendants of freed slaves and recaptives), which soon dispersed to other parts of the subregion. In Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone, Africans educated in the languages and political ideas of their colonial masters began to formulate political objectives and new methods of attaining them. However, the mobilization of a critical mass of the African population for the anticolonial struggle required the creation of mass political parties. In West Africa, such mass parties included the National Council of Nigerians and the Cameroons (NCNC) founded in 1944 under the leadership of Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Rassemblement Democratique Africaines founded in Senegal in 1946, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) formed in 1947, and the National Council of Sierra Leone founded in 1950. In East Africa, although the Kenyan African Union (KAU) was formed in 1944, it was not until 1960 that mass parties such as the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) and Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU) emerged, in the aftermath of the Mau Mau uprising. In Tanzania the first mass party, the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU), appeared in 1954 under the leadership of

Sékou Touré at the United Nations, October 9, 1962. Sékou Touré, president of Guinea from 1958 to 1984, addresses the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1962. Touré was an outspoken proponent of decolonization in Africa and objected to the lack of a permanent representative from Africa in the UN Security Council. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Julius Nyerere, while in Uganda the first grassroots parties emerged between 1952 and 1956. Almost everywhere in Africa, the sudden and full independence of the Gold Coast in 1957 was euphorically received and inspirational; it encouraged the formation and consolidation of mass parties and sharpened the nationalist struggle.

African nationalists were drawn from the ranks of a "modern," educated generation. First trained by mission schools within the continent, most of these elites obtained advanced training overseas in education, medicine, law, journalism, and so on. While they were overseas, many, especially those in the United States, experienced blatant racism and subsequently became intensely influenced by global political concepts of liberation, self-determination, and self-government, as well as the ideas of the Pan-Africanist movement. Upon their return to Africa, they initially sought accommodation within the colonial system only to discover that the system had no place or role for them. When their attempts to bring about reforms were likewise rebuffed, these elites began to articulate demands for self-government. World War II presented

them with the opportunity to gain the masses' support for their campaign for an immediate end to colonial rule.

The Pan-Africanist movement, which was founded in 1900 by people of African descent in the diaspora, played an important and unique role in the decolonization process. Initially Pan-Africanism did not focus on a campaign to end colonial rule in Africa; however, Marcus Garvey's slogan of "Africa for Africans," and the cultural reawakening of peoples of African descent articulated by W. E. B. Du Bois and others, became very inspiring for Africans in their struggle against colonialism. The Manchester Congress of the Pan-Africanist movement held in 1945 was particularly decisive in challenging African elites to dedicate themselves to the total liberation of the continent. "All colonies," it was declared, "must be free from all foreign imperialist control whether political or economic. . . . We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for these ends by all the means at their disposal" (Padmore 1956, pp. 171–172). African delegates to the Congress resolved to return home immediately to achieve the Manchester mandate within the shortest time possible.

By the end of 1945, Britain and France fully recognized the global anti-imperial mood that was developing in the aftermath of the war against Hitler's Germany. Additionally, dependence on their colonies during the war had exposed the need for investment in the colonies' economic and social development. As a result, Britain expanded its Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945 to provide more funds for the "welfare" of the colonies, while France established a similar program, Fonds d'Investment pour le Dévelopment Economique et Social (FIDES), in 1946. As it turned out, these developmental initiatives were mainly geared toward ensuring that Africa better served the needs of Europe as an exporter of raw materials and importer of manufactured goods. Nonetheless, the persistent demands of African nationalists resulted in increased government spending on social welfare. In both Britain and France, a postwar leftward shift in public opinion strengthened the position of the Labor and Socialist parties, which had campaigned for an end to old-fashioned imperialism. Imperial officials soon decided that a gentler, kinder colonialism would be necessary to calm the critics of empire at home and around the globe. The result was a rather intensive political and economic reform process. Nevertheless, even as France and Britain proposed a "new deal" for their African colonies, Portugal and Belgium continued with "business as usual" in theirs. Evidently, as lesser powers with fewer colonies and little international influence, they were less subject to the pressure to reform.

Imperial powers confronting the dual costs of repressing nationalism and modernizing colonialism soon realized they had limited options. As they recovered economically in the early 1950s and as African nationalist movements gathered momentum, they began to doubt the benefits of retaining power. Consequently, for French policy makers colonies became "a burden on the most progressive sectors of industry," while British officials concluded that "it mattered little economically whether the colonies were kept or lost" (Iliffe 1995, p. 246). For most European business ventures, the priority was maintaining good relations with whoever held power in Africa—it did not necessarily matter much if those in power were African. Besides, even if it made good business sense to hold on to colonies, nationalist pressures, which were economically and politically disruptive, would most likely sooner or later force imperial Europe toward retreat. Britain's secretary of state for the colonies, Iain Macleod, recognized this, and later commented, "We could not possibly have held by force to our territories in Africa" (Iliffe, p. 246).

Approaches to political reform and devolution of power varied from one European imperial power to another and from one sub-Saharan African region to another. Whereas Britain focused on how to effect a gradual transfer of power to friendly successor states, France (and, later, Portugal) preferred a closer integration with their colonies. Britain took the lead in acknowledging the benefits of peaceful transfer of power. Several factors accounted for this. First, the British proved more prepared than the French to deal with overseas challenges to their rule. Second, Britain's relationship to the United States was different than France's. Third, Britain's political institutions better prepared it to deal with decolonization than did France's. Finally, the character of the nationalist elites in their respective colonies was different. Britain was fortunate that it did not have to deal with Algeria and Indochina. For the British, "a negotiated transfer of power would avoid the need to defend the colonies by force of arms when frustrated nationalist claims for independence led to violent protest" (Birmingham 1995, p. 5). Economically and strategically, therefore, decolonization was beneficial, because economic exploitation—the rationale for colonization—could still be achieved without the financial and other costs of direct political control.

Yet, in the minds of many European officials, full independence still belonged to the remote future, and, ideally, progress in that direction would be very slow. Not surprisingly, only minor actions were taken to prepare Africans for their eventual independence prior to a dramatic turn of events: in 1957, the Gold Coast, regarded as Britain's model colony, blazed a trail by attaining full independence under its charismatic leader, Kwame Nkrumah. Using his newly formed Convention People's Party as a platform, Nkrumah had mobilized the

masses and employed Gandhi's tactic of positive action to force Britain to concede power. In Kenya and Zimbabwe, which had sizeable populations of British settlers, the struggle for independence was quite protracted and violent. European settlers' efforts to install white minority regimes were bitterly resisted by Africans, who waged protracted and bloody guerilla warfare. In Portuguese territories, especially Angola and Mozambique, the struggle for independence was also violent, because Portugal never contemplated a retreat from Africa. It was only after a coup in Portugal in 1975, which overthrew the dictatorial regime led by Prime Minister Marcello Caetano, that Portugal decided to decolonize.

In most of the European colonies in sub-Saharan African, the transfer of power was relatively peaceful. The deciding factor was the presence or absence of European settlers. In British West Africa, with no settler colonies, decolonization was more peaceful than in East and Southern Africa, where there were European settler populations. In French territories, the devolution of power was generally peaceful, with the exception of Algeria where a bitter war ensued, largely because of the presence of a large number of French settlers. To preempt similar uprisings in French sub-Saharan Africa, the French president, Charles de Gaulle, hijacked the nationalist momentum by enforcing the referendum of 1958. This gave French colonies the choice of either accepting limited self-government while remaining within the French Community or severing ties with France to become fully independent. All French sub-Saharan territories voted to remain a part of Greater France, with the exception of Sékou Touré's Guinea, which voted in favor of complete independence. Guinea was punished severely for its unexpected choice, as France suddenly and dramatically cut all aid and support. However, the survival of Sékou Touré's proud republic coupled with the euphoria generated by the other colonies' new semi-independent status "quickly began to undermine the legitimacy of de Gaulle's new Community" (Hargreaves 1996, p. 188), and by the end of 1960, all eleven French colonies had claimed full independence.

Belgian imperialism in Africa came to a sudden end in 1960 with Belgium's hasty withdrawal from its sole, if huge, colonial possession, the Congo. According to Hargreaves, the "Belgian public's indifference to Africa was suddenly shaken by the nightmare of an Algerian-type war," and therefore "support for colonial empire evaporated quickly as African hostility, sustained by widespread international sympathy, became seriously apparent" (1996, pp. 193–194). In East and Central Africa, the transfer of power was more or less peaceful, with the exception of Kenya, where the Mau Mau uprising and the subsequent imprisonment of Jomo Kenyatta, who was accused of masterminding the rebellion, delayed

decolonization. However, following Kenyatta's release in 1963 there was a speedy transfer of power, after which Kenyatta became prime minister. In Southern Africa, Zimbabwe presented a difficult case as its white minority resisted African majority rule with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of 1965, which produced a protracted war that lasted until 1980, when African majority rule was achieved with Robert Mugabe as prime minister.

Clearly, the liquidation of European colonies in sub-Saharan Africa was one of the most dramatic processes of the mid-twentieth century. Even those at the center stage of imperial policy making in Europe found themselves helpless to shape the outcome. At first glance, decolonization seems consciously planned and executed, but at second look, it appears to possess a life of its own. No one was sure of what turns and twists it would take. De Gaulle confidently planned a system of limited self-government for French colonies, but Sékou Touré's Guinea surprised him by voting for full independence. Similarly, Britain was stunned by events in the Gold Coast, where a sudden and bold step toward full independence was least expected. Although the impact of World War II was crucial to the crystallization of decolonization, it would be quite misleading to ignore other related but equally significant international forces. Different powers followed different paths to decolonization, just as different African regions had different experiences shaped by a range of variables. In all cases, however, European powers were concerned with maintaining some links to their colonies even after the end of formal empire. In this concern lies the origins of the neocolonialism that has continued to define the Euro-African relationship in the postcolonial era.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonial Movements, Africa; Nationalism, Africa; Pan-Africanism; Sub-Saharan Africa, European Presence in.*

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Apollos Nwauwa

DEE, JOHN
1527–1608

John Dee was an English geographer, mathematician, scientist, antiquarian scholar, and political advisor. Of Welsh ancestry, he was born in London in 1527 and was educated at St. John's College of Cambridge University, and at the University of Louvain in what is today Belgium. One of the leading scientists of his time, Dee was also a promoter of English colonial expansion and might be considered the intellectual father of the British Empire. A true Renaissance man, he was active in many fields of scholarship, including geography, mathematics, philosophy, alchemy, and astrology.

Dee had a long association with Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) of England, even casting the horoscope to determine the most auspicious date for her coronation in 1558. He was also a friend and associate of most of the leading figures of Elizabethan England, including such explorers as Sir Martin Frobisher (ca. 1535–1594), John Davis (1543–1605), Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618), Sir Francis Drake (ca. 1543–1596), and Sir Humphrey Gilbert (ca. 1539–1583), who agreed to grant Dee most of Canada if his voyage were successful, which it was not. Dee advised each of these men on their expeditions, often providing navigational information. He also advised on expeditions to find a Northeast Passage to China and was instrumental in the formation of the Muscovy Company, which opened up trade with Russia.

Dee traveled extensively on the continent of Europe and was a friend and colleague of the leading geographers and cartographers of the time, including Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594), Gemma Frisius (1508–1555), Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), Orontius Finaeus (1494–1555), and Pedro Nuñez (1492–1577). His contacts with these scholars allowed him to assemble the largest library in England, larger even than those at Oxford and Cambridge universities. Dee was also able to invent and introduce many technical innovations, such as particular globes, compasses, and navigational charts, to English explorers, although he was unsuccessful in his attempt to introduce the Gregorian calendar into England. Later in his life, Dee also served as an advisor, mainly on alchemical topics, to the king of Poland and to Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612).

Much of Dee's geographical writing was concerned with English imperial expansion. In 1570 he presented a map with accompanying text to Queen Elizabeth, outlining arguments for her title to lands in the North Atlantic and in America. He also drew up plans for the colonizing of North America. His most important geographical work, titled *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation,* was published in 1577. This book suggested the immediate establishment of a "Petty Navy Royal," or coast guard, to protect England's shores, as well as expansion of the "Grand Navy Royal." Dee urged England to become a maritime power and establish a "British Empire" (Dee's own phrase) that would rival Spain's and would give England commercial advantages, such as markets for its woolens.

Dee unfortunately fell out of favor after the death of Elizabeth in 1603, and he died in obscurity in 1608. Today he is often remembered for his alchemical and astrological work, though appreciation of him as a leading geographer is increasing.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; European Explorations in North America.*

Blaise Diagne in Paris, 1922. *West African and French dignitaries place flowers on the tomb of the unknown soldier in Paris. The Senegalese statesman Blaise Diagne stands at the center with hat in hand.* ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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Michael Pretes

DIAGNE, BLAISE
1872–1934

The first black African elected to the French Chamber of Deputies, Blaise Diagne transformed Senegalese politics and helped prepare the way for development of democracy in Senegal.

The Four Communes of Senegal (Saint-Louis, Dakar, Rufisque, and Gorée) had from the 1870s the right to elect a municipal council, a General Council, and a deputy to the French Parliament. Senegal was the only colony north of South Africa where ordinary Africans had the right to vote. These elections were contested largely by French commercial houses and a mulatto elite, called the *métis*, but in the first years of the twentieth century, educated Africans, organized in a group called the Young Senegalese, wanted a more important role in government.

Blaise Diagne was born on the island of Gorée, the son of a Sereer cook, but he was adopted by a member of a leading métis family and sent to a Catholic school. After secondary studies, he passed the exam for the French colonial customs service. Within the service, he was frequently transferred because of his reputation for insubordination and for encouraging local people to oppose the colonial regime.

By 1913 Diagne was dissatisfied with the constraints of the civil service and decided to contest the election for

deputy from Senegal. He was not well known, but he was able to win support from different groups, of whom the most important were the Young Senegalese and the Lebu, the original inhabitants of Dakar. Diagne campaigned against the disenfranchisement of black voters and for compensation of the Lebu for their lost lands. He won a hotly contested election. The governor-general, William Ponty (1866–1915), was under pressure to annul the election, but he refused to do so.

Three months after the election, World War I broke out. This put Diagne in a strategic position because France was less populous than Germany and counted on Africa to supply some of the soldiers it needed to hold the line. Diagne used the issue to resolve problems that troubled those who voted for him. First, in 1915, he won approval of a law that allowed *originaires*, the resident of the Four Communes to serve in the better-paid regular army rather than with the colonial troops. The second problem was that it was not clear that African *originaires* were French citizens. Muslim *originaires*, the majority of the electorate, were the only voters in the French Empire who preserved Muslim personal law in matters like marriage and inheritance, rather than being subject to the Code Napoléon. In 1916 Diagne persuaded the Chamber of Deputies to pass a law recognizing *originaires* as French citizens.

After the war, Diagne organized the Republican Socialist Party. In 1919 he was reelected and his party won control of all municipal councils and the General Council. Unfortunately for Diagne, there was a sharp swing to the right in French elections, which meant less influence for Diagne in Paris. The General Council was restructured to include many appointed chiefs, who voted with the government. In 1923 Diagne forged an alliance with his former enemies, the commercial houses based in Bordeaux. He remained a deputy until his death in 1934.

SEE ALSO *Empire, French.*

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Martin Klein

DIAMONDS

Diamonds are crystallized carbon compounds that are formed under extreme pressure and high temperatures deep in the earth's crust. Diamond-bearing stones are excavated by drilling holes on the side of pipes (vertical columns of rock) formed by volcanic activity in the earth crust. Africa is the richest source of diamonds, accounting for nearly half of the world's production. The major deposits are in South Africa and Botswana, with substantial deposits in the Congo Republic (Zaire), Angola, Namibia, Ghana, Central African Republic, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Zimbabwe.

About 269,000 carats of diamonds were produced in South Africa in the 1870s, rising to approximately 505 million carats in 1906. By the early twenty-first century, South Africa was producing eight to ten million carats per year. Botswana is the world's leading producer of gem-quality diamonds, with over 30.4 million carats produced in 2003. In the Congo, diamond production jumped from 988,000 carats in 1961 to 4.6 million carats in 2003.

DISCOVERY OF DIAMONDS

In 1867 a pretty pebble found near the Orange River in South Africa was confirmed as a 21-carat diamond. Placer diamonds (stream-deposited) were found between the Vaal and Orange Rivers later in the year. Two years later an 83-carat diamond was found. The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1871 showed that South Africa and other parts of Africa would be the source of an enormous quantity of high-quality diamonds. Four pipes of primary diamonds (those in which the diamonds remain inside the original host rock) were discovered at the town of Kimberley.

South Africa emerged as a major source of gem-quality diamonds and the world's leading producer in the mid-twentieth century. The diamond industry became a chief source of export earnings and the key to the economic transformation of South Africa. But the discovery of diamonds also exacerbated the colonization of the region, increased the rate of African disposition of land, and led to the political domination of black South Africans.

The British government, attracted by the prospect of mineral wealth, quickly annexed the diamond fields, repudiating the claims of the Voortrekker republics to the area. These claims, along with contestations for economic and political control of diamonds and later gold in South Africa, defined the contours of southern African colonial history. The discovery of diamonds also had a larger global implication when it led to a "diamond rush" that attracted thousands of fortune hunters from Europe, the United States, and Australia. The first rush for diamonds was followed by a gold rush to South Africa a few years later. The town of Kimberly was filled with settlers, but it was surpassed by Johannesburg when gold mining started in earnest in 1887.

Nineteenth-Century Diamond Miners in South Africa. *Laborers stand amid machinery for washing diamonds at the Bultfontein Diamond Mine near Kimberley, South Africa, in 1888.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

CONSOLIDATION, CONTROL, AND TECHNOLOGY

The development of the South African diamond industry was the work of Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902), who arrived in South Africa from England in 1870 at the age of seventeen, and founded the De Beers mining company in Kimberley in 1888. As a large number of prospectors staked out claims to various fields, two key players—Cecil Rhodes and Barney Barnato (1852–1896)—became the most successful.

Barnato arrived in South Africa from England in 1873 at the age of twenty. In 1876 he bought four claims in the Kimberley mines. He made a huge profit and later formed the Barnato Diamond Mining Company, which he merged with the Kimberley Central Mining Company in 1883. Rhodes fought intensely against competing mining interests, and by the end of 1889 he had bought off other diamond claims and was in control of the South African diamond industry in Kimberley.

After expansion of his holdings, Rhodes went on to form De Beers Consolidated Mines, which established an effective monopoly over the diamond industry in

1889. In competition, Rhodes sold one of his companies to Barnato's Kimberley Central, but Rhodes retained interests that gave him a 20 percent share in Barnato's company. Rhodes and Barnato battled viciously for the remaining stock. In 1889 Barnato sold out to Rhodes for £5,338,650. In 1896 Barnato disappeared at sea while on passage back to England, a presumed suicide. The diamond monopoly created by De Beers helped to regulate the quantity of diamonds produced in order to maintain high profits.

The discovery of new deposits near Pretoria and in South-West Africa (Namibia) in 1908 broke the De Beer monopoly. By 1909, German-controlled South-West Africa was producing about 500,000 carats of small but high-quality diamonds, and yields increased rapidly in five years. South Africa gained control of Namibia after World War I and sold the diamond deposits to Consolidated Diamond Mines, founded in 1919 by German immigrant Ernest Oppenheimer (1880–1957), who became the leader in the field. In 1929 Oppenheimer became president of the De Beers group and united both companies in a cartel. The activities of De Beers would extend to Botswana, soon to be an

important producer with the discovery of three kimberlite (groups of diamond bearing rocks) deposits between 1967 and 1973.

Two important factors—legislation and technology—cemented the control of the diamond industry by the cartel. The efforts of mine owners to make a profit and eliminate pilfering in the early days led to attempts to undercut the bargaining strength of African workers. In 1872 British colonial officials were persuaded to introduce *pass laws*, which required that all "servants" be in possession of passes that stated whether the holder was legally entitled to work in the city, whether or not they had completed their contractual obligations, and whether they could leave the city. These laws, written in "color-blind" language but enforced against blacks only, limited the mobility of migrant workers, restricted their flexibility in seeking alternative employment, and limited their ability to bargain for higher wages.

De Beers and other large prospectors made a considerable effort to exclude smaller prospectors, including Africans. A special court was set up in 1880 to try cases of illicit dealings in diamonds, which was limited to licensed buyers and imposed penalties for the possession of uncut stones without a license. The Diamond Trade Act of 1872 was aimed at diamond stealing and smuggling, but it also set two dangerous social precedents. First, anyone found with an uncut diamond was required to explain how it came into his or her possession—that is, guilt was assumed, while innocence had to be proved. This is a European concept not usually found in English or American law. Second, the Diamond Trade Act allowed companies to set up "searching-houses" in a system of routine surveillance, searching, and stripping by company police. This curtailment of private rights and personal liberty became a fact of South African society.

The condition of the mines was an important factor in the consolidation of operations in a few hands. In 1872 the pipes were giant open quarries worked by 2,500 miners and 10,000 hired laborers. The technical equipment required for deep mining of diamonds excluded many companies and individuals from competition and forced many to sell off their concessions. The high cost of equipment also excluded prospective prospectors. For example, by 1875 the Kimberley mines were 58 meters (190 feet) deep, and miners were hauling material out of the hole on aerial ropeways that covered the pit like spiderwebs. Soon the hauling was driven by machinery on the edge of the pit, and in 1875 the first steam engine was installed. The cost of clearing away debris increased as the mines deepened, and slowly steam engines became necessary rather than optional. The rock became harder with depth, and by the end of the 1870s, the costs of mining had become too great

for one-man operations. The number of claim owners in the Kimberley pit dropped dramatically as people bought out their neighbors, and by 1880 new investment was pouring in. Rhodes and seven partners owned a block of ninety claims in the De Beers Mining Company Ltd., named for its landholdings on the old De Beers ranch.

DIAMONDS AND COLONIZATION

Rhodes played an immeasurable role in the colonization of southern Africa. His ambition was to extend the British imperial possession from Cape to Cairo. When Rhodes became prime minister of the Cape Colony, he dedicated his energy to the colonization of Rhodesia on behalf of the British. Rhodes, who had succeeded in monopolizing the diamond industry, sought to carve out a personal empire in present-day Zimbabwe, the original site of the fifteenth-century gold industry of Great Zimbabwe. There he ruled the Ndebele and the Shona people through his British South Africa Company.

Thus, southern Africa's history is intertwined with the mineral revolution. From this period, the region became a magnet for European investment, prospectors, and other immigrants from America and Australia. The European rush for minerals in the late nineteenth century helped shape the colonization of most of southern Africa.

The mines were a means of political, social, and economic control. The Kimberly mines attracted Africans in the early 1870s. Some sought to obtain diamond claims, but most sought jobs in the mines. An average of fifty thousand men migrated annually to the mines for a period of two to three months. Most returned home with cash and guns purchased in Kimberley. African access to guns in particular redefined African-European relations and prolonged the series of wars with restive African groups that sought to check white expansion into the interior of southern Africa.

Mining companies traditionally kept expenses to a minimum through low wages, strict control of African labor, and manipulation of the political system. Rhodes was a successful politician, and he helped draft laws that protected the mining companies. Taxation on mining profits was kept low. Segregated, controlled, fenced-off compounds housed Africans for the length of their work contracts with the company. The segregation policies that began in the mine compounds were the harbingers of the official apartheid policy that was consolidated in 1948 when the National Party won national elections.

From the late nineteenth century, Africans did not accept mining regulations and political control uncritically. African-initiated churches and African-centered

political organization that emerged from the nineteenth century became the main organs of protest in a white-dominated colonial setting. The link between property ownership and suffrage guaranteed Cape blacks some level of participation in the electoral politics of the 1870s and the 1880s. The formation of the Native Educational Association in the eastern Cape in 1879 promoted "the improvement and elevation of the native races." The Imbumba Yama Nyama (literally, "hard, solid sinew"), formed in Port Elizabeth in 1882, fought for African rights. Black newspapers such as *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Native Opinion), founded by John Tengo Jabavu (1859–1921) in 1884, became a platform for expressing dissatisfaction with the injustice and inequality that blacks experienced in relation to whites in a rapidly industrializing society dominated by diamond and gold mining.

The role of diamonds in structuring African political conflicts and formations has extended beyond the colonial period. But some of the contemporary conflicts, as in Angola, have their origin in the colonial setting. In more recent times, the control of diamonds has been instrumental in fueling civil wars and crises in Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Congo, and Angola. The so-called conflict diamonds and international trade in illegal diamonds prompted the United Nations General Assembly to adopt a resolution in 2000 on the role of diamonds in fuelling conflict in Africa. The objective is to break the link between armed conflict and the illicit transaction of rough diamonds, especially in Sierra Leone and Angola, where conflict diamonds are used to fund rebel groups.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; Germany's African Colonies; Rhodes, Cecil.*

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Chima J. Korieh

DINSHAWAY INCIDENT

The Dinshaway incident was a violent clash that occurred in June 1906 between Egyptian peasants in the village of Dinshaway and British soldiers who were pigeon hunting in the area. The British had occupied Egypt in 1882 at the request of the Ottoman viceroy, who used British soldiers to help put down the Urabi Rebellion, an Egyptian constitutionalist movement. By 1906, inflation, financial corruption, and obvious contrasts between the living standards of the British and those of most native Egyptians combined to create resentment of the occupation.

On June 13, 1906, five British officers were hunting pigeons in Dinshaway, a village in the province of Minufiya in the Nile Delta. Egyptian peasants raised pigeons for eggs and considered the meat a delicacy that made men virile, so they did not approve of the British hunting the birds. For this reason, hunters had to get permission from the village headman. The five officers were granted permission by the headman and were provided with transportation. The headman, however, was not in the village upon their arrival.

The soldiers commenced hunting and, shortly thereafter, a village threshing floor caught fire. Angry peasants armed with nabouts, heavy wooden sticks tipped with lead, surrounded the officers, claiming their shots had started the fire. The officers later stated that they had willingly surrendered their weapons, but that one of the rifles had accidentally discharged twice. Curiously, the officers also claimed that these two shots were responsible for the injuries to four villagers, including the wife of the local imam. This enraged the villagers who then attacked the officers as they were trying to leave, taking the contents of their pockets and beating them with nabouts and bricks.

The beatings severely injured three officers: one had a broken arm, another a broken nose, and the other a head injury. One of the injured men attempted to run back to his camp for help, which was five miles away, but eventually collapsed. A medical exam later revealed that he had suffered a concussion during the fighting, which, in combination with sunstroke, killed him. Troops later discovered a peasant dead nearby from a blow to the head, along with another villager who had been shot in an unrelated incident. British officials believed the attack was premeditated and that the officers had been lured into a trap.

Shortly thereafter, the British had fifty-two villagers arrested for "crimes of violence against the officers and men of the army of occupation" (Parliamentary Papers 1906, pp. 1–2). Evelyn Baring (1841–1917), the first Lord Cromer and British Consul for Egypt, was in England at the time, but ordered that the villagers be

tried according to an 1895 decree mandating special treatment for those who attacked British military personnel. Such crimes were to be considered by a special tribunal composed of both Egyptian and British officials that could administer swift justice and penalties of greater severity than were permitted by the Egyptian criminal code. Cromer intended the Dinshaway trial to serve as a warning to those who plotted violence against the British.

The trial was held June 27, 1906. The daughter of the villagers' attorney, Ahmed Lutfi al-Sayyid, claims that the fifty-two accused were questioned in thirty minutes by a tribunal of five men, only two of whom spoke sufficient Arabic to understand the defendants. All on the tribunal, it should be noted, knew Arabic. The officers identified twenty-one villagers as their attackers. The court was unanimous in judging these villagers guilty of premeditated murder and violent robbery. It sentenced four men to hang, nine to prison, five to public flogging, and three others to both prison and flogging. Some 500 Egyptians from the province, including the village inhabitants, watched the hangings and whippings carried out the next day.

The severity of the punishment was perhaps due to inflammatory rhetoric against the occupation in the Egyptian press that year, which had British officials anticipating resistance. Many Egyptians were intensely shocked by what they saw. The author Qasim Amin (1863–1908) reported a national sense of humiliated depression, writing that every Egyptian face evinced a "peculiar sort of sadness." He said of this sadness: "It was confused, distracted, and visibly subdued by superior force. . . . The spirits of the hanged men seemed to hover over every place in the city" (Ahmed 1960, p. 63).

Egyptian intellectuals seized upon this incident as an example of imperialist oppression. Arabic presses spread word of the trial and agony of the villagers, whom they characterized as martyrs of the occupation, and printed songs and poems of resistance. One song, reported by Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid, said: "They fell upon Dinshwai, and spared neither man nor his brother. Slowly they hanged the one and flogged the other" (1969, p. 173). Jamal Ahmed found similar sentiments expressed in poetry: "Man's life is as cheap as a beast's, and like to wild doves are we . . . we too have chains around our necks" (1960, p. 63). Intellectuals' arguments against the occupation now found a receptive audience among the peasants, and rural violence against British soldiers increased. The incident became legendary; it came to represent, for many, the true spirit of the British occupiers, and generated widespread support for the resistance movement.

Another effect of the Dinshaway incident was a worsening in relations between Christians and Muslims. The head of the special tribunal and acting Minister of Justice was Butrus Ghali—a Coptic Christian. He was assassinated in 1911.

The British House of Commons censured Cromer for his handling of the incident. Cromer's response was a lukewarm defense of flogging, which he had previously worked to eliminate, as occasionally necessary for maintaining public order. The deputy who had been in charge during Cromer's absence, Mansfeld Findlay, wrote that Egyptians, being fatalists, did not fear death, nor did imprisonment have an effect on them; thus flogging was appropriate. Many officials involved later decided that the punishment had not fit the crime. Ultimately the uproar contributed to Cromer's resignation in 1907. His successor, Sir John Eldon Gorst (1835–1916), had the imprisoned villagers released in 1910, but the British continued to rule Egypt formally until 1922.

SEE ALSO *Baring, Evelyn.*

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Indira Falk Gesink

DIVIDE AND RULE: THE LEGACY OF ROMAN IMPERIALISM

The ancient Romans cast a long shadow over the peoples of Europe. Even the vocabulary of modern European expansion is Roman: The words *imperialism*, *empire*, *colonialism*, *colony*, *proconsul*, *procurator* all come from Rome. In addition, Roman approaches towards acquisition and administration of conquered territory and individuals provided the foundation, the blueprint, for later European expansion and rule. This was true not just for the Latin-based cultures, such as France and Spain, where Roman institutions and traditions occasionally survived intact, but also for nations of Germanic ancestry, such as Britain, Holland, and Germany, where the Roman legacy was less direct but still intentional.

The study of the Romans, their literature, and institutions was an integral element in the education of the

ruling classes of all European nations, from primary to university levels. This curricular focus was due in large part to the Roman Catholic Church (and its Protestant successors), which had preserved the works of master Latin stylists like Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE), Julius Caesar (ca. 100–44 BCE), Cornelius Tacitus (ca. 55–ca. 120 CE), and Livy (Titus Livius, 59 BCE–17 CE) as teaching tools and examples of "proper" Latin. Although the focus of study was the language itself, the student could not help but absorb the detailed information offered about the experiences and institutions of the Romans. Therefore, it was because of the church's dedication to preserve "things Roman," and its universities' emphasis on the literature of antiquity, that Roman examples were well known to the educated ruling classes of any would-be imperialist nation.

Almost instinctively, it seems, the ruling elites of Europe turned to the Roman models, drummed into their heads from youth, when they began to acquire lands and subjects beyond Europe. And because of the narrow focus on a few "great" authors, these Roman models came largely from the Republican period of Roman history (509–31 BCE), especially from the Late Republic (133–31 BCE), which saw the mature articulation of Roman imperialism. During the entire Republic, but most actively during the Late Republic, Rome was at its most expansive, first overwhelming the tribes and cities of Italy and then, by 31 BCE, dominating the entire Mediterranean basin.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The Romans were unique among ancient peoples in that they willingly and freely incorporated newly conquered people into their own society, freely giving citizenship to outsiders in order to Romanize them and make them willing participants (instead of unwilling subjects or enemies) in the Roman imperial system. Romans preferred government on the cheap and as such chose to administer new lands and peoples indirectly, through indigenous collaborators, who were awarded Roman citizenship or other benefits. The Romans called this system *divide and rule* because they literally divided up conquered peoples into their component units (usually tribes and city-states), made separate alliances and treaties with each, and induced each, through a complex system of rewards, to keep an eye on the others and provide for the common defense.

All of this the later Europeans would inherit and modify, though perhaps the purest examples of the unaltered Roman system are best seen in British and French India. Although the Romans used this system, with slight modification, from their inception to destruction, the best and classic example is the Roman consolidation of the Italian peninsula south of the Rubicon and

Arno rivers, described by the Late Republican historian Livy.

From its earliest days, Rome was surrounded by many powerful, independent city-states and tribes that were intent on Rome's destruction. In the rich alluvial plain of Latium alone, Rome lived among at least twelve independent Latin-speaking nations. To Rome's north was the ancient, wealthy, and highly civilized Etruscan confederation. To the south, around the Bay of Naples and beyond, were the large Greek cities of Cumae, Neapolis (modern Naples), and Posidonia. Thanks to its position on both the last available crossing of the Tiber River near the sea and the great salt trade route, Rome became a natural contact point for all of these cultures. And because of its location, and the rich trade in salt and other commodities it encouraged, Rome was coveted by all its neighbors.

To ensure its independence, Rome first needed to establish a buffer zone. The Romans did this by conquering their closest Latin neighbors, but instead of destroying them or levying taxes, as the Etruscans and Greeks did, Rome granted those closest in proximity full Roman citizenship—now these Latins would be Romans—and in return all Rome asked of its new citizen-allies was that they contribute troops to the common defense.

Of course, with these new allies, Rome inherited new enemies—that is, Rome inherited its new allies' ancestral enemies. But with a larger army Rome was able to launch many "defensive" campaigns, ostensibly to protect its new citizens, but really for the purpose of subduing the Latin nations farther away from Rome, right to the edge of Greek- and Etruscan-controlled areas.

To these newly conquered people Rome did not offer citizenship, as it had to their closer Latin brothers, but rather alliance and confederation. These allies of what the Romans would come to call *Latin-rights* status would contribute troops to the common defense, in return for which Rome would grant some of the perks of citizenship: (1) the right to do business at Rome; (2) the right to appeal the actions of Roman officials in Roman courts; and (3) the right to marry Roman citizens, the children of which unions would then be legal Roman citizens.

But the genius of this system was that Rome made a separate alliance with each Latin-rights city it conquered (the *divide* element of the equation), and each city would be offered a slightly different perk. As a result, each Latin-rights city had a separate relationship with Rome but was barred from having alliances or treaties with anyone else, including other Latin-rights peoples. Rome effectively held all of the cards, and since each city received different perks, those who espoused the Roman

cause most vocally, or reported potential rebellion among the neighbors, gained the most perks.

To ensure and encourage mutual suspicion, Rome dangled the carrot of further perks, even full Roman citizenship, for those who supported Rome best, contributed the best troops, and above all kept an eye on the neighbors and alerted Rome of any disloyalty or rebellion. This was a highly competitive system and as a result, each city was intensely suspicious and jealous of the others, and thus policed the neighbors on Rome's behalf (the *rule* element).

Thus, Rome gained a group of loyal, mutually suspicious states that the Romans did not have to control by force, that would act as a buffer zone in case of invasion, and that would serve as an army for common defense and imperialist expansion. And expand Rome did, but never offensively; Rome only responded "defensively" when its friends were attacked. As had happened with the first Latin conquests, Rome continued to inherit enemies. Because of the alliance system, once Rome conquered a city-state, kingdom, or tribe, it inherited the enemies of that city-state, kingdom, or tribe. Rome thus expanded defensively into Italy, granting unequal alliances with each new ally, offering full Roman citizenship to those who had proved their loyalty, and the different perks associated with Latin rights to others—even though they were not ethnically Latin—depending on their loyalty and strategic value. *Latin rights* had become an administrative term for the Romans, and once Rome had expanded beyond Latium and the Latins, the term had come to apply to all inferior alliances in which some of the Latin perks were granted.

Rome did not rely solely on its conquered enemies to rule. In some cases, since the city of Rome itself began to grow dramatically, the Romans took land from particularly dangerous conquered people and settled colonies of Roman urban poor on it. Most often these Roman colonies were located in strategic areas. Their purpose was to control and stimulate trade, to guard against rebellion, and to protect resources and infrastructure such as roads, passes, and mines. These *coloniae* (literally, "cared-for regions") were places of opportunity, where upward mobility was possible, where people could start anew and reinvent themselves. As such, the *coloniae* were immensely popular among the masses in the city of Rome. In time, Rome eventually planted such colonies all over the Mediterranean basin, western Europe, and North Africa. These prosperous, military-economic outposts of Rome were the direct models for modern European colonies.

This system of dividing up the enemy into component units, making unequal alliances, and offering unequal perks was used quite effectively by all modern European imperialists: The British and French used the divide-and-rule system in North America, in India, in Africa, and the in Far East; the Dutch in Africa and Southeast Asia; and the Spanish in South and Central America. This Roman system of government on the cheap—using groups of the conquered, who have been selectively rewarded, to rule on behalf of the overlords—is often termed *indirect rule* by historians of modern imperialism. Indeed, many of the ethnic conflicts that plague postcolonial nations to this day have their roots in the selective rewards associated with indirect rule—the Turkish-Greek conflict over the island of Cyprus being just one of the most visible and intractable. In this case, the British empowered the Turkish minority to control the Greek majority, and the Greeks still resent it.

CLIENTAGE

So far this entry has addressed indirect rule on the national level, but the Romans employed this method even more effectively on the individual level with what they called *clientela*, or "clientage." It is clientage, even more than the group system of divide and rule, that later Europeans would use to great advantage.

The system of clientage was as old as Rome and originally applied only to Romans. Clientage bound one Roman to another through unequal ties of obligation. The Romans called the two participants the *patron* and the *client*. The patron was to care for the client—that is, the patron ensured the client had employment, food, shelter, and legal representation. In return, the client gave the patron public respect and service in the form of work or goods, and, above all, was legally bound to vote as the patron decreed.

The bonds of clientage were permanent, passed down through the generations—one had the same clients and patrons as one's father. The only way to break the bonds of clientage was to prove, in court, that the other member of the relationships had not fulfilled his obligations. Since Romans preferred personal relationships to official ones, and private, face-to-face systems to government-sponsored ones, clientage was encouraged by the ruling elite—who were, of course, Rome's patrons. The clientage system thus served as the social glue of Rome. Best of all, the system of clientage cost the Roman government nothing, but ensured that everybody had a place in Roman society, and that everybody was connected to his fellow citizens through mutual obligations.

When Rome began to expand beyond its city limits, it incorporated the newly conquered into this existing social network. Powerful Romans, especially the generals who brought new territories and peoples under Rome's protection, formed clientage relationships with these non-Romans. For example, the family of Marcus Claudius

(Claudii Marcelli, ca. 268–208 BCE) provided the general who conquered Sicily in the middle of the third century BCE, and two hundred years later, by the time of Cicero, the ruling elite of that island were still Claudian clients. In return for Roman support, Roman protection, and a local share in Roman commerce, these clients ensured their region's loyalty to Rome and paved the way for the commercial enterprises of their patron and his friends—essentially, these clients acted as Roman watchdogs. Modern parallels from every continent abound in which later Europeans, officially and unofficially, would form similar bonds of dependency with members of indigenous groups.

As Rome began to expand into the eastern edge of the Mediterranean, where kings rather than independent city-states ruled, the Roman elite included these powerful men among the lists of their clients. In fact, even before Rome had conquered an area and brought it into the Roman imperial system, the ruling elite in the Romans Senate—the body that controlled all Roman foreign policy—bound "client-kings" to Rome and used these kings to control areas of interest.

Perhaps the most famous of these client-kings was Herod the Great, king of Judea (73–4 BCE). Officially, Herod was independent from Rome and held the status of "friend and ally of the Senate and people of Rome." But he was far from autonomous as client to some of the most powerful Romans of the day—Mark Antony (ca. 83–30 BCE) and the first Roman emperor, Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE). As a loyal client, Herod had to act as his patrons wished if he was to retain their support. And Herod needed Roman support. He was a usurper to the Jewish throne, as well as a foreigner, and the Jews hated him. Only Roman support kept him on the throne, and that was the way the ruling elite in the Roman Senate wanted things.

By keeping a dependent and disliked Herod on the Jewish throne, Rome did not have to expend precious resources to conquer and administer Judea. Again and again Rome would use this inexpensive, effective method to dominate regions the Romans did not need to control directly. Yet, as the Romans discovered in the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, and the British and French discovered in India and elsewhere, client-kings often have agendas of their own—they often intrigue secretly against their patrons, and they require a great deal of effort to put down once they turn rogue.

PSEUDOGOVERNMENTAL CORPORATIONS

Once Rome moved beyond Italy, the Romans became much more guarded in their grants of citizenship. The system of divide and rule still applied but now the Romans added a new dimension: The perks for the conquered began with tax exemption rather than citizenship. Once Rome moved beyond Italy, it no longer rewarded former enemies quite so generously. Because of the costs incurred with overseas expansion, Rome could not afford to allow its overseas subjects to go untaxed.

Yet Rome wanted to preserve that mutual suspicion that had controlled Italy so well. The solution was selective taxation. Rome would reward especially loyal or strategic allies with tax-exempt status. This tax exemption, or partial tax forgiveness, was always held out as a reward for special clients or whole communities. Over time, many individual clients, cities, and tribes passed through tax exemption and "Latin rights" to full citizenship. By 212 CE, all areas under Roman control were given full Roman citizenship by Emperor Caracalla (188–217 CE). But as a result of this system of selective taxation, the Roman tax code was bewilderingly complex, and the Roman government, always hesitant to increase the bureaucracy, required a cost-effective, nongovernmental way to collect revenue.

In order to maximize profits and cut costs, the Romans used private corporations to collect all manner of taxes, from personal income taxes to port dues to pasture taxes. These "tax-farming" companies, as the Romans called them, would submit bids for the amount they could collect for a given region over a time period set by the government, ranging from one to ten years. The highest bidder won. Once chosen, the winning corporation would then pay the Roman government the entire sum up front—what amounted to at least one year's worth of all taxes for all inhabitants. Then, for the amount of time agreed upon in the contract, the corporation would be given government permission to collect both the original outlay and any greater amounts desired to cover expenses. Everybody won: Rome got money when it needed it without having to expend precious public resources, the tax-collecting company made a profit, and the provincials got taxed, sometimes overtaxed, although rarely dramatically and harmfully overtaxed. After all, the tax-farmers were aware of how much the taxed could pay, and they wanted to ensure that taxpayers remained healthy and taxable in the future.

In addition to tax-farming, these large corporation would also engage in other, related financial activities, such as moneylending, banking, and commodities speculation. Unfortunately, as Cicero's speeches against the Sicilian governor Gaius Verres (ca. 115–43 BCE) and private letters to his friends make clear, the tax-farmers often lent money to individuals at exorbitant rates (48 percent per annum and higher) so that the borrowers could pay taxes to those same tax-farmers. But it was not always easy to collect, and so the tax-farming corporations were permitted by the Roman government

to maintain paramilitary forces in order to "shake down" local taxpayers.

The powers and authority of the tax-farmers were wide-ranging, especially in regions such as Sicily, Sardinia, and North Africa where the head tax was paid in the form of grain and other agricultural goods. Here, the tax companies would essentially control the agricultural economy. Because of their oversight of all taxes, even harbor dues and import-export fees, the tax corporations controlled trade, both in and out of the region. Cicero's speeches against Verres make clear that the tax-farmers of Sicily ran both the economy and politics of Sicily.

Because the Roman government wanted revenues without bureaucracy, and local Roman governors like Verres wanted money in the form of bribes and company shares, the tax-farming companies were allowed to grow into pseudogovernmental entities that for a short time during the Late Republic acted as if they were the Roman state. From 133 to 44 BCE, the independent, private tax companies collected taxes, lent money, fielded troops, and controlled the economies of Roman possessions outside of Italy. All of these pseudogovernmental powers were replicated by the great, modern colonial corporations—the French, Dutch, and British East India companies. The works of Cicero, especially his speeches against Gaius Verres, were perennial favorites in public school curricula. It is surely no accident that the great companies associated with European imperialism resembled their Roman predecessors so closely.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; Empire, French; Imperialism, Cultural.*

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Timothy Howe

DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS
1540–1596

Sir Francis Drake was among the more daring and famous of all the great Elizabethan seafarers. Born into a prosperous family in Devonshire, England, around 1540, Drake's life as a sailor stemmed from his family connections with William Hawkins, a Plymouth merchant who had experience of piracy against the French and Spanish, and who put Drake to sea together with his own sons. By the early 1560s Drake had joined his

cousin, John Hawkins (1532–1595), to undertake slaving voyages to Africa and then to the Americas. In 1568 he was part of an English fleet that was virtually destroyed by the Spanish in the Caribbean and his anger at what he perceived to be Spanish treachery initiated a life-long struggle with Spanish interests. However, there is no evidence that Drake was driven by religious zeal, even though his father was a cleric; hope of enrichment by trade and piracy were always the main motives for Drake's activities. As an experienced seaman Drake was given a privateer's license by Queen Elizabeth (1533–1603) to plunder Spanish treasure ships returning to Europe from the Caribbean. He quickly gained a reputation as the scourge of the Spanish and Portuguese by attacking their vessels and ports as he saw fit. Between 1572 and 1573 Drake traversed Spanish Panama from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean with the help of local runaway slaves (*cimarrons*) who guided and supported his expedition out of resentment toward the Spanish. Drake subsequently captured the Spanish silver train at Nombre de Dios in March 1573 and returned to England with a ship full of treasure.

Drake's most famous exploit was his circumnavigation of the globe between 1577 and 1580. Initially traveling with five ships, only one, the *Pelican*, was left as Drake entered the Pacific Ocean in October 1578. Rather than heading west into the Pacific, Drake sailed north up the coast of South America attacking Spanish settlements in Peru and capturing treasure ships, eventually reaching as far north as California (or "Nova Albion" as he named it). Only now did Drake head west, eventually reaching the East Indies where he loaded up with valuable spices. His return to England in 1580, with a wealth of treasure and spices on board the renamed *Golden Hind*, caused a sensation and earned Drake a knighthood. Drake continued to hamper Spanish ambitions in the Atlantic throughout the 1580s. In 1585 he burned down the town of Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, and a year later captured San Domingo in Hispaniola. On his way back from the Caribbean in 1586 he stopped at Roanoke Island, the new English colony in North Carolina, but instead of finding a prosperous settlement he ended up taking the half-starved settlers back to England. In 1587 he "singed the King of Spain's beard" with a daring attack at Cadiz, and played a crucial part in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, including capturing the Spanish flagship Rosario. He remained active in the Atlantic until his death from dysentery off the coast of Panama in 1596.

Drake's exploits significantly raised the profile of the English in the Atlantic basin, demonstrating to the Spanish that their monopoly could be broken and to the English that both financial and imperial gains were possible in the Americas. The contribution his voyages made to the English treasury ultimately helped to finance Elizabethan imperial expansion.

SEE ALSO *Dee, John; Empire, British; European Explorations in North America.*

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Tim Lockley

DUAL MANDATE, AFRICA

The dual mandate is an expression of the fundamental principles of European imperialism in tropical Africa as theorized by Sir Frederick Lugard (1858–1945), the best known of the British colonial officers to serve in Africa. In his most important work on British imperialism, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922), Lugard craftily articulated the basis for European imperial design in Africa and the dynamics of the colonial administrative system of indirect rule.

In Lugard's discourse, European imperialism rested on the premise that the resources of Africa, perceived dormant, could be productively marshaled and utilized by the more technologically advanced imperial nations of Europe for the mutual benefits of the colonizer and the colonized. Lugard argued that Africa's enormous resources lay wasted not only because Africans did not recognize their uses and value, but also because they did not possess the know-how to develop and exploit them. Lugard's thesis ascribed to imperial Europe a fundamental right to Africa's "wasted bounties of nature," and also the responsibility of holding them in trust and developing them for the benefit of humankind. As custodian of Africa's resources, however, imperial Europe was committed to Africa's development and the advancement and welfare of its people. Britain as a colonizing power thus had a dual mandate: first, the exploitation of Africa's resources for imperial benefit; and second, the development of the continent.

Lugard's indirect rule became an instrument of British imperial administration in Africa. It was a concept in which existing African traditional political institutions were preserved and incorporated into the colonial administrative system for local governance. Under this system, local administrative powers resided in the native authority made up of traditional rulers or chiefs with jurisdiction over a native treasury and native courts. Lugard believed that, at the grassroots, traditional authority

would constitute an effective instrument in enforcing colonial policies, administrating justice in local disputes, maintaining law and order, and collecting taxes. The efficacy of indirect rule thus necessarily rested on the existence of powerful chiefs capable of exercising political authority over their jurisdictions.

As theorized by Lugard, the native authority retained, as much as possible, its traditional powers and character. However, in practice the British turned the chiefs into agents of the colonial administration. These chiefs would lose their political autonomy and become subordinated to the authority of colonial administrative agents such as the resident or the district officer. Ostensibly, the colonial official was a sympathetic adviser and a counselor to the chiefs; in reality, though, the official would dictate colonial policies and regulations to the chiefs. The chiefs were expected to transmit these received instructions to the indigenous people and see to their implementation. Colonial policies thus reached the people through their own chiefs firsthand, giving the impression of a native rule. Colonial taxation was, for instance, in the eyes of the local taxpayer the chief's initiative. Such arrangement in which imperial orders were disguised as those of the chiefs ensured quick compliance by the people. Also, indirect rule, by utilizing the traditional elite who exercised local authority directly over the people, minimized contacts between British colonial officials and Africans, which greatly reduced friction between the two groups.

Indirect rule as a principle of colonial local government became the standard policy in most of British Africa. It was adopted by colonial officials in a number of British possessions such as Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Uganda. It was in Northern Nigeria, however, that the system had its most profound expression. Following the subjugation of the Hausa-Fulani in 1903, Lugard introduced the system among the people. In practice, it proved workable largely because the existing hierarchical political order in Northern Nigeria fit perfectly with the demands of the system.

Following the Fulani jihad of 1804, the hitherto individualistic and competing Hausa states became united under a strong centralized theocratic state known as the Sokoto Caliphate. The administration of the caliphate came under the central authority of the caliph and a number of emirs who headed sub-units of the state, the emirates. The emirs were highly autocratic. In local governance, they utilized an effective system of taxation and a judicial system based on Islamic law, the Sharia. Under indirect rule, the emir's allegiance shifted from the caliph to the colonial commissioner. In Northern Nigeria, therefore, Lugard found the necessary centralized political structure and pre-exiting taxation and court systems critical for indirect rule to work.

The limitations of indirect rule were demonstrated in Southern Nigeria where Lugard extended the system after the amalgamation of northern and southern protectorates in 1914. As governor-general of a unified Nigeria, Lugard hoped that the system would work in the southern provinces. In the southwest among the Yoruba, it encountered some problems and was less successful. Although, the Yoruba possessed a centralized political system, it was less autocratic than the Sokoto Caliphate. Theoretically powerful, Yoruba traditional rulers, the *obas*, were restrained by a complex system of checks and balances. Thus, they lacked the authoritarianism of the northern emirs. Lugard aggravated many groups in Yorubaland when he ignored tradition and arbitrarily elevated the status of some rulers. The attempts of rulers to forcibly collect imposed colonial taxes bred discontentment in some parts of Yorubaland. Indirect rule was thus less successful here.

In the southeast, indirect rule proved utterly unworkable among the Igbo and other groups. Unlike northern and southwestern Nigeria, the provinces in the southeast did not possess the centralized political system required for indirect rule to work. The Igbo, for instance, lived in fragmented societies and did not develop a monarchical political institution. In the place of missing authoritarian rulers, Lugard simply manufactured his own chiefs and equipped them with political authority to rule over a people unfamiliar to a system of kingship. The created rulers, the so-called "warrant chiefs," lacked legitimacy and their attempts to exercise political authority in Igboland gave rise to deep resentment against them. In Igboland, indirect rule without legitimately constituted authority was a total failure.

SEE ALSO *Britain's African Colonies; Colonial Cities and Towns, Africa; Indirect Rule, Africa.*

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Adebayo Oyebade

DUTCH-INDONESIAN WARS

By the spring of 1947 serious concern existed among the Dutch and the Netherlands East Indies administration over whether the Indonesian government would fully implement the Linggajati agreement of March 1947, which had ceded authority over parts of Indonesia to a Republican government—but with the understanding that Dutch commercial interests would not be harmed, and that the Republic would remain part of a loose federation under Dutch control. Black marketeering thrived, particularly the Republican rubber trade with Singapore. Anti-Dutch resistance movements were in charge of commercial crop plantations in Sumatra and Java, the prime foreign currency source. These loosely organized groups had their own agendas, often conflicting with policies of the central Republican government. As far as the Dutch were concerned, the Republic had shown itself to be incapable of controlling these resistance movements. The Dutch minister of finance expressed his fears about the deteriorating foreign currency situation of the colony, predicting bankruptcy. For the Dutch, taking quick and firm control over the plantations was considered imperative for financial and economic survival.

The Dutch planters lobby suggested military intervention, a plan welcomed by the commander of the Dutch army in the Netherlands East Indies, General H. Spoor, who predicted a military success. Other considerations also pointed toward a military option. A large number of Dutch troops (around 100,000 men) had been built up in Indonesia since 1946 without ever being deployed, as the Dutch government and army staff had found it politically difficult to decommission them. Apart from the opposition of the Dutch Communist Party, parliamentary consensus existed in the Netherlands about the necessity for military action against the Republic. A point of no return had been reached.

The Dutch ultimatum to the Republican government—which called on it to stop hostilities, to respect foreign property, and to lift a food boycott in Dutch-controlled areas—expired on July 16, 1947. On July 21, 1947, a military assault was launched under the code name *Product*, a designation indicating the assault's main objective of securing the commercial plantations and stocks (rubber, coffee, tea, etc.) on Java and Sumatra. For external political consumption the military assault was labeled a *police action*, a misleading term suggesting restricted violence and a limited scope of operation. Operations were conducted on land and from the sea, with an emphasis on East Java. Dutch marines were assigned an important role in securing economic objectives, such as plantations, and made responsible for what was generally labeled "cleansing" the area of "rebel elements." The irregular resistance movements and the still weakly organized Indonesian armed forces were taken by surprise. Armed resistance was low, and Indonesian army units were geographically dispersed or literally decimated. Seventy-six Dutch soldiers died in action, while Indonesian casualties are believed to have been much higher, though figures are impossible to verify. After the First Police Action (as the Dutch assault has come to be called), 70 percent of total rubber plantation acreage in Java and around 60 percent in Sumatra came under Dutch military control.

This military intervention created a backlash in various ways, however. While the Dutch army staff claimed military success, events soon proved them wrong. Within weeks large parts of Java's countryside were again considered unsafe for colonial administrators and those supporting them. Indonesian armed resistance actually heightened in the aftermath of the operation. The First Police Action forced the Indonesian armed forces into what proved to be a successful military strategy: guerrilla warfare.

Faith in a Dutch solution among politically moderate Indonesians broke down after the First Police Action. Leading Indonesians who had formerly supported the creation of a federal state now flocked to the Republican side, eroding further Dutch-backed political initiatives. Ten days after the launching of the operation, India and Australia called for a meeting of the United Nations Security Council to stop the Dutch violence.

Between April and June of 1948 the United Nations again urged the Dutch government to negotiate with the Republic to halt violations of the ceasefire truce by both sides, and to settle disputes over plantations and commercial crop stocks in custody of Republican and irregular resistance movements. A stalemate resulted, paving the way for a second Dutch military intervention, known as the *Second Police Action*, which was launched on December 19, 1948, and lasted until January 15, 1949.

The main objective of this military operation was to liquidate the Republic. The Republican leaders were arrested, and the city of Yogyakarta, the geographic heart and the symbol of the Republic, was occupied by Dutch troops. The number of plantations under Dutch military control was increased, particularly in Central and East Java. Dutch military observers estimated the number of Indonesian soldiers killed at 4,389, but this might be a low guess. Around 100 Dutch soldiers died. The number of civilian casualties and refugees, particularly among the Indonesian rural population, remains unknown altogether—not to mention the material damage inflicted by both armies to towns and villages in rural Java and Sumatra. Despite the apparent Dutch military success, Indonesian political and armed resistance proved by no means broken. Belying General Spoor's assertion that the

elimination of the central government in Yogyakarta would leave the Indonesian army without direction, individual units remained operational. The Indonesians were prepared this time and were able to strike back successfully on occasion, applying scorched-earth tactics. Plantations, oil fields, and vital infrastructure such as roads and bridges were destroyed. Complete Dutch control over plantations in East Java was never achieved. The Second Police Action further boomeranged on another level. Due to the limited effectiveness of both police actions, Dutch planters began to lose faith in the Dutch East Indies federal government and in the Dutch army, coming instead to believe that business had to be conducted with the Republic to safeguard their interests.

Like the First Police Action, the Second Police Action became an international political issue. The U.N. Security Council demanded the release of the Republican leaders and restoration of their government. As a reward for the Republic's anticommunist position—the Indonesian government had crushed a communist uprising in Central Java in September 1948—the United States government threatened to halt its financial aid to the Dutch government, aid intended to rehabilitate the war-devastated economy of homeland and colony.

Obsessed with achieving economic recovery after World War II, yet politically paralyzed, the Dutch government gambled on a military solution in Indonesia. Yet both police actions proved counterproductive to its political objectives. The Dutch army staff underestimated the resilience of the Indonesian armed and unarmed independence movement. Violence stimulated, rather than halted, armed resistance and spurred guerrilla warfare. The two operations evoked protests from several countries in the U.N. Security Council. By the time of the Second Police Action the Dutch Government found its interests overtaken by the U.S. government's Cold War concerns. The international political tide had turned in favor of the Republic, and the Dutch hold over the colony was in collapse. The Dutch government had no other choice but to resume negotiations with the Republican government. As a result, the Van Rooijen-Rum agreement of May 1949 blocked the possibility of a third police action and paved the way for the transfer of sovereignty.

In the decades that followed Indonesian independence several Dutch veterans published their memoirs, yet overall little discussion occurred in the Netherlands about the police actions in particular or about Indonesia's decolonization in general. Considered a deeply traumatic experience, Indonesia's decolonization was a taboo subject. In the late 1960s a few Dutch military veterans testified to having witnessed or committed war crimes in Indonesia, but they were voices crying in the wilderness.

Some believe that the issue was swept under the carpet. More recently, with the "colonial generation" gradually dying out, and with memories of the colonial experience fading, sufficient "distance" has been achieved to reopen the discussion of Indonesia's decolonization. Dutch academic and nonacademic interest in the colonial period in general, and in the police actions in particular, gained momentum in the 1980s. The events meanwhile live on in the collective memory of Indonesians young and old, and in Indonesian schoolbooks, such as *Agressi militer Belanda* (Dutch military aggression). They are remembered both for the human and material losses on the Indonesian side, and for the heroic sacrifice and resistance of those who fought for independence.

SEE ALSO *Indonesian Independence, Struggle for; Linggadjati Agreement.*

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Peter Keppy

DUTCH UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY

On March 20, 1602, the States-General (parliament) of the Dutch Republic granted the Dutch United East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) a trade monopoly to the east of the Cape of Good Hope for a period of twenty-one years. Traders and burghers were given the opportunity to invest capital in this new trading company, and they thus become shareholders of what came to be the world's first multinational company operating in Asia.

The VOC was the outcome of a development that started with Cornelis de Houtman's (1565–1599) first Dutch voyage to Asia in 1595. His trip was followed by fifteen Dutch fleets with a total of sixty-five ships that set sail for Asia before the founding of the VOC. These fleets

VOC Insignia. *The insignia of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) adorns a building in Amsterdam.* © DAVE BARTRUFF/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

were financed by so-called *Voor-Compangieën,* or Early Companies, financed in turn by individual traders from the main Dutch ports of Holland and Zeeland.

During this first period, Dutch shipping surpassed the Portuguese, who were able to send a total of forty-six ships during the same years. The VOC was founded because the Early Companies began to engage in damaging mutual competition in the trade on Asian. In addition, a united company offered a more aggressive military power against the Iberian powers (Spain and Portugal), with whom the Dutch Republic was at war (the Eighty Years' War, 1568–1648).

ORGANIZATION

The port towns that were engaged in trade with the Early Companies were all represented in the new VOC. Its board of directors, called the *Gentlemen XVII,* was made up of the chambers of Amsterdam (eight directors); Zeeland (Middelburg, four directors); and Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen (one director each). Zeeland, or

one of the other towns, sent a seventeenth director so that Amsterdam would never have a majority vote.

The Dutch States-General gave the VOC the authority to sign contracts with sovereign powers in Asia, conclude treaties, erect fortresses, appoint governors, and maintain garrisons wherever necessary. On February 23, 1605, the Portuguese town of Ambon in the Spice Islands (in present-day Indonesia) fell into the hands of Steven van der Haghen (1563–1624), commander of a VOC fleet, and four days later a governor was appointed. This marked the beginning of the VOC's territorial expansion in Asia.

In 1609 the first governor-general (Pieter Both, 1550–1615) was appointed, and during the following years debates raged over the question of where a central overseas government could be permanently established. In 1619, with the conquest of Jaccatra (present day Jakarta), the VOC established its headquarters on Java. The new colonial city Batavia became the center of administration, trade, logistics, politics, and diplomacy. The castle of Batavia was the company's nerve center, where the governor-general and his council met and where hundreds of traders, officials, accountants, and clerks took care of a massive amount of correspondence with numerous VOC governments and factory staff throughout Southeast Asia, Formosa, Japan, China, Siam (Thailand), Burma (Myanmar), India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Yemen, Persia (Iran), and the Cape of Good Hope.

All the information from incoming letters and reports from those Asian factories and governments was summarized in annual general letters *(generale missiven)* to the Gentlemen XVII in the Dutch Republic. Today, the archives of the VOC administration are kept in depositories in The Hague, Jakarta, Colombo, Cape Town, and Chennai.

In 1625 the VOC employed about 4,500 Europeans in Asia. By 1700 around 18,000 personnel worked for the VOC, and in 1750 there were around 24,500 VOC employees throughout Asia. Most of the company servants worked onboard ships and in the larger territories of Batavia and Ceylon, whereas smaller factories only needed a few dozen personnel. The VOC governments in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago (Makasser, Ternate, Ambon, Banda Semarang, Malacca, etc.) needed 500 to 1,000 company servants. Most of the personnel worked as craftsmen, for the military, and in administration, trade, and justice. Some 300 to 500 men were employed as surgeons, church ministers, "visitors of the sick" *(ziekentroosters),* and schoolmasters.

The number of persons who traveled on VOC ships from Europe to Asia was much higher. From 1620 to 1630, the total number of persons on ships that left the

Dutch Republic amounted to 23,700; from 1700 to 1710, the number was 49,600. The peak was reached from 1760 to 1770, when 85,500 persons were brought to Asia by the VOC. From 1602 to 1795, almost one million Europeans reached Asia via VOC ships. Most of them were soldiers and sailors; the number of immigrants was insignificant. Forty percent of the sailors and sixty percent of the soldiers did not come from the Dutch Republic but from other European countries, particularly the German states.

The total number of ships that the VOC had in use reached one hundred around 1650. In 1725 ship numbers reached their peak of 161, with about 108 remaining by 1794. Before 1725, approximately two-thirds of the VOC's ships were traveling in Asian waters; during the rest of the eighteenth century, only one third were in Asia. However, older dilapidated ships remained in Asia, and almost a third of the Dutch ships in Asia were barely seaworthy. In Batavia, old ships were used to transport coral from the coast to the city, where it was burnt for limestone to be used in construction.

All shipbuilding occurred in the Dutch Republic, although Batavia had a large repair facility on the island of Onrust just off the coast. The VOC ordered an average of seventy to ninety ships every decade; the total number of VOC ships built from 1602 to 1795 was approximately 750.

COLONIAL EXPANSION

The relatively low number of ships and men in the enormous space of the Indian Ocean and the China Sea demanded an effective strategy to monopolize certain products, dominate some forms of long-distance trade, and make profits where the Asian and other European competitors could not. The VOC's first aim was to establish a foothold in the Moluccas.

After the conquest of Portuguese Ambon (1605), a contract was concluded with the sultan of Ternate (1607). Control of the ancient clove-producing islands of Ternate and Tidore was contested until 1663, when the Spanish withdrew to Manila. Ternate finally submitted in 1683, when the sultan was forced to sign a new contract and recognize the overlordship of the VOC. In 1621 the VOC conquered the center of nutmeg production, the small group of Banda Islands. The Dutch hastily established a Moluccan spice monopoly to prevent the English from becoming established as well. After several fleet blockades, Portuguese Malacca fell to the Dutch in 1641, but only with the support of the king of Johor. Although Aceh was invited to take part in the conquest, this Muslim kingdom rejected the proposal from Batavia.

Governor-General Jan Pietersz Coen (1587–1629) was an architect of quick colonization schemes, and securing the spice monopoly and Batavia was not enough. His broader plans included control of the China trade with Spanish Manila and Japan. After a failed attempt to settle on Chinese territory (the Pescadore Islands), the VOC built a stronghold (Fort Zeelandia) on Formosa (Taiwan) in 1624. Dutch expansion on tribal Formosa, with its numerous languages and ethnic groups, can be considered a laboratory of early European colonialism in Asia. After experiments with military action, mission posts, tax collection, sugar plantations, and a Chinese labor force, Formosa was finally taken by Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong, 1624–1662), the leader of the South Fuchien trading dynasty and defender of China's Southern Ming court, in 1662.

In South Asia, the VOC successfully undermined Portuguese positions. After settling a bargain with the king of Kandy in the interior of Ceylon in 1638, the Ceylonese (Portuguese) coastal settlements fell one by one: Batticaloa (1638), Trincomalee (1639), Negombo (1640), Galle (temporarily in 1640, finally in 1644), Colombo (1656), and Jaffna and Mannar (1658).

On India's Coromandel Coast the Dutch gained a foothold in Pulicat (Paliacatta) in 1610. From 1690 to 1781, the center of the VOC possession on the Coromandel Coast was Nagapattinam, taken from the Portuguese in 1659. Another Portuguese possession in India that was occupied by the VOC was Cochin (1663) on the Malabar Coast, plus its adjacent towns. The VOC established trading posts in the two main emporia of the Mogul Empire: Surat in the Arabian Sea and Hugli in the Bay of Bengal. One year after the closure of its factory in Aceh in 1615, the VOC opened one in Surat to buy Indian cottons from the Gujarat region. The Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan (1592–1666), forced an end to the Portuguese presence in Hugli, an important export port for silks and opium, in 1632. Four years later, the Dutch received an official *firman* (decree) from the "Great Mughal" for free passage and trade in Bengal.

In the Arabian Sea region, VOC traders (among other Europeans) were welcomed in the Persian port of Gamron and in Esfahan, Persia's center of silk trade. The most important Arabian hub was Al-Mucha (Mocha), a traditional port town with well-established connections over all of the Asian-Arabian trading network, including numerous ports across the Arabian Sea and trading centers along the shores of East Africa, including the slave entrepôt Mombasa in present-day Kenya.

The Cape of Good Hope served as a refreshing station until 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck (1619–1677) established a permanent station to arrange provisions for passing ships. Agrarian production around this

station was insufficient, and during the 1670s the VOC allowed immigrants to open the immediate hinterland. The rural expansion took off at a rapid pace under Governor Simon van der Stel (1639–1712) and lasted until around 1730.

The indigenous hunter-gatherers, the Khoikhoi and the San, where not considered to be subjects of the VOC. The VOC depended on their delivery of cattle, but the expansion of VOC territories severely affected the Khoikhoi and San living space. Immigrant communities settled in Drakensteyn and Stellenbosch, where wineries produced fine wines that could be sold in VOC settlements in Asia. Numerous slaves from Asia and the East African coast made VOC society at the Cape a slave society as well.

THE VOC AS TRADER

The VOC was an organization that depended on the long-distance trade between Asia and Europe and the intra-Asian trade. The VOC's strong points were its logistics, cargo capacity, shipping technology, military power, and modern arsenal, combined with its ability to adapt to local circumstances. VOC commanders realized from the beginning that they would not be able to compete in local and regional trading networks; local trade was simply too competitive. Furthermore, trade items that could be sold over long distances could only be profitable when a monopoly was achieved.

The VOC's first monopolies were its exclusive monopolies on spices in the Moluccas and on pepper in Banten (West Java) and Sumatra (Jambi and Palembang). These spices could be sold for very high prices in Europe, and could be purchased in return for much-needed Indian textiles from Bengal and the Coromandel Coast. Textiles could be bought with precious metals from Europe (imported American silver), Japan, Persia, and Sumatra (Padang). Copper from Japan was also an essential product much in demand in India, in particular for coining. In return, raw silk from China, Bengal, or Persia was sold in Japan, along with spices from the Moluccas. The coastal control of Ceylon provided the VOC with large cinnamon growing areas. Elephants, which were transported with special ships to India, were also an important export item from Ceylon.

During the eighteenth century, in particular under growing pressure from English (country) traders and the English East India Company, the VOC gradually lost its position of preeminence. New products like coffee, Chinese tea (from Canton), and Indian textiles became popular in Europe. Maintaining the profitable spice trade, which had long been fundamental to the VOC, was not enough.

Other reasons—besides growing competition—for the decline of the VOC was a lack of good management within the Dutch Republic and the corruption of many higher officials stationed in Asia. When the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784) broke out, it took the directors two months to hold a meeting and discuss measures. Failing entrepreneurship and the loss of ships and capital transformed the VOC into a major debtor of the states of Holland. The enterprise did not recover during the 1780s and 1790s, and when French troops entered the Dutch Republic in 1795, the British sent naval squadrons to take over the Dutch possessions in Asia.

THE VOC AS LANDLORD

Apart from its numerous trading factories, fortresses, and outposts, the VOC also controlled extensive hinterland territories and some islands, mainly for the production of fine spices, sugar, coffee, and cinnamon. After their conquest in 1621, the five Banda Islands were transformed into a plantation economy run by slaves. More than sixty plantations were kept by private owners *(perkeniers)* who were obliged to deliver a certain amount of nutmeg and mace to the VOC at fixed prices. The government of Banda, residing in the fortress of Belgica on Banda-Neira, was responsible for the shipment of great quantities of nutmeg and mace. By 1750 most of the planters were nearly bankrupt. Low, fixed prices offered by the VOC, volcanic eruptions, bad harvests, and runaway slaves had brought them into debt.

The governor of Ambon controlled the planting and management of clove trees. As such, he acted more as a landlord than as an official of a maritime enterprise. The entire clove production of about one million pounds around 1700 was concentrated on the islands of Ambon Lease. Detailed records were kept of the number of productive and young trees in the gardens of the villagers across the islands. The original clove production areas in the north Moluccas—Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan—were subject to an eradication policy led by the governors of Ternate. The sultans of these islands were often in conflict with each other, which explains why the VOC could exercise a policy of divide-and-rule, forcing in particular the sultan of Ternate to cooperate in the campaigns to cut down clove trees in the region.

On Java, the VOC closely monitored Batavia's sugar industry, which entered a sudden boom in the 1680s. With the pacification of the neighboring sultanate of Banten, and contracts with the regencies of Cirebon on the other side of Batavia territory (1681 and 1705), a large hinterland was opened up. Sugar was mainly used as ballast in returning ships, and was sold in Surat, Persia, and Europe. A second boom occurred with coffee, which

JAN VAN RIEBEECK

Jan (Anthoniszoon) van Riebeeck (1619–1677) is credited with opening South Africa to white settlement. The son of a Dutch surgeon, he grew up in Schiedam, and married Maria de la Quellerie in 1649. Van Riebeeck joined the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) as an assistant surgeon and served in Batavia (now Jakarta, Indonesia) in 1639, then in Japan. In 1645 he managed a company trading-station in Indochina (in what is now Vietnam), but was dismissed for disobeying the company's strict rule against private trading.

In 1647 a VOC ship ran aground in Table Bay, a rocky area a few miles south of what is now Cape Town. Stranded on the Cape peninsula for a year, the Dutch crew built shelters, grew food, and established trade with the indigenous Khoikhoi, or Hottentots. Following this incident, the VOC voted to establish a provisioning station on the Cape to service ships undertaking the arduous voyage to the East Indies.

Van Riebeeck became commander of the Cape in June of 1651. Aboard his flagship *Drommedaris* and accompanied by four other ships, he reached Table Bay on April 6, 1652. Surviving the voyage were 90 adults, including van Riebeeck's wife; 130 persons had perished at sea.

Along with establishing a settlement, Van Riebeeck was charged with erecting a flagpole to signal ships; providing escort ships; and constructing a fort to protect settlers and warehouse food, water, and other provisions.

In addition to relying on stored foodstuffs, the group grew grain, vegetables, and fruits, and obtained cattle by trading with the Khoikhoi.

Although work on the Fort of Good Hope (Fort de Goede Hoop) began slowly, increasing numbers of ships were soon setting anchor at Cape Town (Kaapstad or De Kaap), as the settlement was called. A pier was built on the bay, and businesses and a hospital were established. Beginning in 1655 Van Riebeeck petitioned the VOC to allow Dutch citizens to farm, trade, and aid in the defense of the Cape settlement. In early 1657 the first permits were issued to allow private farms in the Cape area.

Growth brought problems, however, as the demand for laborers increased. In 1657 Van Riebeeck began importing slaves from Sumatra and Madagascar. He also encouraged exploration of the South African interior. As the Dutch settlement expanded northward, the Khoikhoi resisted forced evictions from their lands; after a failed uprising in 1659, however, they were pushed northward. When Van Riebeeck left the Cape in 1662 the settlement was home to 134 company officials, 35 "free burghers," 15 women, 22 children, and 180 slaves. Four years later the VOC decided to establish a permanent colony on the Cape.

From the Cape, Van Riebeeck moved to Malacca, in Malaysia, where his wife died in 1664. Appointed secretary to the Council of India the following year, he died in Batavia in 1677. His journal was published posthumously, appearing in both Dutch and English.

was introduced in the mountainous Cirebon-Priangan lands of West Java in the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Ceylon became a third major production area for the VOC. Ceylon's jungle hinterlands (later turned into gardens) of Colombo, Galle, and Negombo were exploited for cinnamon collection. The harvesting and the peeling of the bark of the cinnamon tree were done by low-caste Chalia (or Salagama) laborers. Many other castes were used for the transportation of the product to the coast.

The extensive use of certain castes and subcastes in cinnamon production resulted in changes to the social stratification of coastal Sri Lankan society during the 158 years of Dutch presence. These changes are still reflected in the so-called *tombos*, traditional land rolls that had been used by the Portuguese and were carefully kept and revised under VOC administration in Ceylon. The kingdom of Kandy kept possession of only one port, Puttalam, although access to that port was controlled by the VOC fortress at Kalpitiya. Combined with the strict prohibitions on the export of cinnamon, VOC exploitation of coastal Ceylon also had a negative effect on society, as the monopolization of cinnamon production curtailed the activity of the rural people.

CULTURE, RELIGION, AND SCIENCE

The VOC's presence in Asia was more than a commercial, political, and military encounter. The VOC also had
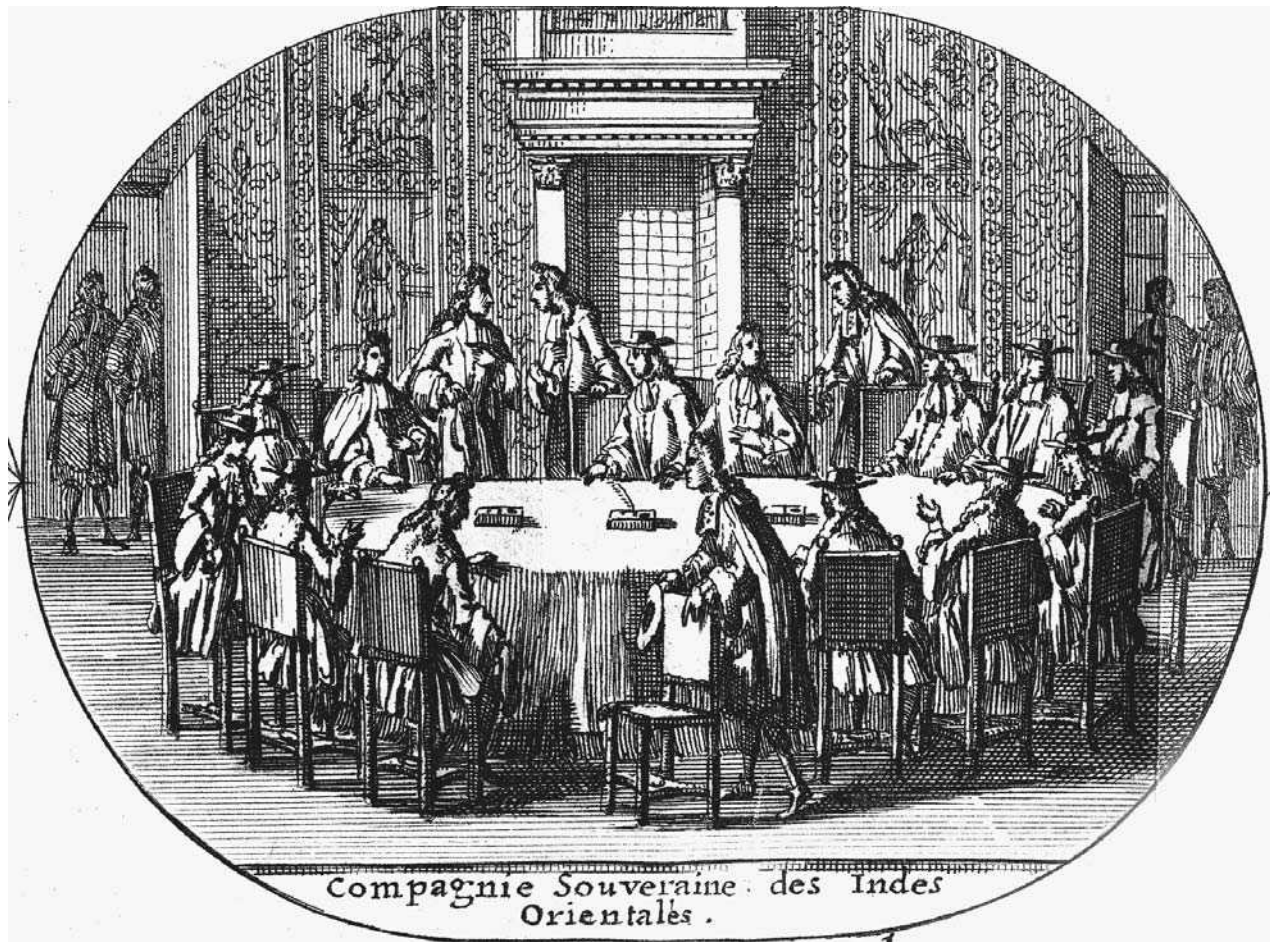
The Governor-General Meets the VOC Council in Batavia. *This early eighteenth-century engraving depicts a meeting in Batavia (now Jakarta) between the governor-general of the Dutch East India Company and members of his council.* ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

a cultural, religious, and scientific impact on the region. Europeans who settled in Asia, in particular in large towns like Batavia, Colombo, and Malacca, quickly adapted to Asian lifestyles, habits, and material culture. Asian dress, the use of many servants, the consumption of betel, and the purchase of large quantities of Asian furniture, porcelain, and other household goods characterized the lives of Europeans and mestizos in VOC settlements. Thousands of testaments and household inventories kept in the national archives in Jakarta bare witness to Asian influences on European lifestyles and culture.

From the beginning, the VOC attended to the religious needs of its servants by sending Dutch Reformed ministers and "visitors of the sick," who comforted sick people and acted as catechists. In its port towns and territories, the VOC actively promoted Protestantism among the non-Muslim population. Between 1602 and

1799 the VOC employed some 650 ministers, 2,000 visitors of the sick, and even more Asian schoolmasters for the overseas churches of Ceylon, the Moluccas, the Cape of Good Hope settlements, Malacca, Batavia, Semarang, Formosa, and India.

A network of consistories (church councils) corresponded with the central church council in Batavia, which corresponded with the synods and regional classes in the Dutch Republic. Protestant mission work often required the study of several Asian languages, such as Malay, local Moluccan languages, Formosan-Sinkiang, Sinhalese, and Tamil. Noteworthy is the vocabulary, or Dutch-Malay dictionary, prepared by Caspar Wiltens and Sebastianus Danckaerts (1623); George Hendrik Werndly's Malay grammar and the first bibliography of Malay books by Europeans and indigenous authors (1736); and the translations of the Bible into Malay by Melchior Leydekker and Petrus van der Vorm (the New

Testament in 1731, the Old Testament in 1733). Johan Maurits Mohr and Herman Petrus van de Werth published this Malay Bible in Arabic script in 1758.

Natural sciences and the making of cabinets of curiosities proliferated throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to emphasize the exceptional, the rare, and the marvelous, attempting to encompass the results both of God's creation (nature) and of man's (art). These fields also received serious attention from the VOC. Already in the early seventeenth century, samples of plants and animals were sent to the University of Leiden in the Netherlands.

One of the great tropical naturalists of the seventeenth century was Georgius Everhardus Rumphius (Georg Eberhard Rumpf, 1627–1702), who is considered the founder of Indonesian botanical exploration. Rumphius was a VOC merchant who spent almost fifty years on Ambon collecting plants, precious stones, shells, sea animals, and all sorts of natural curiosities. Also known as the "Indian Pliny," after the Roman natural historian, Rumphius faced severe difficulties during his life. In 1670 he became blind; in 1674 he lost his wife and youngest daughter during an earthquake; in 1687 many of his manuscripts and drawings on natural history were lost in a fire in Ambon; and in 1692 the manuscript of his *Het Amboinse Kruid-boek* (The Ambonese Herbal) sank to the bottom of the Indian Ocean with the returning ship the *Waterland*. Thanks to the devoted support of governors-general, assistants, and his own strong will, the six volumes of his *Herbarium Amboinense,* a natural history of Ambon, were printed in Dutch and Latin in Amsterdam between 1741 and 1755.

Although Rumphius began collecting curiosities after collecting plants for his herbaria, his *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer* was already published in 1705. Almost three hundred years after Rumphius's death, this work was published in English by E. M. Beekman as *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet* (1999). Rumphius's earliest work, *De Generael Lant-Beschrijvinge van het Ambonse Gouvernement* (A General Geographical Description of the Government of Ambon), was not published until 2001. François Valentyn (1656–1727), in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1724–1726), or the Ancient and New East Indies, made extensive use of Rumphius's discoveries on flora and tropical marine life. Another important work on exotic flora in Asia is Hendrik A. van Reede tot Drakenstein's (1636/7–1691) *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, or Garden of India of Malabar, written between 1678 and 1693.

On April 24, 1778, a group of senior VOC officials, lay scholars, reverends, and burghers founded the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences). Evangelization, geographical sketches, the study of medicine and tropical illnesses, languages, natural history, agriculture, botany, and astronomy were among the many topics discussed by its members, who published their findings in the society's *Verhandelingen* (Treatise). The society's enormous collection of books and drawings are kept in the national library in Jakarta.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Dutch.*

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Hendrik E. Niemeijer

DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY

The Dutch were late entrants in the Atlantic. Only in the late sixteenth century did Dutch merchants become involved in shipping and trade between Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Within less than two decades, however, the Dutch were important players in the Atlantic. In several towns in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, merchants had established small companies for the gold and ivory trade with West Africa and the fur trade with North America. Private ship owners sent their vessels to the coasts of South America and the Caribbean islands in search of dyewood and salt. As the Atlantic commerce expanded, the small trading companies and private ship owners were vulnerable to the hostility of Spain and Portugal.
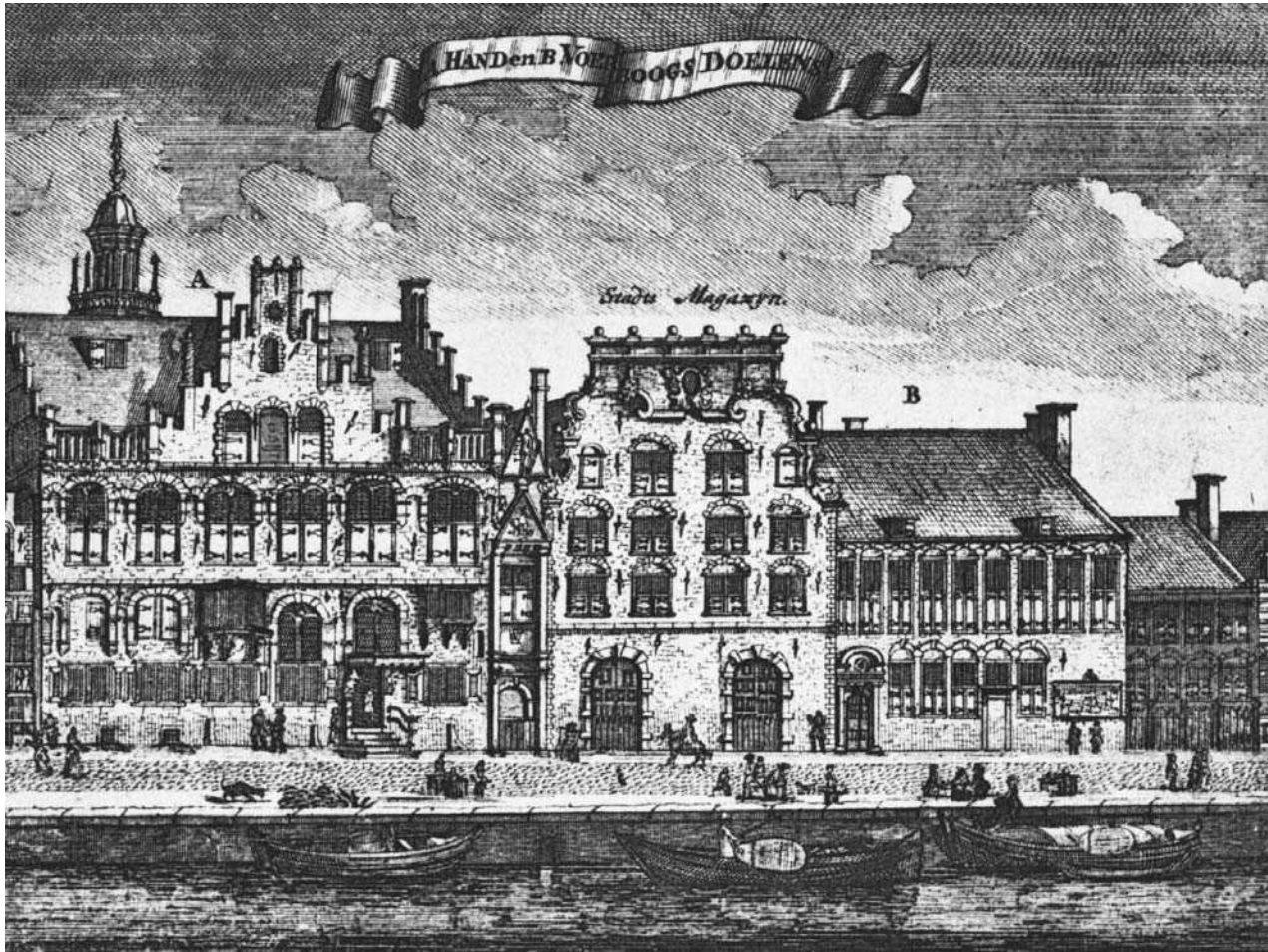
The West India Company's House in Amsterdam. *This illustration, published in 1693, shows the offices of the Dutch West India Company on the Cingel (or Singel) canal in Amsterdam, Netherlands.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

On the other hand, stiff competition between merchants was eroding profits at home. In an effort to avoid the decline of the trade, the States of Holland started negotiations designed to achieve collaboration instead of competition. At first, commercial rivalry between the provinces of Holland and Zeeland prevented plans to establish a West India Company to conduct trade with Africa and the Americas. However, during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621), new plans were made, and after a long debate, the Dutch West India Company (WIC) was finally constituted by the Dutch States-General (parliament) on June 3, 1621.

ORGANIZATION

According to its charter, the Dutch West India Company held a monopoly in shipping and trade in a territory that included Africa south of the Tropic of Cancer, all of America, and the Atlantic and Pacific islands between the two meridians drawn across the Cape of Good Hope and the eastern extremities of New Guinea. Within this territory the States-General authorized the WIC to set up colonies, to sign treaties with local rulers, to erect fortresses, and to wage war against enemies if necessary.

Like the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC), the WIC was based on shareholders' capital, which was initially 7.1 million guilders. The company had a federal structure with five chambers: Amsterdam, Zeeland, Rotterdam, West-Friesland, and Groningen. While each chamber was run by its own directors, company policy was set by a central board of directors known as the Heeren XIX (the nineteen gentlemen). Directors of the chambers appointed representatives for each meeting of the Heeren XIX, and the composition of the board reflected the value of capital invested by the chambers. Meetings of the Heeren XIX were held two or three times per year to plan the outfitting of war fleets and merchantmen, to fix the value of cargoes, and to

oversee the company's financial state, on which the payment of dividends to the shareholders was based.

ACTIVITIES

While the main objective of the WIC was to establish and defend a commercial network in the Atlantic, in practice it spent more money on privateering and war against Spain and Portugal. In 1623 the Heeren XIX developed strategies, the so-called grand design, to damage Spanish and Portuguese interests in the Atlantic and take control wherever possible. The defenses of the Spanish colonies were too strong to risk attack, but intensive privateering in the Caribbean was a good alternative. Between 1623 and 1636, the WIC captured or destroyed 547 enemy ships, including the legendary conquest of a Spanish silver fleet in 1628 by Admiral Piet Heyn (1577–1629).

Portuguese possessions in South America and West Africa, on the other hand, were less well defended, and the company's directors and the States-General agreed on a "grand design" that encompassed the conquest of Salvador, an important center of sugar cultivation in Portuguese Brazil; Luanda in Angola, the most important slave-trade station in Africa; and the Portuguese stronghold São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) on the Gold Coast. The first attempt to achieve these goals failed. From 1623 to 1625 several war fleets left the Dutch Republic to attack Portuguese colonies and settlements in the Atlantic, but none of these attacks succeeded.

In 1630 the company launched a second "grand design" that was more successful. Between 1630 and 1654, the company occupied the northern provinces of Brazil. Especially under count Johan Maurits van Nassau (1604–1679), governor of Dutch Brazil from 1636 till 1644, the export of sugar and dyewood reached a peak. During his governorship, about 28 million guilders worth of Brazilian products were shipped to the Netherlands.

The increasing demand for slaves in Brazil also spurred the Dutch to try once more to capture Luanda. In 1641 Admiral Cornelis Jol (1599–1641) left Recife with a fleet of twenty-one ships and a military force of 2,100 men for Africa. Jol captured not only Luanda but also the sugar-growing island of São Tomé. The WIC failed to take full control of these African territories, however, and lost them in 1648. In Brazil, military defeat was also at hand. After Johan Maurits left the colony, a rebellion of Portuguese planters ended the period of prosperity, finally leading to the capitulation of the Dutch in Brazil in 1654.

The WIC was more successful in capturing the Portuguese forts and factories on the Gold Coast from 1637 to 1642. These possessions, which remained Dutch until 1872, made it possible to control the Guinea trade for a long period. Between 1623 and 1674, the company shipped more than 320,000 ounces of gold and an unknown quantity of ivory, wax, and other tropical products to the Dutch Republic.

In addition to privateering, war, and commerce, the WIC colonized parts of the Guyana coast and a few Caribbean islands. The plantation colonies on the Guyana coast remained small until the end of the seventeenth century. In the Caribbean, the most important colony was Curaçao, which was occupied by the WIC in 1634. Initially the island was used as a naval base, but from the 1650s it served as an important depot for the commodity trade and the slave trade with the Spanish mainland colonies. Between 1630 and 1674, the WIC shipped approximately 84,000 slaves from Africa to Brazil, the settlements in Guyana, and Curaçao.

The drive for colonies and the long years of war against Spain and Portugal, however, had exhausted the WIC's capital and brought it close to bankruptcy. From the 1650s the WIC was haunted by financial problems that made it almost impossible to invest in a solid trading network in the Atlantic. When several plans to reform the company failed, the States-General finally decided to dissolve the WIC in September 1674.

THE SECOND WEST INDIA COMPANY

The States-General, however, were convinced that the Dutch Republic's interests in the Atlantic were best served by a chartered company, so it decided to establish a new WIC on the very day the old one disappeared. At first sight, the transformation from the old to the new company seemed little more than a debt redemption program with some minor organizational adjustments. Nevertheless, there were significant differences between the two companies. The old company was not only a trading organization and administrator of Dutch colonies, but also an instrument of war against Spain and Portugal. The second WIC, on the other hand, was primarily a commercial organization interested in the commodity trade with West Africa and the transatlantic slave trade.

Among the Dutch colonies in the company's territory, Suriname was most important, but the directors had little control over it. From 1683 the colony was owned by the Suriname Corporation (Sociëteit van Suriname), in which three parties participated: the WIC, the city of Amsterdam, and Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck (1637–1688). Sommelsdijck was a descendant of a Dutch aristocratic family. Thanks to his share in the chartered Sociëteit van Suriname, he would be the first governor of the colony under the new arrangement. To the west of Suriname, there were three smaller Dutch

plantation colonies on the banks of the rivers Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, of which the first mentioned was owned by a shareholders company.

The slave trade to the Guyana colonies and Caribbean islands, however, remained under company control until the 1730s. Between 1674 and 1739, the WIC shipped approximately 187,000 slaves from Africa to the colonies in the west. Not only the transatlantic slave trade, but also the commodity trade with West Africa, was an important source of income for the company. It exported more than half a million ounces of gold and approximately three million pounds of ivory from the Gold Coast between 1676 and 1731. But in 1730 the monopoly was partly lifted by the States-General and in 1734 totally abandoned. During the 1730s the company competed with private merchants. Finally, however, the directors decided to stop the transatlantic slave trade and to minimize the commodity trade with West Africa.

Even when the company withdrew from active participation in trade, it continued to play the role of intermediary and protector for private Dutch trade in the Atlantic region. The WIC was an extension of the strongly decentralized Dutch government. With its limited powers, it carried out administrative and defense functions needed to keep the colonies afloat, and many private individuals benefited in the process. In 1791, when the decentralized Dutch Republic also was at the point of disintegration, the WIC was eliminated. Soon thereafter, its "big brother" in Asia, the VOC, met the same fate. The properties of the two large trading companies became colonies of the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO *Colonization and Companies; Mercantilism.*

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Henk den Heijer

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EAST ASIA, AMERICAN PRESENCE IN

Having gained independence from Great Britain in 1783, the new United States looked to Asia for new markets for trade. The American merchant ship *Empress of China* left New York on February 22, 1784, carrying mostly ginseng, a root that grew wild in the Hudson River Valley and that the Chinese highly prized for medicine. Reaching Canton (Guangzhou) on August 28, 1784, the *Empress* returned to the United States with a cargo of tea, silk, and porcelain, realizing a substantial profit from the venture and contributing to the rapid growth of port cities such as Providence, Salem, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

Thereafter, merchant ships carrying cotton from the South and furs from the Pacific Northwest sailed to China, and by the 1840s some New England whaling ships were operating in the North Pacific. The 1844 Sino-American Treaty of Wangxia greatly expanded trade between China and the United States, and the technological superiority of American "clipper ships" led to a brief period of U.S. dominance in the China trade. Opposition at home to preferential governmental treatment of China's trade interests, combined with the greater lure of more proximate and more certain markets, meant that the United States was only a minor player in the China market until the turn of the century.

The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in California in 1848, combined with territorial continental conquest, led to great interest in Japan and China as ports and markets. In the mid-1850s, Commodore Matthew Perry (1794–1858) sailed to Japan with a small fleet of warships, and persuaded the Japanese to sign a treaty with the United States, ending Japan's two centuries of self-imposed isolation, and obtaining coaling and naval stations for the United States. More Americans followed—some merchants, many Protestant missionaries seeking to convert East Asians, and sailors and soldiers to protect these merchants and missionaries. For the most part, however, Americans were content to follow where Britain led. A severe economic depression in the 1890s sharpened the search for markets, and victory in the Spanish-American War (1898) brought the United States the building blocks of an empire in the Pacific—the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Samoa, Midway, Guam, and Wake Island.

At the same time, the United States dealt carefully with Japan. The Meiji Restoration (1868) propelled Japan from feudalism into modernity. Japan subsequently defeated China in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), seized Taiwan and the nearby Pescadores in 1895, and then defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), gaining control over Korea and the Liaotung Peninsula in Manchuria, a region in northeastern China. The strength of the Japanese Navy, along with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, an agreement signed with Britain in 1902, led the United States to consider holding on to the Philippines in case a war with Japan broke out.

The Filipino Insurrection that followed the 1898 Spanish-American War proved difficult to contain, and Japan could easily interdict American communications with the distant islands. Tensions were eased by the Taft-Katsura Agreement (1905), in which the United States recognized Japan's control of Korea in return for recognition of U.S. influence in the Philippines, and the Root-Takahira Agreement (1908), in which the two countries

THE BOXERS.

UNCLE SAM (*to the obstreperous Boxer*). "I occasionally do a little boxing myself."

Uncle Sam Meets the Boxer. *This cartoon by William A. Rogers appeared in* Harper's Weekly *in June 1900. In Rogers's drawing, Uncle Sam dons boxing gloves in the form of battleships, and challenges a caricatured Chinese man to a match. The cartoon advocates a forceful military response to the Boxer Uprising.* © BETTMAN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

agreed to respect each other's territories in the Pacific and to honor the open-door policy toward China.

By the time of World War I (1914–1918), the United States considered itself a friend and even a protector of China. Some years earlier, during the "scramble for China," U.S. Secretary of State John Hay (1838–1905) had issued the "Open Door Notes," calling for equal access to China's markets and the preservation of China's territorial integrity and political sovereignty. In addition, the United States returned most of the onerous indemnity that China had been forced to pay the imperial powers after the antiforeigner Boxer Rebellion (1900), though the agreement stipulated the use of the money for bringing Chinese students to American colleges and universities. When Japan forced the Twenty-One Demands on China in January 1915, designed to secure Japanese control over China, the U.S. government helped China avoid acquiescing in what would have been a virtual loss of sovereignty.

The decade of the 1920s was one of lost opportunity. The United States took the lead in internationalizing the open-door system with the Washington Naval Conference (1921–1922), officially known as the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, attended by representatives from nine countries: the United States, Japan, China, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Portugal. The conference led to the signing of three treaties in 1922. The Nine-Power Treaty guaranteed respect for China's territorial and administrative independence, the centerpiece of the Open Door Notes of 1899 and 1900. The Four-Power Treaty, signed by the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and France, helped prevent an extension of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, and its signatories agreed to respect one another's rights regarding their holdings in the Pacific. The Five-Power Treaty, signed by the United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, and Italy, led to a ten-year moratorium on battleship and aircraft production; to further assuage Japan, the United States and Britain agreed not to fortify territory in the Pacific west of the Hawaiian Islands and north of Singapore. The Nine-Power Treaty also guaranteed China's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and it accepted the American idea of an "open door" for trade. In effect, these treaties sought to create a framework for a more peaceful and hence more profitable exploitation of China and the Chinese people.

Japanese and Chinese nationalism competed to fill the resulting vacuum. America's Republican presidents of the 1920s largely avoided foreign entanglements outside of the Caribbean region, and they certainly did not wish to take the lead in the complicated politics of East Asia. In September 1931 Japanese army officers manufactured the Mukden Incident, and within a year Japan had seized control of Manchuria. Throughout the remainder of the 1930s, Japan continued to seize more and more of China. While presidents Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) and Franklin Roosevelt (1882–1945) did not approve of such naked aggression, they felt largely powerless to intervene, given the Great Depression of the 1930s and, later, America's preoccupation with events in Europe.

World War II (1939–1945) changed America's role in East Asia. Japan, Germany, and Italy signed an alliance, and Germany plunged a wider world into war after September 1939. In the spring of 1940, as German forces seized control of Western Europe, the fate of European empires in Asia and the Pacific hung in the balance. When Japan moved to seize these resource-rich areas to help it win the long conflict in China, the United States confronted Japan, and in December 1941 entered the war after the surprise bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. For nearly six months, Japan enjoyed great success, gaining a vast empire in the southwest Pacific and Southeast Asia. However, American productivity in industries converted to military purposes, along with Japan's strategic mistakes, resulted in Japan's overwhelming defeat and surrender in August 1945.

When the war ended, the United States had defeated Japan, and U.S. armed forces accepted the Japanese surrender in the Pacific and in southern Korea. U.S. Marines helped Chinese Nationalist armies repatriate Japanese troops in northern China. And the U.S. government acquiesced in allowing Britain, France, and the Netherlands to regain colonies that had been temporarily held by Japan.

From 1945 to 1954, France engaged in a long, drawn-out, and ultimately unsuccessful colonial war in Indochina, dragging in the United States. The United States seemingly had extricated itself from the Chinese civil war when, in June 1950, the outbreak of war in Korea brought the United States and the People's Republic of China into armed conflict. Leftover issues from these long-ago conflicts, including the status of Taiwan and tense relations between the two regimes in Korea, continue to bedevil American foreign policy and America's presence in East Asia.

SEE ALSO *China, Foreign Trade; Empire, United States; Open Door Policy.*

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EAST ASIA, EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN

From as far back as the first few centuries of the Christian era, a long tradition of contacts connected Europe with East Asia (the region comprised of China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan). During the whole history of these contacts, first established by Christian emissaries from the West, the region never experienced formal incorporation into a colonial Western empire. Only two colonial port cities (Macao, 1557–1999; Hong Kong, 1841–1997), some imperial leaseholds dating to the late nineteenth century, and the south of Taiwan around the Dutch Fort Zeelandia (1624–1662) can be regarded as colonial property. Nevertheless, the impact of imperialism on East Asia should not be underestimated. In general terms, the history of the European presence in Asia can be divided into seven periods:

1. A preliminary period in the Middle Ages during which Europeans first established a toehold in Asia, only to be expelled

2. An era during which Europe reestablished their presence in Asia

3. The era of the Canton System, lasting until the First Opium War

4. The era of the Treaty System, established by the outcome of the Opium Wars

5. The first era of Western informal empire, lasting until World War I

6. A second era of informal empire between the World Wars, during which the sole dominating Western powers were Great Britain and the United States

7. And, finally, the era of emancipation following World War II

During the successive phases of increasing Western influence, a wide range of colonial presences emerged, shaped by the specific circumstances of the various Asian cultures.

THE MIDDLE AGES

European contacts with Asia during the Middle Ages were restricted to the Chinese empire; Japan, Korea, and Taiwan were only known by hearsay to European visitors and remained out of reach. The voyage of the Venetian Marco Polo (1271–1295) is the most famous due to its literary legacy, but Italian merchants frequently visited Central Asia and China and founded temporary merchant colonies. Furthermore, medieval missionaries undertook travels to the Far East, where they succeeded in producing some converts among the Mongolian population, but made hardly any headway among the Chinese. Following a dynastic change in fourteenth-century China (from the Yuan to the Ming dynasty), European foreigners were no longer welcome. In 1371 the last European merchant was expelled; at the same time, the first phase of Christian missionizing came to an end. Not until the sixteenth century did Europeans return to the Far East.

Congress of the Toilers of the Far East. *Representatives from China, Korea, Japan, and Mongolia pose for a photograph during the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East, a meeting of Communists held in Moscow in early 1922.* © **HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

THE ERA OF EUROPEAN REESTABLISHMENT

The era during which European powers reestablished themselves in Asia was characterized by the primacy of trading interests on the European side and by a balance of power that allowed East Asian sovereigns to dictate terms. Contact with China was renewed during the sixteenth century, an era of rapid European maritime expansion. In 1513 Portuguese seafarers approached the Chinese coast. After establishing a merchant colony in India and conquering Malacca, the Portuguese reached Canton in 1517. Initial contacts failed because the Portuguese refused to accept the Ming emperor's demand that they acknowledge him as their superior and render tributes. But because trading connections were too mutually lucrative to abandon entirely, a flourishing black market developed in Southern China. In 1557 the Portuguese were officially given permission to establish a settlement on the Macao peninsula under Chinese suzerainty. In 1680 a treaty guaranteed the settlement the status of a Portuguese colony. Macao became in effect a

Portuguese-controlled city, though the territory was held under a lease arrangement; payments continued to be made to the Chinese until 1887. Macao became the launching pad for a new, largely Jesuit mission to China. It also became the center of a thriving trade with Japan, in large part because the Chinese population was prohibited from engaging in maritime trade.

In Japan, the Portuguese were able to act as the sole middlemen in the trade between Japan and other countries, due to their presence in Macao and, from 1544, the Japanese port city Nagasaki. In addition, Jesuits began entering Japan in 1549, and by 1569 were settling in Nagasaki. Temporarily, the Christian mission was quite successful; at its peak, there were around 200 churches and 150,000 baptized Japanese. In 1587, however, a wave of bloody persecutions put an end to the proselytizing. In 1609 Christianity was forbidden by Japan, and in 1613 the last missionaries dispersed. Simultaneously, the Portuguese trade with Japan came to an end, due not least to the loss of the Jesuit middlemen and their

singular knowledge of the commercial and political situation.

Throughout East Asia, the initial presence of the western European chartered companies—of which the foremost were the English East India Company (EIC) and the Dutch United East India Company (the Verenigde Ostindische Compagnie, or VOC)—was limited to several restrictively defined and strongly regulated enclaves. Only on Taiwan did the Dutch succeed temporarily in establishing colonial supremacy (1624–1662) in cooperation with a local pirate prince. The VOC benefited from the demise of Ming power in areas at the periphery of the Chinese empire. The end of the dynasty in continental China and the exodus of its last vassals to Taiwan forced the company to surrender its fort, Zeelandia, and to withdraw from the island. During their short period of regional prominence, the Dutch not only held a favorable position within the Chinese-Japanese trade, they also undertook efforts in sugar cultivation, as well as in coal and sulfur mining.

Korea remained on the periphery of European attention to East Asia during this and the following era. The Western presence there consisted only of a few dispersed Dutch seafarers who ran ashore and remained for several years during the seventeenth century, becoming somewhat well integrated and respected as military and administrative specialists. With the exception of a few fleeting maritime encounters in 1604, Great Britain did not establish contact with Korea until 1797, when the first merchant ships and navy units began arriving on the Korean coast.

THE CANTON SYSTEM

During the era of the Canton System, European access to East Asian markets became both greater and more predictable, though it was nonetheless still limited and state-controlled. As a result, beginning in the eighteenth century the EIC was able to build up trading contacts, especially in the tea trade. The company's efforts focused on the port city of Canton, where the best-funded merchant partners were situated. Europeans had no possibility of direct contact with the producers of in-demand commodities. They remained restricted to Canton (and before 1757 to a few other port cities), under the control of the Chinese bureaucracy and reliant on intermediaries who served as their contacts to Chinese merchants. In 1760 a great number of older prescriptions were bundled into the Canton System, which was based on a dual monopoly. Only the chartered companies and, on the Chinese side, Hong merchants—wealthy and well-established commercial dynasties based in Canton—had permission to maintain the transcultural trade. Trading company agents were only allowed access to a restrictively

limited area outside the city walls (the "Thirteen Factories" zone), where their trading partners ran factories and shops. The system was obligatory for all European nations and, between 1757 and 1842, limited all European trading activities to Canton. Economic success made those limitations acceptable to the European merchant empires. Nonetheless, Europeans tried to ensure and improve their position by sending official delegations to petition the emperor. Numerous Portuguese, Dutch, and English delegations visited the Chinese court before the Opium Wars. The emperor regarded them as tribute missions and ignored their diplomatic concerns. Thus, they remained without real political influence until the first half of the nineteenth century; in part, they were actually counterproductive due to the contradictory understandings of their function.

After the trading companies, missionaries played the most remarkable role in building a European presence in East Asia during the early modern period—above all the Jesuits, who were able to establish themselves as advisers to the Chinese emperor and various mandarins and as scholars of the Asian sciences. Whereas in Japan proselytizing efforts fell victim to interior power struggles, in China, Christian missionaries were allowed to remain until the first half of the nineteenth century, although they were more or less isolated and developed only limited influence.

In Japan, the Dutch were the single European nation with permission to maintain commercial contacts. The Japanese imposed a more restrictive version of the Chinese Canton System on the Dutch, whose trading company was limited to a single enclave, Deshima, a man-made island located in Nagasaki's harbor. Trade with Japan was only possible via official middlemen, and access to the country was granted only during institutionalized tribute missions. The VOC was expected to send an annual delegation to the emperor's court in Edo in order to fulfill a ritualized ceremony of subjugation.

THE TREATY SYSTEM

The era of the Treaty System saw a fundamental change in the European situation. After the Chinese defeat during the first Opium War (1839–1842) and the enforced opening of port cities, the balance of power shifted in favor of the Western powers, which gained privileged access to East Asian states and markets. In China, a number of factors—the slow collapse of the Manchu dynasty in Beijing, a new phase of accelerated British expansion, the erosion of the Canton System, Britain's strong interest in the opium trade as a means to improve its balance of payment, and China's efforts to prohibit the consumption of opium—together caused a change in

the British China policy from diplomacy to military intervention. Concerted naval campaigns forced the Chinese emperor to accept a number of unequal treaties, starting with the Treaty of Nanking (August 29, 1842). This treaty guaranteed British rights to the colonial property of Hong Kong (occupied by British forces since January 20, 1841), required the opening of the most important port cities (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, Shanghai), and granted several local privileges, such as political autonomy and tax sovereignty. The result was not territorial conquest but an extensive change in the institutional framework governing relations between China and Britain. Soon, comparable treaties with the United States (July 3, 1844), France (October 24, 1844), and Sweden (March 20, 1847) followed. During the second Opium War (1856–1860), ten further ports were opened by unequal treaties, two of them on Taiwan (Taiwanfu in the southwest, Danshui in the northeast). The treaties fixed uniform and moderate tariffs on exports and imports that were not to be increased afterward. European subjects enjoyed the status of extraterritoriality and were only responsible to the jurisdiction of their consuls. Above all, the treaty ports served as bridgeheads for the penetration of the Chinese market. The maritime customs register of 1892 lists 579 foreign enterprises in these ports, mainly based in Hong Kong and Shanghai. Within the cities, traders were able to acquire concessions giving them the right to erect commercial structures and residences. The scope of these concessions was continuously growing; in larger towns like Shanghai, multiple concessions to various nations were soon in effect.

One further consequence of the treaties was a completely new situation for the Christian missions. The mission societies, which now included Protestant organizations, were protected by several European powers and only under extraterritorial jurisdiction. Moreover, all newly baptized Chinese Christians were granted this same status.

THE FIRST ERA OF WESTERN INFORMAL EMPIRE

At the end of the nineteenth century, the European presence in East Asia entered a new phase, during which privileged market access was transformed into political, military, and economic dominance. In China, leaseholds ceded in 1898 gave European powers the right of independent territorial administration. The first leasehold of this kind was the German territory around Tsingtao (Kiaochow Bay, in the province of Shantung), which was leased for ninety-nine years (though it was captured by Japanese forces in 1914). Germany was followed by Russia (Liaotung Peninsula), Britain (the New Territories of Hong Kong and Weihaiwei Port in Shantung), and

France (Kuangchou-wan Port, opposite Hainan). More than the earlier settlements, these properties had a military character, because they served as naval bases as well as merchant centers and nuclear European settlements. But economic factors remained most important as the lure of railway and mining concessions brought new European capital to China.

The psychosocial repercussions of Chinese defeat during the Opium Wars, the newly oppressive European presence, and the often inconsiderate behavior of missionaries together caused a strengthening of xenophobic tendencies in China. The result was the development of anti-European movements, mostly drawn from the lower classes, which culminated in the Boxer Uprising of 1900. Decentralized martial arts groups connected by loose religious ties attacked Chinese Christians and their European protectors, who had ignored the disruptive effects of Christianization on traditional village social structures (the alienation of the baptized from their families, the prohibition of ancestor worship, the destruction of indigenous temples, etc.). These groups joined together in a siege of the diplomatic quarter in Beijing, which was soon broken by an allied army consisting of forces from England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Russia, the United States, and Japan. This allied invasion added a new dimension to the foreign military presence in China. It was not only a further step toward integrating China into Europe's informal empires, but also a major catalyst for Chinese xenophobia and feelings of inferiority—a mix that characterized Chinese attitudes toward the West throughout the twentieth century.

Notwithstanding a few violent incidents, Japan followed a very different path in its relations to the West during the second half of the nineteenth century. Since 1800, European interest in the isolated island had revived. Russian merchants were the first to try to gain access, but they met with only marginal success. In the end, it was the new Pacific power, the United States, that in 1853 used a naval squadron to enforce the opening of Japan's ports. Japan was integrated into the treaty port system, and treaties with the United States were followed by others with Russia, the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, and Prussia. As Western merchants streamed into the Japanese commercial centers, the political and military influence of the Western powers grew rapidly, particularly after the final defeat of the traditional shogunate and the beginning of the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Europe and the United States became the model for Japanese modernization; Japanese delegations visited the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. Simultaneously, a huge number of Western consultants were employed by the new Meiji government in all sectors of administration and education. The army was reorganized following the Prussian example, and a

Prussian general became the general staff's official consultant. In 1874, some 858 foreign specialists were employed by the Japanese government. Japanese private enterprises soon followed suit, so that in 1897 there were 760 foreigners employed in the construction of railways, electrical facilities, steamships, and industrial plants. The majority of them came from Great Britain (433, mostly engineers), France (145 in administration and the shipbuilding industry), America (94, mostly in the agrarian sector), and Germany (62 in medicine and the army). The first foreign communities emerged in Yokohama and Kobe, which became the bridgeheads of European cultural influence not only on intellectual matters, but also on everyday life.

Simultaneously, Korea regained European attention. Between 1885 and 1887 the British Navy ran a naval base in Korea at Port Hamilton (Komun-do). During this period, Christianity was introduced into Korea. In 1884 and 1885 American and Scottish Protestant missionaries entered the country, and in 1890 the English Church Mission established its first settlement in Seoul.

THE SECOND ERA OF WESTERN INFORMAL EMPIRE

The second era of Western informal empire was characterized by the increasing impact of the West and a shrinking number of imperial powers. The outcome of World War I limited the Western powers in East Asia to Great Britain and the United States—accompanied by an expanding Japan. The treaty system reached its apex as the economic influence of the steadily growing number of Western residents peaked during the 1920s. In China, especially during the years of the unstable republic (founded in 1911), governmental sovereignty was exceedingly restrained by the "protecting powers," which used their influence and extraterritorial status to pave the way for Western business interests. A huge number of foreign specialists were employed in leading positions in the custom service, the post office, and the salt administration. In 1915, for example, there were 152 British, 109 other European, 21 American, and 37 Japanese employees working in the revenue department together with 1,206 mostly subordinated Chinese. At the beginning of the 1920s, around 7,000 foreign enterprises were operating in the treaty ports. At the same time, 75 to 90 percent of coalmining and around 50 percent of the cotton textile industry was in foreign hands. In 1933 foreign-owned firms controlled 35 percent of the manufacturing industries' total production. Until the Japanese occupation and the Chinese revolution of 1949, the Chinese economy was completely dominated by European and American interests.

In Japan, the European presence led to rapid industrial development, based on deep ties to the world economy initially achieved through foreign influence. This industrial development offered the basis for a successful emancipation from Western dominance. As early as 1895 Japan was able to abolish the extraterritorial status of foreigners and became itself a treaty power in China. Japan's transformation into a modern nation was initiated by a "revolution from the top," which made Japan an economic power that competed with Europe and the United States and for a while made it an imperial competitor as well.

THE ERA OF EMANCIPATION

The era of emancipation saw the end of the imperial presence of Europeans in East Asia and the economic as well as political rise of the region. After the end of World War II and the defeat of Japanese imperialism, Europe played only a marginal role in East Asia. East Asia became a primary sphere of interest for the United States, which established a huge military presence, especially after the Korean War (1950–1953), and took over most of the European military bases in the region. China freed itself from Western domination through revolution, whereas Japan gained autonomy through copying and adapting modern Western institutions and practices. South Korea and Taiwan also effectively followed the latter model. Recent developments in China have brought a partial adaptation of Western models, even if the existing power structures have been maintained. In the course of those developments, the last enclaves of formal European presence disappeared when Macao and Hong Kong were returned to China.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism, East Asia and the Pacific; East Asia, American Presence in; Extraterritoriality; Indigenous Responses, East Asia; Missions, China; Religion, Western Presence in East Asia; Treaties, East Asia and the Pacific; Treaty Port System.*

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EAST TIMOR

Situated to the southeast of Indonesia, East Timor has an area of 14,610 square kilometers (9,000 miles) and a population of approximately 840,000.

Before Europeans encountered the island of Timor it had been populated by successive waves of Malay and Melanesian migrants, who settled with the original inhabitants, the *Atoni* people of the central highlands. This ethnic mix was compounded by the arrival of Chinese, Arab, and *Gujerati* traders, who visited Timor in search of its valuable sandalwood.

The Portuguese established a colonial administration in Timor in 1702, where they fought with the Dutch for control over the island for the next three centuries. The two halves of the island finally were separated in an agreement signed by the two colonial powers in 1913: The Dutch took control of the west and the Portuguese took control of the east. The Japanese military occupied East Timor during World War II (1941–1945), and in these years 60,000 (13% of the population) died.

In 1949 West Timor became part of the Indonesian Republic. Portugal retained East Timor. On April 25, 1974, the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement overthrew the Caetano regime and began a process of decolonization in Portugal's African and Asian colonies. Faced with the possibility of an independent East Timor, the Indonesian Armed Forces invaded. The Indonesian occupation lasted from 1975 to 1999, during which approximately 200,000 of a preinvasion population

of 650,000 died at the hands of Indonesian troops or as a result of starvation after forced displacement.

In August 1999, following a referendum overseen by the United Nations (UN), the East Timorese voted overwhelmingly for independence. The Indonesian army then sponsored paramilitary groups to terrorize the population. Following international intervention to halt the carnage, Indonesian forces withdrew. After a transitional period overseen by the UN, East Timor became independent on March 20, 2002.

As of the early twenty-first century, the territory remained poor with 41 percent of its population living in poverty, although access to offshore oil and gas, combined with a development strategy based on agriculture, coffee exports, small-scale industry and tourism, gave potential for development.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Dutch; Empire, Portuguese.*

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ECOLOGICAL IMPACTS OF EUROPEAN COLONIZATIONS IN THE AMERICAS

The arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas in 1492 initiated an extensive exchange in material goods, traditions, and ideas that was to have ecological impacts not only in the Americas and Europe, but also in the wider world. These transfers are often referred to collectively as the Columbian Exchange, though the term is generally used more narrowly to describe the exchange of crops, domesticated animals, and agricultural techniques that occurred in the immediate aftermath of Columbus's arrival. Sometimes the term also includes the transfer of diseases, and may even be used more broadly to describe any form of cultural and biological exchange.

OLD WORLD CROPS AND LIVESTOCK IN THE NEW WORLD

Like most immigrants, those who went to the Americas were interested not only in improving their economic and social standing but also in replicating their culture. However, different European powers had different colonial objectives and the peoples and environments they encountered in the Americas also differed. The level of

cultural exchange and its ecological impact therefore varied. The Iberians encountered dense populations particularly in the highlands and they generally sought to transform the culture of indigenous peoples. In North America, however, Northern Europeans encountered a sparsely populated land and their contacts with Native Americans were often hostile. Cultural exchange was therefore more limited and transformations often occurred indirectly through the exploitation of natural resources and the displacement of native peoples from the land. The same processes also characterized sparsely populated regions of Latin America such as Argentina and Chile.

The Spanish Crown required all ships involved in early exploratory expeditions to carry seeds, plants, and livestock for the establishment of European forms of agricultural production. Those taken by Columbus on his second voyage included wheat, chickpeas, vines, melons, onions, radishes, as well as a variety of other garden vegetables, herbs, and fruits, notably oranges and lemons.

The staple diet in the Iberian Peninsula consisted of bread, wine, and oil. The Spanish tried to encourage the production of cereals by insisting that Native Americans pay them as tribute. However, this was largely unsuccessful because wheat and barley could not be grown in tropical climates and Native Americans often lacked the ploughs and oxen necessary to cultivate them. Hence, although wheat and barley could be grown in the temperate highlands of Mexico and the Andes, there they were cultivated mainly on Spanish-owned haciendas.

For the most part, Spaniards became resigned to eating maize rather than wheat bread. Wine was not only an important beverage in the Iberian Peninsula, but was also essential for the Catholic mass. Although vines were established in the Americas in the early colonial period, and did particularly well in Chile and Peru, fear that a flourishing wine industry might compete with that in Spain led to attempts to ban further plantings. Similarly, olive trees flourished at an early date in the Peruvian coastal valleys, but they were subject to similar ineffective bans.

The Spanish and Portuguese were also interested in establishing the production of sugar, but for export to Europe rather than for local consumption. Columbus introduced sugar to Hispaniola on his second voyage. Later, the Portuguese, who had developed sugar production in Madeira, introduced it to Brazil from whence it was exported as early as the 1520s. Sugar became the mainstay of the economies of Brazil and many Caribbean islands where, because of the shortage of Native American labor, its cultivation led to the large-scale exploitation of imported African slaves.

The Iberians were not the only people to introduce new crops. Once the slave trade had begun, yams, millet, sorghum, rice, okra, aubergine, the congo bean, and ackee also arrived in the Americas. Many of these were grown on slave plantations or on small plots in the hills cultivated by free Africans. Last to arrive were plants from Arabia, Asia, and the Pacific. Some of them, such as the mango, were probably introduced from West Africa, which had received them from Arab traders. Others, such as coffee and breadfruit, did not appear until the eighteenth century when they were introduced from English, French, and Dutch colonies in the Caribbean and the Guianas.

The Iberians were more successful in establishing the raising of livestock because they faced little competition from native domesticated animals. The only animals raised in the Americas in pre-Columbian times were llama, alpaca, guinea pig, muscovy duck, and turkey. Cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats accompanied all early expeditions to the New World. Although better suited to savanna conditions, cattle raising soon became important in the Caribbean, and encouraged a good market for hides in the Iberian peninsula and by the haulage demands of sugar industry. On the mainland and in Brazil the expansion of cattle raising was linked to the development of the mining industry for which it provided hides for saddle bags and tallow for candles.

Sheep spread less widely because they were better adapted to the cooler, drier conditions. The rapid expansion of livestock was encouraged by the existence of large stretches of grassland that had not been used intensively in pre-Columbian times or else had been abandoned by declining native populations. In sparsely settled areas, such as the Pampas of Argentina and the Llanos of Venezuela, Texas, or California, feral cattle often gave rise to extensive herds.

Europeans also introduced the horse, which had been extinct in the Americas since the end of the Pleistocene. Columbus introduced horses to the Caribbean on his second voyage and a royal stud farm was established in Hispaniola in 1502 for the furtherance of Spanish military conquest. Later, horses, and more often mules, were used as a more manageable and faster means of transport than llamas. This facilitated communications between hitherto isolated societies and encouraged cultural exchange.

The nature of European contact in North America was initially significantly different. North America was relatively sparsely settled and the earliest interests of the English, Dutch, and French were in the exploitation of its natural resources rather than the establishment of agriculture. Initially they focused on Canada and the northern United States, where they exploited codfish

Sixteenth-Century Sugar Mill. *This engraving, rendered in 1590 by Theodor de Bry, depicts the activities of Indian laborers at a New World sugar mill. The workers are shown cutting and hauling sugarcane, grinding it with a millstone, cooking the mash in a cauldron, and pouring syrup.* **LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**

and later beaver skins, which were in high demand for beaver fur hats. The latter led to the decimation of beaver stocks only saved from extinction by changing fashion and the advance of settlement with which beaver hunting was incompatible. Even in the south where the English established tobacco plantations in Virginia, the initial aim was trade rather than settlement. Only with the establishment of settler colonies in New England were Old World crops and animals introduced on a large scale. Like Iberian settlers, North American colonists introduced crops and animals with which they were familiar, but because they often settled in environments that were similar to Europe, such as the northern and middle colonies of British America or the Canadian regions colonized by the French, much northern farming focused on subsistence and local markets rather than on producing crops for export.

However, as in Latin America, the introduction of livestock had a significant impact. Sixteenth-century expeditions introduced horses to the southern United States, while northern European breeds were introduced later in the seventeenth century. Horses did not do so well in the tropics, but large herds of feral horses flourished in the more temperate grasslands of the Great Plains, as they did in the Pampas of Argentina and in Chile.

THE ADOPTION OF OLD WORLD CROPS AND LIVESTOCK

Despite pressure from Iberians, Native Americans were selective in their adoption of crops introduced from Europe. Some, such as cereals and sugar cane, necessitated fundamental changes to existing agricultural

systems by requiring specially cleared fields, ploughs, and oxen, as well as specialized equipment for their cultivation or processing. Given that agriculture in most parts of Latin America was highly developed, with the crops raised providing not only a balanced and nutritious diet, but also possessing some cultural meaning, there was little incentive for Native Americans to adopt new foods introduced from Europe. Maize, beans, and squashes therefore remained the most important crops cultivated in Mexico and Central America, while in the Andes the potato and quinoa continued to dominate higher elevations, while manioc and sweet potatoes prevailed in the tropical lowlands.

Nevertheless, Native Americans did adopt those plants, such as onions and garlic, which had no equivalent in their own crop complexes or, like bananas or fruit trees, could be grown alongside indigenous plants in household gardens. They also cultivated small patches of sugar cane, which they used as a cheap and effective substitute for honey or syrup from the maguey plant. In contrast to crops, domesticated animals were widely adopted. Initially chickens and pigs were the most ubiquitous, but later native communities also raised large herds of cattle and sheep. In part of Latin America the indigenous population began to consume meat on a large scale.

Contacts between Native Americans and Northern Europeans were often hostile, reducing the opportunities for cultural exchange. However, nomadic hunter-gatherers rapidly adopted horses because it enabled them to extend their hunting and gathering grounds and to increase their mobility so that they could better defend their territories against intruders. This was also true of similar groups in southern Argentina and Chile.

CHANGES IN AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND TECHNIQUES

Some new agricultural techniques accompanied the arrival of new plants and animals. In the Old World cereals were sown by broadcasting in specially cleared fields, whereas in the New World seeds were generally planted individually in swiddens or simple gardens. The Spanish also introduced Arabic techniques of irrigation, notably canal and reservoir irrigation, though these forms of irrigation did not differ significantly from those that existed in pre-Columbian times. Nevertheless, the extent of irrigated land, and also other intensive forms of cultivation such as terracing and raised fields, declined. This was primarily because the decline in the Native population meant that it no longer had the labor power to maintain them. In terms of agricultural implements, by far the most important introductions were iron tools,

including axes and hoes, which were not only more durable, but also made forest clearance and the cultivation of heavy soils much easier. The introduction of the plough drawn by draught animals had a more localized impact, because it required dedicated fields and an investment of capital in oxen and labor. It was therefore found primarily on European-owned haciendas.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HACIENDAS

Given the high demand for some crops in Europe, notably sugar cane, and the growing demand for food in the cities and mining areas, that could not be supplied by declining native populations, the Iberians began to assume control of agricultural production through the acquisition of land and the development of haciendas. In pre-Columbian times a variety of types of land tenure existed: Some lands were owned by the state, communities, or private individuals, while tribal peoples and hunter-gatherers had no concept of private property. With the exception of state lands, the Iberians recognized private ownership of land, but not usufruct rights, which meant that lands that were used but not owned by indigenous communities were vulnerable to seizure by incoming settlers and their descendants. Although the Iberians attempted to replicate the large estates or *latifundia* that existed in Europe, because native rights to land were recognized in law, at the outset few large land grants were allocated. However, such land grants could be consolidated piecemeal over time and combined with lands acquired in other ways to underpin the growth of great estates held by single owners.

The Iberians disparaged manual work and looked to Native Americans, or in their absence African slaves, to provide the necessary labor. Initially this was supplied through the *encomienda*, an institution that had been used during the Reconquest of southern Spain from the Moors. An encomienda was an allocation of Indians to an individual who was given the right to exact tribute and labor from them. However, because of ill treatment, in 1549 the right of encomenderos to exact labor was withdrawn and in many regions replaced by other forced labor systems modeled on pre-Columbian forms of draft labor, such as the *repartimiento* or *mita*. Where labor was short, landowners attempted to recruit free workers by offering them incentives in the form of better wages, credit, or plots of land on their estates. Where labor demands could not be met locally, the only recourse was to import African slave labor. However, this was only an economic proposition where agricultural commodities, such as sugar, could generate sufficiently high profits to cover the high cost of importing African slaves.

These colonial labor systems, which were also used in mining, often undermined the economic and social

viability of native communities. They drew labor from subsistence production, weakened kinship ties, and promoted their integration into market economies. These processes were also encouraged by population decline, migration to evade tribute and labor demands, and the alienation of native lands. At the same time Native Americans often responded positively to the new market opportunities becoming commodity producers of food, coca, alcoholic beverages, and textiles.

GOLD AND SILVER MINING

One of the prime aims of the Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas was the creation of wealth through the mining of gold and silver; initially agriculture generated lower profits and required a greater investment of time and money. Gold, silver, copper, and tin had been mined and worked by pre-Columbian peoples, notably the Incas, Aztecs, and a number of chiefdoms in Colombia and the Greater Antilles. However, Native Americans possessed no knowledge of working iron. Most of their tools and weapons were made of wood, with only some made of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin.

Mining techniques were not highly developed in the Iberian Peninsula. Initially the Spanish drew on local expertise or that of German immigrant miners, but even into the nineteenth century mining techniques were very primitive. Until the mid-sixteenth century mineral ores could only be refined by smelting, which meant that only high-grade ores could be exploited. This process depended on the production of charcoal so that vast areas around the mines were soon depleted of forest.

In about 1556 a new process of refining, called the amalgamation or patio process that used mercury and salt, was developed in Mexico by Bartolomé de Medina. This made possible the working of low-grade ores, which being associated with mountain-building processes were found mainly in highland areas. From then on mining became very much dependent on the supply of mercury from Huancavelica in Peru or Almadén in Spain.

The first gold deposits that were exploited were found in lowland riverbeds and terraces, which were excavated using simple tools, such as picks and crowbars, and panned using wooden bowls. The only difference from pre-Columbian times was the use of iron tools. This type of mining was typical of that found in the lowland gold fields of Colombia and the Greater Antilles (Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Cuba). Silver ores were more extensive and were found in the Andes and the highlands of Mexico. The most famous silver mine was at Potosí in Upper Peru (present-day Bolivia), but there were others at Oruro, Castrovirreina, and Cerro de Pasco in Peru, while in Mexico, the main silver belt followed the eastern flank of the Sierra Madre Occidental encompassing towns such as Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and Parral.

The impacts of these two types of mining differed. Gold panning was associated with ephemeral deposits. Here groups of itinerant workers would exploit a deposit for a short time before moving on. They often built temporary camps and brought food with them, so that their activities did not stimulate the establishment of permanent settlements or agricultural enterprises to support them. The silver mines, on the other hand, required a higher investment of capital into sinking and timbering shafts and in equipment used for keeping the mines free of water or processing the ores. Because the silver ores were extensive and could be worked for years or even decades, they also required a permanent and much larger labor force.

At the end of the sixteenth century the Andean forced labor system, the mita, was supplying more than 13,500 workers a year for the mines of Potosí. In Mexico the mines were situated in an area of sparse population, so labor had to be drawn from more distant regions in the form of free labor or African slaves. The presence of a large workforce led to the emergence of towns, whose elaborate architecture and flourishing cultural activities testified to the presence of many wealthy miner owners and merchants. Mining also acted as a major stimulus to agricultural production, first to supply food for the workers, and second to provide hides, tallow, and mules to support the mining industry. In northern Mexico large estates raising wheat, maize, and cattle were established in the hinterland of the mines. In the Andes, however, the cold climate did not favor crop production, so supplies had to be drawn from further afield, notably from northwest Argentina or central Chile.

MANUFACTURING

Native Americans produced many types of textiles. In the Andes they were often made of llama or alpaca wool, but these were not available in Mexico where indigenous textiles were made of cotton or fiber from the maguey cactus. In pre-Columbian times households undertook the production of textiles, although specialized weavers produced cloth for elites and rituals. Most of the textiles were produced on a narrow back-strap loom. In colonial times the Spanish introduced treadle looms and established larger textile mills known as *obrajes*. Although they produced some cotton cloth, most processed wool from sheep that had also been introduced in colonial times. Sheep do not fare well in hot humid climates, so that sheep raising and textile production only developed on a large scale in the cool highlands of Mexico and the Andes.

Other crafts did not see such a fusion of techniques. In pre-Columbian times Native peoples did not possess

the wheel, but nevertheless produced a wide variety of pottery using the coil method. Despite the introduction of the wheel and also a simple kiln from Spain that made glazing possible, ceramic techniques remained much as they had been in pre-Columbian times. The same also appears to have been the case with basketry. Leatherworking, however, acquired new dimensions. In pre-Columbian times leather working had been confined to the use of skins obtained through hunting, but the arrival of cattle brought hides from which clothing could be manufactured. Ranching itself brought an assemblage of techniques from southern Spain, which included the rodeo, the *desgarretadero* for hocking cattle, and the lasso.

THE IMPACT OF NATIVE CROPS ON EUROPE AND THE WIDER WORLD

The impact of indigenous American crops had an equally profound effect on production and consumption patterns in Europe and the rest of the world. Attention focused initially on exotic crops, such cacao and dyes, which were produced in the Americas and exported. However, the transfer of staple food crops to the Old World brought more far-reaching effects, totally transforming basic diets in many parts of the world.

In the early colonial period the slow speed of transport and small size of ships meant that only those products that had a high value to weight ratio could be exported. One such commodity was cacao, from which the Aztec elite had made drinking chocolate, taking its name from the Nahuatl term *chocolatl*. Hernán Cortés took it to Spain in 1528, and it soon became a much-desired beverage in Europe. Meanwhile, dyestuffs, such as cochineal and indigo, produced in southern Mexico and Central America, were much sought after by textile workshops in Europe. Of more dubious value was tobacco. Columbus observed tobacco smoking in Hispaniola in 1492, and its commercial production began there on a small scale in the 1530s and in Brazil in the 1540s. Initially it was used for medicinal purposes as much as for pleasure. It did not develop into a major export crop in Latin America until the eighteenth century, though by then the British had successfully established tobacco cultivation in Virginia.

American food crops, such as potatoes, maize, and manioc, had a more extensive and persistent impact. More than two hundred varieties of potatoes were grown in the Andes in pre-Columbian times. Because the potato prefers cool, wet climates its impact in the Mediterranean was limited, but it spread to Ireland, parts of northern Europe, and Russia, where in the eighteenth century it became a major food crop that provided the basis for population growth and

industrialization. Maize and manioc spread more rapidly at an earlier date. Columbus himself introduced maize to Spain and by the mid-sixteenth century it was also being cultivated in China, though there it faced competition from rice. Maize along with manioc also spread widely in West and Central Africa, encouraged by the need for provisions to support the African slave trade. Maize was more productive than African cereals, while manioc was well adapted to poor soils and drought conditions, so that they soon replaced indigenous sorghum, millet, and yams.

Diets were not only transformed by new staple foods, but also came to include a number of vegetables and fruits. Most important was the tomato. This was originally domesticated in the Andes, but its English name derives from the Aztec term *tomatl*. The early history of the tomato in Europe is obscure but it appeared in Italy in the sixteenth century where it was given the name "golden apple" or *pomi d'oro*. Other arrivals from the Americas included beans, peppers, pumpkins, pineapples, guava, papaya, avocados, and peanuts.

THE TRANSFER OF DISEASES

The transfer of diseases between the Old World and the Americas had a disproportionate impact on Native Americans. In pre-Columbian times Native Americans suffered from a range of gastrointestinal and respiratory diseases, tuberculosis, and possibly louse-borne typhus. However, the only serious infection to be carried back to Europe from the Americas was probably syphilis, though its origin continues to be debated. More devastating was the impact of crowd infections, such as smallpox, measles, plague, and influenza, which were introduced from Europe. Since Native Americans possessed no immunity to these infections because of the isolation of the continent, each epidemic caused high mortality. In addition, malaria took a heavy toll of populations in the tropical lowlands. Old World diseases were thus a major factor in the decline of the Native American population, which some researchers estimate had fallen by 90 percent by the mid-seventeenth century.

SEE ALSO *Biological Impacts of European Expansion in the Americas; Encomienda; Fur and Skin Trades in the Americas; Haciendas in Spanish America; Mining, the Americas.*

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Linda A. Newson

EDIB, HALIDE
1884–1964

Halide Edib was a Turkish nationalist, feminist, author, educator, and member of parliament who lived during one of the most turbulent times in Turkish history, experiencing and contributing to the transformation from empire into nation in the early twentieth century. As a daughter of a social secretary of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842–1918), she grew up in elite circles around the palace, getting the most premier education available. She was educated at home and also became, in 1901, one of the earliest graduates of the American College in Istanbul. She seemed to be destined for domestic life after her marriage to one of the most important scientists of the day, mathematician and astronomer Salih Zeki (1864–1921), but the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 led to the proliferation of print media. Her writing career was launched with the columns she wrote about women and education in journals and newspapers. Her first novels, *Heyula* (*Ghost*) and *Raik'in Annesi* (*Raik's Mother*), were published in 1909, to be followed in 1910 by *Seviyye Talip*, an eponymous novel named after its murderous heroine.

She divorced her husband in 1910 when he entered a second polygamous marriage (which was allowed by law at the time) and started a new life for herself with her two sons. She made a happy match in her second marriage to Dr. Adnan Adivar (1882–1955) in 1917. Her second husband was a fellow nationalist, the head of the Red Crescent and an adviser to Atatürk (1881–1938) during the period of the formation of the Turkish Republic, and a founder of the first Turkish communist party, *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Firkasi*, in 1924. He wrote the first comprehensive history of science in the Ottoman Empire.

Halide Edib had a productive writing career during which she wrote twenty-one novels, many short stories (later collected in four volumes), two plays, two memoirs, and several books of historical and literary analyses. She is one of the most important authors of the Turkish republican period who contributed to the development of realistic, psychological novels. She delves into questions of identity, gender, nationalism, religion, and history in her novels. Early novels such as *Yeni Turan* (The New Turan) in 1912, *The Shirt of Flame* in 1922, and *Vurun Kahpeye* (Strike the Harlot) in 1926 depict war periods, examining the concepts of Turkishness and patriotism. She was an influential contributor to the New History thesis, which was an intellectual project of redefining a new Turkish identity out of the heritage of an imperial Ottoman past.

In all of her novels, she presented strong, passionate women who grapple not only with social limitations placed on them, but also equally with the contradictory societal expectations that burden their lives. Her most widely known novel, *Sinekli Bakkal* (1936), which was originally written in English as *The Clown and His Daughter*, attempted to create a synthesis between Western and Eastern components of Turkish identity through the love story of its protagonists. Some of her other novels are: *Kalp Agrisi* (Heartache) in 1924 and its sequel *Zeyno'nun Oglu* (Zeyno's Son) in 1927, *Yolpalas Cinayeti* (The Yolpalas Murder) in 1938, *Sonsuz Panayir* (Endless Carnival) in 1946, *Doner Ayna* (Revolving Mirror) in 1954, *Kerim Usta'nin Oglu* (Kerim Usta's Son) in 1958, and *Hayat Parcalari* (Pieces of Life) in 1963.

Halide Edib traveled the world, working on educational projects in Syria and Lebanon, collaborating on pedagogical ideals and women's issues with Isabel Fry

(1869–1958), teaching at Barnard College in New York in 1931 and lecturing in India in 1935. She presented her theoretical and historical analyses in *Turkey Faces West* (1930), *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935), and *Inside India* (1937). She was a powerful public orator. Her Sultanahmet speech on June 6, 1919, following the invasions of Istanbul and Izmir by the Allied forces, became the emblem of public resistance to the occupation. She participated in the Turkish Independence War (1919–1922) as a public relations officer and nurse, earning the military ranks of corporal and sergeant. Political disagreements with Atatürk led to her half-voluntary exile with her husband Adnan Adivar from 1924 to 1939, during which time she lived in England and France, where she wrote respectively the first and second volumes of her memoirs: *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (1926) and *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928). Every aspect of her multifaceted life was extraordinary and larger than life. In the memoirs, which she originally wrote in English, she interweaves the various strands of her private and public experiences as a dual story of both her life and the birth of the Turkish nation, amply displaying her literary gifts. These memoirs not only trace the historical transition from the Ottoman Empire into Turkish nation from the pen of a witness and participant to this history, but also demonstrate a female writer's attempt to co-opt and redefine the genre of autobiography.

SEE ALSO *Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal.*

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Sibel Erol

EDUCATION, MIDDLE EAST

This article presents an overview of educational developments in the Middle East from 1450 until the early twentieth century. It considers traditional Islamic education, the emergence of modern schools, the influx of missionary education, and the educational, cultural, and political impact of these developments on the Middle East. From the early modern period until World War I (1914–1918) the main sovereign states of the Middle East were the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Morocco. In 1517 the Mamluk Empire was conquered by the Ottomans. After 1811 Egypt became semi-independent, and in 1830 the autonomous Ottoman province of Algiers was occupied, and subsequently turned into a French colony. In 1881 the autonomous Ottoman province of Tunis became a French protectorate, and the following year Egypt was occupied by Britain. Morocco, the only independent state left in North Africa, entered French protection in 1912. By 1914 the Ottoman Empire and Iran were the only sovereign countries left in the Middle East. Thus, nineteenth-century educational modernization in the Middle East took place under varying social and political conditions. This article discusses the similar as well as differing patterns of educational reform in the above-mentioned regions. For countries such as Iran, Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, the period stretches to the mid-twentieth century. As in most premodern societies, traditional education in the Middle East was based mainly on religion. From the eleventh century onward Sunni Islamic orthodoxy dominated the region. It was during the period of Seljukid domination (eleventh through twelfth centuries) that religious colleges (*madrasas*) expanded in Baghdad and elsewhere in the Middle East. Following the collapse of the Shiite Fatimid caliphate, the Al-Azhar *madrasa* in Cairo, originally founded in 975 as a Shiite religious college, turned into a Sunni institution. Another intellectual impetus promoting religious instruction came from Al-Ghazali (d. 1111), who insisted on the metaphysical superiority of religious knowledge over experimental and rational sciences. When the Ottoman principality turned into a full-fledged bureaucratic empire in the early fifteenth century, the intellectual resources it could rely on for the development of cultural life were conditioned mainly by orthodox Sunni ideology and Sufism (Islamic mysticism). A consequence of the Ottoman expansion in the Middle East during the course of the sixteenth century was the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into the main Sunni Islamic power of the world. The only remaining independent Sunni state in the region was Morocco. Iran, under the Safavids, became a Shiite power. The fact that Shiism was considered by the Sunni orthodox Islamic majority as heresy affected Iran's position within the Islamic world, turning this state into an "outsider," and a religious adversary of the Ottomans. During the process of educational reform in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, characteristics peculiar to Shiism, such as the rather independent position of the Shiite *ulama* vis-à-vis the government, would lead to developments different from those found in Sunni societies.

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION PRIOR TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Ottoman state from late fifteenth century onward acquired a Sunni Islamic identity based on the Hanafite

legal school, but its population consisted of non-Muslims as well as Muslims. Though political authority was in the hands of the Muslim ruling class, cultural issues such as religion and education were left to individual religious communities. In harmony with this arrangement, school networks were maintained by communities themselves. Muslim institutional education was supported mainly by pious foundations (*vakıf*). Basic education was provided by Quranic schools (*mahalle mektebi, kuttab*), often located within mosque compounds, and administered by lower Muslim clerics (*hoca, fiqî*). In North Africa, Quranic schools were mostly attached to Sufi convents. The main aim of this education was to have students memorize the Quran in classical Arabic, and to inculcate them with religious precepts. Those pupils who were able to memorize the entire Quran were considered to have succeeded in their basic education. Most graduates of Quranic schools did not acquire the basic elements of literacy as it is defined in the modern era—including proficiency in reading and writing as well as rudimentary mathematical knowledge.

Non-Muslim parochial schools serving Greek, Armenian, and Jewish communities displayed traits parallel to those of the Quranic schools. They were attached to local churches or synagogues and administered by the priest or rabbi. Reading of the Bible and other basic religious texts constituted the main part of education. The language of instruction was often the liturgical language of the church, not the vernacular of the local population.

Male graduates of Quranic schools either had to select their profession or craft themselves, or had it picked for them by parents or other relatives. Those who decided to continue institutionalized education went to *madrasas* and became member of the *ulama* stratum. The remaining ones entered professional life, and received practical education as apprentices.

Madrasas were religious colleges financially supported by pious foundations and usually located within a mosque complex. They were organized, within the Ottoman Empire, according to a hierarchical order, and in coordination with the central authority. Lower-level *madrasas* offered courses in basic subjects of Islamic scholastic knowledge such as Arabic grammar, Aristotelian logic, theology, rhetoric, geometry, and astronomy, followed by intermediate-level theology and jurisprudence. Graduates of these lower-level *madrasas* could become the *kadis* or *mufti*s of small towns. Higher-level *madrasas* were located mainly in Istanbul. In these the main concentration was on Islamic jurisprudence and Quranic exegesis. At the top of this hierarchy were the Sahn-i Seman and the Süleymaniye *madrasas*. Graduates of the higher-level *madrasas* could be

appointed *kadis* or *muftis* to major Ottoman cities—that is, they became government officials. *Madrasas* in the classically Islamic lands, governed until 1516–1517 by the Mamluk regime of Egypt, suffered from Ottoman rule due to their subordination as peripheral provinces. At least in the case of Egypt, higher learning declined due to the transfer of major amounts of money to Istanbul. In peripheral Ottoman lands such as Tunis and Algiers, the curricula of *madrasas* in major centers were readjusted to conform to the religious doctrines of the official Ottoman Hanafite legal school. Outside these centers the Malikite legal school remained dominant in *madrasa* education. In southern Iraq, with its mainly Shiite population, the Shiite *madrasas* remained outside the Ottoman educational network, and in close contact with the Shiite *ulama* of neighboring Iran.

The Safavids' political takeover in Iran (1501) constitutes a turning point in that country's history. During the period of Safavid rule, the Iranian population became converted to Shiism, and education became directed toward the expansion and enforcement of Shiite religious precepts. Shiite *madrasa* education consisted of three levels: At the primary level, the Arabic language and grammar, rhetoric, logic, and basic Islamic law were taught. At the intermediate level, students encountered the philosophical texts of Avicenna, Mullah Sadra, and Hâdî-i Sebzevârî, while studying Islamic jurisprudence. At the advanced level, the main concentration was on Islamic law. Shiite *madrasas* constituted a network of their own, but without any coordinated relationship with central authority. The Shiite *ulama* exerted immense social and political authority over the government as well as over the population—far more than the *ulama* in Sunni Islamic societies, who never played the role of an alternative authority.

Under the Almohad (1147–1269) and Marinid (1269–1465) dynasties, Morocco, at the far west side of the Middle East, had enjoyed a flourishing culture. Following the reign of the Marinids, however, the country increasingly suffered from political instability and tribal revolts, which had an adverse effect on the cultural life of the country. Though the Sharifi Alawite dynasty reestablished political order (1660), an efficient central administration was not developed until the French protectorate period. Moroccan *madrasas*, not surprisingly, existed as loose bodies, without being a part of an educational network. Two major Moroccan *madrasas* were the Qarawiyin *madrasa* (in Fez) and the Yusufiya *madrasa* (in Marrakech).

As far as educational opportunities outside the *madrasa* framework were concerned, the general tendency was that boys without special aptitude for religious sciences either entered trades or crafts, or, if they had a

personal connection to the bureaucracy, they might be admitted to the scribal service. A special type of educational institution in the premodern Ottoman Empire was the palace school (Enderun Mektebi), which admitted mainly promising Christian subjects from Balkan villages. Here boys were trained in the arts of war and weaponry as well as Islamic sciences, mathematics, geometry, geography, literature, and poetry. Those who reached the top educational levels acquired high administrative or military rank.

Individuals also had the opportunity to receive literary and artistic education within certain Sufi convents. In fact, members of nearly all social classes in the Ottoman lands belonged to one or another Sufi order. Religious life was no longer governed by the simple tenets of Islam but rather by the various Sufi interpretations of religious law and texts. While the details of ritual, prayer, and daily Islamic behavior were to a great extent determined by the sheikhs of Sufi orders, learned people devoted much time to the reading and writing of Sufi literature, which consisted mainly of poetry.

MODERNIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM: AN OVERVIEW

All Middle Eastern countries (the Ottoman lands, Iran, Morocco) encountered the phenomenon of a European military threat to their territorial integrity and independence, which in many cases led to colonization. The core Ottoman provinces faced this threat as early as 1683 to 1699, followed by Egypt in 1798 to 1801, and Iran in 1803 to 1815, while the social effects of the French invasion of Algiers in 1830 were felt both in Tunis and in Morocco. In the course of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and to some extent Tunisia, all of them equipped with central bureaucratic apparatuses, undertook comprehensive educational reforms. Iran and Morocco, on the other hand, lacked efficient bureaucracies, and thus were unable to introduce major educational modernization. In Iran, in addition, the Shiite *ulama* consistently opposed educational reforms. In Algeria and Morocco educational modernization was introduced through French colonial administration, whereas the British protectorate of Egypt and the French protectorate of Tunisia preserved to some degree their own educational institutions and traditions, created through previous internal educational reforms. Turkey and Iran survived World War I without being colonized. All these distinct developments, combined with varying internal sociopolitical conditions, led to the emergence of different patterns of educational modernization throughout the Middle East.

In most Middle Eastern countries the process of educational modernization underwent the following identical phases: At the beginning, as an outgrowth of attempts to build up military strength, some selected students were sent to Europe to study modern military technology. The next phase was the founding of a few military and naval engineering schools, to train able military officers or naval engineers. The immense cost of building a new army and navy created a need for a more efficient provincial administration and tax collection. This need led to the third stage of educational modernization: the setting up of schools that aimed to produce well-educated civil servants in order to form an efficient bureaucracy. At the same time, the expansion of basic education was understood as a necessary precondition for socioeconomic development.

At this stage of educational modernization, Middle Eastern countries encountered a crucial problem: the apparent conflict between religious values, represented by traditional education, and secular values, represented by modern schools. Or, considered at the institutional level, the issue can be framed as a conflict between two different school networks. The varying responses to this conflict also represent the different outcomes of educational modernization in Middle Eastern countries. In all Sunni Islamic societies there emerged a movement known as *Islamic Modernism*, which stressed that Islam and modernity are not mutually exclusive. This movement integrated a sizeable part of the *ulama* into the process of educational modernization. In the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria the *ulama* compromised in order to retain a dominant role in the modern school network. Morocco did not experience this issue in terms of a dichotomy: traditional schools and the modern educational network were able to function together, without an apparent conflict. In Shiite Iran, however, Islamic Modernism did not influence the *ulama* establishment as happened elsewhere. The *ulama* remained outside of the process of officially directed educational modernization.

The colonization of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco also forced traditional and modern elites to face the conflict between Islam and modernization. In these countries, civil initiatives emerged to develop private school networks devoted to educational modernization and the promotion of Arabo-Islamic culture in the face of an ever more pervasive European colonial cultural presence. The aim was often to integrate Islamic values with the values and goals of secular education.

Another aspect of educational change was the foundation of foreign and missionary school networks. These networks were sponsored either by organizations supported or encouraged by certain European countries, or were created by purely missionary bodies driven by millenarianist or other religious motives. Whatever the motives behind them, these networks were crucial in

spreading knowledge of modern foreign languages such as French and English among some urban segments of the Middle Eastern population, and they thus opened channels for the diffusion of modern ideas. At the same time, these networks also created friction and confrontation in the region, either through the breaking up of local Christian communities as a consequence of active proselytizing, or through the introduction of critical reasoning to students, who then began to evaluate their own society and political system in a critical way.

THE OTTOMAN-TURKISH EXPERIENCE

The earliest steps toward educational modernization in the Middle East occurred within the Ottoman lands. Ottoman military decline and territorial vulnerability in the face of rising powers such as Russia and Austria led the Ottoman government to promote modern education for the sake of military modernization. In 1718 through 1719 an Ottoman mission visited France with the aim of acquiring useful information in order to strengthen the empire. One result of this mission was the foundation of the first Turkish printing press in Istanbul (1729). First in 1733, then in 1773, naval engineering schools were opened. With the goal of founding a new army, Selim III (r. 1789–1807) launched the Nizam-i Cedid reforms. To supply this new corps with a body of trained military officers, another military engineering school was instituted in 1795. Following the abolition of the Janissary Corps in 1826, Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) founded the Military Medical School (1827) and the Military Academy (1834).

Educational institutions devoted to raising competent civil administrators emerged from 1821 onward, starting with the Translation Bureau, which was founded to teach European languages to civil servants. In 1839 two primary-level specialized schools were opened with the aim of training future civil servants. These schools offered courses with a worldly perspective, including French language classes. The prevailing conception of educational reform as a tool for raising competent civil servants lasted until 1856. Between 1847 and 1856 a series of secondary-level schools, called *rüşdiyye* schools, were set up in the main provincial centers of Anatolia and the Balkans. In 1848 the first teachers, seminary was opened. These schools were supervised by the Directorate of Public Schools (1849), which was attached directly to the Sublime Porte.

Primary education, being the core part of public education, was still considered to belong to the realm of religion, and traditional Quranic schools served this purpose. However, the insufficient literacy level of Quranic school graduates became a concern, and the Sublime Porte undertook attempts to reform these institutions. Because Quranic schools were autonomous bodies attached to religious foundations, and also because of the *ulama*'s resistance, these reform attempts proved futile.

The Crimean War (1853–1856) and the admission of the Ottoman Empire into the Concert of Europe led to dramatic legal and social changes. The Reform Edict of 1856 guaranteed full equality to non-Muslim subjects of the empire. This guarantee implied that the traditional division of labor based on religious affiliation ceased to exist and non-Muslims could enter the bureaucracy and army. These developments created a qualitative shift in the prevalent notion of education, from a limited understanding of educational reform to a belief in the necessity of an all-encompassing system of modern public education. The Ministry of Public Education was founded in 1857, and in 1869 the Regulation of Public Education stipulated the setting up of government primary schools (*ibtidai* schools) and an improved type of secondary school (*idadi* schools). In 1858 first female *rüşdiyye* schools were opened in Istanbul, and the Teachers' Seminary for Girls began to function in 1870. Between 1856 and 1871, the ruling elite consisted of secular Ottomanists, who aimed to create one Ottoman nation with a supra-identity encompassing Muslims and non-Muslims. This project, foreseeing the mixed education of Muslim and non-Muslim students, required the secularization of public education. However, this goal was achieved only at the level of higher education (medical schools, engineering schools, various professional schools) and at the elite *lycée* Mekteb-i Sultânî (1868). The reasons for this limited success included the strong presence of members of the *ulama* as schoolmasters or instructors at *rüşdiyye* schools due to the scarcity of competent secular teachers to replace them, the inability to reduce the number of course subjects with an Islamic content, and the reluctance of non-Muslims to send their children to secondary-level government schools.

After 1871 a general political and economic crisis occurred, leading to internal instability as well as separatist revolts in the Balkans. The various diplomatic interventions that ensued led to the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 to 1878, as a result of which the Ottomans lost a major part of their Balkan possessions. The autocracy of Abdülhamid II (1876–1909) emerged as a reaction against the Ottomanist policies of the past and pursued a policy of Islamicization. Religion was used as an ideological glue to keep Arabs and Albanians loyal to Istanbul. While government schools of all levels expanded throughout the empire, the curricula became a blend of Islamic and natural scientific courses. Similarly, the faculty consisted both of members of the *ulama* and secular officials. In 1900 Istanbul University was opened.

The Young Turk Revolution (1908) considered the Hamidian attempt to synthesize modernism and Islam a failure and introduced a general secularization of the curricula. The traditional *madrasas* of Istanbul were reformed into one single modern *madrasa*, with modern course subjects. In 1924, following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, all Quranic schools and *madrasas* were closed down, in realization of the Kemalist principle of the "Unity of Instruction." After 1949 Muslim clergy began to be produced at specialized *imam-hatip* schools or theological faculties. Late Ottoman *ulama* with modernist tendencies became members of the theological faculty of Ankara. The prohibition of Sufi orders, however, led their adherents, until recent liberalization, to practice prayers and pursue education in a secret manner.

The crucial characteristics of the Ottoman-Turkish experience are the presence of a strong bureaucracy, the integration of the upper levels of the *ulama* into the process of educational reform, and the limited direct cultural impact of the West. The number of Ottomans educated in European schools was minimal, and government schools were far from being copies of European counterparts—they were redesigned according to local needs, though perceived as being "European" institutions. In fact, Ottoman elites with modern educations had their own perception of the Western world, and while they tended to consider themselves as being like Westerners, they generally had no close contact with the West. Thus, Ottoman intellectuals were probably more indigenous than they actually realized and did not conceive modernization and Westernization as a colonial experience, in contrast to Egyptian, Algerian and Moroccan elites.

EGYPTIAN, TUNISIAN, AND MOROCCAN REFORMS

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Egypt's powerful governor, Mehmed Ali Pasha (r. 1805–1849), embarked on a vigorous program of military and economic modernization, with the aim of making his country independent. In 1809 he sent a group of young men to Europe to study the military sciences, and in 1816 a military academy was founded in Cairo. New military schools were set up in Cairo (1820) and also in Aswan and Farshut, near Qina (1822). A printing press was set up in Bulak (1822), and a medical school and hospital were founded in Cairo (1827). These were followed by other technical schools, including a School of Agriculture and Administration (1829), and a language school (1835). Medical institutions and the polytechnical school were founded by Frenchmen in Egyptian service. After 1835 primary-level military schools expanded in the provinces, in Syria in particular. These local schools aimed at producing low-level army officers with basic education to supply the army.

Civil education emerged from the 1840s onward. The first modern civil school was set up in Cairo in 1843, based on the Lancaster system. In 1847 eight new Lancasterian schools were founded in Cairo. However, the new governor, Abbas Hilmi Pasha (r. 1848–1854), closed down these government schools (1849). Following an interval of nearly fourteen years, educational reforms were resumed by Governor İsmail Pasha (r. 1863–1879). In 1863 the Ministry of Education was founded, and the Organic Law of Education (1868) provided a legal framework for the Egyptian primary school network. This law aimed at integrating Quranic schools into the state school system. In 1871 a teachers' seminary was set up to train Al-Azhar *madrasa* students as government schoolteachers. The first government girls' schools were inaugurated in 1873 and 1874.

After 1882, during the British protectorate period, the expansion of government primary schools reached the village level. Primary schools were established for both sexes. Despite these reform measures, there were only nine higher-level and three secondary government schools in Egypt around 1900; the remaining educational institutions were all either Quranic schools or *madrasas*. The Egyptian educational system, after 1882, increasingly served British colonial interests. The emerging native Arab Egyptian intelligentsia insisted on the need to found a modern university. Despite British resistance, this project was realized in 1908, in the shape of the University of Cairo.

In contrast to the Ottoman experience, Egyptian reforms are marked by discontinuities, such as the closures in 1849, and the British protectorate period. Also, early reforms were undertaken by a Turko-Circassian ruling elite, who were considered foreigners by the Arab masses. The outcome of these reforms was a division between elite and traditional education. This social cleavage lasted until the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser (1952–1970). Comprehensive reforms covering the majority of Egyptians were only undertaken after 1952. Another contrast to the Turkish experience is the continuing importance of the Al-Azhar *madrasa*, which is now a full-fledged university. In other words, the *ulama* still continues to exert its influence in the social and political affairs of Egypt.

In Tunisia, military reforms were launched under the rule of Governor Ahmed Bey (r. 1837–1855). Previously, traditional higher education had been entrusted to the *madrasas* of Zeytouna and Kairouan. But developments such as modernization efforts in the Ottoman capital, the French threat after the invasion of

neighboring Algeria (1830), and the Ottoman occupation of Tripolitania (in Libya, 1835) forced the Tunisian ruling elite to undertake efforts to modernize its army. In 1840 a military academy, the first modern school in Tunisia, was opened in Bardo. Early graduates of this school later played a considerable role in the modernization of Tunisia. In 1860 the first printing press was set up. During the government of Khaireddin Pasha (1873–1877) Quranic schools were taken under centralized government supervision with the aim of reforming them into modern primary schools (1874). In 1875 a civil high school, the Collège Sadeqi, was founded. This high school adopted the French *lycée* curriculum, and the language of instruction was French.

The French occupation of Tunisia in 1881 and the declaration of a French protectorate created a discontinuity in educational reform. Though the local government continued to exist, it was not in a position anymore to initiate reformist steps. From 1896 onward, reform initiatives emerged from civil society groups. The factors that compelled educational initiatives from below were twofold. On the one hand, the acceleration of French cultural influence among the Tunisian urban elites was reinforced through the Collège Sadeqi, the expansion of French schools, and the Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle network. Muslim graduates of these institutions seemed increasingly to become alienated from the Arab-Islamic culture, which, under the French protectorate, appeared to face the threat of extinction. At the same time, traditional *madrasas* proved incapable of reforming their curricula and pedagogical methods.

A group of Tunisian intellectuals with modernist Islamic tendencies founded the cultural association Jâmia al-Khaldûniyya (1896). This association, in contrast to the fully-French Collège Sadeqi or the traditional Zaytuna *madrasa*, offered Arabic-language courses on natural sciences and modern subjects. This initiative was followed by other similar non-governmental ventures, which offered courses to adults on practical subjects such as mathematics or hygiene, opened special classes to expand literacy, and organized public lectures in Arabic or French on scientific topics, literature, and history. They also provided scholarships to students who aimed to further their education in France. In the 1930s the Jâmia al-Khaldûniyya already had become a full-fledged educational network of its own, reaching from primary-level schools to college-level courses and issuing graduation diplomas; it also provided industrial education and literacy classes for adults. In 1946 the Jâmia al-Khaldûniyya included institutes for Islamic studies, law, and philosophy. Following the full independence of Tunisia in 1957, this institution was replaced by the University of Tunis. The Zaytuna *madrasa* was reformed into a modern theological university.

Tunisia suffered from colonial disruption more severely than did Egypt. While previously created modern schools such as the Collège Sadeqi continued to function, French authorities did not allow local government to take further reform initiatives. As a consequence, civilian Tunisians had to launch educational initiatives, which proved to be successful. This success even overshadowed the Collège Sadeqi as well as traditional *madrasas*. Similarly to what had occurred in Turkey, it provided a basis for President Habib Bourguiba to declare an educational policy based on the "Unity of Instruction" and to institute the reformation of traditional schools. The *ulama* in modern Tunisia, as in Turkey and in contrast to Egypt, does not have any political influence.

Morocco under Sharifi rule emerged as a territorial state with relatively stable borders, but it was unable to establish a fully functioning centralized bureaucracy and impose its authority over tribes. The lack of a comprehensive countrywide civil administration prevented the development of a government-initiated school system. From the 1840s onward, European intervention in Morocco became frequent, and European educational activities in Morocco increased. The first modern schools in Morocco were foreign schools, initiated by Franciscans, Protestant missionaries, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle. As a reaction to these developments, Moroccan elites began to promote the revitalization of Islamic society by reemphasizing Islamic values, while accepting useful European innovations.

During the reign of Sidi Muhammad bin Abd ar-Rahman (r. 1859–1873) steps were taken to reform the existing *madrasas*. Subjects such as mathematics, engineering, and astronomy were introduced, even though at a basic level. In 1865 the first printing press was set up in Fez. Religious scholars were sent as students to schools in Paris, Cairo, Mecca, and Istanbul for modern education. Similar policies were continued by Moulay Hasan I (1873–1894), and those scholars who returned from abroad were offered government posts. But these measures were not accompanied by steps such as founding modern government schools.

The French protectorate over Morocco (1912–1956) did not pursue a policy of destroying traditional public institutions, but rather of developing more powerful French institutions alongside the traditional Moroccan ones. Thus, traditional Moroccan education, supported by religious foundations, and the two major *madrasas* remained intact. Traditional scholars, graduated from these *madrasas*, were indispensable as intermediaries between French officials and rural notables. Meanwhile, for the children of Moroccan elites, the colonial administration built new schools that were the exact copies of

French institutions. Graduates of these schools were offered positions in colonial administration. This development destroyed the public esteem of the *madrasas*. In the 1920s some Moroccan intellectuals set up "Free Schools." This was a significant development in terms of the emergence of a local movement pressing for educational modernization. These institutions, which were independent of French-controlled schools, applied modern pedagogical methods, included modern subjects, and taught in the Arabic language. But these schools failed to become influential within Moroccan society and could not compete with the French-controlled schools. As a consequence, a new generation of Moroccan elites arose during the French protectorate that was educated in, and experienced modernity through, the French language.

A national school system was established in Morocco only following its independence (1956). Due to the predominance of French linguistic influence, national education initially was provided mainly in the French language. On the other hand, Quranic schools and *madrasas* continued to use Arabic as the medium of instruction. From 1968 onward, Quranic schools were reformed through the inclusion of modern subjects into their curriculum. *Madrasas* have acquired the function of special religious colleges. At present, both French and Arabic are used as languages of instruction in secondary as well as higher education.

Morocco, in contrast to Egypt and Tunisia, was never an Ottoman province. However, the weakness of central authority hindered any indigenous steps toward educational modernization. Because educational modernization appeared first through foreign schools, then through French colonial institutions, modern culture in Morocco became Francophone. During the protectorate period, civil educational initiatives to promote the use of the Arabic language remained a failure. On the other hand, traditional schools and *madrasas* enjoyed continuity, despite some curricular and institutional reforms. At present, members of the *ulama* still act as *kadis* for legal issues concerning personal status. Overall, Morocco represents a model of educational reform in which revolutionary modernization has not taken place, but instead evolutionary development.

ALGERIAN MODERNIZATION

In contrast to Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco, Algeria did not "enjoy" protectorate status but was subjected to direct colonization. The cultural agenda of France was to turn the country into a "French Algeria." The main obstacle to this agenda was the institution of Islam. Thus, the long-term French policy became to eliminate Islam, and to settle Algeria with French colons. As the traditional school system deteriorated, either due to

negligence or the hostility of the French administration, Algerians traveled to Tunisia or Morocco for their education. Tunisia's *madrasas* offered religious and other kinds of instruction to students and scholars from Algeria. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Tunis functioned as a publishing center for Algerian scholars seeking to print religious works, which French-controlled printing presses in Algeria did not allow. The French administration founded a modern school system for French colons, the University of Algiers (1881). Muslims were initially only allowed to enter primary schools, and later secondary schools in certain specified towns.

One reaction to this cultural subjugation was a tendency among Sufis toward withdrawal from worldly life. As a consequence new Sufi orders, such as the Rahmaniyya, emerged. During the second half of the nineteenth century convents of this order (e.g., Tulqa Zawiya, Al-Hamil), located in the remote south, became important educational centers. Not only religious and mystical subjects were taught, but also courses on natural sciences. At Al-Hamil in particular, hundreds of students and scholars engaged in educational activities. Funding for these schools derived largely from the donations of the thousands of pilgrims who traveled to see the convent sheikhs each year.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century colonial rule in Algeria became more tolerant, as new francophone Muslim generations emerged. In 1894 the Association of Francophone Muslims was founded, with the aim of promoting Arabic culture. In these years Arabic works on the history of Algeria began to appear, and a bilingual newspaper was published. Thanks to these improved conditions, the reformist *ulama* of Algeria began to organize themselves. In 1931 Abdülhamid bin Badis founded the Association of the Algerian Muslim *Ulama* with the aim of reforming Islamic education in line with the principles of Islamic modernism. This association set up a network of reformed *madrasas*. Similarly, another organization, the People's Party, set up *madrasas* devoted to popular education. French colonial authorities did their best to prevent these movements, but in 1947 they were forced to acknowledge Arabic as the language of education. These *madrasas* were crucial in developing Algerian national consciousness, and the *ulama* cooperated closely with the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) organization.

Following independence in 1962, Algeria became a socialist country. The leaders of the FLN were staunch secularists, which led to the dissolution of the Association of the Algerian Muslim *Ulama* and the prohibition of Sufi orders. In this respect Algeria followed the examples of Turkey and Tunisia, and the policy of "Unity of Instruction" was applied. The French colonial presence

of more than a century left a strong linguistic imprint on Algeria. Not surprisingly, French continued to serve as a language of instruction along with Arabic. In order to overcome this colonial legacy, a policy of Arabization was applied to public education. Due to the lack of qualified Arabic-speaking teachers, instructors were imported from other Arab countries, particularly Egypt. By the year 2000, all institutions of higher learning had adopted Arabic as the language of instruction.

Among all Middle Eastern countries, it was Algeria that experienced colonialism to the most intensive degree. For Paris, Algeria was not a colony, but a core region of France. Prior to independence, numerous well-educated Algerians came to consider themselves Muslim French citizens. This phenomenon represented a crisis of identity among Algeria's urban strata. Indeed it was the traditional Sufi orders and the *ulama* who resisted French cultural domination and established alternative educational institutions. By the time Algeria became independent, the language of the urban population had become French. It is questionable to what extent the program of forced Arabization has really succeeded. Islamism rather than Arabism seems to have become the national identity of Algerians, as the developments of the last decade have shown.

IRANIAN EXPERIENCE

As with the Ottomans, modernization efforts in Iran were conditioned by military defeats at the hands of Russians (1803–1815). But in Iran these steps were taken by a provincial government and not by the central authority (the Qajar regime, 1797–1925). The governor of Azerbaijan, crown prince Abbas Mirza, launched military reforms from 1807 to 1815, with the help of French, then British experts. However, these efforts did not include the foundation of schools. This same governor sent students to Britain for technical education (in 1811 and 1815). One of these students set up a printing press in Tabriz and published the first Iranian newspaper (1837).

The first centrally initiated military reforms were undertaken during the reign of Mohammad Shah (r. 1834–1848). In 1836 British officers were engaged to form a new Iranian army. Between 1843 and 1847 new students were sent to European countries for training in a variety of technical fields. Amir Kabir, the reformist prime minister serving under Naser al-Din Shah (r. 1848–1896), hoped to establish an efficient bureaucracy, staffed by well-educated civil servants. Thus, he took the major step of setting up a modern higher educational institution. His polytechnic school (Dar al-Fonun, 1851) was the first educational institution outside Shiite *ulama* control. Instructors were brought from Austria and Italy, and

the language of instruction was French. The school offered courses ranging from military sciences to medicine. In 1860 the Ministry of Sciences—a forerunner of the Ministry of Education—was founded. Between 1851 and 1870 the number of Iranians studying abroad increased. During the period of 1870 to 1875, three specialized secondary schools were established to produce civil and military officials. But outside these ventures there was no state policy of setting up a system of modern public education, in contrast to the Ottoman Empire and Egypt.

This educational void was filled, to a very marginal extent, by foreign and missionary schools. French, American Protestant, and Jewish school networks were visited by Iranian students. Modern education for the wider Iranian public was provided for the first time by these institutions. The lack of modern public schools was strongly felt by the Iranian intelligentsia, and from 1888 onward civil initiatives emerged to found modern private schools, in Tabriz, Tehran, and Mashhad. The institutions that resulted were modeled after the Ottoman *rüşdiyye* schools, but met fierce *ulama* resistance, even to the level of physical violence. During the more liberal reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah (r. 1896–1906), the civil organization Society for Education (1897) coordinated the increasing number of private schools. Due to the lack of a teachers' seminary and textbooks, many of the teachers and much of the teaching material was provided by the Alliance Française, and at some schools the language of instruction was French.

The Qajar period was characterized by a weak administrative infrastructure and lack of centralization. As a consequence, centrally coordinated reforms aimed at developing public education were not initiated. It was only under the authoritarian modernist regime of the Pahlavis (1925–1979) that all provinces were incorporated into an administrative network. A modern public school network was set up during the reign of Reza Shah (r. 1925–1941) and expanded under the rule of Mohammed Reza Shah (r. 1925–1979). The University of Tehran was founded in 1934.

The Shiite *ulama* was not incorporated into this process of modernization and remained as a social body apart from the officially directed developments. Though their official role within Iranian society was diminished as a consequence of administrative, legal, judicial, and educational reforms, the *ulama* stratum still continued to exist. In fact, between 1941 and 1961, Mohammed Reza Shah was anxious to keep good relations with the senior members of the clergy. During this period the city of Qum became the main center of religious education (*hawza*). Shaikh Abdülkerim Khairî in the 1920s and 1930s, and Ayatollah Burujerdî between 1946 and

1961 promoted the development and reformation of the *madrasas* of Qum. Burujerdî supported a school network, with primary and secondary levels, in which religious as well as secular subjects were taught. This network was directed by Association of Islamic Education. As a consequence, educational life in Iran remained deeply divided, as there was no meaningful relationship between the two alternative school networks.

The cordial relationship between the shah and the *ulama* broke down with the White Revolution (1963). The most important element of this series of reforms was land reform. Huge tracts of land, until then under the control of religious foundations, were taken over by the state authority. Thus *madrasas* lost their financial basis. Simultaneously, *madrasas* were put under political pressure, and many of them were closed down. The *ulama* lost its control over *madrasas*, which were handed over to the secular Organization of Endowments. These developments may seem to be similar to the closure of the *madrasas* in Turkey (1924). However, the Ottoman *madrasas* had already lost their *raison d'être* due to institutional decay throughout the previous century, and the Turkish *ulama* had, to a major extent, been incorporated into the public school system. In the Iranian case, however, the *ulama* emerged as a major source of discontent and opposition. Due to the close ties between the *ulama* and the conservative community and merchant stratum (*bazarîs*), the Shiite clergy was able to present itself as the representative of the masses, in opposition to the Shah and his administration.

SEE ALSO *Islamic Modernism.*

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Selçuk Akşin Somel

EDUCATION, WESTERN AFRICA

The nineteenth century constituted a momentous turning point in the history of Africa. Not only did it witness the end of the slave trade and the inauguration of legitimate commerce, the high tide of European imperial invasion, conquest, and pacification, but it also heralded the introduction of Western education. European Christian missionaries were the precursors of Western education. While Western education was a valuable instrument of effective colonization and pacification of Africa, ironically it was also very useful for the eventual decolonization of Africa. It is against this background that the history of Western education remains an overarching theme in African history. However, it is erroneous to assume that there was no system of education in Africa before the advent of the Europeans. The nature of colonialism resulted in the denigration and disruption of the African traditional cultures and systems of education to make way for Western education and European civilization. Although private schools were set up to reverse these distortions, they were too few to make any significant impact.

This article examines the central and pioneering role of the Christian missionaries in the introduction of Western education—specifically, the emergence of private and public schools—in the sub-Saharan Africa, and the place of Western education in the effective colonization and eventual decolonization of Africa. It is noteworthy that the mission school systems, modeled after European metropolitan institutions, became the cornerstone of future educational planning in postindependence Africa. At the higher education levels, European university systems were wholly adopted with little modifications in almost all of the newly independent African states. Western education became indispensable in the formation of new identities and national development.

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

The concept of education in Africa was not a colonial invention. Prior to European colonization and subsequent introduction of Western education, traditional educational systems existed in Africa. The enduring role of education in every society is to prepare individuals to participate fully and effectively in their world; it prepares youths to be active and productive members of their societies by inculcating the skills necessary to achieve these goals. Although its functions varied, African traditional education was not compartmentalized. Fundamentally, it was targeted toward producing an individual who grew to be well grounded, skillful, cooperative, civil, and able to contribute to the development of the community. The educational structure in which well-rounded qualities were imparted was fundamentally informal; the family, kinship, village group, and the larger community participated in the educational and socialization process.

In his *Education in Africa*, Abdou Moumouni affirmed that the educational process essentially was based on a "gradual and progressive achievements, in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of the child" (Moumouni 1968, p. 15). The medium of instruction was the native language or "mother tongue" through which systematic instruction was delivered by way of songs, stories, legends, and dances to stimulate children's emotions and quicken their perception as they explore and conquer their natural environment.

The African child was taught the various tribal laws and customs and wide range of skills required for success in traditional society. Traditionally, education received by Africans was oriented toward the practical. Work by Magnus Bassey (1991) indicates that those who took to fishing were taught navigational techniques like seafaring, the effects of certain stars on tide and ebb, and migrational patterns and behavior of fish. Those who took to farming had similar training. Those who learned trades and crafts, such as blacksmithing, weaving, woodwork, and bronze work, needed a high degree of specialization and were often apprenticed outside their homes for training and discipline. Those who took to the profession of traditional priesthood, village heads, kings, medicine men and women diviners, rainmakers, and rulers underwent a longer period of painstaking training and rituals to prepare them for the vital job they were to perform.

Teaching was basically by example and learning by doing. African education emphasized equal opportunity for all, social solidarity and homogeneity. It was complete and relevant to the needs and expectations of both the individuals and society. This is because it was an integral part of the social, political, and economic foundation of the African society. However, the advent of the European missionaries and the introduction of Western education through the mission schools changed, in many fundamental ways, the dynamics of African education. Western education soon took the center stage in Africa, debasing, challenging, and supplanting the traditional, informal education along with its cultural foundations.

MISSIONARIES AND WESTERN EDUCATION

The history of Western education in Africa is directly traceable to the relentless efforts of European Christian missionary bodies. Missionary activities in Africa began as early as the late fifteenth century following the successful exploratory missions sponsored by Prince Henry ("the Navigator") of Portugal. For these expeditions, Prince Henry received several letters of indulgence from the Church encouraging the propagation of the Catholic faith. Although a few Portuguese missionaries visited the courts of the *oba* (king) of Benin and Mani-Kongo for the purpose of conversion of Africans, their efforts did not translate into firm establishment of Christianity in these areas. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, Christianity made practically no headway in Africa as the Portuguese abandoned their idea of conversion. The new and lucrative trade in slaves became a European focus; missionaries now administered prayers to the slaves on the coasts before their departure to the New World.

The evangelical revival movement in Europe during late 1700s reawakened missionary zeal. Encouraged by the reports of explorers of primitive, backward, and so-called "godless" races of Africa, many evangelicals committed themselves to the task of Christianizing and "civilizing" them. The *Great Awakening* witnessed the establishment of missionary societies led by a group of influential Englishmen—the Clapham Sect—who devoted their time and energy to reviewing the problems of the moment. Two major issues of the time, the abolition of slavery and extension of Christianity outside Europe, dominated the deliberations of this group. Prominent members of the Clapham Sect, including William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, and Zachary Macaulay, believed that the slave trade was abominable and repugnant on humanitarian ground and that abolition of the trade was a necessary precondition for the successful Christianization of Africa. Consequently, their struggles recorded a breakthrough in 1807 when the British parliament passed a bill to abolish slave trade in England. The passage of the slave bill gave stimulus to the growing number of Christian mission societies who were prepared to commence evangelical work in Africa.

Missionary concern for Africa was on two major fronts: first to help encourage Africans to abandon the inhuman trade in slaves, and secondly to teach African natives the noble ways of life. The reports of European
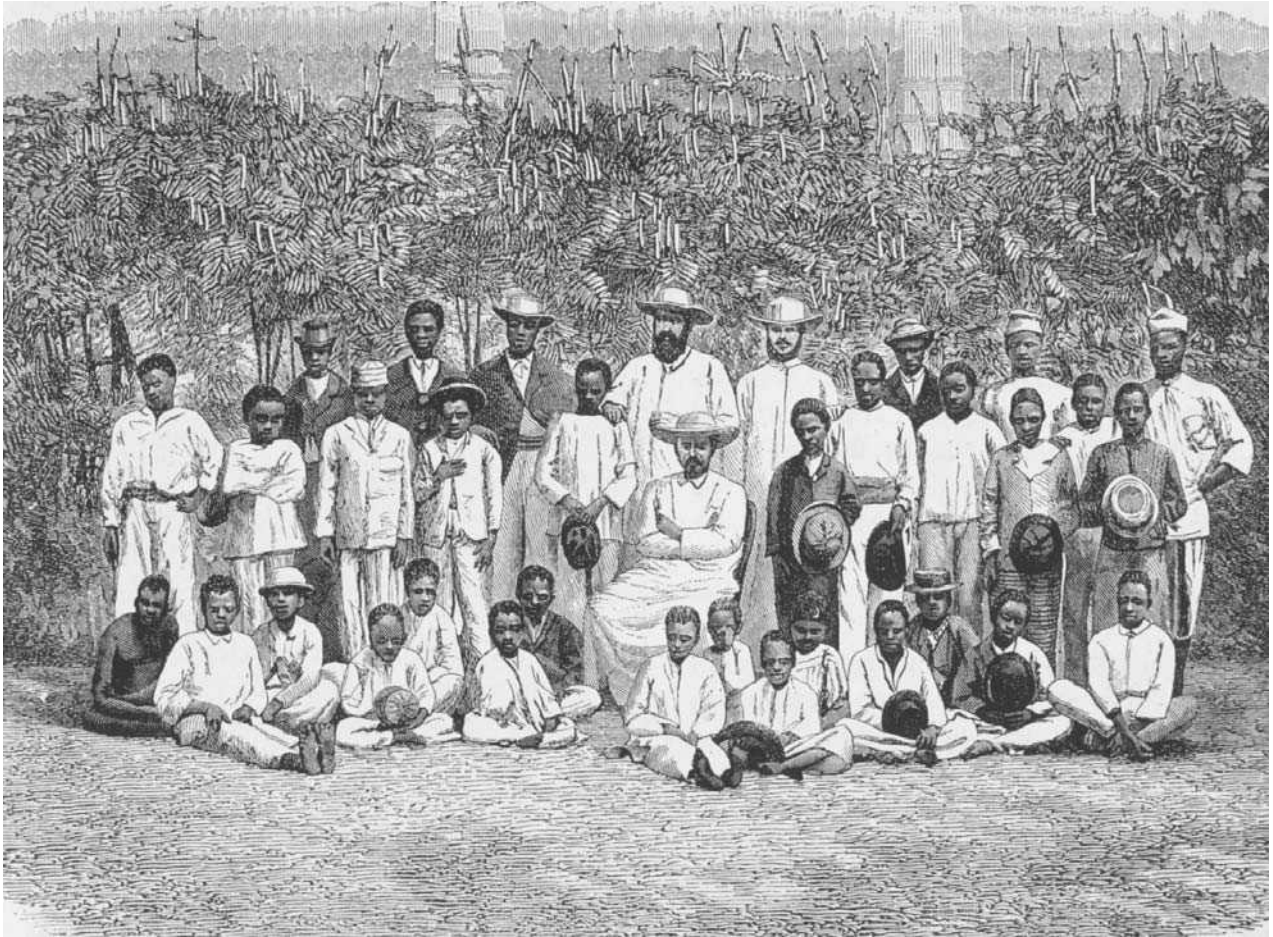
Missionaries in Benin. *A group of European Christian missionaries pose with students in Porto-Novo, Benin, in this illustration from the* History of the Catholic Missions *(1882).* © **ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

travelers and their travelogues profoundly informed missionary endeavors in Africa. Their reports reinforced the myth of a Dark Continent and an uncivilized and secular people, providing the *raison d'être* for the European missionary enterprise in Africa. From the start, however, Europeans were well aware that for effective conversion and civilization of Africans to occur, the introduction of Western education through mission schools was necessary. The missionary agenda was to convert Africans to Christianity through the medium of education with the Bible as the major master text. The ability to read and understand the Bible became an overriding index of success for the missionaries.

The earliest formal, Western schools were founded in West Africa, attached to the castles in the Gold Coast, modern day Ghana. There were three of such schools; the oldest was established at Elmina by the Dutch West Indian Company in 1644 and placed under the control of the Castle Chaplain for the education of the mulatto children for whom they felt some responsibility. These children were to be educated as Christians, speaking the Dutch language and imbibing the Dutch culture. It was hoped that the Dutch who held subordinate posts might be replaced by Africans of partly European descent who would be more accustomed to the climate than Europeans. Afflicted by fluctuating fortunes—staffing, funds, and public support—the Elmina School still lasted for more than 200 years until the Dutch departed.

A similar school was founded at Christiansborg (also in Gold Coast) by the Danes in 1722, and like Elmina, it was for mulattoes under a Danish Resident Chaplain. The teacher was a soldier. At first, this school admitted only boys who it was hoped would become soldiers who would form a mulatto guard for the Danish forts on the coast. Its curriculum was similar to Elmina's. Like the Elmina school, Christiansborg was frustrated especially by the minimal support it received from the Danish government.

The third school, which was established at Cape Coast by the English in 1752, by all accounts was the first real mission school in West Africa. Its founder, the Reverend Thomas Thompson, was sent out from England by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Its curriculum was clerical. Reverend Thompson sent three Africans to England for training, two of whom died and the third, Philip Quaque, returned to Cape Coast as a missionary in 1766. He took charge of the Cape Coast School and reorganized it for instruction in "religious knowledge, reading, writing and arithmetic" (Priestley 1968, p. 112). Like the other two schools that preceded it, the Cape Coast schools suffered changes of fortune and continued in an irregular fashion until it was taken over and reorganized by the colonial government of Sierra Leone under its governor, Sir Charles McCarthy.

The advances, activities, and accomplishments of the European missionaries especially in relation to Western education before the 1800s were at best only minimal. The three schools were begun as isolated ventures rather than as coordinated beginnings of widespread educational systems. Their operations were quite irregular and their curricula were narrow as they were originally designed to serve a small percentage of the population, the mulattoes and their children. Be that as it may, there is no question that the schools influenced later education in the Gold Coast, providing an enduring educational tradition upon which others would build.

Though preceded by other groups such as the Lutheran Moravian Brethren and the London Missionary Society, the formation of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in London in 1799 was quite auspicious for evangelism and Western education. This Society subsequently provided the leadership for the European missionary enterprise in Africa. Soon, other missionary bodies became involved; it was no longer just a matter of converting Africans to Christianity as emphasis shifted to sects and nationality. In a way, it was a scramble for the souls of Africans. These missionary groups included the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS), the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the Baptist from the (American) Southern Baptist Convention, the Society of African Missions (the Catholic Mission) from France, the Jesuits, the Basel Missionaries, and the Lutherans.

In 1804, for instance, two German Lutheran clergy, Melchior Renner and Peter Hartwig, trained in the seminary at Berlin, sailed to Freetown for missionary work, as did the Danish Basel Mission, which sent four missionaries, Holzwarthe, Schmidt, Salbach, and Henke, to the Gold Coast in 1827. Many Sierra Leoneans, especially the recaptives, were converted to Christianity.

But the death toll among missionaries was heavy from the start, reaching a peak in the yellow fever epidemic of 1823. This frustrated European evangelical missions. Recognizing that Africans were better used to the harsh tropical West African climate, the CMS, therefore, began to support a policy of training Africans as priests for the ministry.

Thomas Fowell Buxton, a prominent member of the British parliament and vice president of the CMS had urged the cooperation of the government and the missionary societies in the "deliverance" of Africa. Joseph Shanahan, the head of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Eastern Nigeria in the early twentieth century, affirmed: "Those who hold the school holds the country, holds religion, hold its future" (Jordan 1949, p.94). Father Wauter, a Catholic missionary in Western Nigeria pointedly stated, "We knew the best way to make conversion in pagan countries was to open school. Practically all pagan boys ask to be baptized. So, when the district of Ekiti-Ondo was opened in 1916, we started schools even before there was any church or mission house" (Abernethy 1969, p.39). Clearly, education became central to the missionaries for the realization of these goals as underscored by Buxton and others. Such education, it was argued, would help reshape the African economy in favor of legitimate trade, making it possible for the emergence of a generation of educated African middle-class elite who would become leaders of the church, commerce, industry, and politics in Africa. It was, therefore, in response to the ferment of the time that the CMS founded a regular training college at Fourah Bay in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1827, for African clergy. Unlike the three earlier schools in the Gold Coast, the story of Western education in Sierra Leone was that of expansion, although occasionally this was frustrated by the frequent deaths of the missionaries. Fourah Bay ultimately became an important institution for Western education, where many West Africans studied for clerical or teaching profession. Perhaps the most famous of Fourah graduates was Samuel Ajayi Crowther who was ultimately ordained the first African bishop of the Anglican Church by the CMS. In 1857, following a successful private expedition up the Niger, Crowther was commissioned to establish an African mission for evangelism. He later became instrumental to the establishment of schools and missions in Eastern Nigeria. Crowther died in 1891. By 1935, however, the CMS had established schools and missions in virtually all parts of the present-day Nigeria.

In East Africa, Anglicans, Scottish Episcopalians, and Methodists had an alliance aimed at working toward a united ministry based on united training. The most enduring contribution of the alliance was in education. For instance, Alliance High School at Kikuyu in Kenya

was opened in 1926, and a CMS missionary, Carey Francis, was appointed headmaster in 1940. Alexander Mackay, a teacher, evangelist, builder, and printer, was central to the educational development in Uganda. The early Christians were known as readers, and by 1880 the first translations of parts of the Bible were circulating, printed on Mackay's own press. In the 1920s through the 1930s, almost exclusively missionaries ran East African schools.

The expansion of mission schools in Africa was quite dramatic, and missionary societies were at the center stage of this development. In Nigeria, for instance, the CMS, which started with 6 schools in 1849, increased the number to 150 by 1909. Similarly, the Wesleyan Mission schools increased from 3 (with 255 pupils and 9 teachers) in 1861 to 138 schools (with 5,361 pupils and 285 teachers) in 1921, while the Roman Catholic Mission increased their schools from 2 in 1893 to about 127 in 1922. The Basel Mission Society in the Cameroon enrolled about 100 students in 1904 and 6,600 by 1914. The trend of growth was also evident in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, especially in East Africa. For instance, in Uganda the CMS expanded the number of its schools from 72 (with 7,683 students) in 1900 to 331 schools (with 32,458 students) by 1913. In Nyasaland the Dutch Reformed Church set up 111 schools (with 10,000 students) in 1903, and by 1910 the figures went up to 865 schools with over 25,796 students.

From the start, European missionaries and their mission schools were contemptuous of African indigenous cultures. Instructions provided to Africans were designed to impart foreign (Western) cultures and values. Africans were persuaded to abandon their own culture and tradition. While the older people proved more reluctant to change, the younger ones readily succumbed to the new teachings of white missionaries, denigrating and rejecting their own cultures and tradition. Yet, the commoner and the oppressed classes were more inclined to discard the traditional ways that offered them little or no advantage. In other words, conversion depended upon the personal benefits, real or imagined, that Christianity conferred. In *Things Fall Apart* (1959), Chinua Achebe showed how the *osu* (outcasts) of Umuofia were the first to abandon their customs and tradition, seek conversion to Christianity, and receive Western education. However, in *Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background* (1964), Otonti Nduka noted the contradictions of missionary education for Africa: While the school taught them one set of values based on European culture and values, the home and the environment taught them African ways of life.

Soon, earlier African converts began to feel the yoke of a religion that was closely tied to European culture and

colonialism, and they challenged not only the teachings of the missionaries but mission schools' curricula and instructions. As early as the 1880s in South Africa, the African Christian clergy had rebelled against European domination of their churches. Consequently, they formed their own independent Christian churches, a movement that later spread across central Africa in the wake of European imperialism. African Church leaders saw the Bible's notion of justice and equality as applicable to all humankind; they also considered the Second Coming of Jesus Christ as signaling an end to oppression and colonialism. Similarly, the idea of private schools began to gain ground in order to check cultural alienation and to include secular education in the curricula.

In East Africa, as in other places, trouble started when the Church of Scotland missionaries (CSM) demanded that all African church elders and schoolteachers renounce female circumcision. As a result, the CSM lost 80 percent of its students as Kikuyu established independent, private (community) schools under their control. By 1933, there were 34 such schools with 5,111 students, and by 1936, the figures had increased to 50 schools. Similar private schools emerged in many parts of Africa. They include the Majola Agbebi's Agbowa Industrial Mission School in Nigeria established in 1895, John Chilembwe Providence Industrial Mission in Nyasaland established in 1910, John L. Dube's Ohlange Institute in Natal established in 1900, Eyo Ita's Independent School in Nigeria established in 1920, and Aggrey Memorial School established in Uganda in 1935. In a sense, the African independent church movement and private school initiatives were both an early expression of nationalism.

WESTERN EDUCATION AND COLONIALISM

The successful imposition of European colonial rule on Africa between 1890 and 1900 challenged and redefined the purpose of Western (commonly referred to as colonial) education in Africa. For quite some time, tensions existed between the missionaries and the new colonial governments over who should control of the schools. The missionaries jealously guarded their schools. Although they were in dire need of African auxiliaries for the colonial service, the ecclesiastical focus of instruction at the mission schools troubled the colonial administrators. In his article "Educational Policies and Reforms," Apollos Nwauwa argued that, while missionaries used education as an instrument for effective conversion of Africans to Christianity, colonial governments saw education as means of socially and politically controlling the subjects. This marked difference meant that a clash between the missionary bodies and colonial officials was inevitable. The establishment of public, government

schools in many parts of Africa was a consequent of this face-off. In Nigeria, for instance, two government schools—a Muslim school and King's College both in Lagos—were opened in 1900, and by 1930, the number of government schools had increased to 51, and that of assisted schools increased to 275 while unassisted (mission) schools were 2,413. In comparison to the mission schools, government-run schools were too few. Yet, colonial governments were not prepared to commit their meager budget toward the complete takeover of education in Africa.

Thus, despite the continuing tension between them, the missionaries and the new colonial regimes recognized that they needed each other. While the various colonial governments protected the missionaries from, sometimes, hostile African groups, the missionaries were very useful agents of colonial pacification and acculturation. Since the sheer costs of running schools independent of the missionaries worried colonial administrators, some compromised solutions became necessary. Both the missionaries and colonial administrations shared similar interest in the role of education in the civilization of Africans and in creating a body of literate, obedient, organized, and productive Africans for the benefit of European imperialism. Not surprisingly, by 1925, as Roland Oliver and J.D. Fage noted, the British embarked on a far-reaching education policy "whereby colonial governments would spend their limited funds in subsidizing, inspecting, and improving the schools already operated by the Christian missions instead of founding rival and far more expensive systems of state education" (Oliver and Fage 1979, pp. 214-215). Therefore, for financial reasons as well as for a marriage of convenience, mission schools not only co-existed with government and private school, but also surpassed the latter in their rate of expansion and African patronage. As many sub-Africans became Christians, mission-run schools continued to be attractive.

Nevertheless, the nature of colonial involvement in education depended on the administrative style of each colonial power. A common feature was that in the early years of European occupation, the education of Africans was left to private, missionary initiatives, with occasion colonial government subsidies. The various colonial governments eventually became more involved through far-reaching educational policies and reforms, providing broad guidelines for the schools. The French assimilation policy dictated the nature of its education policy in Africa. Since assimilation was based on the assumption that Africans were primitive and should be transformed and absorbed into the so-called "civilized" French culture and way of life, education became a veritable instrument for accomplishing this objective. Assimilation accorded qualified Africans the rights to French citizenship with all its subordinated privileges.

To qualify for assimilation, however, the acquisition of Western education that meant the adoption of French culture was a prerequisite. Since the religious focus of the mission schools was not adequate in accomplishing the assimilation's objectives, the French colonial administration intervened to realign education accordingly. Fluency in French was a prerequisite. School administrators and teachers were directed to replace the mother tongue hitherto used by the missionaries as a medium of instruction with the French language. The use of French at all educational levels was a key element in fulfilling the policy of assimilation. It was a powerful instrument in the dissemination of French culture among the natives. The policy of association that later replaced assimilation also targeted the elite classes of Africans who met the criteria for French citizenship and who would become *assimiles* through adoption of French culture and education.

The French educational scheme for Africans was quantitatively limited and elitist. The educational focus was in the provision of primary, secondary, and vocational training meant to fit Africans to their physical environment as well as subordinate positions in the colonial service. As Ralph J. Bunche acknowledged, the French colonial educational policy was shaped by a preconceived notion of what Africa was to be, of what his status in the changing world should be, and hence the need to provide education for them "along his own lines" (Bunche 1934, p. 71). The sweeping changes of the post World War II (1941–1945) period did not result in significant shift in the French colonial educational policies. The educational system adopted by the Portuguese, Belgium, and Germany followed the French pattern very closely. Like the French, assimilation constituted the cornerstone of the Portuguese colonial policy in Africa. Believing that the African was primitive, the Portuguese designed their colonial educational system to impact Portuguese culture and values. Consequently, they regarded their colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and the islands of Sao Tome and Principe as overseas extension of Portugal, merely physically separated from Portugal. This notion gave a misleading signal that they were genuinely dedicated to the principle of equality with Africans. The selective and restricted educational practices of the Portuguese colonial governments contradicted their declarations on assimilation. In his article "Portuguese Africa" (1961), James Duffy observed that the Salazar's regime envisaged the formation of a devout, semi-literate, hardworking, and conservative African population.

The purpose of Portuguese education in Africa, as outlined in the Regulation of 1899, was to prepare Africans for their future roles as peasants and artisans. Thus, the type of education provided for the masses was

for psychological and cultural assimilation with limited political integration. The school fees were quite high. White children were privileged over blacks. As a result, only a handful of Africans received sound primary and secondary training that prepared them for university education. This was hardly surprising because Portugal was a poor country and could not afford the educational promises based on mass education, civilization, and assimilation. Nevertheless, the limited instruction provided became a tool for the spread of Portuguese culture, language, and civilization that was essentially non-African in character.

The Belgian educational policy in Africa can be described as Platonic; it emphasized the transmission of certain unquestioned and unquestionable ethical values to Africans in relation to predetermined status and function. The policy favored primary school to the complete neglect of postprimary and university education as the case of the Congo demonstrated. For the Belgians, as George Kimble intriguingly stated, "It is better to have 90 percent of the population capable of understanding what the government is trying to do for them … than to have 10 percent of the population so full of learning that it spends its time telling the government what to do" (Kimble 1960, p. 115).

As a result, by 1951, even though there were about 30,000 students who were enrolled in Belgian schools in the Congo, no one qualified for college entrance. At independence, there were less than twenty university graduates in the whole of Congo to run the country. No doubt, the Belgians had the worst record in the provision of education for Africans. The German educational policy was also designed to train Africans as laborers. General Von Trotha was the principal architect of the German education policy, which allowed Africans to receive practical training as laborers to ensure the regular supply of workers for the colonial system.

Under the British indirect rule system, which, in principle, preserved the African indigenous political system, basic and vocational education—and not higher education—was privileged. This was simply because there was no role for a highly educated African in a political set up that depended on the use of traditional political institutions under the kings or chiefs. The report of the Educational Committee of the Privy Council of 1867, which was quite critical of the literary education provided by the missionaries, advocated a strong vocational education for Africans. Yet, for a long time, the British left education to the discretion of the missionaries only to increasingly intervene as colonial rule became firmly established. For instance, in 1872, as work by David Abernethy (1969) notes, the government of Nigeria instituted a system of grant-in-aid, whereby mission schools meeting

certain minimal secular standards received a bursary to help defray expenses incurred in running the schools. Similar practice was also introduced in the Gold Coast, according to Foster. However, notwithstanding the increasing involvement of colonial governments in setting the policies and guidelines for education, a total take-over of mission schools did not occur before independence. The logistics for such a complete take-over proved daunting for the British colonial administrators.

On the eve of independence, therefore, government and private schools, comparatively fewer in number, co-existed with the mission schools. By 1945, there were comparatively few literate Africans who had not received all or part of their education in mission schools. Missionary control of education throughout most of the colonial era meant that the colonial rulers paid only lip service to the education of Africans. It was not until 1948 that the British established four universities in four of their African colonies after resisting the pressure by African educated elite for almost one hundred years. Inadvertently, however, the coalescence of doctrines of the Bible, the preaching of missionaries, the teachings of the mission schools, and colonial education had ingrained in the African the formidable and liberating ideas that would shake the foundations of European colonial rule.

WESTERN EDUCATION AND DECOLONIZATION

The enduring impact of Western education produced its own contradictions. Early enough, the colonial governments had recognized that their power over Africans depended not necessarily on physical but mental (psychological) control through the school system. Deficient in scope and content, colonial education promoted vocational studies and neglected technology, pure and applied sciences, and engineering. African studies were excluded from the colonial education curricula. For instance, the history syllabi emphasized the history of European activities in Africa instead of the history of Africa and Africans. It praised the Europeans who supposedly discovered Mount Kenya and Rivers Niger and Congo as if Africans who lived in the areas did not know about these rivers. In almost all instances, no mention is made of Africans who led the European explorers to their targets. Unquestionably, colonial education resulted in the erosion of African identity and imparted a limited sense of the African past.

The novelist Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1981) noted the isolationist and alienating influences of colonial education in Africa, including contempt for their African names, languages, environment, heritage of struggle, unity, and mental abilities. Educated Africans not only became deluded hybrids alienated from their cultures and tradition, but individuals who longed for alien and

"more civilized" cultures of the West. It was on this score that Walter Rodney argued that colonial education in Africa "was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment" (Rodney 1972, p. 264). By killing the communalist spirit in Africans and replacing it with a capitalistic one; by corrupting the mental sensibilities of Africans; by providing selective training to fill auxiliary positions in the colonial service, by emphasizing vocational rather than a well-rounded education; and by disregarding the peoples' cultures in the educational curriculum, colonial education, according to Rodney, fostered the underdevelopment of Africa's intellectual resources. However, despite its limited and misplaced purposes and negative effects, Western education produced some unintended positive consequences for Africans. It served as a catalyst to African nationalism.

Following the successful European invasion and imposition of colonial rule, Africans had been disconcerted by their humiliation and loss of sovereignty. European Christian missionary evangelism and religious instructions, embraced by many Africans mainly for their implicit benefits, gradually became perceived as agents of European imperialism. African suspicion increased. Revolt became imminent. From the discontent of the earlier African converts who founded their own independent Christian churches through the establishment of private schools, slowly but surely, Africans began to protest against not only European occupation but also the concomitant cultural dislocation and alienation.

Many mission-educated Africans, a number of who became teachers and members of the clergy, were not satisfied with their limited education. Consequently, they began to seek for advanced training. Because the various European colonial powers refused to establish universities in their colonies, Africans who could afford it proceeded overseas (especially the United States and United Kingdom) for further studies. Completing advanced (university) training in various fields abroad coupled with exposure to the deep cultures of the West—politics, economics, social issues—and various powerful concepts such as liberty, self-determination, equality, it was only natural for them to relate these notions to their own conditions in Africa. As the work of J. F. Ade Ajayi (1965) has affirmed, educated Africans began to use those same ideas as a standard by which to judge the intentions and actions of the European administration. Empowered and emboldened, they returned home to confront the colonial situations that would force them to question not only the very basis and justifications for European colonial rule but also other intriguing imperial notions,

including racial hierarchy, colonial differential salaries for Africans, and employment discrimination.

Unfortunately, European colonial officials were not prepared to accommodate or address the aspirations of the new but potent elite. Initially, some of these educated elite only demanded appointments and salaries in the colonial civil service commensurate with their training, with the hope of working their way up the political ladder, but European colonial officials who saw them as a threat to the status quo frustrated their hopes. This was a tactical error. African elites consequently felt marginalized. Decolonization became their ultimate goal. Implicitly, Western education had become instrumental in helping Africans in their articulation of imperialism as a global phenomenon.

By mid-1950s, graduates of African universities joined the ranks of their overseas-trained counterparts in pressing for political reforms toward the ideals of self-government. It was from the graduates of these universities that the currents of nationalism flowed across much of Africa. Yet, the effects of World War II on European powers and their colonies ultimately provided African-educated elites (nationalists) with the *raison détre* for mass mobilization against colonial rule. They readily employed political concepts, tactics, and slogans of sovereignty and self-determination, as tested in the West, not only to mobilize the masses into action but also to launch major onslaughts against European colonial rule. European retreat from the empire soon resulted in outright decolonization in Africa by the late 1950s to mid-1960s. Without a doubt, Western education remains relevant in any analysis of the rise and fall of European empires in Africa.

Without a doubt, Western education also provided the necessary tools needed by African nationalists to dislodge European colonial rule. In a sense, Western education created a kind of *Frankenstein Monster* for colonial rule. It was introduced by the Europeans to consolidate their imperial rule in Africa, but it ended up assisting Africans in the liquidation of colonial rule. However, the departure of Europeans from Africa did not result in the dumping of neither Western education nor European cultures and value systems. Rather, what followed was the wholesale adoption of European customs, political systems, and other ways of life through what has popularly become known as neo-colonialism. A contradiction remained. While empowering to Africans, Western education was also alienating.

SEE ALSO *Missionaries, Christian, Africa; Portugal's African Colonies; Religion, Western Presence in Africa; Sub-Saharan Africa, European Presence in.*

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Apollos O. Nwauwa

EGYPT

Egypt's first military confrontation with a modern Western power came with the arrival of the French expedition of 1798. Led personally by Napoléon Bonaparte the campaign aimed to strike at British trade and imperial interests but was also motivated by romantic notions of Egypt. French forces easily defeated the Egyptian Mamluks, first in Alexandria, then again outside Cairo at the Battle of the Pyramids. In time, however, the occupation provoked strong popular resistance that, in combination with joint action by Ottoman troops and the British fleet, forced the French to withdraw after only three years. Although militarily a failure, the French expedition had a more lasting cultural and technological impact by impressing Egyptians with the superiority of modern European warfare and science.

Following the French withdrawal, the Ottomans sought to restore order to the country. After an internal power struggle, Muhammad 'Ali, an officer of the Albanian regiment sent to Egypt by the sultan, was appointed governor of Egypt in 1805. Over the following decades he consolidated his control over the country, established a dynasty, and laid the foundations of the modern Egyptian state. Muhammad 'Ali embarked on an extensive program of modernization, the central pillar of which was military reform. Unable to recruit mercenaries from the Caucasus or transform Sudanese slaves into modern soldiers, from 1822 he began to form a new army by conscripting the native Muslim population, using Turko-Circassian officers trained by European instructors. He also developed artillery, engineering, and cavalry corps, as well as a large navy, so that by 1840 Egypt boasted the strongest military force in the region. Initially employing his forces at the behest of the sultan first in Arabia, then later in Greece during the 1820s, in 1831 he began to pursue his own imperial designs by occupying Syria and ultimately threatening Istanbul itself. Under considerable political pressure from the Europeans, particularly the British, who felt their interests threatened, Muhammad 'Ali was forced to withdraw from Syria and reduce his army to a modest eighteen thousand men under the Treaty of London signed in 1841.

Domestically, Muhammad 'Ali presided over a significant program of government reorganization establishing a series of departments that would provide the basis of the modern ministries. The country was divided into administrative districts and provincial officials were given responsibility for conscription, taxation, security, public works, agriculture, and industrial development. Turko-Circassians were favored in the higher offices, with Arabic speakers occupying the more junior positions. Due to the need for competent administrators, a series of student

missions to Europe was sponsored, the first in 1826 to Paris, where future state bureaucrats received a modern education. A number of specialized local institutions were also set up to provide training in administration, accountancy, medicine, and foreign languages. Reforms were instituted in the systems of taxation and land tenure. In 1814 tax farming had been abolished and villages made responsible for taxes to be paid directly to the state. The granting of land to members of the ruling family, various military men, civil officials, notables, and tribal chiefs developed into a form of ownership dominated by large landowners. Cultivation of the land, especially of cotton, was encouraged, and the irrigation system was kept in good repair. A monopoly system forced producers to sell to the government at lower than market price and guaranteed state revenues. Assisted by improvements in communication and transport, trade with Europe increased, displacing the Ottoman Empire in economic importance. Muhammad 'Ali's industrial policy was less successful, though scholars are divided on how much this was due to local factors, such as the lack of a skilled management and workforce, investment capital, and cheap power, and how much to European competition. In 1841 the monopoly system and local industries were dismantled when Egypt was forced to accede to the Anglo-Ottoman trade agreement. Thus, while Egypt under Muhammad 'Ali was transformed into a centralized state with increased resources and power, at the same time the way was opened to greater penetration by European political and economic interests.

After the death of Muhammad 'Ali in 1848, his heirs, with the exception of 'Abbas (1848–1854), continued his policy of modernization. During the reigns of Sa'id (1854–1863) and Ismail (1863–1879), both of whom were European-educated, infrastructure projects proceeded apace. The first railway in Africa was built from Cairo to Alexandria in 1854; a telegraph system and a government postal service linked Egypt to Europe. The centerpiece of this program was the construction of the Suez Canal linking the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Completed in 1869 and run by the privately owned Suez Canal Company (though the British government was a major shareholder), the canal enhanced Egypt's international and strategic importance. An ardent Europeanizer dedicated to the idea that Egypt was part of Europe, Ismail transformed modern Cairo into a European city, encouraged the establishment of European educational institutions, and favored the adoption of European dress among the elite.

Egypt was enjoying increasing prosperity during this period from export earnings, principally from its cotton crop, which was particularly profitable during the years of the American Civil War when Egypt was the principal source of supply for European textile manufacturers.

However, the great cost of development projects caused the Egyptian state to sink seriously into debt. Ismail's extravagant personal lifestyle added to the financial burden, as did the expense he incurred to secure the title of Khedive and the right to contract loans without authority from the sultan. In order to placate European banks and bondholders, the Egyptian government was forced to reorganize its finances and accede to various political demands. The system of Dual Control established in 1877 gave British and French representatives the authority to supervise government expenditure and revenue and in August 1878 Ismail's agreement to the formation of a "European cabinet" under Nubar Pasha that included an English finance minister and a French minister of public works extended European financial and political control. In June 1879 European pressure on the Ottoman sultan saw the dismissal of Ismail and his replacement by his more malleable son, Tawfiq. The increasing influence of European states on the governance of Egypt prompted a reaction from alienated local military officers and civil officials. In September 1881 a group of nationalist officers, led by Ahmad Urabi, surrounded the palace and insisted on the formation of a constitutional government headed by Sharif Pasha. A joint note issued by the British and French governments in the following January isolated Sharif and made European intervention against Urabi increasingly likely. When a series of riots broke out in Alexandria in June 1882, British warships anchored offshore bombarded the city and landed troops to restore order to the country. Now war minister, Urabi sought to resist British forces but his troops were defeated at Tel al-Kabir on September 13. Egypt was now under British occupation.

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

Although the declared aim of the British government was to stay in Egypt only for as long as it took to put Egyptian finances in order, the occupation would last seventy-four years. Until 1914 it was maintained by a small army of occupation numbering twelve thousand men and by the appointment of British officers to senior positions in the Egyptian army. British advisers took up prominent positions in the civil administration. In 1905 British nationals occupied 42 percent of higher posts with only 28 percent held by Egyptians, and the remaining number by Syrians and Armenians. Political control was maintained through the Egyptian government. Lord Cromer (Evelyn Baring), the British consul-general from 1883 to 1907, exercised considerable authority in the choice of ministers who, like Mustafa Fahmi Pasha, prime minister from 1891 to 1893 and 1895 to 1908, were mostly drawn from the Turko-Circassian elite. Tawfiq proved a weak ruler and although his son 'Abbas Hilmi II tried to exercise greater independence

EGYPT

| 0 | 50 | 100 | 150 | 200 Miles |
| 0 | 50 | 100 | 150 | 200 Kilometers |

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Khalîj as-Salûm
(Gulf of Salum)

ISRAEL

GAZA STRIP

Damietta
Port Said

Marsá
Matrûh
Alexandria

As Sallûm
Al Alamayn

Al Maḥallah
al Kubra
Tantā
Al Manşurah
'Al Arîsh

JORDAN

Libyan Plateau

Ismailia
Suez Canal
Shibîn al Kôm
Cairo
Al Jizah
Helwân
Suez
Sudr

*Sinai
Peninsula*

*Qattara
Depression*

Pyramids of Giza
Memphis
*Birkat
Qārūn*
Al Fayyūm
Bani Suwayf

Abu
Rudeis
*Mt. Catherine
8,652 ft.
2637 m.*
Aţ
Ţûr

SAUDI

ARABIA

Sîwah

*Western
Desert*

Al Minyā

Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Aqaba

LIBYA

Great Sand Desert

Asyûţ
Nile

Arabian Desert

Al Ghurdaqah

Sûhâj
Qena

*Red
Sea*

Mûţ
Al Khârijah
Valley of the Kings
Thebes
Luxor

Bârîs

Aswân
Aswân High Dam
Minâ'
Baranis

*Lake
Nasser*

Egypt

SAHARA DESERT

Libyan Desert

SUDAN

of action he was consistently outmaneuvered by Cromer. Because Egypt was still formally part of the Ottoman Empire during this period, Britain maintained a certain legal deference toward Istanbul but with the outbreak of the First World War and the Ottoman decision to join Germany, Britain formally annexed Egypt as a protectorate in 1914.

British rule emphasized economic rectitude. Financial arrangements were quickly put in place to pay off Egypt's national debt, including the costs of damage caused during Urabi's uprising. Economic policy sought to develop Egypt as a source of raw materials for British industry. To this end cotton production was intensified, effectively making Egypt a monocultural economy. An active public works program was pursued that maintained and extended irrigation works, including a system of barrages and dams (the first Aswan Dam was completed in 1902), as well as the road and rail networks. The cotton crop was largely responsible for the transformation from a subsistence to a monetary economy—by

1914 it accounted for 93 percent of Egyptian export earnings—but this led to economic growth rather than development. The industrialization of the country was neglected and low tariffs made competition with foreign imports difficult. Little investment was made in public education and literacy rates remained low. The result was the continued domination of large landholders and an increase in the number of landless peasants. The negative impact of these policies would later be central to the future economic crisis.

British colonialism also came to have a significant social influence in Egypt. Historically Egyptian society had always been ethnically and religiously pluralist, a tendency manifested by significant Christian and Jewish communities living alongside the majority Muslim population. During the nineteenth century Muhammad 'Ali had encouraged many with relevant skills to migrate to the country in order to assist in its development. Armenians, Greeks, Maltese, and Italians, many of them leaving difficult circumstances at home, arrived in large numbers to take advantage of the economic opportunities. As European influence increased, and especially after 1882, other Europeans from Britain, France, and Belgium came to form a significant part of the bourgeoisie. They benefited from the Capitulations, the system of legal and economic privileges granted by the Ottomans to those with European nationality, but also from the British policy of favoring the use of foreigners in government posts. Under the British, pluralism became increasingly identified with colonial rule, an association reinforced by the British government's arrogation to itself of the role of protector of foreign interests in the country. This policy extended to the Copts, the local Christian population, who were in government employment. Indeed, some historians regard this practice as a significant cause in the development of the religious tensions between Muslims and Copts that surfaced during the first decade of the twentieth century and reappeared at various times thereafter.

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND THE 1919 REVOLUTION

After the crushing of the Urabist movement in 1882, it took more than a decade for an Egyptian nationalist movement to stir. In the late 1890s a young lawyer, Mustafa Kamil, with support from 'Abbas Hilmi II, began to campaign for Egyptian independence and the evacuation of British forces. In December 1907 he formed the National Party as a vehicle for nationalist activity. Around the same time, the more moderate Umma Party, led by Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, was also established. Unwilling to countenance a change in Egypt's status, Britain clamped down on any expressions of nationalist agitation. After World War I (1914–1918), Egyptian leaders, expecting the loyalty of the country to be rewarded, renewed their calls for independence and sought to send an Egyptian *Wafd* (delegation) to the Paris peace conference in 1919. When the British refused to permit the presence of an Egyptian delegation, a series of uprisings, known as the 1919 or National Revolution, broke out throughout Egypt, protesting the continued British occupation. The British responded by deporting to Malta the members of the Wafd, now the de facto nationalist leadership, including its leader Sa'd Zaghlul. A commission of enquiry headed by Lord Milner, sent to Egypt in November 1919 to report on the situation, made little progress because of an Egyptian boycott. Unrest and extended negotiations continued into 1921 without resolution. Finally, to break the deadlock, the British government declared a unilateral settlement on February 22, 1922, which granted Egypt self-government with its own constitution, monarchy, and a parliamentary system, but which reserved to the British government four areas of authority: the security of imperial communications, the defense of Egypt, the protection of local foreign interests and minorities, and the status and future of Sudan.

The new constitutional arrangements inaugurated the so-called liberal period (1922–1952), but even within the terms of the settlement there were significant limitations on the Egyptian government. The constitution gave the monarchy considerable authority, regularly exercised by King Fu'ad (1922–1936), to install a series of minority governments and keep the mass-supported Wafd out of office. In addition, it was soon evident that the British continued to wield a great deal of informal influence. In November 1924, following the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the commander of the Egyptian Army, the British high commissioner, Sir Edmund Allenby, issued a harsh ultimatum to the Egyptian government. So humiliating were its terms that Zaghlul, now prime minister, felt obliged to resign. This pattern of British interference continued, particularly during the term of Sir Miles Lampson (later Lord Killearn) as British high commissioner (1933–1946). Throughout the interwar period the question of the legal relationship between Egypt and Britain remained an active political issue. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, a mutual defense pact signed in 1936 and prompted by the increasing threat of war, provided the legal basis for the British use of Egypt as a base of operations during World War II (1939–1945). It also, however, included a British agreement to withdraw from Egypt in twenty years' time and pledged that Britain would support Egyptian demands to abolish the Capitulations at the Montreux Conference in 1937. Nevertheless, wartime brought confrontation. In February 1942, concerned by the pro-Axis sentiments

of the Egyptian government of ʿAli Mahir, Lampson ordered British tanks to surround Abdin Palace and forced King Faruq to install a pro-Allied Wafdist government. The event vividly demonstrated the illusion of Egyptian independence and served thereafter as a source of humiliation for Egyptian nationalists.

Despite the political differences between the Wafd and the pro-palace parties the Egyptian elite was drawn from the traditional landowning class and promoted little substantial economic or social reform. The establishment of Misr Bank by Tal ʿat Harb in 1920 was an attempt to nurture Egyptian-owned industry and promote a national bourgeoisie in place of the comprador bourgeoisie, but this approach had only limited success. The new political forces from both the left and right that would more effectively challenge colonialism and ultimately the legitimacy of the traditional ruling class came from other quarters. The Egyptian Communist Party, first established in 1922, was quickly suppressed by the government. The movement reemerged in the 1940s, however, and came to play an influential role after the war with its radical, secular, and anti-imperialist program. Appealing to a very different constituency, the Muslim Brotherhood had been formed by Hasan al-Banna in 1928 as a reaction to the abolition of the caliphate in 1924 and the increasing Western influence in the Islamic world. By the 1940s it had developed into a significant political force articulating a program of Islamic modernism. Another political party, Young Egypt, formed by a group of university students in the early 1930s, combined nationalist, fascist, and Islamic elements.

The period from the end of World War II until 1952 was one of increasing political instability and social tension in Egypt. Large public protests were held against the continued British occupation. In February 1946 a demonstration organized by a coalition of students and workers ended with the death of a number of protestors, caused by British action. Political violence grew with the assassination of two Egyptian prime ministers, Ahmad Mahir (d. 1945) and Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi (d. 1948), as well as Hasan al-Banna (d. 1949). The defeat of Egyptian forces by the Israelis in the Palestine War of 1948 to 1949, compounded by a scandal regarding the inferior state of Egyptian arms, added to the atmosphere of crisis. Despite the demands of a growing population, a series of governments failed to deal with Egypt's pressing economic difficulties, particularly the urgent need for land reform (2 percent of the population now owned 50 percent of the land), the lack of industrial development, and the low rates of literacy. The last Wafdist government elected at the beginning of 1950 was in many ways the last throw of the old political order. However, it proved cautious and unwilling to effectively tackle the crisis even if it finally gave way to public

pressure and abrogated the 1936 treaty in October 1951. Large demonstrations against the British occupation were held in Cairo and Alexandria during the following month. On January 25, 1952, a gun battle broke out between Egyptian police and British troops in Ismailia in which a large number of policemen died. An anti-British riot in Cairo the following day, "Black Saturday," resulted in a fire, begun by parties unknown, that burnt down much of the modern city center. King Faruq responded by dismissing the Wafdist government and a series of weak cabinets followed during the first half of 1952.

THE JULY REVOLUTION

Within the Egyptian military the continuing state of national crisis, the impotence of the political class, and the debacle in Palestine had politicized some junior officers. In late 1949 Gamal ʿAbd al-Nasir formed a group called the Free Officers, many of whom were members of the first class of Egyptian graduates of the military academy; though not united in their political views, all were agreed on a broad nationalist program. On the night of July 22–23 the Free Officers seized power in a virtually bloodless coup later known as the July Revolution. The new regime was made up of a group of young officers, later formalized as the Revolutionary Command Council, fronted by a more senior officer, Brigadier General Muhammad Nagib, although Nasir was always the dominant figure. Having immediately sent the unpopular Faruq into exile, the new government embarked on a program of land reform and reconfiguration of the political order, banning all political parties in January 1953 and declaring Egypt a republic in June of the same year.

Initially, the new regime was received favorably by Western governments and particularly the United States. On October 19, 1954, after extended negotiations, Britain and Egypt reached an accord that provided for the withdrawal of British troops from Egyptian soil. (The last troops departed in June 1956.) However, Egyptian foreign policy was beginning to give Washington and London cause for concern. Early in 1955 Egypt refused to join the pro-Western Baghdad Pact and in April Nasir played a leading role in the establishment of the non-aligned movement at the Bandung Conference. More alarming for the Western alliance was Nasir's decision, after failing to purchase arms from the West, to conclude the Czech arms deal in September 1955. These concerns in part explained the American decision to withdraw its offer to finance the building of the Aswan High Dam in July 1956. Nasir's response, the announcement of the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company on July 26, prompted the Suez crisis, which ended with Egypt in

control of the canal. This outcome enhanced Nasir's international status, particularly in the Arab world, and provided a clear sign of Britain's imperial decline. Suez also signaled a closer relationship between Egypt and the Soviet Union, which had agreed to fund the Aswan Dam and assist in the modernization of Egyptian military forces. However, the move toward the Soviet Union was more pragmatic than ideological in motivation. Arab nationalism was the most critical ideological element of the Nasir regime. The creation in 1958 of the United Arab Republic, the union between Egypt and Syria, seemed to embody Pan-Arab aspirations, but the merger lasted only three years partly because of Egyptian unwillingness to genuinely share power. The episode made clear that, despite all the Pan-Arab rhetoric, there were considerable political differences within the Arab world. In fact, Nasir's call to revolution would bring him into conflict with conservative Arab monarchies and other republican regimes, such as the one in Iraq, which sought to steer their own course; it would also lead to a civil war in Yemen. Nasir continued to be preeminent in the Arab world throughout the 1960s, and sponsored progressive movements throughout the Arab world, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization. In the domestic arena, Egyptian policy turned significantly to the left in the early 1960s with its espousal of Arab socialism. A series of decrees in July 1961 nationalized a wide range of banks, shipping companies, and industries and economic policy promoted industrialization and economic self-sufficiency. The following year the National Charter provided a blueprint for the government's political program and established the Arab Socialist Party as the official political party. In 1965, after a government campaign of severe repression, the Egyptian Communist Party agreed to dissolve itself in return for some of its members receiving important positions in the regime. However, the Muslim Brotherhood continued to be dealt with harshly and many of its members were imprisoned. These economic and political changes brought significant social transformations as well. In the interwar period Egypt had continued to attract foreigners, many of whom continued to occupy significant social and economic positions after 1945. In the course of the 1950s and early 1960s this population substantially departed the country. This was partly because of external events, such as the Suez crisis, which saw the expulsion of British and French nationals, many of them long-time residents. As Israel asserted itself in the region the position of the local Jewish population became increasingly precarious. Other ethnic communities, such as the Greeks and Armenians, while never expelled, found that the heightened Pan-Arab rhetoric and nationalizations made life more difficult, even as opportunities for migration to the United States, Canada, and Australia

made the idea of leaving more palatable. The result was an Egyptian postcolonial society that lost a considerable amount of human expertise and was less pluralist and more overtly Arab in character.

The spectacular defeat of Egypt by the Israelis in the 1967 War fatally wounded the pretensions of the Arab nationalist project and though Nasir remained president until his death in September 1970, he was no longer the radical force he had been. He was succeeded by Vice President Anwar Sadat, who proceeded to overturn much of the Nasserist program and move the country ideologically to the right. In 1972 Sadat expelled Soviet military advisors from Egypt. His initially successful surprise attack on the Israelis in the 1973 Yom Kippur War in the end led Egypt into a closer relationship with the United States, a fact dramatically demonstrated when he signed the Camp David peace treaty with Israel in 1979, after extended negotiations under American auspices. This treaty ended the state of belligerence between the two countries and gave Egypt back the Sinai (occupied by the Israelis since 1967), but it resulted in a decisive break with the rest of the Arab world and Egypt's expulsion from the Arab League. Domestically, Sadat pursued a policy of economic liberalization (*infitah*) that significantly opened up the economy to market forces, though popular riots in 1977 persuaded him to draw back from fuller implementation. His policy of political liberalization granted a limited right for opposition to operate. By the end of the 1970s Sadat's increasingly pro-Western policies were provoking considerable domestic opposition from leftists, Islamists, liberals, and even the Coptic Church. After a large-scale crackdown against his critics, he was assassinated in October 1981 by Islamic militants. He was succeeded by Husni Mubarak, who in less flamboyant style has maintained a close political relationship with the United States; indeed, Egypt continues to be the second most important American ally in the Middle East after Israel. It was accepted back into the Arab League in 1989. Because Egypt was directly influenced by British imperialism until 1952 and shaped by the imperatives of the Cold War thereafter, scholars remain divided over the question of whether the legacy of colonialism or indigenous factors best explain Egypt's current economic and political difficulties.

SEE ALSO *Baring, Evelyn; Cotton; Muhammad Ali; Nasir, Gamal Abd al; Suez Canal and Suez Crisis.*

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Anthony Gorman

ELMINA

SEE *Colonial Cities and Towns, Africa*

EMPIRE, BRITISH

The term *British Empire* refers to political and geographical territories formerly under the control of the British Crown—either as colonies, dependencies, protectorates, mandates, or dominions. The coining of the term *British Empire* is mostly attributed to the Welsh astronomer, mathematician, and alchemist John Dee (1527–1608), who in a 1570 publication invoked "this Incomparable Brytish Empire." Although Great Britain came into official existence only with the Act of Union in 1707 unifying England and Scotland, the term is generally applied to the English colonial realm before that date as well. In this entry, *British Empire* will be used in this sense, referring to all English, Scottish, and British colonial territories acquired since the early seventeenth century. Until 1707, the respective protagonists are referred to as England or Scotland, from then on only as Britain or Great Britain.

It is sometimes argued that the British Empire began with King Henry II (1133–1189) declaring himself lord of Ireland in 1171, but usually the origins of empire are associated with England's expansion to overseas territories in North America in the early seventeenth century. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Britain's empire advanced to global hegemony and reached its greatest expansion shortly after World War I (1914–1918), encompassing about a quarter of the world's land area.

Decolonization after World War II (1939–1945) brought independence for most of Britain's overseas territories during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. The return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 has often been described as the end of the British Empire—but even today there are a number of overseas territories remaining under British control, such as Anguilla, Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, or the Falkland Islands. British colonial engagement is often described in two phases differing in their regional focus and the underlying concept of colonialism—the First British Empire from around 1600 to American independence, and the Second British Empire from then to decolonization.

THE FIRST BRITISH EMPIRE

England—and even more so Scotland—was a latecomer in European overseas activities. During the fifteenth century it completely lacked both the economic and strategic potential to participate in early colonialist endeavors. When England finally started to develop a taste for overseas trade and settlement in the mid-sixteenth century, Portugal and Spain had both firmly established themselves as transatlantic empires and extracted substantial profits from their American holdings. Hence, early English overseas activities, such as John Hawkins's (1532–1595) three slaving expeditions to western Africa (1562–1586) or English buccaneering in the Caribbean, intruded into hitherto exclusively Portuguese and Spanish domains.

The resistance of the established colonial powers further delayed English overseas expansion. However, Sir Francis Drake's (ca. 1543–1596) circumnavigation of the globe (1577–1580) and the victory over the Spanish Armada at Gravelines (1588) established England as a major naval power and facilitated private overseas engagement on any significant scale. At the same time, economic incentives for overseas trade emerged. North America

Colonial Possessions of the British Empire, 1530
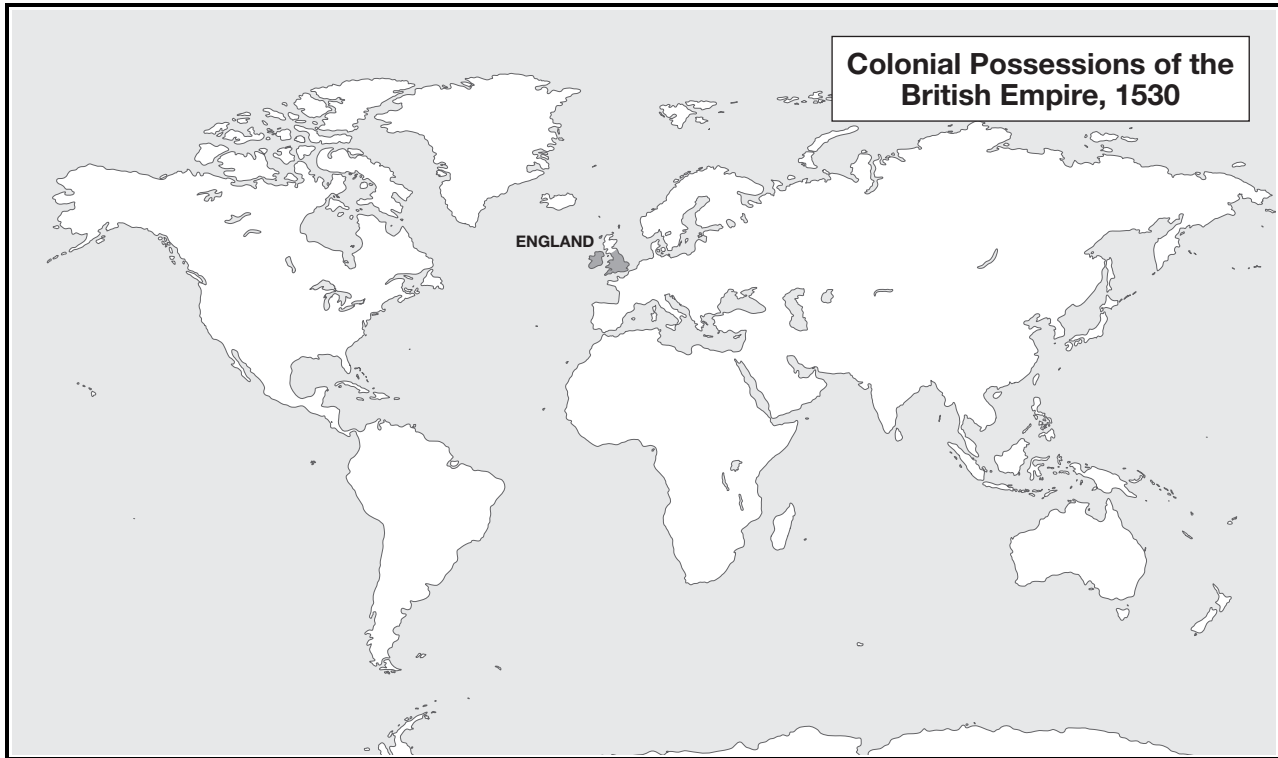
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

offered rich fishing grounds and other resources (e.g., fur). Potential overseas markets became increasingly attractive to English producers and merchants when they lost access to Antwerp as the major cloth market during the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568–1609).

Humphrey Gilbert (ca. 1539–1583) established a settlement in Newfoundland in 1583, and Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618) founded a colony on Roanoke Island, Virginia, in 1585. Although both ventures had to be abandoned shortly after their founding, a first step toward English overseas expansion had been made. After peace with Spain in the Treaty of London (1604), English colonialism gained momentum. Jamestown in Virginia was founded in 1607 and became England's first permanent settlement in North America. The colony was saved from severe economic distress by the introduction in 1612 of the tobacco plant, whose cultivation immediately proved to be a highly profitable venture.

Such bright economic prospects attracted other settlers from the motherland, and numerous new settlements were founded. When the Puritan Pilgrims established Plymouth Colony in 1620, they became the first religious separatists to seek refuge in North America and thus gave an example that was later followed by many other religious groups. Salem was founded further

to the north in 1626. From the Salem settlement sprang in 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Company. The company secured itself a royal charter and was granted the administration of the colony. This practice proved successful and attracted large numbers of immigrants. By 1640, the colony boasted a total population of 11,500.

The English government saw North American colonization as a means to relieve rising population pressure in the home country, and the British encouraged emigration. Connecticut was founded in 1633, Maryland in 1634, and New Haven in 1638. The administration of the colonies rested with royally chartered joint-stock companies. In 1664 England seized New Amsterdam from the Dutch and renamed it New York. The influential Quaker William Penn (1644–1718) secured a royal charter in 1681 and established Pennsylvania as a refuge for his coreligionists. The settlement prospered and attracted a steady influx of European immigrants.

Further north, the Hudson Bay Company successfully tried to participate in the hitherto French-dominated fur trade from 1670 onwards. Territorial tensions between France and England increased and—in the course of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714)—culminated in the British takeover of Acadia (a region in eastern Canada) and Newfoundland in the Treaty of Utrecht in

BRITISH EMPIRE, KEY DATES

1570: Welsh astronomer, mathematician, and alchemist John Dee coins the term British Empire

1583: English explorer and nobleman Humphrey Gilbert establishes a settlement in Newfoundland

1585: English explorer and statesman Sir Walter Raleigh, Humphrey Gilbert's step-brother, founds a colony on Roanoke Island, Virginia

1607: Jamestown, England's first permanent North American settlement, is founded in Virginia

1620: The Puritan Pilgrims establish Plymouth Colony in present day Massachusetts

1620s: English colonization of the Caribbean commences with the settlement of Saint Kitts and Barbados

1626: Salem, Massachusetts, is established

1629: The Massachusetts Bay Company—a British enterprise that establishes the Massachusetts Bay Colony at present day Boston—is formed

1655: Britain takes Jamaica from Spain

1664: England seizes New Amsterdam from the Dutch and renames it New York

1681: William Penn secures a royal charter and establishes Pennsylvania

1713: The Treaty of Utrecht results in British takeover of Acadia (a region in eastern Canada) and Newfoundland

1765: The Stamp Act prompts colonial demonstrations and an import embargo of British goods

1773: The Tea Act culminates in the so-called Boston Tea Party

1776: Thirteen American colonies declare their independence

1783: The Treaty of Paris results in Britain's acknowledgement of American independence and the end of the so-called First British Empire

1788: British colonization of Australia begins with the establishment of Sydney in New South Wales

1791: The separate provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada are established

1796: Britain takes Ceylon (Sri Lanka) from the Dutch

1806: British forces overtake the Dutch Cape Colony in South Africa

1840: New Zealand comes under British authority with the Treaty of Waitangi

1840: The two Canadas are reunited in the Act of Union

1842: Hong Kong falls to Britain with the Treaty of Nanjing

1858: The British Crown assumes direct control over India

1867: The British North America Act creates the Canadian Confederation

1870s: The era of "new imperialism" begins, leading to formal British control over wide parts of Africa, as well as imperial expansion in Asia and the Pacific

1876: Queen Victoria is proclaimed empress of India

1885: Britain occupies Burma

1918: Following World War I the British Empire reaches its greatest extent, but struggles to maintain control over its vast territories

1931: The Statute of Westminster and the Commonwealth of Nations give Britain's white settler dominions full sovereignty or authority over their own affairs

1945: Post-World War II decolonization begins and continues through the 1960s, bringing gradual independence for most of Britain's overseas territories

1947: India achieves independence, eventually leading to the partition of British India into Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India

1948: Ceylon and Burma achieve independence

1950s: African decolonization commences late in the decade

1961-1983: British colonies in the West Indies achieve independence

1997: Some consider the return of Hong Kong to China as the end of the British Empire

2006: A number of overseas territories remain under British control, including Anguilla, Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, and the Falkland Islands

1713. The Transportation Act of 1718 made provisions for the transportation of convicted criminals from Britain to North America. Thus emigration to the colonies further increased.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, tensions between New France and New England and their European motherlands mounted again and finally led to the global Seven Years' War (1754–1763 in the North American colonies, where it was called the French and Indian War; 1756–1763 in Europe). After winning the war, Britain took over the remaining French possessions in America. Only Louisiana went to Spain as compensation for the British occupation of Florida. By 1760, the British colonies in North America housed 1.6 million inhabitants—rising to 2.7 million only twenty years later. This population explosion was mainly due to the large-scale immigration of Europeans and African slaves, as well as to high natural population growth resulting from the comparatively favorable living conditions in the American colonies.

The Caribbean had been a stage for English activity since the middle of the sixteenth century. Tolerated—at times even encouraged—by the British Crown, privateers like Sir Francis Drake harassed the Spanish in the region. English colonization commenced only in the 1620s with the settlement of Saint Kitts and Barbados. Jamaica was taken from Spain in 1655. These new holdings immediately attracted European planters as the land proved well suited for the cultivation of tobacco and sugarcane.

The early tobacco plantations were mostly run as smallholdings and employed mainly convicts or "indentured" labor from Europe. Falling world-market prices for tobacco and competition from Virginia soon rendered small-scale tobacco farming unprofitable. Sugar, on the other hand, enjoyed favorable market conditions and promised quick and large profits. Although intensive in capital and labor, sugar cultivation attracted many planters and investors. The abundance of suitable land and the availability of imported slave labor led to the "sugar revolution" of 1630 to 1670, when large parts of the Caribbean were completely transformed into tropical export economies based on huge, slave-run, European-owned production units. The early years swelled the planters' coffers with immense profits and—although the profit margin had narrowed to about 5 percent by then—Caribbean sugar cultivation remained a profitable venture well into the 1820s.

Trade with Africa attracted English merchants from the early sixteenth century onwards. However, English engagement on the West African coast remained marginal at first. Mostly short-lived factories were established during the first half of the seventeenth century. These concentrated mainly on trade in redwood and gold. Only when the "sugar revolution" in the Caribbean led to rising labor demands that could not be satisfied with European convict or indentured labor anymore did the slave trade arise as a profitable business.

The English entered the slave trade—originally dominated by Portuguese and later Dutch merchants—from the 1640s onwards and established slaving stations on the West African coast. Founded in 1672, the Royal African Company was granted the English monopoly on the slave trade and provided the North American and Caribbean plantations with African slave labor. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 eventually granted to the British the exclusive right to supply slaves to Spanish America—the so-called *asiento*. Hence, the British emerged as the dominant protagonists in what became known as *triangular trade*. British ships loaded slaves in Africa and sold these slaves in the Caribbean, loading sugar in exchange. They brought the sugar back to Europe, exchanging it for rum and other processed goods, which they finally sold in Africa, thus completing the triangle. Following reasonable estimates, the (triangular) slave trade brought between 9.5 and 11.5 million African slaves to American plantations from the sixteenth century until the abolition of the slave trade (1802–1833).

Since the beginning of colonization, the economic relations between the motherland and the American colonies were based on mercantilist trade doctrines. Mercantilism rested on the belief that the wealth of a country depended exclusively on the amount of gold and silver that it possessed (bullionism). Mercantilism, therefore, required a favorable balance of trade, with the home country's exports to the colonies being larger than its imports. To achieve such a favorable balance of trade, mercantilist countries restricted and protected overseas trade. The English Parliament did so by passing the first Navigation Act in 1651, reserving imports from the colonies for English merchants. Five more Navigation Acts between 1660 and 1773 extended the reach of the acts. Mercantilist trade protectionism and the seemingly arbitrary imposition of various duties and taxes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continually annoyed the colonies and led to their gradual alienation from Britain.

Although Britain took over French possessions in America after the Seven Years' War, the war had been a costly enterprise. Convinced that the French and Indian War had been mostly a colonial affair benefiting the American holdings, London tried to recover its war expenses by increasing the financial burden of the colonies. In 1764 Britain halved import taxes on West Indian products and simultaneously cracked down on smuggling. A year later, the infamous Stamp Act imposed a levy on the issuing of all legal documents in the American colonies.

The colonists regarded the stamp duty as extremely unjust and staged an import embargo of British goods

Colonial Possessions of the British Empire, 1648

ENGLAND

Massachusetts Bay

Virginia

Surinam
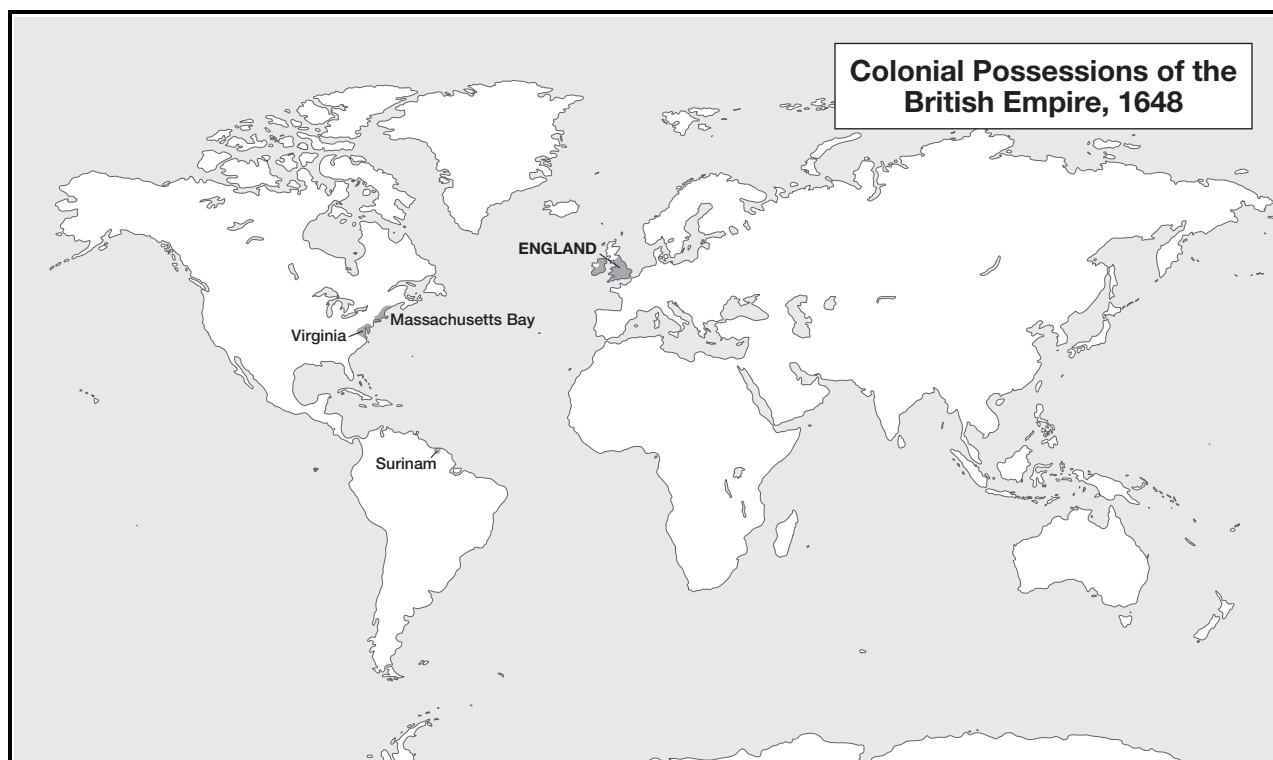
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

and demonstrations throughout the colonies. The duty soon proved to be uncollectible and the Stamp Act had to be repealed in 1766. To compensate for this defeat, the British Parliament issued a Declaratory Act that emphasized its full legal authority in North America. However, this act remained mostly a dead letter. Duties on tea and manufactured imports introduced in 1767 had to be abolished after only two years due to the noncooperation of the colonists. Britain responded with the threat of force and stationed a garrison at Boston in 1770. Several local outbreaks of violence in the following years further alienated Britain and America.

The implementation of the detested Tea Act in 1773, cementing the English East India Company's quasimonopoly of the American tea trade, intensified the conflict and culminated in the so-called Boston Tea Party of 1773. American activists—symbolically masked as Indians—seized a shipload of tea and threw it into the sea. The conflict escalated and led to violent clashes between the "Patriots" on the American side and the "Loyalists."

However fierce, American resistance against British authority had never aimed at full independence from Great Britain until then. Only when Britain refused to enter into negotiations did thirteen American colonies declare their independence in 1776. With the help of French forces, the colonies finally managed to defeat a substantial British force sent to suppress the rebellion. The Treaty of Paris ended hostilities in 1783, and Britain had to acknowledge American independence.

Attempts of the United States to conquer the remaining British colonies in former French Canada were fended off. Although lacking representation in London and at times badly neglected, the Canadian colonies remained loyal to Britain. As stout Catholics, the Canadians feared religious discrimination at the hands of the new Americans.

By 1783, the first white decolonization of modern times had been successful, and a new state—or rather a federation of states—had arisen. As such, American independence not only inspired the French Revolution and Latin American independence movements, but it also marked the end of the so-called First British Empire. In this first phase, British colonialism focused mainly on the white settlement colonies in North America whose economic relations with the motherland were built around strict mercantilist beliefs. Although the loss of its most populous and economically important American colonies did not ultimately ruin Great Britain—as had often been predicted by contemporaries—the focus of the British

Empire had to be drastically readjusted. And readjusted it was by shifting it to the East and by heeding the louder and louder pleas for free trade.

THE SECOND BRITISH EMPIRE

When the Spanish Crown decided to fund Christopher Columbus's (1451–1506) ill-planned and little promising voyage—eventually leading to the "discovery" of the New World in 1492—it did so out of the desire to find a westward passage to Asia. Portugal's Bartholomeu Dias (ca. 1450–1500) had just recently circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope and reached the Indian Ocean. Spain saw itself at a serious disadvantage, and funding Columbus's voyage was an act of desperation.

The colonial potential of the New World was tremendously underestimated. Hence, when Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) finally reached India in 1498, Portugal's access to the rich Indian Ocean trade seemed far more valuable than Spain's newly acquired hegemony over the New World. Although this notion proved to be wrong, and Europe's colonial focus rested on the Americas for the next 250 years, the Indian Ocean trade emerged as an extremely profitable affair for the European sea powers as well.

The Dutch entered the Indian Ocean trade, originally dominated by the Portuguese, in the late sixteenth century. When its holdings in the region began to run at a loss in the seventeenth century, Portugal refocused its attention on Brazil and left the East to the Dutch newcomers. The latter established the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, or Dutch East India Company) in 1602, granting to it a monopoly on Dutch-Asian trade. During the seventeenth century, the VOC clearly dominated European trade in the Indian Ocean.

The VOC's English counterpart, the East India Company (EIC)—although founded two years earlier in 1600—could not compete with the VOC initially. It commanded less capital and lacked the long-term perspectives and planning of the VOC. In its first years, the EIC managed to establish a small network of bases and factories on the Indian coast, including Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Japan, but it was soon expelled from the spice regions and the East Asian trade by the Dutch. The EIC had to content itself with a small number of factories on the Indian Subcontinent.

With the consent of the Mughal emperor, who controlled about 70 percent of the Indian Subcontinent, the EIC founded a factory at the port of Surat in 1613. Fort Saint George in Madras (Chennai) was built in 1641. Ten years later, the EIC established a foothold in Bengal. In 1668 it acquired Bombay (Mumbai).

With the turn of the century, market conditions started to favor the EIC. Demand for cotton increased in Europe and America, where the slave laborers needed cheap clothing. While the VOC concentrated almost exclusively on the spice trade, the EIC had access to the Indian cotton and textile market. Countering the VOC's imports of Javanese coffee, the EIC became the prime importer of Chinese tea to Europe. Thus, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Dutch company had lost its trade supremacy in Asia. The English East Indian Company had become the single most important merchant company trading with Asia.

Although the VOC had never aimed at the creation of a Dutch overseas empire, it was the first European power in the Indian Ocean to bring larger territories under its direct domination. This practice soon proved to be economically beneficial to the VOC by giving the company direct and cheap access to local markets and a certain security of investment—albeit combined with skyrocketing administration costs.

The EIC soon followed the VOC's example. When the local ruler *(nawab)* of Bengal occupied Fort William at Calcutta in 1756 to end the EIC's trade monopoly in Bengal, the company sent an army from Madras and eventually defeated the *nawab*'s forces in the Battle of Plassey (1757). The EIC succeeded the *nawab* as direct ruler of Bengal. The Mughal emperor granted the company full rights of jurisdiction and taxation and made the EIC the legal sovereign of a vast territory on the Indian subcontinent. The company's new role was financially extremely profitable. Much of the ongoing struggle with the French Compagnie des Indes (Company of the Indies) over trade supremacy in India was funded with the new gains. The EIC conquered the French stronghold Pondicherry in 1761 and thereby marginalized the French position in India (although Pondicherry was eventually returned to France in the Treaty of Paris in 1763).

Being, after all, a private and profit-oriented enterprise, the EIC ruthlessly exploited its Indian territories. Hence, it initially extracted large profits from its holdings. Nevertheless, the company steered into financial trouble in the 1770s. Administration costs and shareholder dividends were steadily rising. In the end, the EIC had to ask the British government for help. A loan was granted on the condition of immediate administrative reforms in India. The Regulating Act was passed in 1773 and aimed at stabilizing and regulating company rule in India. The India Act of 1784 tried to intensify government control over the EIC and established the Board of Control. The act also prohibited any further expansion of the company's territory in India.

Despite such regulations, the EIC soon waged war against the French-backed sultan of Mysore and

Colonial Possessions of the British Empire, 1783
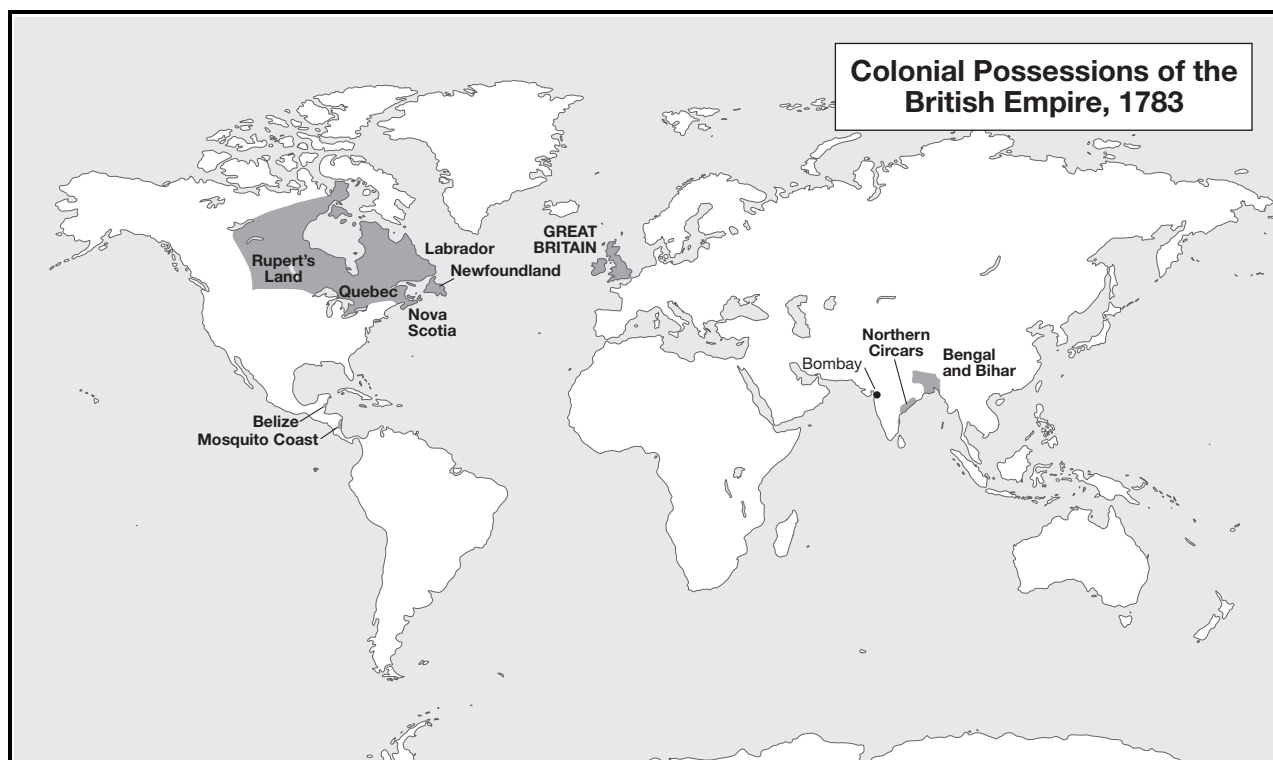
eventually conquered Mysore in 1799. War against the Maratha Empire followed and ended with an EIC victory in 1818. Like Mysore, the Maratha territory came under direct company rule. Other princely states on the subcontinent were able to retain formal independence, but were closely bound to the company. Thus, by 1818, practically the whole Indian Subcontinent had come under formal or informal EIC control. In 1824 parts of Burma (Myanmar) were annexed. After a series of clashes with the Sikh state of the Punjab, the company defeated the Sikhs and annexed the Punjab in 1849.

Although the British military forces proved to be very effective, EIC administration in India was less so. The company's pronounced focus on economic exploitation and its total lack of intercultural competence finally led to the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Triggered by rumors that the cartridges of the new Enfield rifle were greased with pork and beef fat—an alleged practice offensive to Muslim and Hindu soldiers alike—parts of the Indian sepoy troops revolted against British domination. The rebellion took the EIC by complete surprise and proved to be a formidable challenge to British rule. Lacking unifying leadership and an overall purpose, the uprising was eventually suppressed by British forces in 1858. However, the rebellion had made obvious that the EIC could not handle the administration of India in a just and

effective manner. Thus, the British Crown took over the company's possessions in 1858 and assumed direct control over India. It reorganized the administrative structure and established a conservative administration resting largely on collaboration with traditional local elites. In 1876 Queen Victoria (1819–1901) was proclaimed empress of India.

During his famous explorations in the 1770s, Captain James Cook (1728–1779) discovered a promising replacement for the thirteen American colonies—Australia. The continent proved to be of prime strategic importance. Australia emerged as an important settlement colony—and the new destination for convict transports. Sydney in New South Wales was founded in 1788 and soon prospered. By 1810, New South Wales boasted five major settlements. The land was perfectly suited for sheep husbandry, and Australia alone satisfied 50 percent of Britain's exploding demand for raw wool by 1850. In that year, New South Wales already had 265,000 inhabitants, Tasmania had 70,000, and South Australia had 64,000. Only Western Australia lagged behind with a population of merely 4,600. Immigration to Australia was further stimulated by the discovery of rich gold deposits in 1851.

In 1855 the crown colonies New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania were granted self-government within the British Empire. More sparsely

populated Queensland and Western Australia followed this example in 1859 and 1890 respectively. New Zealand had come under British authority in 1840 with the Treaty of Waitangi between the British Crown and the Maori chiefs. It achieved self-government in 1852.

The remaining North American colonies were reorganized in 1791. About 50,000 loyalist refugees had swelled Quebec's population after 1783 and introduced a substantial English-speaking element in the former French colony. Acknowledging this, the separate provinces of Upper Canada (today Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec) were established in 1791. Only in 1840 were the Canadas reunited in the Act of Union. The British North America Act of 1867 widened the union and created the Canadian Confederation.

The British Empire further expanded in Africa and Asia during the Napoleonic Wars. Ceylon (Sri Lanka) was taken from the Dutch in 1796. At the Battle of the Nile in 1798, Britain repelled the French invasion of Egypt, and firmly established its influence in the Mediterranean. After a short-lived occupation in 1795, British forces took over the Dutch Cape Colony in South Africa in 1806. Java was occupied as well, but was eventually handed back to the Netherlands after the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

Both the South African colonies and Ceylon became strategically and economically important to the British Empire. British colonists started to arrive at Cape Colony in significant numbers from 1820 onwards. The original Boer settlers left British territory and founded the Boer colonies of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. From 1815 onwards, Ceylon's interior was systematically opened up and transformed into a plantation economy producing coffee and later tea. Elsewhere in Asia, Britain expanded its holdings as well. The Straits Settlement on the Malay Peninsula was established as a crown colony in 1826. Hong Kong fell to Britain with the Treaty of Nanjing that ended the First Opium War in 1842.

The old mercantilist practices of trade protectionism were gradually abandoned after the American Revolution and replaced by ideas of free trade. The Scottish economist Adam Smith (1723–1790) published his influential *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776 and contributed to the popularization of the laissez-faire approach. Both the character of Britain as well as that of its empire started to change in the mid-eighteenth century. On the one hand, industrialization had gripped Britain and made its economy highly flexible and dynamic. On the other hand, the nature of the British Empire had changed as a whole. Having lost the most populous of its settlement colonies, the empire rested more and more on the mainly Asian colonies of domination. These territories often boasted dense indigenous

populations and were closely integrated in centuries-old trade systems. Mercantilism soon proved to be too inflexible and restrictive to fully exploit the economic potential of the new empire. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, ideas of free trade became more and more accepted and quickened the pace of empire building.

After 1858, India manifested its position as the nucleus of Britain's second empire—the "Jewel in the Crown." Ideas of "white superiority," "benevolent despotism," and the "white man's burden" began to shape relations between the "colonizers" and the "colonized." Unlike European engagement in the Americas, South Africa, or Australia, British colonialism in India, Burma, Malaya, and Ceylon lacked the significant participation of European settlers. Instead, these regions experienced an influx of European business agents and planters.

Following the Caribbean example, large-scale cash crop cultivation was introduced to wide parts of the region in the early nineteenth century. Yielding to the influence of the planting community and the European absentee investors, the colonial administration more often than not focused its attention on the welfare of the export economy and neglected the indigenous sector. British industrialization cheapened textile production and European-manufactured clothing flooded the Indian market, thereby swiftly ruining the important Indian cotton sector. This process of "deindustrialization," along with increasing population pressure, led to the emergence of widespread landlessness and the creation of an agricultural wage-labor force in (South) India. Following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in the 1830s, South India's excess labor was exported to the plantation regions of the empire under the indenture system.

Between the late eighteenth century and the era of "new imperialism" starting in the 1870s, Britain did not experience serious competition from other European powers in its empire-building efforts. However, France started to recover from its internal problems in the middle of the nineteenth century. And the German unification of 1871 created another global player longing for colonial expansion. Italy developed similar ambitions. Internal rivalries between these powers made them overambitious colonizers and heralded the period of "new imperialism."

But the more accessible and economically attractive parts of the world had already been colonized (or even decolonized)—only most of Africa and large parts of the Pacific had been spared as yet. Thus began what has been aptly described as the "Scramble for Africa." The major European powers started to occupy territories in Africa. Britain secured control over the Suez Canal by occupying

Egypt in 1882. Most of southern Africa, modern Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Nigeria, and the Gold Coast in western Africa followed.

During the partition of Africa, European rivalry manifested itself in numerous crises. French and British interests, for instance, clashed in the Fashoda Incident of 1898 when both countries strove to establish themselves in Sudan and complete their north-to-south (British) or west-to-east (French) territorial connections. Outside Africa, Britain's adoption of new imperialism led to the complete occupation of Burma in 1885 and its annexation to British India in 1886.

While the era of new imperialism saw the establishment of formal British control over wide parts of Africa and imperial expansion in Asia and the Pacific, a first devolution of power took place in the white settler colonies of North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Self-government had already been granted to most of these colonies when the British North America Act raised Canada to dominion status in 1867. The federations of Australia and South Africa (including the self-governing territories of the Orange Free State and Transvaal) acquired dominion status in 1901 and 1910, respectively. New Zealand had chosen not to join the Australian federation and was made a dominion in 1907. However, the motherland retained legislative authority over the dominions (consolidated by the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865) until the creation of the Commonwealth of Nations in 1931. The dominions' foreign relations were also centrally administered through the Foreign Office in London, and the British monarch remained the head of state in the dominions.

Britain had not seriously resisted the settlement colonies' pursuit of home rule. On the contrary, in an empire of free trade it feared little economic loss and anticipated financial relief due to lower administration costs. However, in its colonies of domination the empire fiercely clung to direct control and was little willing to devolve power.

Aggressive colonial policy, combined with mounting intra-European tensions, eventually led to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. After four years of global warfare, the victors (particularly France and Britain) took over most of the colonies of the defeated. Britain inherited most of the German colonies in Africa and acquired League of Nations mandates over Palestine and Iraq, both former territories of the crumbling Ottoman Empire. The British Empire had reached its greatest extent, but found it increasingly hard to maintain control over its vast territories. Britain's economy lay in ruins and local nationalist movements demanded concessions recognizing the colonies' exhaustive financial and military support of the British war effort.

On that background, Egypt was granted quasi-independence in 1922 with British soldiers remaining solely at the Suez Canal. The Indian nationalist movement gained momentum after World War I and could not be satisfied with the half-hearted reforms of 1919 and 1935. However, as in other colonies, the Indian nationalist movement was mainly carried by local elites and thus did not initially aim at total independence but at increased political and economic autonomy within the empire. Accordingly, excluding the case of Ireland, Egypt remained the only decolonized colony of domination until the end of World War II, while the white settler dominions had achieved full sovereignty over their affairs with the Statute of Westminster and the creation of the Commonwealth of Nations in 1931.

But after World War II, the pace of decolonization quickened immediately. Facing a serious economic crisis, the government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee (1883–1967) saw no gains in keeping up colonial control over South Asia. India achieved independence in 1947; Ceylon and Burma followed a year later. Britain's sudden loss of interest in South Asia, combined with the diverse notions of local nationalist movements, rendered decolonization a thoroughly unorganized and hurried affair. Indian decolonization eventually led to the partition of British India into Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India, a development that was accompanied by a mass exodus on both sides and the death of over one million people in the resulting atrocities.

African decolonization commenced only in the late 1950s. Britain's territories in Africa had been important for the motherland's economic recovery after the war. But now Britain yielded to rising national consciousness in the colonies and released Sudan (1956), Nigeria (1960), Sierra Leone (1961), Tanganyika (1961), Uganda (1962), Kenya (1963), Zambia (1964), Malawi (1964), Gambia (1965), Botswana (1966), and Swaziland (1968). In most of these cases, the devolution of power worked comparatively smoothly. In Rhodesia, however, the presence of a substantial and influential white settler community complicated matters and eventually led to terrorism and guerrilla warfare. Rhodesia became modern Zimbabwe only in 1980.

In the West Indies, the creation of the West Indies Federation in 1958 was meant to satisfy local desire for increased autonomy. However, the largest members—Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago—left the federation in 1961 and 1962 to become fully independent. The federation was dissolved and the remaining members became British colonies again. They achieved full independence in 1966 (Barbados), 1974 (Grenada), 1978 (Dominica), 1979 (Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines), 1981 (Antigua and Barbuda), and 1983
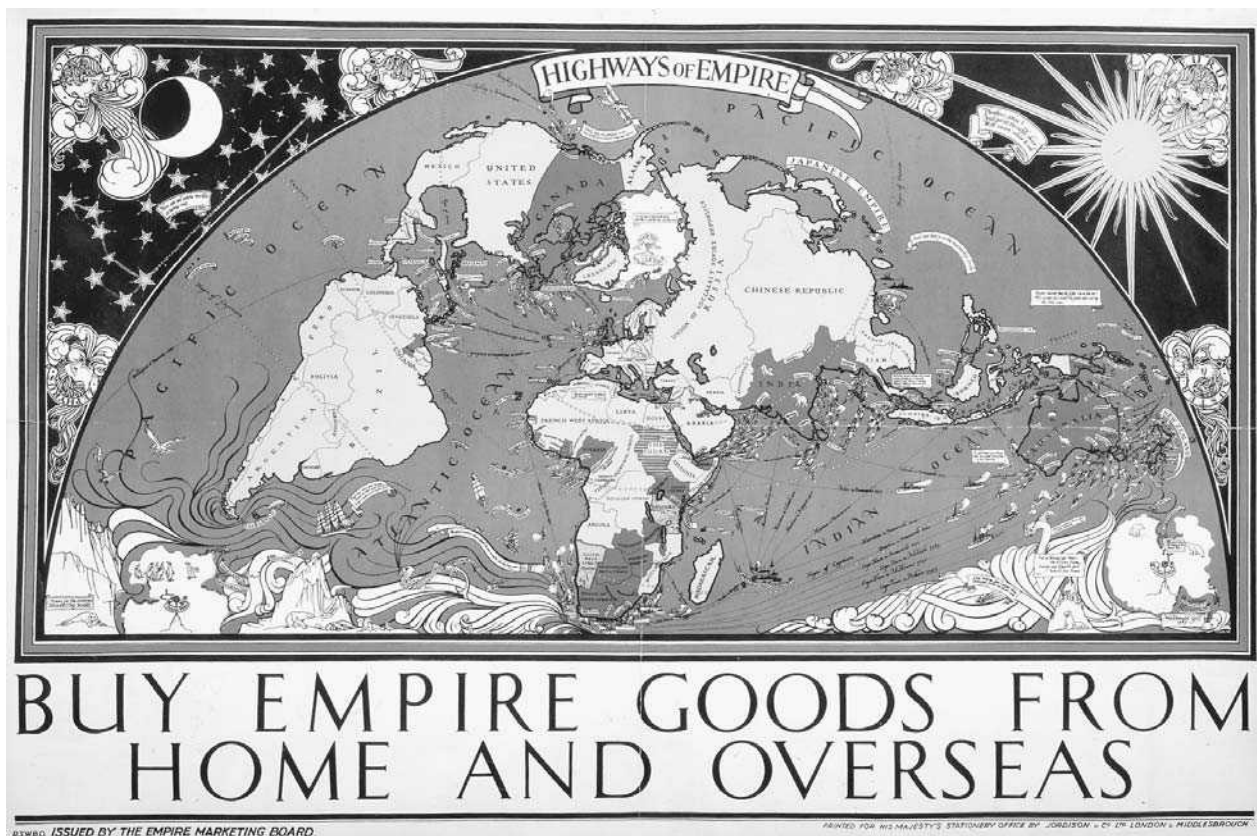
*"**Highways of Empire.**" This poster, showing Britain at the center of the world and its colonies and former colonies in red, was issued in 1927 by the British Empire Marketing Board to promote the purchase of goods produced in the British Empire.* THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE UK: REF. CO956/537A. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(Saint Kitts and Nevis). British Guyana and British Honduras on the American mainland became independent in 1966 and 1981, respectively.

With the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, Britain handed back its last remaining crown colony. However, Great Britain today still controls strategically or financially important territories outside the British Isles, including Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, the Falkland Islands, Montserrat, Saint Helena, the Turks and Caicos islands, Gibraltar, and Pitcairn.

While British decolonization has been practically completed with the return of Hong Kong, the legacy of the British Empire still reverberates in the political, economic, social, and cultural makeup of the world today. The emergence of the English language as the international *lingua franca* and the spread of the English legal system are parts of this heritage. The dissemination of European religious and cultural ideas throughout the world needed the vehicle of European expansion in general. The British Empire, in particular, made possible the worldwide spread of the Church of England and Puritanism.

British culture and lifestyle also influenced the emergence of national identities after decolonization. British sports, most prominently cricket, remain a favorite pastime in many former colonies. On the other hand, the hurried decolonization in large parts of Asia and Africa often left behind a geopolitical landscape full of unresolved ethnical, political, or economic issues leading to violent clashes, civil war, or international conflicts. Apartheid policy in South Africa, violence in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Sinhala-Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka, and the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan all have their roots in British imperial policy and decolonization.

Much of the ethnic composition of the United States, the Caribbean, parts of the Pacific, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia today has its origins in forced (slavery) or semiforced (the indenture system) labor migration within the British Empire. Similarly, the obvious or at times only latent racism displayed by the British

colonizers towards the colonized contributed to the development of modern racist prejudice. On the other hand, the multiethnic composition of large parts of Britain today has its roots in the open British immigration policy towards former colonial subjects and commonwealth citizens.

The final question of whether the British Empire has been a boon or a bane to the colonial territories has been asked often, but cannot be answered satisfactorily. Advocates of empire—in accordance with the colonizers themselves—advance the argument that colonialism actually brought economic and political development to hitherto underdeveloped countries and regions. More critical scholars argue that colonialism in general and British imperialism in particular brought about a transfer of wealth from the periphery to the core and thus, in fact, delayed or prevented sustainable development in the colonies.

SEE ALSO *Crown Colony; Empire in the Americas, French; Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Empire, Dutch; Empire, Portuguese; Empire, United States; Indian Revolt of 1857; Scramble for Africa; Sepoy.*

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Roland J. Wenzlhuemer

EMPIRE, BRITISH, IN ASIA AND PACIFIC

The British Empire in Asia and the Pacific begins with the charter awarded to the East India Company on December 31, 1600 giving the Company a monopoly of trade from the Cape of Good Hope to Magellan. The Company began trading in India in 1608. An English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644), arrived in 1616 and he negotiated the establishment of a factory (trading post) at Surat. In 1639 the Company opened a factory at Madras; in 1658 it opened another on the River Hughly in Bengal; in 1668 it received the island of Bombay from the Portuguese; and in 1690 it traded from Fort William in Calcutta. It was from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay that the East India Company began to interfere in the internal affairs of Indian rulers and to acquire territory. This process has been called the imperialism of free trade. The need to maintain highly favorable conditions for trade led to military and political control of territory.

This expansion was accomplished by taking advantage of India's political instability as the authority of the Mughal rulers was collapsing and by siding with one claimant to the throne at the time of the death of a regional ruler. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) led to English victories over the French in India, further expanding their influence. In 1748 and 1749 the rulers of Hyderabad and the Carnatic died and the English became a factor in Indian politics as local leaders sought the help of the Europeans in their struggle for power. Robert Clive (1725–1774) demonstrated how English armies with superior European weapons, training, and tactics could defeat larger Indian armies. In 1758, the English captured

the Northern Sarkars. The Company was not just a trading entity, but it was becoming an increasingly powerful part of the political structure of India. Through wars, diplomacy, and indigenous collaborators, British control of territory expanded. This was a pattern that would be followed in other parts of Asia and the Pacific.

In Bengal, Clive was sent north to avenge an attack on the British at Fort William by the governor of Bengal, which had led to the deaths of 123 British in the Black Hole of Calcutta in June 1756. The Battle of Plassey followed in 1757 and is considered to be the starting date of the British Empire in India. The massive wealth aquired in Bengal led to the desire for further expansion. The Rohilla War, 1774, the wars against Mysore, ending in 1799, the war against the Pindaris (1817–1819), the three wars against the Marathas ending in 1818, the Anglo-Nepal wars (1814–1816), the invasion of Sindh (1843), the Sikh Wars (1845–1846 and 1848–1849), and the three wars against Burma (1826–1886) all expanded British authority throughout the whole of South Asia. The Company continued to administer these territories until the Mutiny of 1857 caused the British government to rule India after 1858 through a viceroy. Until independence in 1947 India was the centerpiece of Britain's empire in Asia and it was enormously profitable to businessmen, traders, soldiers, and civil servants. Its army played an important role in wars in Europe, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and China, most notably in World Wars I (1914–1918) and II (1939–1945).

The defense of India became a paramount concern of the British. It caused them in the Great Game—a term used to describe the rivalry and strategic conflict between Britain and Russia for supremacy in Central Asia during the nineteenth century—to fight wars in Afghanistan (during 1838–1842 and 1878–1880) and to secure its northwestern frontier against Russian incursions. It incorporated Ceylon in 1815 to secure it from the French. It was in 1819 that Sir Stamford Raffles (1781–1826) established the important free port of Singapore. Singapore prospered and became the commercial and financial center of the region, even after Hong Kong became its chief rival in 1842. Half the world's tin was smelted in Singapore and rubber was also processed there. In 1826 the Straits Settlements was created to administer a number of territories in Malaya, and Singapore became the administrative capital of the Settlements, Malaya, and North Borneo. After the rise of Japan it became a fortified city, the locus of Britain's military defense strategy in the region.

There was no master plan to govern the colonies. There is some truth to the claim that the British Empire was created in a fit of absence of mind. Some colonies became directly ruled, while others were protectorates

with British military and diplomatic protection but governed by chartered companies. Often, a man on the spot ruled as a potentate and acted on his own initiative. London did not interfere unless it involved the nation in costly wars or insurrections as in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Three words have been used to describe the motives of expansion: gold, God, and glory. Gold, as in capitalism, was the driving force of colonial expansion. Trade also was important but so, too, was the gentlemanly capitalism of shipping, insurance, investment, and banking. Glory added even more incentive, especially for the colonial administrators and soldiers eager for fame and promotion by extending British authority. Missionary societies also pressured the British government to take over territory. Newly conquered lands would become part of the imperial sphere of influence, possibly colonies, if it was not too costly. Territories were also taken over to prevent other powers from doing so. The growing world of commerce required port and coaling stations for ships and secure territories for cable stations and lighthouses. The British navy was the instrument of a great deal of expansion. The colonies would be ruled as dominions, territories, federated or divided states, and other devices as well. They would be governed by a governor-general, or even a navy captain as in the Pacific. There was no uniform pattern to British rule of colonial territories.

Like Raffles, James Brooke (1803–1868) was a man on the spot who expanded British territory when he arrived in Sarawak in 1839. He helped the Sultan of Brunei suppress piracy and was rewarded by becoming a white raja, and his family ruled the state until 1946. In 1881 the British North Borneo Company received a charter from the British government and ran North Borneo for sixty years. The British government was not interested in ruling the colony but in 1888 it became a protectorate.

In the nineteenth century China became the target of the Europeans for expansion, especially the British and the French. The British hoped to reach the Chinese market from Burma, the French from Vietnam and Laos. After 1760, when Canton became an open port, the British, above all, purchased tea and silk. In exchange they illegally sold opium from India. In 1839 the Chinese destroyed 20,000 opium chests. The British retaliated and the first Opium War (1839–1842) led to the harsh Treaty of Nanking of 1842. Four more ports were opened to foreign trade. Hong Kong was ceded to the British. The Taiping Rebellion led to the second Opium War (1856–1860). French and British troops ransacked Peking and eleven more ports were opened up to the Europeans. Kowloon was given to the British. Until 1937 and the Japanese invasion, China was enormously profitable. Between 1941 and 1945 the Japanese

controlled Hong Kong. In 1997 it was returned to China.

British colonization in Australia began in January 1788 with the arrival in Sydney of 1,500 people, almost half of them convicts. Captain James Cook (1728–1779) had paved the way with his three trips to the South Seas between 1768 and 1779. He mapped parts of Australia and New Zealand, and claimed the east coast for Britain. Convicts and free immigration led to the creation of the colonies of Tasmania (1825), Western Australia (1829), South Australia (1836), Victoria (1851), and Queensland (1859). On January 1, 1901, the colonies confederated and became the Commonwealth of Australia under a governor-general. Cook claimed New Zealand for Britain, but European settlement began when whaling ships arrived in the 1790s. The missionary Samuel Marsden arrived in 1814 and the systematic colonization of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's (1796–1862) New Zealand Company brought settlers to Wellington in 1840, the same year the Maoris signed away a great deal of territory, and the British established the islands as a Crown Colony. In 1907 New Zealand became a dominion, achieving full autonomy in 1947.

In the rest of the Pacific the eighteenth century saw the coming of missionaries and the nineteenth witnessed a competition for colonies and protectorates between France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States. Few of the islands were economically viable although some had natural resources such as Nauru (phosphate) and Fiji (sandalwood) and some, such as Fiji, served as whaling stations. The navy played a role in administering the islands and so, too, did Australia and New Zealand. New Hebrides was administered by both Britain and France. British territories included Nauru, New Hebrides, Tonga, Fiji, Gilbert, and Ellice Islands, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands. After 1960 they all became independent.

SEE ALSO *British Colonialism, Middle East; English East India Company, in China; Crown Colony; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire in the Americas, British; Hong Kong, from World War II; Hong Kong, to World War II; Open Door Policy; Opium; Opium Wars; Pacific, European Presence in; Shandong Province.*

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Roger D. Long

EMPIRE, DUTCH

The first phase of Dutch overseas expansion was not an imperial one in the literal sense of the word. Only in 1816, at the Convention of London, was the newly founded Kingdom of the Netherlands granted back its overseas possessions: Java, the Moluccas, some factories in India, Malacca, Suriname, and six islands in the Caribbean. These overseas territories had belonged to the former Dutch East India Company, but were taken over by the British during the French occupation of the Netherlands. Before French revolutionary troops crossed the frozen rivers of the Netherlands in 1794, and the newly founded Batavia Republic became a vassal state of France, the Dutch overseas territories belonged to trading companies. They did not belong to the Dutch Republic, or more accurately, the Seven United Provinces. Until their bankruptcies at the end of the eighteenth century, the two maritime trading companies, the United East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) and the West India Company (WIC), administered the Dutch overseas colonies. Hence the overseas empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is called a seaborne empire, as it depended on chartered private maritime trading companies.

Dutch overseas expansion took place under unfavorable political circumstances when the Dutch Republic (founded in 1588) was at war with its overlord, Spain. In 1580, when Portugal became a subject of the Spanish crown, Dutch traders faced difficulties in purchasing fine spices in Lisbon. In 1585 and 1598 Spain confiscated all Dutch vessels visiting Iberian ports. After the Spanish conquest of the rebelling port town of Antwerp in 1585, investors moved their business to the northern Netherlands, to the port town of Amsterdam. In Amsterdam they made good profits in the sugar industry. Portuguese (Jewish) merchants, who had also fled to Amsterdam, were allowed to continue their imports from Brazil. Economically, times were favorable for overseas expansion. Dutch merchants doubled their trade with the Baltic during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Their large fleet, ship-building facilities, and investment capital could easily be used for an expansion into the transatlantic, African, and Asian trade. In addition, strong population growth in the northern Netherlands (in particular in the provinces of Holland and Zealand) provided the expanding emporium with a sufficient labor force.

In 1602 merchants from the wealthy port towns of Holland and Zealand founded the United East India Company (the VOC). This trading organization became the most effective European trading organization in Asia, and remained so until around the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1652 the VOC established a refitting

Colonial Possessions of the Dutch Empire, 1648
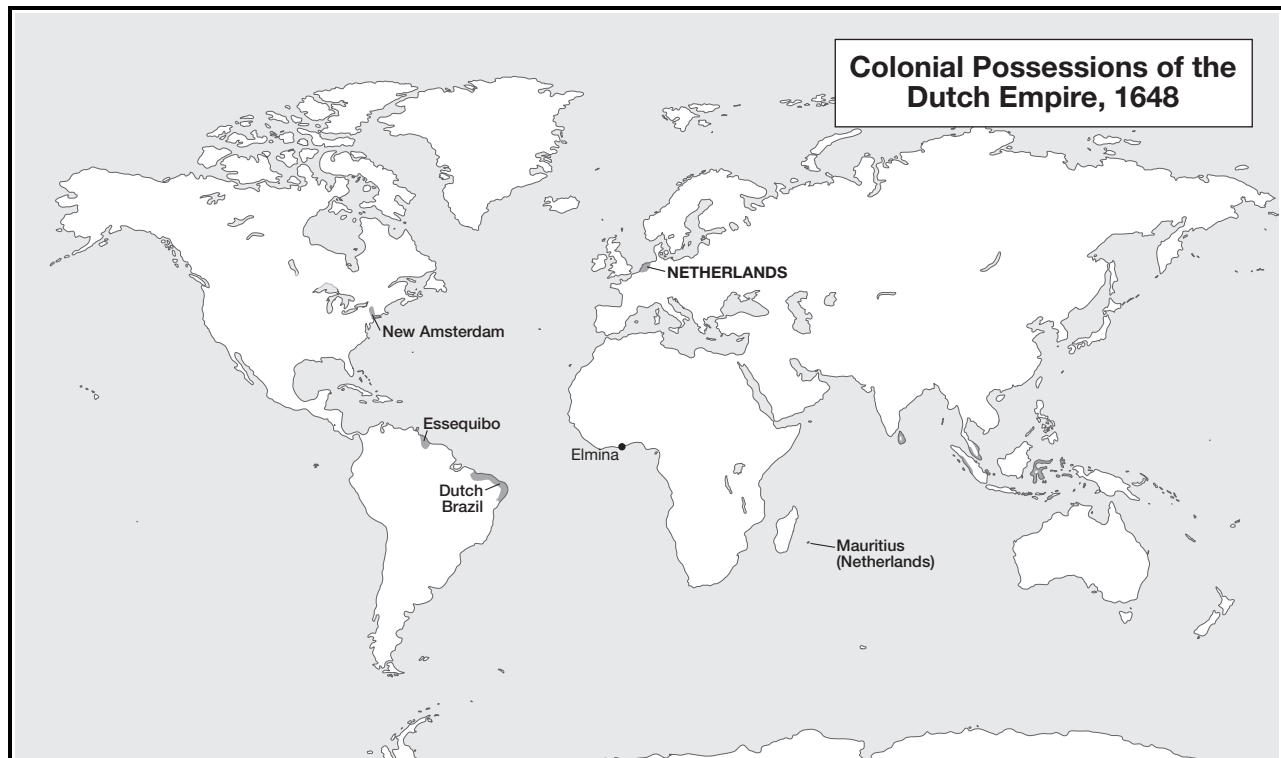
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

station for its ships at the Cape of Good Hope. In the 1670s and 1680s this led to the first expansion into the interior, where settlers began to keep cattle and grow grapes for wine making on territory appropriated from the indigenous group, the Khoikhoi. In September of 1795, after almost 150 years of Dutch rule, the English took over the Castle of Cape Town; the Dutch permanently ceded the Cape at the London Convention of August 13, 1814.

In the waters of the West Indies and West Africa, Dutch merchants and shippers could act freely until 1607. There was no specific need for a West India Company yet. Willem Usselincx, a Calvinist merchant who had fled from Antwerp to Holland, pleaded nevertheless for the establishment of Protestant colonies in the West Indies. In due time, these colonies would be able to attack and occupy Spanish overseas possessions, he believed. The articles of the Twelve Years Truce (1609–1621) stipulated that Dutch ships were allowed to frequent the Iberian ports again, but Spanish possessions in the West Indies were now forbidden territory. Despite the truce articles, Dutch traders continued to privateer and raid in the Caribbean waters. Trade and colonization were less important, but some small colonies were founded in the Amazons and Guyana. One of the

successful tobacco and sugar plantations was Essequibo, founded by Aert Adriaenszn Groenewegen, whose daughter married a Native American chieftain.

The Dutch West Indian Company, founded immediately after the end of the Twelve Years Truce on June 3, 1621, devoted itself primarily to attacking Spanish and Portuguese possessions and privateer ships. WIC fleets captured several costly Iberian ships; for example, in Cuba's Matanzas Bay in 1628, ship commander Piet Hein captured cargo ships carrying silver valued at around 14 million Dutch guilders. The profits of privateering went partly to the stockholders who participated in the WIC, and partly toward the funding of large-scale operations aimed at conquering territory. In 1630 the WIC launched an attack on Pernambuco in Brazil, and seized Olinda and Recife. These important sugar ports were connected to a sugar-producing hinterland with many *engenhocas* (sugar factories). The Dutch conquered the great Portuguese fortress São Jorge del Mina, or Elmina, in 1637. Because the sugar industry in the Dutch Republic had grown considerably thanks to illegal trade with Portugal during the Truce, Amsterdam traders in particular were interested in investing more money in sugar plantations. In 1622 there were twenty-nine sugar refineries in Holland, twenty-five of which were owned

Colonial Possessions of the Dutch Empire, 1783
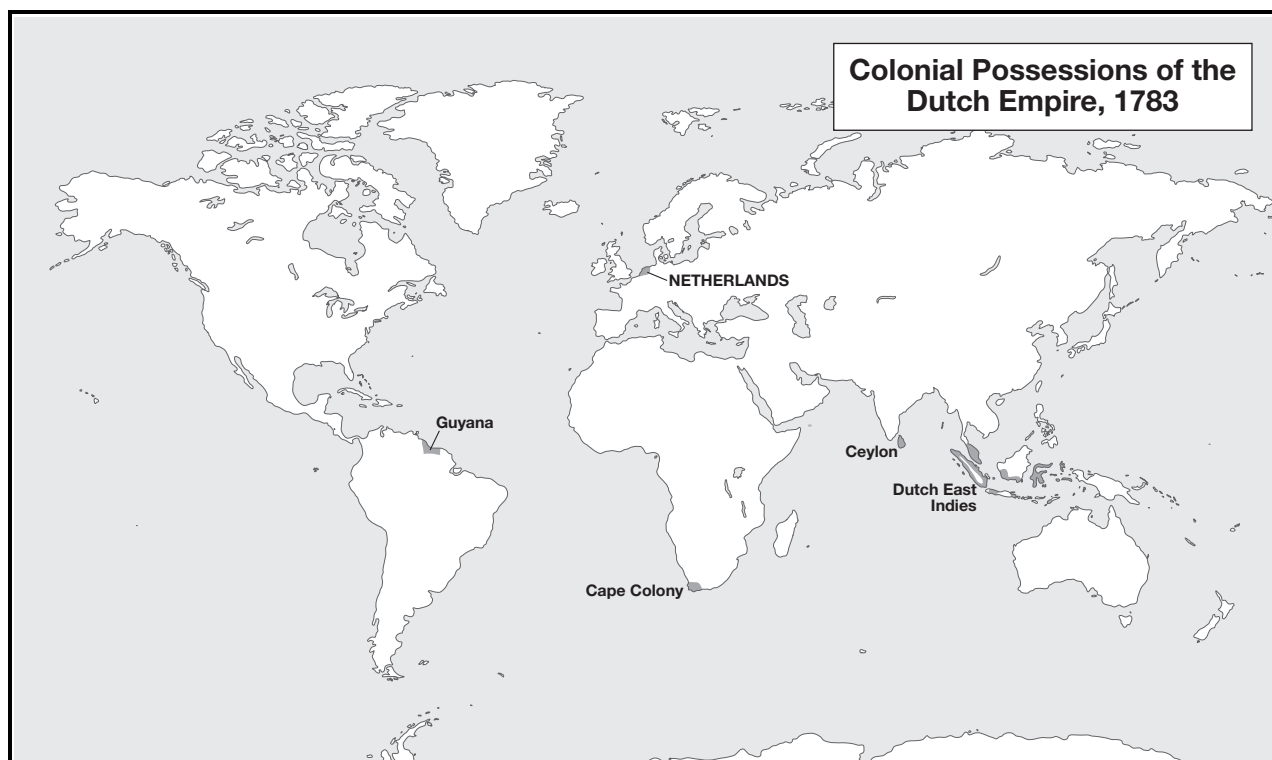
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

by Amsterdam traders, whereas as recently as 1595 the total number of such factories totaled no more than three or four.

The sugar industry of Brazil gained new impetus under the reign of Count Johan Maurits van Nassau, governor of Dutch Brazil from 1636 to 1644. He extended Dutch territory at the expense of the Portuguese settlers, but did not succeed in winning sufficient cooperation from the Portuguese in the seven of the twelve territories (*capitanias*) the Dutch had conquered. Johan Maurits and a number of troops had to depart the colony in 1644, and the WIC board's subsequent neglect of Dutch Brazil led to an easy reconquest by combined Portuguese land and naval forces. On January 26, 1654, the Dutch signed the Capitulation of Taborda.

The loss of "neglected Brazil," as Dutch pamphleteers dubbed it, still left the Dutch with a number of other colonies. Sugar cultivation in Brazil had been a strong incentive to become engaged in the African slave trade, and after the loss of Brazil, Dutch merchants and colonists concentrated on the other possessions in the West Indies recognized by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648: Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, St. Maarten, Saba, and St. Eustatius. These islands were not suitable for sugar cultivation, but were nonetheless important, in particular

for the slave trade the sugar trade depended on. Suriname was seized from the English by Abraham Crijnssen in 1667, but retaken in the same year. The Peace of Breda (1667) gave Suriname to the Dutch, in return for New Netherland. Suriname first belonged to the States of Zealand, and then was given to the WIC in 1682. One year later, the WIC sold a third of Suriname to the city of Amsterdam, and another third to Cornelis van Aerssen. On May 21, 1683, the three owners formed the Geoctroyeerde Sociëteit van Suriname, which was to be under the supervision of the States General. At the time, Suriname was only a small colony with a mere twenty-five houses, fifty sugar plantations, and around 5,000 inhabitants (579 Christian colonists, 232 Jews, and 4,281 slaves) in 1683. Suriname became increasingly important for sugar growing, however. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, some 200 plantations used more than 10,000 slaves to plant, harvest, and process sugar. At the end of the same century, the colony's 533 plantations harbored around 53,000 people (including 2,000 Christians, 1,350 Jews, and 1,760 "colored"), 90 percent of whom were slaves. The 1683 charter remained valid until 1795.

With the Peace of Breda in 1667, marking the end of the second Anglo-Dutch War, the WIC lost the Cape

Coast Castle and New Netherland. The so-called Company of New Netherland had founded Fort Nassau on Manhattan Island along the Hudson River in 1615. In 1621 this fort was transferred to the WIC. On the upper Hudson, the WIC built Fort Orange in 1624, and one year later, New Amsterdam. Between seven and eight thousand people, many of them attracted by the fur trade, settled in New Netherland before the English took it over in 1664. One of the larger villages, located around Fort Orange, was the company village Beverwijck. This and other villages replicated much of Dutch village society and administration, having a burgher guard, a public Reformed church and council, orphan masters, a court, a poorhouse, a school, and so forth. It is often forgotten that New Netherland was the Dutch Republic's first successful settlement colony.

Although the Dutch were only partly successful in stabilizing colonies and cultivating territories, they became important players in the Atlantic slave trade. Beginning in the 1630s, after the conquest of Brazil and the capture of São Jorge del Mina in 1637, Dutch traders quickly expanded the slave trade in Africa. Between 1637 and 1645 the WIC transported more than 20,000 Africans to Brazil. The Dutch slave trade in Spanish America was legalized in 1662, and Curaçao became an important transit port for some 2,000 to 4,000 slaves per year. Soon the French and English became strong competitors in the slave trade, in particular after the founding of the Royal African Company of England in 1673. In 1675 the WIC had to be dissolved due to heavy losses. A second WIC quickly took over the trade of the first WIC, and the transatlantic slave trade continued to grow, reaching a peak in the 1680s, thanks to the *asiento* trade with the Spanish colonies. The second WIC's largest expansion in the slave trade came in the 1720s, thanks to the growth of Suriname's plantation economy. This growth led to an increasing export of slaves from the Gold Coast, and a decrease of exports from the Slave Coast. After 1738, with the termination of the WIC's monopoly on the slave trade and the beginning of the so-called free-trade slaving period, the numbers of Dutch free traders involved in the slave trade increased rapidly. The second WIC still exported some 6,000 slaves annually between 1744 and 1773 (reaching the peak of 9,000 annually between 1764 and 1771). Simultaneously, the Dutch free traders exported about 7,000 slaves annually from Africa. The Dutch transported approximately 550,000 slaves from the African coasts to the Americas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The other main export product from Africa was gold dust. The WIC exported an estimated 36 million Dutch guilders worth of gold between 1674 and 1740, a very important process for the city of Amsterdam, which was one of Europe's main silver and gold markets.

The Dutch seaborne empire fell into an irreversible decline during the 1780s and 1790s. The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784), during which a large portion of the Dutch fleet was captured, was a financial disaster for both the second WIC and the VOC. The debts of the WIC amounted to 6 million guilders in 1789, which was miniscule in comparison to the debts of the VOC: 134 million in 1796. The charter of the WIC ended in 1791, and the company was taken over by the Dutch Republic. Five years later the VOC was also taken over.

The end of two famous trading companies in both the West and the East coincided with a period of regime changes in Europe. During the French occupation of the Netherlands (1795–1813), maintaining direct trading links with the colonies proved difficult if not impossible. In 1795 most of the Dutch possessions were ceded to the English: the Cape, Malacca, Padang, and the VOC factories in Surat, Bengal, Malabar, and the Coromandel. Ceylon, Ambon, and Banda were lost to the English in 1796, and Ternate was given up in 1801. In the West the English took Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice in 1796; Suriname fell in 1799, the islands of Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire in 1800, and one year later St. Eustatius, St. Maarten, and Saba. At the Peace of Amiens (March 27, 1802), brokered between England and France, the Netherlands received all these possessions back, except for Ceylon. When the war resumed one year later, almost all Dutch possessions were returned to the English again, except for Canton and Deshima. The Cape fell in 1806 and Java in 1811 (the latter after experiencing severe reforms under Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels [1807–1810]), but contact between England and its overseas territories were severely hampered by the Continental System, which Napoleon had introduced in 1806 to block all trade with England. The English capture of Curaçao in 1807 and of the Leeward Islands in 1810 was a relief for those islands' inhabitants, who had suffered severely from the prohibition of trade with England.

THE SECOND PHASE OF DUTCH COLONIAL RULE

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw a reestablishment of Dutch colonial rule in the East Indies, though this process was hampered by problems with the organization of colonial government, financial debts, political turmoil in Europe, and a weakening military presence. For many local rulers and others in Asia, a return to the old situation was unthinkable. Local sultans had shifted alliances rather quickly when the English took over the Dutch possessions, but did not readily

DUTCH EMPIRE, KEY DATES

1602: Merchants from Holland and Zealand found the United East India Company (the VOC)

1615: The Dutch Republic's first successful North American settlement, New Netherland, begins with the establishment of Fort Nassau in present day New York

1621: The end of the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain during the Dutch Revolt, or 80 Years' War, leads to the formation of The Dutch West Indian Company (WIC)

1621: Fort Nassau is transferred to the WIC

1624: The WIC builds Fort Orange in present day Albany, New York

1625: The WIC establishes New Amsterdam in what is now lower Manhattan in New York

1630: Dutch Brazil begins when the WIC launches an attack on the state of Pernambuco in eastern Brazil

1630s: The Dutch become actively involved in the slave trade

1654: Using land and naval forces, Portugal reacquires Dutch Brazil

1664: The English take over New Netherland

1667: The Dutch acquire Suriname from England

1780-1784: During the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War a large portion of the Dutch fleet is captured, negatively impacting the WIC and the VOC

1791: When its charter ends, the WIC is taken over by the Dutch Republic

1796: The Dutch Republic takes over the VOC

1814: At the Convention of London, the newly founded Kingdom of the Netherlands regains overseas possessions that were lost to Britain during the French occupation of the Netherlands

1816: Dutch colonial rule is reestablished in the East Indies

1825-1830: The Java War is the most serious challenge to newly established Dutch colonial rule

1830-1870: Dutch colonialism is characterized by exploitation and consolidation

1875-1899: A new type of colonial capitalist economy, dependent upon cheap labor, emerges as private entrepreneurs develop large tobacco plantations and pursue mining ventures in the Netherlands Indies

1900: Colonial administration introduces the so-called Ethical Policy, a largely unsuccessful program of reforms aimed at improving conditions for native Indonesians and introducing a degree of political autonomy

1927: Following uprisings by the Indonesian Communist Party, the colonial government formally discontinues the Ethical Policy

1935: The Netherlands Indies becomes a well-monitored police state

1942: After assuming control of Indonesia, the Japanese imprison resident Europeans and exploit Indonesian people, industry, and agriculture

1945: Following the capitulation of Japan, Indonesia declares its independence on August 17

1947-1948: After two Dutch-Indonesian wars, the Netherlands government finally accepts Indonesian independence

1949: On December 27, Queen Juliana transfers sovereignty to the Indonesian Republic

1975: On November 25, Suriname becomes completely independent

1988: Antillean residents indicate their desire to maintain relations with the Netherlands

2003: The Nationaal Instituut Nederlands slavernijverleden is founded

2006: Roughly 400,000 Indonesians live in the Netherlands, and approximately 3,000 Dutch citizens live in Indonesia

accede to the reimposition of Dutch rule in 1816 (mandated by the Convention of London of 1814). The rulers of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, however, decided to accept the return of Dutch authority. But despite attempts under governors-general Daendels and Raffles to reform colonial rule, uprisings soon occurred in the Netherlands Indies. Among these was the uprising of May 14, 1817, led by the Ambonese sergeant major Thomas Matulesia

(Pattimura) on the Ambonese island of Saparua (with the help of some tribal members from the island of Ceram). Pattimura was a Christian, and his resistance against the reintroduction of Dutch rule was strongly religiously inspired. Other conflicts occurred with the sultans of Banjarmasin, Ceribon, and Pontianak, but the most serious challenge to newly established Dutch colonial rule was the rebellion of the Javanese prince Diponegoro, which led to the Java War (1825–1830).

Dutch colonialism from 1830 to 1870 is known as a period of exploitation and consolidation. Firstly, in contrast with the British, who had abandoned slavery in 1833, the Dutch continued to permit slavery in both the Caribbean and in Indonesia. Although the Netherlands government had forbidden the slave trade in 1814, illegal shipments to Suriname continued and in Indonesia slavery and bondage were endemic in indigenous societies outside of Java and Sumatra. Slavery as such was abandoned in the Netherlands East Indies in 1858, and in the West Indies in 1863. A second exploitative feature of this period was the cultivation system on Java, which varied locally and regionally but was characterized by the drive to expropriate as many natural resources as possible, in particular coffee, indigo, and sugar.

After 1870 the colonial economy no loner depended as much on the forced delivery of sugar, coffee, indigo, and spices by the colonized. The development of railway transportation began modestly with the laying down of railway lines between Semarang-Tanggoeng (1867) and Batavia-Buitenzorg (1873). Steam shipping and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 helped to attract private investors. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, several private entrepreneurs started developing large-scale plantations in the Netherlands Indies. In particular the tobacco plantations in Deli, North Sumatra, proved to be a profitable business. The cultivation of new lands for tobacco required the help of thousands of cheap laborers (mostly Chinese, Malay, and Javanese). This new type of colonial capitalist economy soon met with criticism. The harsh circumstances and unsanitary conditions in the Deli plantations, the maltreatment of coolies, and the immoral behavior of young white planters stirred the consciences of many Dutch citizens both in the colonies and in Europe. So did the attempts to subjugate the sultanate of Aceh, from 1873 onward, during the so-called Aceh War.

The modernization of the colonial economy also quickly increased the demand for minerals. Private merchants also engaged in mining of tin, for instance, after the founding of NV Billiton Maatschappij on Billiton in 1860. Coal mining on Sumatra started in the late 1880s, and in 1890 the first oil fields on that island were exploited. The Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij, a shipping company founded in 1888, took over the transportation of consumer and industrial goods. The new port of Tanjung Priuk, just outside Batavia, also facilitated the flow of goods and people.

Although the Europeans in the Netherlands Indies comprised only a small minority of 60,000 in 1880, their technical skills, investments, and modernization efforts changed the archipelago for good. The introduction of urban planning, electricity, railways, and buildings done in rococo, art deco, and Jugendstil styles, and the publication of books, magazines, and newspapers—in short, the propagation of the Western bourgeois lifestyle, along with its status differences and social ranking—all had an influence on traditional Indonesian life. In particular, the colonial urban lifestyle—the splendid villas of the elite, such as Menteng in Batavia, their extravagance, their sport clubs, ballrooms, cafés, and restaurants—was increasingly attracting (but also disturbing) the educated young Indonesian elite, who found it difficult to gain access to such wealth. Europeanized Indonesians mimicked the colonial lifestyle, as did to a certain extent the locally born (*peranakan*) Chinese, but by the beginning of the twentieth century the younger Indonesian generation had come to realize that modernization and resistance were necessary.

The turn of the twentieth century saw the introduction by the colonial administration of the so-called Ethical Policy, a program of reforms aimed at improving conditions for native Indonesians and introducing a degree of political autonomy. These efforts were largely unsuccessful at improving conditions for Indonesians, however, and did not prevent the growth of anti-Dutch nationalism. The founding of Boedi Oetomo in Yogyakarta on May 20, 1908, is usually seen as the birth of the nationalist movement in Java, although this organization was still careful to formulate its ideal as: "the harmonious development of the land and people of the Netherlands Indies." This initiative was soon followed by the founding of other idealistic, often Islamic organizations such as Sarekat Islam, which organized mass congresses from its inception in 1912, and Moehammadyah, an Islamic reformist movement also founded in 1912. Simultaneously, the colonial authorities developed democratic institutions at the local and regional level. At the national level, the Volksraad (People's Council) was established in May 1918, as a first step toward autonomy within the kingdom of the Netherlands. It never developed into a parliament, however, and the government selected half of its forty-eight (in 1927, sixty) members. In the 1930s it mainly functioned as an opposition forum. The Partai Komunis Indonesia PKI (the Indonesian Communist Party), established in 1924, became the podium for the more radical protesters

against Dutch colonial rule. In 1926 and 1927 the PKI organized strikes and armed resistance, which were crushed by the Royal East Indonesian Army (the KNIL). The government arrested some 13,000 people, of whom 4,500 were sentenced to prison; a great number was brought to the internment camp Boven-Digoel in New Guinea. Following these uprisings, the colonial government formally discontinued the Ethical Policy and abandoned the idea of "self-rule under Dutch control" in favor of what eventually became a police state; in response, Indonesian nationalism became stronger.

The worldwide economic crisis following the stock market crash of 1929 also had a severe impact on the Netherlands Indies. The prices of export products like rubber, sugar, and oil dropped dramatically, resulting in mass unemployment. In 1929 the Netherlands Indies exported 263,000 tons of rubber worth 232 million guilders; in 1993 the export had risen to 350,000 tons, but the value of it was only 37 million guilders. Increasing mass poverty on the one hand, and restricted government expenditures on the other, worsened the economic and political crisis. Nationalist Indonesians, since July 1929 organized in the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Party) under the leadership of the engineer Sukarno (1901–1970), were able to create mass movements for independence, despite persecution and imprisonment. By around 1935 most of the nationalist leaders had been imprisoned, and the Netherlands Indies had become a well-monitored police state. Against this background, Sukarno and others welcomed the Japanese in January 1942. After the loss of British Singapore, there was little to stand in the way of the Japanese advance into the archipelago and in March they controlled much of the region. Although many Indonesians welcomed the Japanese with flags and dancing, Indonesian industry and agriculture were soon exploited for the Japanese empire. Chaos and poverty were the result, and productions declined drastically, sometimes by 80 to 90 percent, as with rubber and sugar production.

The Japanese occupation was a traumatic experience for the Europeans. Within one year after the start of the occupation, 29,000 men, 25,000 women, and 29,000 children were placed in internment camps. About 18,000 Dutch men were brought to Burma to work for the Burma railroad. The Indonesian population suffered even more. The Japanese recruited some 165,000 to 200,000 "economic soldiers" or *romushas* to work in overseas projects, for instance, in Burma. Thousands of them died in forced labor projects. Millions of Indonesians suffered from malnutrition, and when the food supply collapsed in 1994 the dead bodies could be seen on the streets of Javanese cities.

The Indonesian leaders Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta were shocked by the capitulation of Japan on August 15, 1945. They had hoped for an orderly transfer of power. In May, Sukarno and his advisors had formulated a constitution and laid out the five principles (*pancasila*) of the Indonesian state: national unity, humanity, democracy, social justice, and the belief in one God. On August 17, Sukarno and Hatta declared Indonesian independence, after being pressured by nationalist youth (the *pemuda*), and after being convinced that the Japanese authorities would not intervene. The *pemuda* groups turned very violent in the months following this declaration of independence, though British troops restored order after landing in Surabaya. The new Dutch governor, Dr. H. J. van Mook, soon found that the restoration of the old order was an illusion. Negotiation with the nascent Indonesian Republic led to the Linggadjati Agreement at the end of 1946. Conservative Dutch politicians and Dutch public opinion, however, undermined this agreement, along with radical nationalists in Indonesia. After two Dutch-Indonesian wars in 1947 and 1948, the Netherlands government finally accepted Indonesian independence under international pressure. On December 27, 1949, Queen Juliana transferred sovereignty to the Indonesian Republic. To the Indonesians however, August 17, 1945, is the formal date of independence.

Dutch policies toward Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles took a different turn than in the Netherlands Indies. After the abolishment of slavery, Suriname had seen an influx of cheap laborers from India and Java, which made Suriname a multiethnic society. In 1898 the geologist G. C. Dubois found bauxite on the plantations of Rorac. A drop in European bauxite exports to the United States during World War I stimulated bauxite mining in Suriname. In 1916 the Surinaamse Bauxiet Maatschappij (Suriname Bauxite Company) was founded. During World War II, Suriname was of strategic importance because of the bauxite mines delivering aluminum for the aircraft industry in the United States. Curaçao welcomed English and French troops, as the island was a part of the Caribbean Sea Frontier guarding against German submarines.

Despite its multiethnic population of Creoles, Hindus, Javanese, and native Indians, Suriname showed enough political stability to develop democratic institutions during the 1940s and 1950s. In all of the Dutch overseas territories in the West, there was a desire for autonomy after World War II. The first Round Table Conference in 1948 resulted in a high degree of autonomy for Suriname, while the second Round Table Conference in 1952 led to a separate political status for Suriname within the kingdom. Suriname only became completely independent on November 25, 1975. By that

time Suriname had already faced several political crises due to the development of political parties based on ethnic groups. Political patronage and favoritism were endemic as political leaders tried to gain the support of their own ethnic group through granting favors. By the time Suriname became independent, a large portion of the population had already settled in the Netherlands. At the end of 1975, one third of Suriname's population, around 130,000 people, lived in the Netherlands. After the military coup of February 25, 1980, led by Desi Bouterse, more people left Suriname, which sank into poverty and remained poor for the rest of the twentieth century.

The five Antillean islands remained part of the kingdom. The Round Table Conferences of 1981 and 1983 granted the right to self-determination, which provided the opportunity for Aruba to establish a "status apart" within the kingdom. Polls of all Antillean residents in 1988 showed that the majority of the island population wanted to maintain the relation with the Netherlands. Dutch politicians dropped the idea of involuntary independence, and at the end of the twentieth century the Antilles not only developed into a holiday resort for the Dutch, but also into a political burden. Many young Antilleans migrated to the Netherlands, where they faced many problems finding jobs. The growing influence of drug smugglers also contributed to repeated friction between the government in The Hague and Antillean administrators. Financially and politically, postwar involvement with the former overseas possessions in the West was a heavy burden for the Dutch government.

The legacy of the colonial past still plays an important role in internal debates in the Netherlands over topics such as Indonesian independence and slavery in the West. On July 1, 2002, a memorial to the victims of slavery was erected in Amsterdam. In particular, the descendents of slaves living in the Netherlands strive for recognition of their past, and of slavery's consequences for modern Dutch society. In 2003 the Nationaal Instituut Nederlands slavernijverleden was founded. On August 17, 2005, for the first time ever, a member of the Dutch government—the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Bernard Bot—attended the commemoration of Indonesian independence in Jakarta. Bot declared that "the Dutch government expresses its political and moral acceptance of the Proklamasi, the date the Republic of Indonesia declared independence." He also remarked, "In retrospect, it is clear that its large-scale deployment of military forces in 1947 put the Netherlands on the wrong side of history," and expressed his "profound regret for all that suffering." In 2005, some 400,000 Indonesians live in the Netherlands, and some 3,000 Dutch citizens live in Indonesia.

SEE ALSO *Aceh War; Dutch United East India Company; Dutch West India Company; Ethical Policy, Netherlands Indies; Heeren XVII; Java War; Java, Cultivation System; Netherlands Missionary Society; Royal Dutch-Indisch Army.*

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Hendrik E. Niemeijer

EMPIRE, FRENCH

The French Empire, second only to the British, was the product of France's long history of political and economic competition with other European powers, and like them, the French founded their empire on a curious mixture of exploitation, violence, and the desire to make the world a better place—that is, to remake it in their image. Unlike their contemporaries, French colonialism triggered in the seventeenth century a contradiction in French national identity that plagued France until the final collapse of its empire in the 1960s, and made its colonial policies ambiguous if not contradictory. While its Ancienne Colonies (the North American colonies founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) tipped French political philosophy in the direction of democracy and contributed to the French Revolution in

Colonial Possessions of the French Empire, 1530

FRANCE
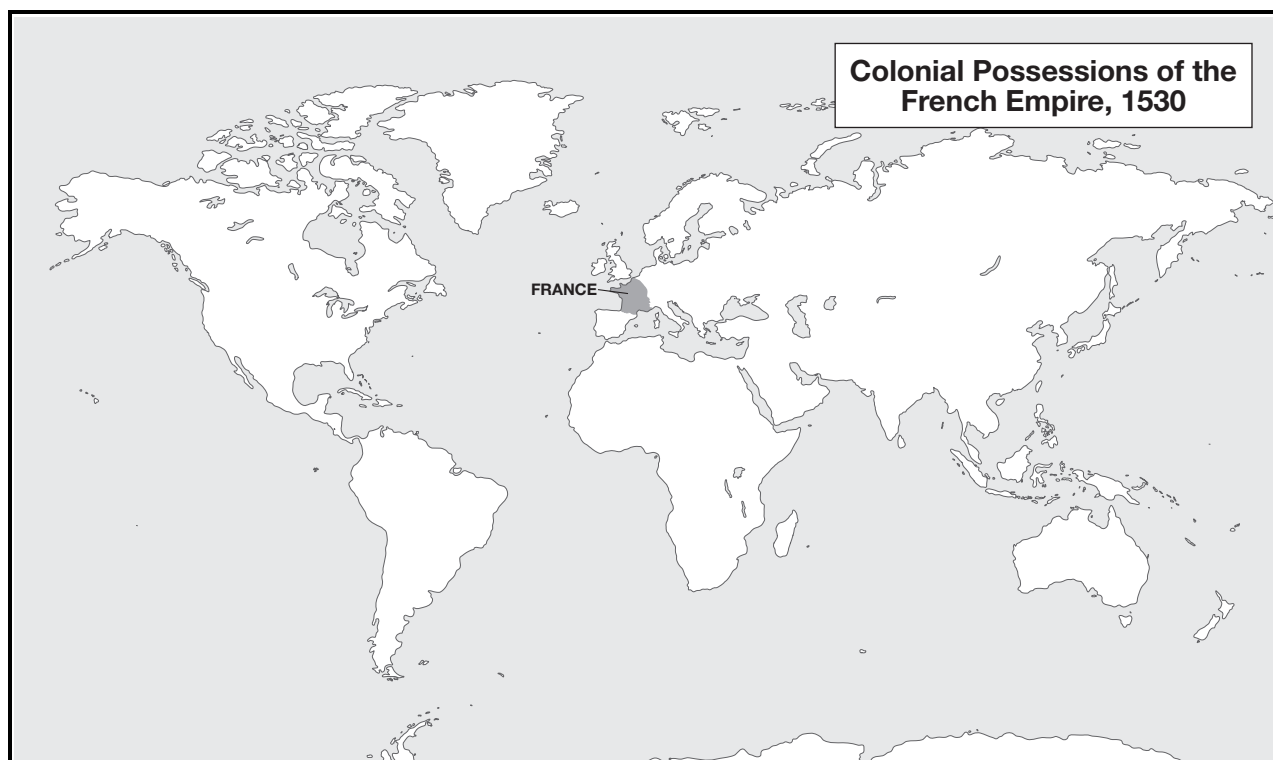
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the late eighteenth century, French concerns about the country's prestige as a world power made the French reluctant to relinquish their later colonial empire, even when other nations did so and urged them to do likewise. Their conquest of parts of North America, the Caribbean, the Pacific Islands, Indochina, and Africa left a legacy of boundaries between colonized and colonizers made porous by commonalities of language, government, and identity.

The earliest French colonies provided the French people with examples of a free society at the same time that French presence eroded that freedom. France's earliest incursions into North America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—part of the competition between France, Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal to find new trade routes to the Far East—were simply trading posts where fishers and traders interacted relatively peacefully with the Huron, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Iroquois, Mimac, and Montagnais-Neskapi Indians, among others. But competition between the French and the Dutch started a chain reaction in Native American relationships, exacerbating old animosities between Native Americans who wanted to capture the French fur trade, as was the case with the Iroquois and the Huron, for whom European guns had turned competition into wars of extermination by 1633.

As French missionaries settled in, they upset traditional social, political, and economic relationships, drawing Native American men into Christianity with promises of land. In exchange for missionary land, they had to become cultivators of crops—women's work—for the church and whatever market was available. Their redefinitions of manhood prompted many women to resist Christianity because they did not want to lose their gender monopoly on agriculture, generating conflict within Native American communities. Other Native American women welcomed Christianity for the space it provided them as they coped with transforming communities, as did Kateri Tekakwitha (1656–1680), a Mohawk-Algonquin whom the Catholic Church beatified in 1980. By 1697 France had claimed dominion over portions of North America stretching all the way to the Caribbean, with much the same results.

The Caribbean was the site of intense competition between the Spanish, Danes, Dutch, English, and French, and their determination to extract wealth from their colonies was disastrous for the people they conquered. By the time France wrested possession of the western third of Hispaniola (Saint-Domingue, now Haiti) from Spain in 1697, most of its indigenous population had perished in the Spanish pursuit of gold. Like the other Europeans, the French turned their islands into

Colonial Possessions of the French Empire, 1648

New France
Acadia
FRANCE
St. Louis
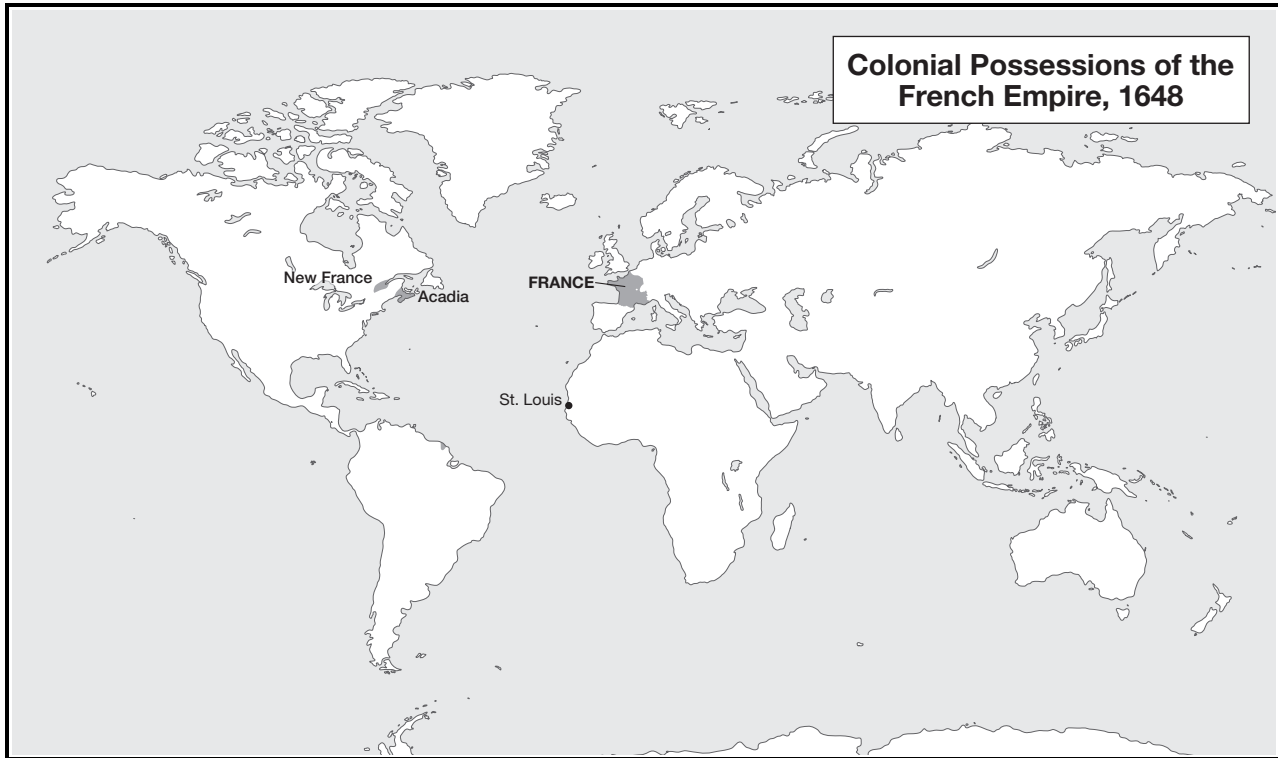
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

profitable sugar (and in Saint-Domingue, coffee and spice) plantations, which by the mid-eighteenth century were almost completely dependent on slave labor. By the late eighteenth century slaves greatly outnumbered European colonists (in Saint-Domingue, eight to one).

France's presence in the New World thus greatly transformed the indigenous societies with whom the French interacted—or in the Caribbean, conquered—but it also drastically reconfigured France itself. That transformation began with France's loss of its continental North American colonies to Britain after a series of wars in North America that culminated in the French and Indian War (1754–1763). That war was in fact the North American theater of the Seven Years' War (1756 to 1763) in Europe, into which France had been dragged as an ally to Austria against Prussia and its ally, Britain. That defeat compounded a growing internal crisis in France born of a burgeoning population, famine, food shortages, Louis XIV's (1638–1715) creation of a bureaucracy made of nobles who had purchased their office and were exempt from taxation, and near bankruptcy.

Such crises had existed before, but France's Ancienne Colonies added a new ingredient: the example of Native American political autonomy. Europeans were captivated

by the reports of early explorers and missionaries like Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512), and Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix (1682–1761), who claimed that Native Americans lived in a state of innocence made spectacular by its lack of crime and warfare. Educated men like the philosopher and author Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) claimed that Native American societies embodied the characteristics Plato envisioned in his *Republic*, and the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) romanticized the "noble savage" into the basis for a social contract under which free citizens could live in harmony as equals. Those ideas encouraged members of the Third Estate (the group of delegates from the "common people" that constituted one of the three Estates that made up the French representative assembly, the Estates-General) to resist attempts by King Louis XVI (1754–1793) to levy new taxes by declaring themselves a National Assembly in 1789, and thus begin the French Revolution that turned France into a republic in 1792.

That transformation, built on the promise of liberty, equality, and fraternity, became the basis for a conundrum: In order to maintain that ideal, the French had to defend themselves against rulers of other nations who wanted to restore France's monarchy, neutralize opposition within

France, and maintain its position as a world power by retaining its empire, all of which required repression and violence. Democracy could not easily coexist with hierarchical empires, and terror appeared to be a necessary tool in preserving liberty. Amidst intensifying internal conflict (exemplified most horrifically by the Reign of Terror from 1793 to 1795), continued war, and a revolution in Saint-Domingue that culminated in the colony's independence as Haiti (1804), Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) seized power (1799) and immediately returned France to the task of empire building.

But the seeds of democracy were now embedded in French identity, and as the mythos of the French Revolution grew, so did the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity that had nurtured it, requiring the French to serve two ideological masters: empire and liberty. The idea of empire did not fall with Napoléon I in 1815, and by 1830 King Charles X (1757–1836), who hoped to strengthen his own as well as reassert French national prestige, invaded northern Algeria, which marked the beginning of the scramble for empire that drove European nations in the second half of the nineteenth century. France subsequently invaded Tahiti (1843), New Caledonia (1853), Indochina (1858), Tunisia (1881), Equatorial Africa (1885), West Africa (1895), Madagascar (1896), and Morocco (1907), in general to counter other European nations' incursions into those territories, or to protect French interests, missionaries, or settlers. All of those invasions eventually led to French rule, but it was never uncontested. Conflict over French colonization arose from traditional sources—other nations opposing the French presence because they claimed a territory as their own, and colonized people struggling to resist or overthrow their conquerors—but also from the French themselves because of the contradictions embedded in their goals.

Other nations disputed French incursion continually. Both Britain and France claimed Tahiti from the late 1760s; the soldier and explorer Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's (1729–1811) praise of it as an "earthly paradise" exacerbated the problem by attracting adventurers from around the world. A large Italian settler presence in Tunisia, and repeated insurgencies in Algeria that the French believed were instigated in Tunisia, convinced the French to invade Tunisia. China and Britain challenged France's influence in Indochina. In West Africa, Britain and France competed for dominance until Britain conceded French control of a small portion of Cape Verde in 1815, but it was another eighty years before the French were able to declare their domination. France, Germany, and Spain competed for economic and political influence in Morocco until Abd al-Hafidh requested French assistance in restoring social

order in 1912 after his brother's assassination, after which France controlled Morocco. Still, the French granted Spain its previous sphere of influence, and a council of European nations made Tangier, Morocco, an "international city" in 1923.

Colonized peoples presented a more formidable obstacle. Their hostility is not difficult to understand, especially given France's espousal of liberty, equality, and fraternity. After Napoléon I revoked the Constitutional Assembly's 1794 decree emancipating all slaves in Martinique and Guadeloupe, re-enslaved people were especially unwilling to return to their former status. Slave revolts tore those colonies apart between 1816 and 1830, and in 1831 erupted in an all-out civil war. In New Caledonia, Melanesians revolted in 1878 over the fact that even in the ever-shrinking "reserves" the French had granted them they had no rights to the land, an issue that festered in sporadic rebellions until 1917.

The people of Algeria raised a sustained resistance against French invasion from 1830 until 1847 when French forces defeated the nationalist leader Abd el-Kader (1808–1883), but that was followed by uprisings in 1864, 1871, 1876, 1879, from 1881 to 1884, and in the 1890s, inspired by loss of land; demand for civil, economic, and political rights; racial tensions; and sometimes a combination of those issues. The Annamites (in central Vietnam), Thais, Laotians, and Cambodians whom the French tried to control in Indochina resisted domination until 1900 (in part supported by the Chinese), and the French were still deposing emperors until 1917.

The struggle of the colonized peoples to overthrow their French conquerors grew more focused over time because French domination, and the brutality and exploitation that often accompanied it, forced the colonized to redefine themselves in relation to the French. Although France vacillated between policies of assimilation and association, for the most part the French did not think of the people they colonized as French, nor did the colonized consider themselves French. Instead, the native peoples of French colonies first defined themselves by region or ethnicity, or sometimes by religion, and finally in terms of their colonial grouping. That process was usually wrenching because it involved fighting for independence. Most colonized people never actually stopped fighting for independence, and especially after the turn of the twentieth century they began to demand greater participation in their governance, access to education, less destructive land policies, and more equitable taxation. Only after World War II (1939–1945) did they resort to sustained violence, and between 1945 and 1960, most colonies fought for—and gained—their independence.

Colonial Possessions of the French Empire, 1783
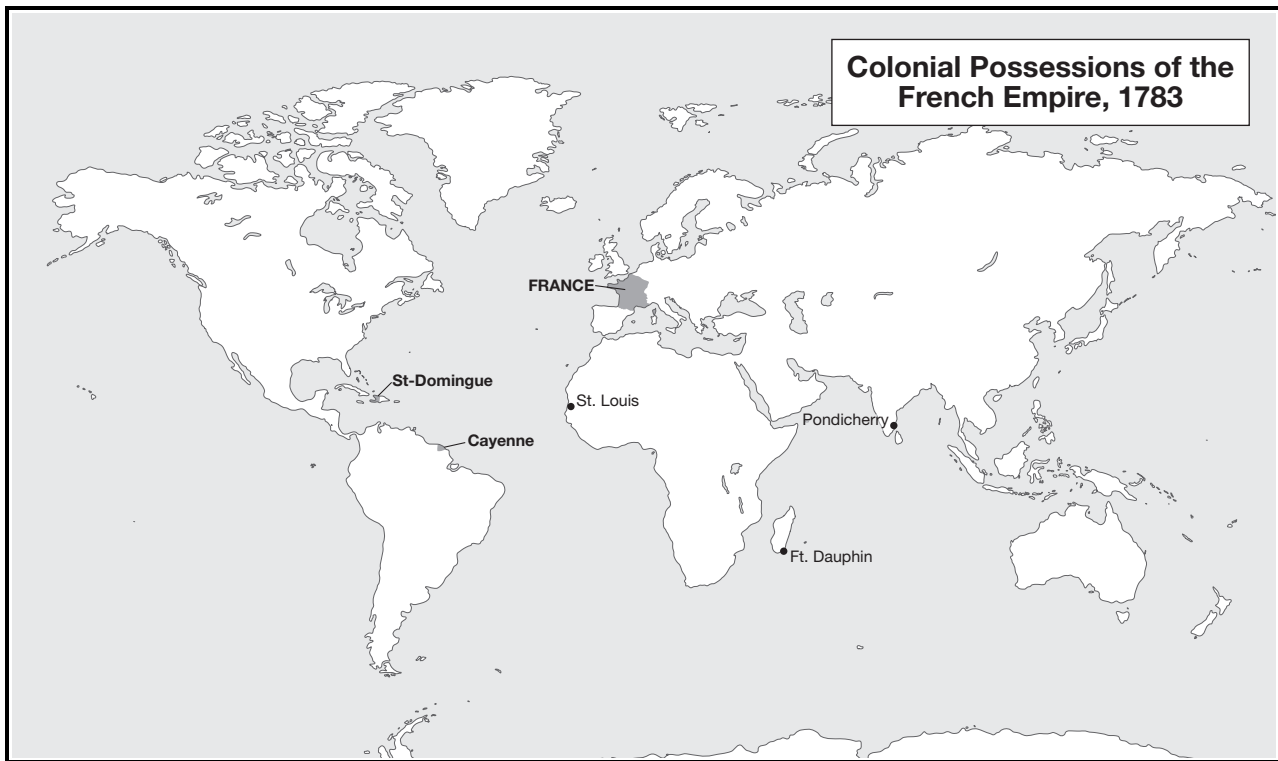
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

To some extent the decline of the French empire amounted to a series of civil wars, a struggle between settlers *(colons)* perceiving themselves to be a new breed of French person (in Algeria, for example, a "neo-French race"); indigenous people declaring an ethnic identity (as "Arabs" did in the pan-Arab movement that swept North Africa, as "Vietnamese" did in the wake of the successful nationalist coalition, Vietnam Dop Lap Dong Minh, or as the Merina did in Madagascar); and colonized individuals struggling to locate their own identity in the constructs of "otherness" that differentiated "us" from "them," compatriot from enemy. When colonized people identified themselves regionally or ethnically, their self-identity became a weapon of race politics with which the French kept them divided, as was the case in Morocco where, by 1950, Sultan Mohammed V (1909–1961), who had aligned himself with the French in return for their support, found himself trapped between the French-supported Berbers and the Istiqlal Independence Party, formed in the 1920s by mostly bourgeois radicals determined to obtain self-government.

Controlling hostile indigenous populations or slaves and managing the *colons* who were often in conflict with them was expensive. France was often obliged to import indentured labor from other colonies when indigenous people refuse to work according to market demands

or for *colons*, and most of the French colonies were a persistent economic drain. The cost in human life was greater. The French army estimated that approximately 89,000 people died in a rebellion in Madagascar (1947–1949); in the final fighting in Algeria (1959–1961), estimates of total dead—military, civilian, European, non-European, and indigenous—range around 300,000. Those external tragedies were matched by internal battles that resulted from, in Franz Fanon's words, "a double process: primarily economic; subsequently the internalization—or better, the epidermalization—of ... inferiority" (1967, p.11).

The tragedies of colonialism were echoed—and often precipitated—by the internal struggle the French had with themselves over their colonial intentions: Did they mean to bring colonized peoples into fraternity, as full citizens with equality and liberty (a *mission civilisatrice*), or were they asserting their place as a world power with the right of conquest, subordination, and exploitation of less powerful peoples? For most of the nineteenth century, anticolonialism persisted as the dominant attitude toward what appeared to most French people as an unnecessary and almost accidental accumulation of colonies, the consequence of an ambitious military and desultory settlement. Most French people were preoccupied by the contest between

FRENCH EMPIRE, KEY DATES

1564: A French Huguenot colony is briefly established in the New World at Fort Caroline (now Jacksonville, FL)

1605: French settlement of Port Royal is established in Acacia (now Nova Scotia)

1608: Samuel de Champlain founds Quebec City, the future capital of New France

1624: French begin to settle French Guiana

1664: French East India Company is established

1697: France takes possession of Saint Domingue from Spain

1682: Explorer Robert Cavelier de La Salle names Louisiana in honor of French king

1699: Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville establishes a permanent settlement in Louisiana

1756: France opposes Great Britain in North America's French and Indian War

1756: The Seven Years' War between France and Great Britain begins

1763: The Treaty of Paris divides France's North American holdings between Britain and Spain

1789: The French Revolution begins

1791: Toussaint l'Ouverture leads a massive slave revolt on Saint Domingue

1799: Napoleon Bonaparte comes to power

1803: Napoleon sells the colony of Louisiana to the United States

1804: Saint Domingue gains independence as Haiti

1814: Napoleon abdicates and Louis XVIII becomes king of France

1815: Great Britain concedes portions of Cape Verde to the French

1830: Charles II abdicates the French throne and Louis-Philippe becomes king

1830: France invades Algeria and begins a 17-year-long conquest

1831: Civil wars erupt in the French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe

1843: Tahiti becomes a French protectorate

1848: Revolution brings Napoleon III to power in Second Empire

1853: New Caledonia becomes a French protectorate

1854: France enters the two-year Crimean War as a part of the Western Alliance against Russia

1859: France enters the Austro-Italian War

1870: France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War sparks the Paris Commune and the Third Republic

1878: Melanesians revolt in New Caledonia over land rights issues

1881: France invades Tunisia and establishes a protectorate

1884: France takes over Tonkin and Annam (now Vietnam)

1895: France invades West Africa, followed by Madagascar

1887: French Indochina is formed from Tonkin, Annam, Cambodia, Cochin-China, and Laos

1907: France invades Morocco, which becomes a protectorate in 1912

1918: France gains control of former Turkish territories following World War I

1945: French colonies overrun during World War II are restored

1946: The Union Française is established to politically unite the former French colonies

1954: France withdraws from Indochina due to strength of the native independence movement and loss at Dies Bier Phu

1958: General Charles de Gaulle becomes president of France

1958: The Union Française is replaced by the Communauté Française

1962: Algeria gains independence from France

republican government and the monarchy that generated three revolutions (1830, 1848, and 1870), as well as the three wars (the Crimean War, 1854–1856; the Austro-Italian War, 1859; and the Franco-Prussian War, 1870) and numerous skirmishes, alliances, and ententes made necessary by the empire that was supposed to secure France's place in the hierarchy of nations.

French colonial policy was dictated by French ambivalence and preoccupation. Throughout the nineteenth century, assimilation—the idea that the French could eventually make colonized peoples into French people (a policy similar to Spain's)—made empire palatable to the French. As social Darwinism, sociology, and psychology made their debut as philosophical and intellectual models for understanding human development, the idea that "primitive others" needed to evolve according to their own nature began to emerge as the policy of *association*, and by the end of the century it had replaced assimilation. Through association, a system much like Britain's approach in its colonies, France would establish economic and political administrative control over a colony, but leave civil and local affairs in the hands of local chiefs or rulers, and thereby guide French colonies to gradual democratic self-government.

Underlying both policies, however, was the contradiction that had impaled French colonialism from the seventeenth century: the French had to fight for empire to secure their position as a world power, but the quality that made them superior—their dedication to liberty, equality, and fraternity—necessitated that they make the people they colonized their equals. The irreconcilable nature of that contradiction created what Elizabeth Ezra (2000) has called a "colonial unconscious" in which the French desired to embrace their colonized peoples as equals but could not do so because they also wished to preserve the sense that they were superior, part of which was memorializing the "greater France" represented by empire. That paradox is apparent in nineteenth-century debates over imperialism, but it permeated French culture by the 1920s and continues to haunt it today. More poignant is the fact that many colonized people shared that colonial unconscious, simultaneously outraged by the degradation the French forced them to suffer, and drawn to the metropole as a site of economic and cultural empowerment.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, French; French Colonialism, Middle East; French East India Company; French Indochina; French Polynesia; Law, Colonial Systems of, French Empire.*

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Karen J. Taylor

EMPIRE IN THE AMERICAS, BRITISH

The English Empire created in the Americas can rightly be referred to as the first British empire. More than a century before British power was consolidated in India, Australasia, and Africa, colonies were settled throughout the Western hemisphere, contributing toward a mercantalist system that propelled Britain's economic status to the forefront of the world.

IMPERIAL BEGINNINGS

Though England would come to be a dominant imperial power by the mid-eighteenth century, in the sixteenth century it lagged significantly behind Spain, Portugal, and France in seeing the potential that overseas colonies offered. While Spain was building colonies in Asia and conquering the Aztecs and Incas, Portugal was settling on the coasts of Brazil and Africa and establishing trading posts in the Indian Ocean and China Sea. The French, meanwhile, were making their first attempts to settle in North America. During this period of activity, the English were nowhere to be seen.

John Cabot's (1450–1499) voyage in the service of Henry VII (1457–1509), to Labrador in 1497 was not the start of regular transatlantic ventures by the English. The failure to find the Northwest Passage and the

England's North American colonies

1606	The London company was granted a charter for Virginia
	The Plymouth company was granted a charter
1624	Virginia was made a royal colony
1629	The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay was granted a charter
1631	The Earl of Warwick was granted a charter for the Connecticut River Valley
1632	Calvert was granted a charter for Maryland
1636	Roger Williams settled at Providence
1662	Connecticut received a charter
1663	Eight proprietors were granted a charter for Carolina
1664	The Duke of York was granted a charter to the former New Netherland, now New York
1667	The proprietors of Carolina were granted a charter for the Bahamas
1680	New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts by a royal charter
1681	Penn was granted a charter for Pennsylvania
1691	Massachusetts Bay was granted a new charter
1702	New Jersey united as a crown colony
1733	James Oglethrope and associates granted a charter to Georgia

THE GALE GROUP.

generally inhospitable climate of the high Arctic led to a waning of interest in London. Domestic distractions such as the Reformation meant that English attention did not return to overseas exploration until the accession of Elizabeth I (1533–1603) in 1558.

From the mid-1560s onward, English sailors and adventurers rapidly improved their knowledge of the Atlantic World as they raided Spanish treasure ships that were returning from the silver and gold mines of Latin America. The first serious colonization attempt took place in 1585 at Roanoke Island in modern day North Carolina. It was conceived originally as a privateer base from which to attack Spanish ships; only secondarily was it to have an economic purpose of its own. The ultimate failure of the Roanoke colony, however, was stark evidence of England's inability to sustain an overseas venture with its mainland being under threat from the Spanish Armada.

After the accession of James I (1566–1625) in 1603 brought peace with Spain the following year, English merchants turned once again to the idea of an American colony. The Virginia Company was formed in 1606 by two groups of merchants, adventurers, and nobles based in London and Plymouth. The charter they received from James I allowed them to settle almost anywhere on the eastern seaboard of North America, though the London Company's first settlement was

directed toward the Chesapeake Bay—a safe, deep water anchorage first discovered by the English in 1586. At the same time that the English were returning to colonizing efforts in the Americas, the Dutch were also mounting a significant challenge to the Iberian monopoly in the New World. In the 1620s the Dutch occupied a large part of northeastern Brazil, and their experiments with sugar production would eventually influence the development of the English sugar islands in the Caribbean.

The first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia was plagued by weak leadership, terrible mortality rates, and poor relations with local Powhatans. It only survived by continuous migration from England of young men intent on making their fortune. The economic salvation of the colony turned out to be tobacco, not the wines, fruits, and silks fancifully imagined as being the main export commodities by initial propagandists.

The vast profits to be made from tobacco accelerated the migration of ordinary farmers, laborers, and traders from England. But the society they created was land-hungry, often violent, and temporary because many desired to return home once their fortune had been made. Even with more women migrating to the Chesapeake after 1618, Virginia remained heavily dependent on immigration for most of the seventeenth century.

New England was the site of the other major early seventeenth-century settlement on the North American mainland. English migrants came to the region to escape religious persecution in England. The Pilgrims who settled at Plymouth in 1620 had spent the previous twelve years living in Holland hoping it would prove to be the safe haven they desired. The Puritans who established Boston in 1630 also wanted to worship freely and, in addition, prove to the world that a truly religious society could be a Christian utopia.

In contrast to the young men who settled in the Chesapeake, most migrants to New England traveled in family groups and helped reestablish old-world traditional communities in America. The highly regulated and moralistic societies formed in New England did not meet with universal support. Some migrants hoped for economic opportunities in New England rather than religious ones, and Puritans often were intolerant of other religious groups such as Baptists and Quakers.

Ultimately the close-knit communities of the earliest settlers gave way to more diverse settlements because Puritan authorities were unable to prevent continued immigration from non religious people. Over time the religious utopia began to fall apart. The children of original settlers did not defend religious orthodoxy as rigorously as their parents had done, and gradually became more interested in commerce and trade.

The British Empire in the Americas, 1763

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

Away from the mainland, Bermuda had been included as part of the Virginia Company's territory in 1612. Soon after, the English became established at St. Kitts (1623), Barbados (1625), and Nevis (1628). These tiny islands attracted vast numbers of migrants. By the mid-seventeenth century they were home to more than half of the English people in the Americas. The migrants were attracted by a tropical climate that the Spanish and Dutch already demonstrated was able to support tobacco, coffee, and sugar—highly marketable commodities in

England. In terms of their contribution toward the English economy, the West Indies were far more valuable than the mainland colonies in the seventeenth century.

IMPERIAL EXPANSION, 1650–1763

By the middle of the seventeenth century the American colonies were becoming more important to the geopolitical situation as England struggled to establish itself among competing colonial powers. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) pursued an aggressive colonial policy between the death of Charles I in 1649 and the accession of Charles II in 1660, envisaging a Protestant alliance with the Dutch to strip Spain of its Caribbean possessions. This "Grand Design" would have weakened Spain and Catholicism, while bringing wealth, resources, and prestige to the Protestant nations. However, the only lasting success of Cromwell's "Grand Design" was the conquest of Jamaica in 1655. The restored Charles II (1630–1685) continued imperial expansion with the conquest of New York in 1664, and the granting of proprietorial charters for the settlement of the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. By the time of Charles II's death in 1685, English control extended from Maine to Charles-Town, South Carolina.

The second half of the seventeenth century was witness to the introduction of the first imperial economic policies through the Navigation Acts, which limited what, and with whom, the colonies could trade. This period of imperial consolidation came to an end with James II's (1633–1701) attempt to create the Dominion of New England in the 1680s. The Glorious Revolution (1688) that overthrew James II in England led to the reestablishment of the individual colonial governments in America, though many of these were now crown colonies and subject to a greater degree of control from London than had been the case before 1680.

The accession of William of Orange (1650–1702) as William III drew England into a succession of European wars against the French that often spilled over into the colonies. During the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the British successfully attacked Acadia, renaming it Nova Scotia, and were able to fend off a Spanish attack on the new colony of Georgia in 1742 with relative ease.

The last great imperial war fought in America was the French and Indian War (1754–1763), which began in the Ohio valley and would determine whether the French settlements in Canada and Louisiana would link up to prevent the westward expansion of English colonies. Despite initial setbacks, British victories at the Plains of Abraham in 1759 and Montreal in 1760 effectively destroyed French Canada. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 saw that all of North America west of the Mississippi was ceded to Britain as well as Grenada, Tobago, and St. Vincent.

While the British were slowly consolidating control over the mainland, their colonies also had been developing and growing. Increased migration from Scotland, Ireland, and mainland Europe altered the ethnic makeup of the colonies, making them less English and more cosmopolitan. The continued development of the tobacco plantation system in Virginia, and its adoption in South Carolina for the growing of rice and indigo, encouraged a shift toward enslaved African labor.

The same type of shift toward enslaved labor occurred a century before in the West Indies, resulting in overwhelming black populations that were held in bondage by brutally repressive regimes. On the mainland, white majorities were predominant except in South Carolina, which, of all the mainland colonies, most closely resembled the Caribbean in terms of its social and economic structure. Plantation staples such as rice, sugar, indigo, and tobacco made an immense contribution toward the British economy, and made some planters fantastically rich. Non-plantation economies contributed timber, furs, and grain to a thriving imperial commerce.

CRISIS OF EMPIRE, 1763–1783

The empire reached its zenith in 1763. Britain's navy ruled the Atlantic, its colonies were contributing to national prosperity, and, with the French defeated, there was no reason to think that this could not be maintained. However, the addition of a massive area of land in Canada and Trans-Appalachia created new problems. The new land was administered in London, and had turned the Board of Trade from a body that did exactly what its name said—regulate trade—into a colonial government.

At the same time, the debts incurred fighting the French and Indian War needed to be repaid, and British ministers felt Americans should contribute toward the costs of a war that had benefited them so much. Both of these developments were regarded with suspicion by most of the mainland colonies. Attempts to tax them without their consent were seen to be absolutist measures that violated the traditional rights of Englishmen, whereas the governmental structures put in place for Quebec in 1774—with no representative assembly and safeguards for the French Catholics who remained there—were thought to be blueprints for the future government of all colonies.

The thirteen colonies that broke away in 1776 to form the United States were not always a distinct area and certainly not a united, coherent whole. While the most recent colonial additions of west and east Florida, along with Quebec, remained loyal to the British Crown, and the oldest settlements of Virginia and Massachusetts led the struggle for independence, Nova Scotia would not

join in any rebellion and there was no guarantee that Georgia, for instance, would participate in one either. Loyalist sentiment in Georgia was stronger than in many other colonies. It was the only rebel colony to have British civil government restored following the British invasion in 1778.

However, Charles Cornwallis's (1738–1805) surrender at Yorktown severely weakened Britain's willingness to continue the war, and the Peace of Paris in 1783 saw the independence of the thirteen colonies recognized as the United States, with Florida returning to Spain, but Canada remaining in British hands.

BRITAIN'S AMERICAN EMPIRE AFTER 1783

The loss of the thirteen colonies wounded British imperial pride, but the consequences were not as bad as they might have been. The West Indies were economically more important to Britain than mainland America. They remained loyal largely because their white populations were small, they retained close cultural and familial ties to Britain, and because they relied on British military protection from France.

After 1783 many of the economic ties between Britain and its former colonies were re-established. American merchants and planters knew the British market was still the best one for their goods, and it was easier to trade with familiar contacts who spoke the same language than form new trading networks with Europeans.

British imperial ambitions gradually shifted east in the late eighteenth century with the consolidation of power in India through the passing of the East India Act in 1784, the settlement of Australia in 1788, and the first takeover of the Cape Colony in 1795. Lingering interest in expansion in the Americas remained also. Trinidad was added to the empire in 1793, as was Guyana in 1796, and the Falkland Islands in 1833, but following the abolition of slavery throughout the empire in the 1830s, the Caribbean islands became far less important to Britain than they had been in their eighteenth-century heyday. Canada, however, remained an important part of the empire, and it would become the first colony to be granted self-government in 1867.

SEE ALSO *African Slavery in the Americas; Colonization and Companies; Empire in the Americas, French; Empire in the Americas, Spanish.*

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EMPIRE IN THE AMERICAS, DUTCH

The overseas expansion of the Northern Netherlands began in the late sixteenth century, when Dutch ships, until then confined to European waters, embarked on explorations of the wider world. This outward thrust took place in the midst of an eighty-year war with Habsburg Spain, which would eventually give the Dutch United Provinces their independence in 1648. The Spanish monarchs unwittingly contributed to Dutch explorations outside Europe by arresting hundreds of Dutch ships in Iberian ports in the 1590s. Because the embargoes effectively ended the lively Dutch trade with the Iberian Peninsula, Dutch merchants started sending their ships on voyages outside Europe to obtain the tropical products previously obtained in Portugal and Spain: cloves, pepper, nutmeg, sugar, salt, gold, and silver. Salt and sugar initially lured the Dutch to the New World. Their search for salt took the Dutch to a natural salt lagoon off the coast of Venezuela at Punta de Araya, while sugar invited voyages to Brazil. Inheriting from Antwerp a triangular trade with Lisbon and Brazil, Amsterdam became the main outlet in northern Europe for sugar by the first years of the seventeenth century.

After a twelve-year truce (1609–1621) came to an end, the Dutch extended the war with Spain to the Americas and began planning major colonial activities there under the auspices of the newly founded West India Company (WIC). Its task was to direct and coordinate the flow of trade in the Atlantic basin, but also—even more importantly—to open new fronts against the Iberian enemies. Shipping between Portugal and Brazil suffered especially at the hands of the privateers who seized hundreds of enemy vessels. The most spectacular capture, however, occurred in 1628 in the bay of Matanzas (Cuba), when a Dutch naval force subdued the Spanish *flota* bound from Veracruz for Seville. The cargo seized was made up of prodigious quantities of precious metals, indigo, cochineal, tobacco, and dyewood.

Starting in 1624, war was also waged in mainland America. In that year, the Dutch conquered Salvador (Bahia), the capital city of Brazil, but they were ousted after only one year. In 1630 they returned to Brazil with a

fleet of fifty-two ships and thirteen sloops. After a successful invasion, the territory under Dutch rule expanded before a local rebellion put them on the defensive. The Dutch finally surrendered in 1654 and eventually gave up all claims to the lands lost in exchange for the right to load salt for free in Portugal for a number of years.

Apart from an occasional windfall, the financial performance of the West India Company was miserable. Although large amounts of sugar, tobacco, and brazil-wood were sent from Brazil to the Dutch Republic, the proceeds did not outweigh the very costly war in Brazil. Nor did the supply of African slaves on credit to Portuguese planters improve company finances. When it finally went bankrupt in 1674, the WIC was replaced by an organization that had little in common with its predecessor except for the name. Having already lost most of its commercial monopolies in previous decades, it was dismantled as a military machine.

In North America, Dutch settlements did not have to fear Habsburg armies. It was here that Dutch merchants had started to conduct trade soon after Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, in 1609 found the river that still bears his name. The foundation of the West India Company led to the creation of a permanent colony, New Netherland, in what is today New York State, ruled after 1626 from the town of New Amsterdam on Manhattan. In 1655 part of today's Delaware was captured from Sweden and added to New Netherland. Despite its commercial insignificance, New Netherland attracted perhaps more immigrants than all other colonies in Dutch America combined, but it fell prey to an invading English fleet in 1664.

Other colonies were founded in the Caribbean, where the Dutch conquered St. Martin (1631) and Curaçao (1634), and planted their flag on the Windward Islands of Aruba and Bonaire (1636) and the Leeward Islands of St. Eustatius (1636) and Saba (1640), as well as Tobago (off and on between 1628–1678). Finally, Guiana was a popular destination for Dutch migrants as well. Numerous small and short-lived settlements arose in this vast area between Venezuela and the Amazon delta. The most prosperous was Suriname, originally captured from England by a naval force dispatched from the province of Zeeland in 1667. Over the following one hundred years, Suriname was the Dutch plantation colony *par excellence*, producing a variety of crops including sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton. In the second half of the eighteenth century, its output may have equaled the combined production of the adjacent Guiana plantation colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice.

Equally important for the Dutch economy were the Dutch entrepôts of Curaçao and St. Eustatius. Between 1660, when Curaçao became the main center of slave distribution for the Spanish colonies, and 1729, the island re-exported almost 100,000 slaves to ports in Spanish America. Merchants in Curaçao also mastered the art of contraband trade with their Spanish neighbors, gaining access to valuable cargoes of cocoa, tobacco, and precious metals. Starting in the 1730s, St. Eustatius emerged as another center of Dutch contraband trade in the Caribbean, tapping the riches from the surrounding English and French islands and from the Thirteen Colonies.

Dutch activity in the Americas was fundamentally different from that in Asia, where the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC) maintained a Dutch monopoly and where it established a string of factories, fortified trading posts defended by garrisons. The VOC became a highly profitable organization, as it benefited from the general commercial crisis rocking Southeast Asia in the mid-seventeenth century. The Dutch faced an entirely different situation in the Atlantic world, where the creation of an intricate network of factories did not make sense. Nor was there an Atlantic counterpart of the centuries-old inter-Asian trade in which the Europeans could participate. Whereas the VOC achieved spice monopoly, making it possible to fix prices, the WIC was unable to obtain monopoly of sugar. Not even the occupation of northeastern Brazil, the world's largest producer, helped the company achieve that goal. Another difference with the VOC was that the WIC failed to combine warfare with a vigorous commercial enterprise. In spite of the WIC's shortcomings, however, Dutch trade with the Americas grew significantly in the eighteenth century, due to the activities of hundreds of small Dutch trading firms. While historians, following contemporary observers, have traditionally considered Dutch American

trade to have been relatively modest, some recent estimates put its average value near that of Dutch trade with Asia.

SEE ALSO *Colonization and Companies.*

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Wim Klooster

EMPIRE IN THE AMERICAS, FRENCH

France came late to the race for the Americas. In the scramble against Spain, Portugal, and England for land, gold, and the passage to Asia, its imperial efforts were episodic, opportunistic, and not always successful. Binot Paulmier de Gonneville's voyage to the shores of Brazil in 1504 put France in the fight for the New World. Dyewoods and exotic hardwoods had attracted French merchants and, thanks to good relations with the local people, a lucrative trade between the forests of Brazil and the ports of Dieppe, St. Malo, and Le Havre was soon under way. Brazil, however, was only one small part of the New World: King Francis I wanted more. When he looked north he saw other opportunities to enhance his power and prestige, so he sent the Florentine navigator Giovanni da Verrazano to probe the coast of North America. Several encounters with local people, however, yielded neither gold, nor silver, nor even a passage to Asia. A subsequent war with Spain put a stop to Francis's ambitions and left France farther behind its rivals.

Not until 1534 did France return to the New World. Fishermen's tales and the ongoing search for the passage to Asia led Jacques Cartier into the present-day

France's North American colonies

1603	Champlain explored the St. Lawrence
1608	Champlain founded Quebec
1610	Pourtrincourt re-founded Port Royal
1634	Nicolet reached Sault Ste. Marie and Green Bay
1642	Maisonneuve founded Montreal
1665	La Point Mission established on Lake Superior
1673	Marquette descended the Mississsippi
1673	Frontenac founded Fort Frontenac on Ontario
1979–1683	La Salle founded Fort Crevecoeur Near Peoria
1683–1689	La Salle expedition to Mouth of the Mississippi
1699	Iberville established Louisiana Colony
1701	Cadillac founded Detroit
1710	Mobile founded
1718	New Orleans founded

THE GALE GROUP.

St. Lawrence River. Instead of China he found a bustling trading fair at Tadoussac and an important ally, Donacona, at a town called Stadacona. On a second voyage the following year he pushed further up the river to a series of dangerous rapids just past the town of Hochelaga, the site of present-day Montreal. He and his men wintered at Stadacona before returning to France to raise interest in founding a colony. The settlement Cartier founded near Stadacona in 1541 collapsed, however, because of cold and famine, and it would be a long time before the French returned to the shores of the St. Lawrence.

To the south, efforts to settle the shores of Brazil were only marginally more successful. In 1555, under the sponsorship of Henry IV, Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon founded Fort Coligny on Rio de Janeiro Bay and his alliance with the Tupinamba people made La France Antarctique—as the embryonic French colony was called—a promising venture. Problems developed a few years later, however, when a party of Protestants arrived in flight from the sectarian strife that was tearing France apart. If the Catholic settlers resented the newcomers, the Portuguese resented the French presence altogether, and with the destruction of Fort Coligny they drove the French inland. The small town the French survivors established, Henriville, fell to the Portuguese in 1567, ending, for the moment, the French occupation of Brazil.

The idea of planting Protestants in the New World to defuse sectarian violence between Catholics and Protestants in France was not limited to La France Antarctique. In 1562 Jean Ribault led 150 Huguenots to the northern edge of Spain's La Florida, where they founded Charlesfort at Port Royal. Two years of famine and disease were enough, however, and the handful of survivors built boats for their return voyage to France.

René de la Laudonnière led another 300 Protestants to Florida, but lack of food and poor relations with the local inhabitants inspired a mutiny. A relief expedition led by Ribault provided some small hope, but in 1565 the Spanish commander Pedro Menéndez de Avilés ordered the massacre of the colonists and the end of this French Protestant threat to Spanish Florida.

Faced with such failures, the French turned again to the St. Lawrence Valley, where a burgeoning fur trade between native people and fishermen had caught the crown's attention. In 1603 various Algonquian-speaking peoples and their Huron trading partners agreed to make a place for Samuel de Champlain and the French. Such connections introduced the French to a vast trade network that reached from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes to Hudson Bay. In 1608 Champlain founded Québec (Quebec City) where Stadacona had once stood, to give the French a permanent foothold in the trade. While the town succeeded as a trading post, it was less attractive as a destination for settlers. In an effort to share the costs and risks associated with colonization, the Crown tended to rely upon private companies to undertake the difficult work of settling the Americas. In Canada that task fell to the Company of New France, but its promoters failed to attract the numbers of immigrants who were pouring into the British colonies to the south. Between 1670 and 1730 fewer than three thousand people came to settle in New France.

The men who conducted the fur trade on behalf of France, the *coureurs de bois*, as well as the *voyageurs* who transported the furs and other goods by canoe, extended the empire's reach up the network of lakes and rivers throughout the mid-continent. The good relations they cultivated with native peoples enabled France to deploy only small garrisons and settlements, such as outposts like Detroit and Michilimackinac on the Great Lakes and Cahokia and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi River, to secure their claims to empire. The men stationed at such outposts left behind the *métis* children who were important to the society of New France. At the same time, Jesuit and Recollet missionaries followed the traders into the country to convert France's important trading partners to Catholicism. Indeed it was the fur trader Louis Jolliet and the priest Jacques Marquette who opened the Mississippi River to France in 1673. René-Robert, Cavalier de la Salle found the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, which made the settlement of Louisiana possible in 1699. Towns sprouted at Biloxi, Mobile, and, in 1718, New Orleans. After a little more than a century of colonization, New France stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence Valley and fulfilled Louis XIV's dream of limiting the British colonies to the Atlantic seaboard.

Meanwhile France had not forgotten Brazil. The French returned to Brazil in 1612 when Henry IV granted Daniel de la Touché, Sieur de la Ravardière, permission to found the colony of Cayenne, later known as French Guiana. Malnutrition and disease thwarted early attempts, but in 1664 the Company of the West Indies put the colony on a permanent footing. Initially the colony made its money through trade with the local inhabitants, but sugar and coffee emerged as Cayenne's most important export commodities. Slaves were the colony's most important source of labor. Owing to dynastic struggles in Europe and their own military weakness, the Portuguese were unable to destroy Cayenne as they had La France Antarctique and, in the end, recognized France's claim to this portion of Guiana.

As it had done in New France and Brazil, the Crown created a company, in this case the Company of Saint Christopher, to undertake its imperial efforts in the Caribbean. In 1627 the French divided St. Christopher with the English, and then moved on to fight either the Caribs or other colonial powers for a number of other islands—including Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Saint Domingue—where enslaved people cleared the land for indigo, cotton, tobacco, cacao, and sugar plantations. Because of the importance of slavery to the empire's fortunes, in 1685 the Crown promulgated the "Black Code" to govern relations between enslaved people and free people in the colonies. While the code mandated certain requirements for food, clothing, and holidays and outlawed the torture of slaves, in practice plantation owners often departed from it to increase their yields, profits, and control. The sugar boom of the early 1700s exacerbated the situation for enslaved people, for cultivating and harvesting sugarcane was a lethal enterprise. Slave owners, however, enjoyed endless profits, and Saint Domingue emerged as the most important of France's overseas possessions.

By 1730 the French empire in the Americas counted 74,000 inhabitants of French ancestry, while nearly 150,000 enslaved people of African ancestry toiled to produce the empire's wealth. The Seven Year's War, however, ended the sugar boom and opened a long period of war and strife that imperiled the empire. With British success on the battlefield and on the high seas came the losses of Canada and Guadeloupe in 1759 and Martinique in 1762. The 1763 Peace of Paris that ended the war ceded Canada to Great Britain and the vast territory of Louisiana to Spain, while France was allowed to reclaim control of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Only two decades later the French Revolution threw the empire into further turmoil. Royalists and Republicans clashed on the islands of the Caribbean while free people of color and enslaved people sought to use the crisis to their own advantage. In 1791 rebellions broke out in Saint Domingue. Forty thousand colonials faced half a million slaves who wanted the freedom promised by the Revolution. In 1794 the National Assembly responded by abolishing slavery in Cayenne, Saint Domingue, and Guadeloupe, but the abolition only spurred enslaved people on other French islands to press more vigorously for their own freedom.

In 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte ended the Revolution and promised to restore the empire. The Caribbean caught fire. The bloodiest fight was in Saint Domingue where a former slave named Toussaint L'Ouverture defeated French forces and proclaimed an end to Saint Domingue's colonial status. In response Napoleon dispatched a force of tough combat veterans to restore imperial control. L'Ouverture's forces eventually capitulated, and L'Ouverture was arrested and sent to France where he died in custody. Just as the French victory looked final, however, a yellow fever epidemic ravaged the French forces. And then an imperial order to reimpose slavery became public. At that moment the Franco-African commanders and soldiers who had helped defeat L'Ouverture deserted and opened combat against the French. The French forces' defeat was disastrous. In 1803 the rebel leader Jean Jacques Dessaline took the Arawak name Haiti for the republic whose independence he proclaimed. On Martinique and Guadeloupe, however, French forces prevailed, and, with the loss of Cayenne to Britain's ally Portugal, these two islands, as well as a few smaller ones, were all that remained of a once large and far-flung empire.

While war raged in the Caribbean, Napoleon set his sights on reclaiming New France. As a first step France acquired Louisiana from Spain in 1802. Renewed hostilities with England, however, made it impossible to defend the territory, so in 1803 Napoleon sold the territory to the United States and focused his efforts on the war in Europe. As in the Seven Years' War, France's defeat in the Napoleonic Wars cost the country a number of its overseas possessions. Only with the restoration of the Bourbon crown in 1815 was King Louis XVIII able to reclaim Martinique and Guadeloupe, again, from Great Britain and half of Cayenne from Portugal. The empire was on its last legs.

In some respects, the French empire in the Americas came to an end with the Revolution of 1848, which abolished slavery. Former colonies were absorbed into the French nation and granted representation in the National Assembly, while former colonists and slaves received full civic rights. In 1852, however, the president of France's Second Republic, Louis Napoleon—he was Napoleon Bonaparte's nephew—set himself up as Napoleon III, emperor of the Second French Empire. He set his sights on Mexico where squabbles over debt
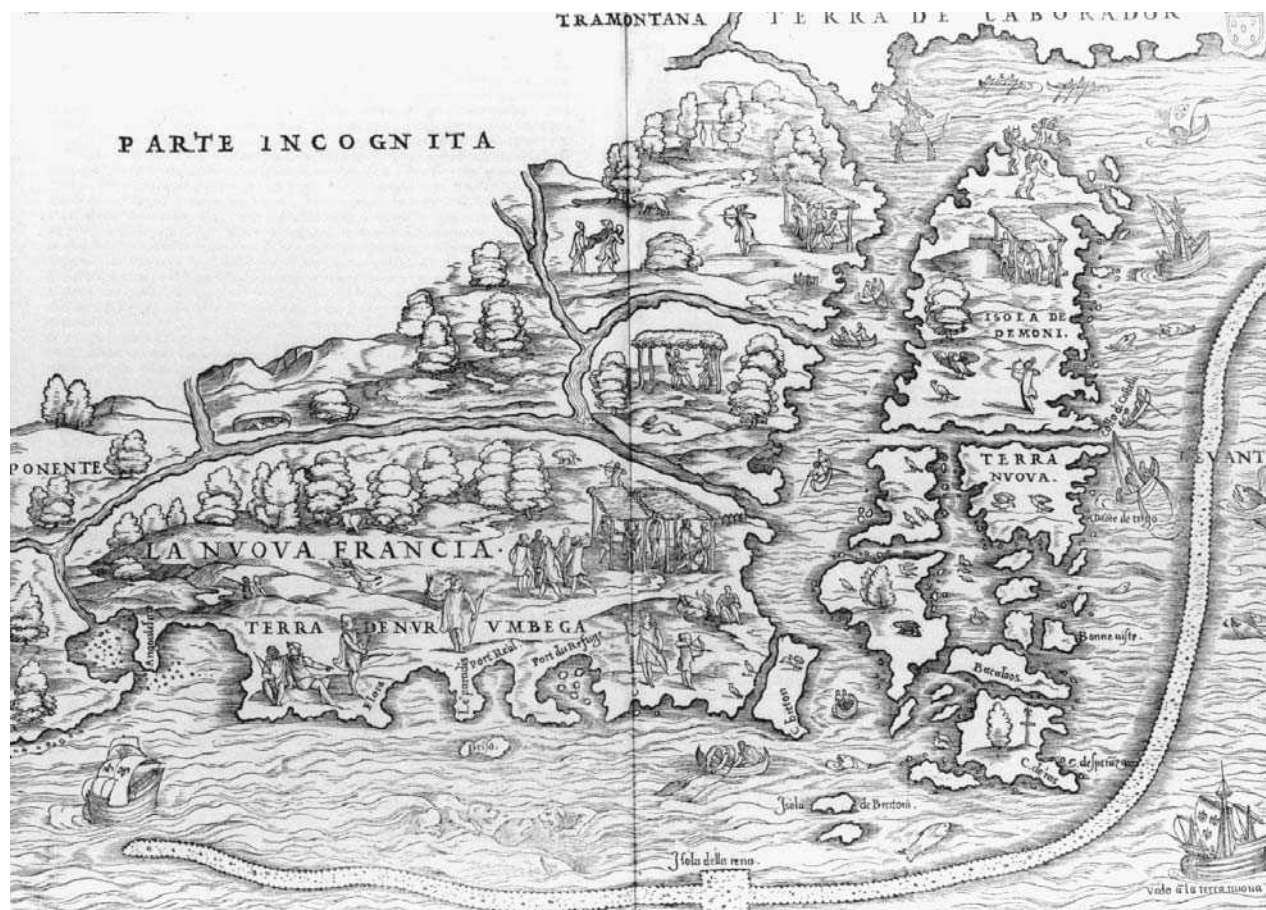
New France, 1556. *This map, attributed to Giacomo Gastaldi (ca. 1500–ca. 1565), shows the northern territory of New France (La Nuova Francia), now part of Canada. To the west is an uncharted area of the North American mainland labeled Parte Incognita.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

repayments offered an opportunity for imperial adventure. After the French landed at Veracruz at the end of 1861 on the pretext of seizing customs revenues for payment of debts, the troops moved into the interior and took Mexico City in 1863. French hopes for popular Mexican support, however, were sorely disappointed. In spite of his misgivings about the invasion, Napoleon III named the Habsburg prince Ferdinand Maximilian emperor of Mexico in the hopes of salvaging something out of the situation. But when the United States demanded that France vacate Mexico, Napoleon III abandoned Maximilian. Liberal and Conservative rebel groups raised the Mexican countryside in a war of national liberation against the invaders and defeated the French in 1867. With the capture, trial, and execution of Maximilian came the final end of French imperialism in the Americas.

SEE ALSO *Cartier, Jacques; Company of New France; Haitian Revolution.*

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James Taylor Carson

EMPIRE IN THE AMERICAS, PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese were among the first Europeans to establish colonies in the Americas. Portugal was also one of the first imperial states to grant independence to its colonies in the Western Hemisphere. A range of factors made the Portuguese Empire in the Americas unique, and these have had long-lasting implications and ramifications. Portuguese explorers played a significant role in opening areas in the region for further exploration and exploitation by other imperial states, including the introduction of the modern slave system. Furthermore, Portugal's territory was not divided into smaller colonies, which in the long term allowed the emergence of Brazil as a unified regional power. In addition, the Portuguese Empire was the only major imperial power that transferred its monarchy to the colonies.

TRADE AND COLONIALISM

Portugal attempted to establish colonies in Africa, but the defeat of a Portuguese army in Tangier, Morocco, in 1436 led the kingdom increasingly to concentrate on sea explorations in search of an alternate route to Asia that would bypass the Venetian-controlled trade routes in the Mediterranean. The Portuguese subsequently established a number of colonies and trade factories along the coast of Africa, which proved highly profitable through the export of slaves and gold.

Meanwhile, Portuguese maritime explorations continued, and in 1487 Bartholomeu Dias (ca. 1450–1500) sailed around the Cape of Good Hope. In 1498 Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) landed in India and established trading posts that were to be the building blocks of Portugal's great maritime empire in Asia. After succeeding in finding a maritime route to the East, Portugal left Spain to concentrate on the Americas, opened up by Christopher Columbus's (1451–1506) voyages in 1492. But when the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) divided the world between Portugal and Spain along a north-south line 1,770 kilometers (1,100 miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands, Portugal unwittingly acquired the land that was to become known as Brazil.

In 1500 Pedro Álvares Cabral (ca. 1467–1520) discovered Brazil when seeking a more direct route to India.

While in the Americas, Cabral acquired brazilwood (a red wood that came to be highly sought after as a source of dye and that lent its name to the new colony in South America). A year later, Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512) further explored the coast of modern Brazil in a series of expeditions sponsored by Portugal.

During this period, the Portuguese concentrated on exporting brazilwood from the Americas but did not seek to establish any large colonies. Instead, Lisbon devoted its attention and resources to its growing empire in Africa and Asia. The early explorers had found the coastal areas of Brazil to be sparsely populated and judged that the area's economic value was limited. Beginning in 1500, the crown offered leases to Brazilian merchant groups, but by 1506 the monarchy took direct control of the trade posts after the leases failed to attract significant interest. However, individual Portuguese merchants began to cultivate sugarcane in Pernambuco in the 1520s.

The combination of brazilwood and sugarcane made the crown reconsider the potential importance of its trade factories in Brazil, and in 1530 King João III (1502–1557) launched an initiative to create a more substantial colony. Strategic reasons also added impetus to the decision, including imperial competition in the region from France (a Portuguese expedition in 1503 discovered French incursions into Brazilian territory). The king dispatched Martín Alfonso de Sousa (d. 1564) with a fleet and instructions to rid Brazil of any French presence and to establish settlements (the French argued that Portuguese claims to territory were invalid because there were no permanent settlements in the areas claimed by Lisbon). De Sousa founded two towns, São Vicente and São Paulo.

EARLY COLONIZATION

João III ushered in the era of Portuguese colonization in Brazil in 1533 with the donatory captaincies. Under this unique system, the monarchy divided Brazil into fifteen zones, or captaincies (these were royal gifts, known as *donatarios,* granted to various courtiers and royal favorites). Each grant extended about 241 kilometers (150 miles) in length and reached into the unknown interior. These land grants were hereditary, and the monarchy hoped they would lead to a new class of colonial aristocracy. The captaincies had control over trade and taxes in their jurisdictions, except for royal monopolies.

Only two of the captaincies were economically successful, but these became enormously wealthy through sugar cultivation, and Brazil became the world's largest producer of sugar by the 1570s. The failure of the other *donatarios* led João to reassert royal control in the 1540s and to appoint a governor-general in 1549. In addition, during the 1540s the settlements faced growing attacks from the

Tupi-speaking natives. Tomé de Sousa (d. 1573) served as the first governor-general (1549–1553). His tenure was marked by significant increases in revenues and a series of military efforts against the natives and French raiders. He also founded the colonial capital, Salvador.

Relations between the natives and the Portuguese were initially cooperative. However, the donatory system displaced tribes, and the rise of sugarcane plantations led to efforts to enslave native peoples. The result was armed conflict between Portuguese settlers and natives. Accompanying de Sousa was a company of Jesuits who endeavored to convert the natives. Through their efforts, the crown created two classes of Native Americans. One category classified natives as peaceful and able to be converted (and therefore granted certain protections under the auspices of the Jesuits), while the second category was reserved for Native Americans who resisted conversion and consequently could be enslaved. Natives who converted to Christianity were resettled into Jesuit-controlled enclaves known as *aldeias*. These settlements were more successful in the southern regions. Several epidemics had devastating impacts on the indigenous population, and by 1563 some one-third to one-half of the native population had been wiped out.

Sugar cultivation required significant numbers of laborers, and the need for labor accelerated the slave trade to the Americas. In 1534 Portugal began shipping criminals to Brazil as laborers, but the relatively small numbers were not sufficient to meet demand. The Portuguese settlers were unable to enslave natives on a scale sufficient to meet their requirements. The Portuguese had started importing African slaves into Europe in 1441 and into the Spanish colonies in 1510, so that by the time of the sugar boom in Brazil, the trade had matured and was regulated through private contracts.

The crown granted official approval to import slaves into Brazil in 1559, and the slave trade dramatically increased in the 1570s. In 1570 there were about 3,000 slaves in Brazil, about 15,000 by 1600, and by 1650 more than 200,000. Brazil ultimately received 42 percent of all slaves imported into the Americas (more than any other single colony).

IMPERIAL RIVALRIES

Growing profits from sugar cultivation led to renewed interest in Brazil from the other colonial powers. In 1555 the French established a significant colony in Guanabara Bay. Known as France Antarctique, the colony was destroyed in 1567 by Mem de Sá (d. 1572), Brazil's third governor-general, who founded Rio de Janeiro on the site of the former French settlement. Subsequent French attempts to establish a new colony failed. The French did establish a major colony, France Équinoxiale, in

1611, but Portuguese troops captured the settlement in 1615 and permanently prevented any further French settlement.

There were long-running colonial conflicts between Portugal and Spain, which were exacerbated by political struggles in Europe. In 1580, however, Portugal and Spain began a period of dual monarchy under the Hapsburgs. The dual monarchy lasted until 1640, and the period was marked by a reduction of imperial tensions between the two powers. Afterwards, tensions resumed over territory around the Río de la Plata. The Portuguese built a settlement at Sacramento in 1680 on land claimed by Spain and far beyond the western boundary of the Portuguese Empire as established by the Treaty of Tordesillas. Sacramento also became a hub for smuggling goods into and out of Spanish-controlled territory.

In 1726 Spain struck back by establishing Montevideo on territory that Portugal claimed. The Treaty of Madrid (1750) fixed the borders of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in the Americas but did not completely end colonial conflict between the two powers: In 1776 the Spanish sent a large army to stem Portuguese incursions into its territory in the River Plate region.

During the 1600s, the Dutch emerged as the main rival to Portugal in the Americas. The conflict between Holland and Portugal had its roots in the period of the dual monarchy, which coincided with the Dutch struggle for independence against the Spanish. There were repeated Dutch incursions against the Brazilian colonies during the early 1600s. The Dutch captured the colonial capital Salvador in 1624 and other towns, and these areas remained under Dutch control until 1654. Intermittent conflict continued until a lasting peace agreement was signed in 1661.

THE GOLD RUSH

Gold was discovered in the interior in 1693 in the region that, because of its mining, was called *Minas Gerais*, or the General Mines. This discovery accelerated the transformation of the colony from a coastal settlement to one with significant infrastructure in the interior regions. The discovery also prompted a new wave of settlement by Portuguese and other European adventurers and put new pressures on the native population. The gold rush further accelerated the slave trade as new slaves were imported to work in the mines. The new wealth led Lisbon to concentrate more resources and attention on Brazil as the colony became the greatest source of wealth for the empire. Other precious stones, including diamonds, were also discovered, further enhancing the economic strength of the colony.
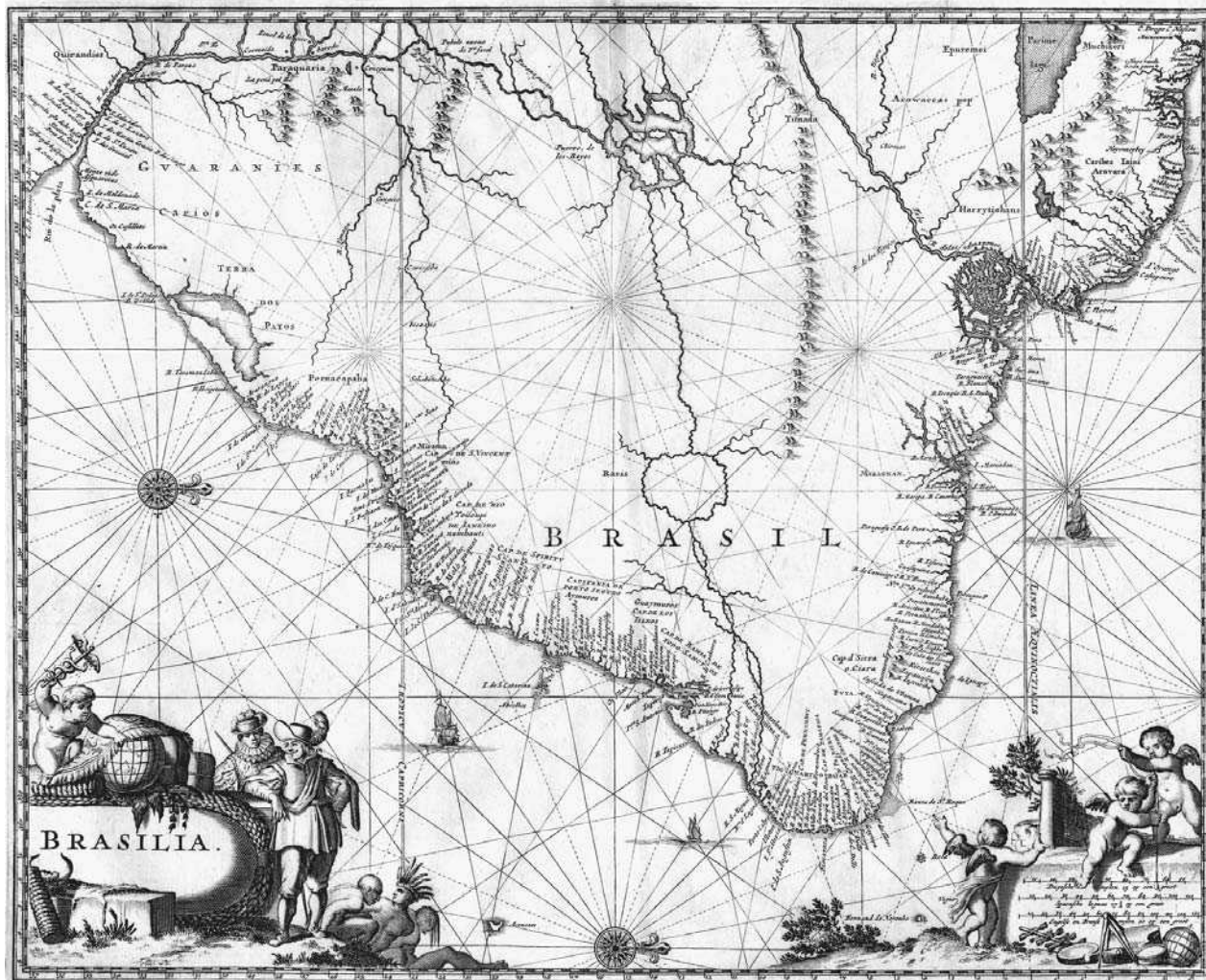
Portuguese Brazil. *In 1500 Pedro Álvares Cabral discovered a new land for Portugal when seeking a more direct route to India. While exploring the region, Cabral collected brazilwood, a useful red wood that that lent its name to the new colony in South America.* REPRODUCED COURTESY OF MAP COLLECTION, YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

In 1755 a severe earthquake in Lisbon led to a period of benign neglect of the colonies. The disaster enhanced the powers of the prime minister, José de Carvalho e Melo (1699–1782), the marquis de Pombal, who became a hero through his management of the disaster relief. Pombal was subsequently able to gain a great deal of influence over the monarchy. He enacted a range of reforms designed to enhance Portugal's wealth and power, known collectively as the Pombaline reforms. Pombal eliminated certain concessions enjoyed by foreign merchants, especially the British. He also reformed the economic codes that regulated the sugar and diamond trade and created chartered companies to oversee trade in northern Brazil and Portugal's fishing industry. His greatest impact on the kingdom's American colonies was the expulsion of the Jesuits, whose exile he ordered in

the belief that they held too much power and influence, especially in the remote areas of Brazil. Pombal later fell out of favor and was dismissed in 1777.

THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE AND INDEPENDENCE

The British and Portuguese were allies during wars with Holland, and a series of treaties, signed in 1642, 1654, and 1661, granted the British commercial and trade concessions in the Portuguese colonies. In addition, Portugal allied itself with Great Britain during the European dynastic wars of the early to mid 1700s.

In 1807 the French ruler Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) invaded Portugal through Spain. Portugal became the center of the British land effort to defeat

Napoléon. To escape the advancing French forces, the regent, Dom João (1769–1826), the son of the mentally unbalanced Queen Maria I (1734–1816), and his court fled to Brazil (the escape was aided by the British, who ultimately moved some fifteen thousand Portuguese to Brazil and lent the government $3 million to keep it solvent). Rio de Janeiro became the new capital of the Portuguese Empire, and colonial officials in Brazil gained new power and influence. Even after Portugal was liberated from French forces, the monarchy remained in Rio.

In 1815, following the death of Maria I and the installation of João as King João VI, Brazil was elevated to the status of a kingdom with a dual monarchy. João increasingly sought to centralize power, and he launched an unpopular war to conquer Uruguay. As a result, a series of Brazilian rebellions broke out in 1817. These were known as the Pernambuco Revolution after the province where the insurrection started. The rebellion failed, but it seriously undermined the monarchy. In 1820 a military rebellion in Portugal forced the return of the king and court while republican revolts spread across Brazil.

In September 1821 the Portuguese Parliament abolished Brazil's status as a separate kingdom and sent troops to bolster the colonial government. João's son, Dom Pedro (1798–1834), who was serving as regent, led a revolt and declared Brazilian independence on September 7, 1822. He subsequently established a new imperial government with himself as Emperor Pedro I.

SEE ALSO *African Slavery in the Americas; Brazilian Independence; Henry the Navigator, Prince; Mining, the Americas; Sugar Cultivation and Trade.*

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Tom Lansford

EMPIRE IN THE AMERICAS, SPANISH

The last vestiges of Spanish imperialism in the Americas disappeared in 1898 when Spain withdrew from Cuba and Puerto Rico. The mainland empire had ended seventy-four years earlier, in 1824, with the viceroy of Peru's surrender to a patriot army—a surrender that marked the end of the process of continental emancipation that had begun in Caracas and Buenos Aires in 1810. At its height, in the late eighteenth century, this imposing empire stretched from California to Chile. It incorporated not only the territories commonly referred to as "Spanish America," but also Florida (ceded to the United States in 1821), Louisiana (uncharted lands to the west of the Mississippi ceded to France in 1801 and sold to the United States in 1803), and the northern borderlands (Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California, all of which passed to independent Mexico in 1821 and to the United States in the 1840s). Many of these territories had only a token Spanish presence, as did vast regions in South America (notably southern Chile, Patagonia, and lands east of the Andes). Nevertheless, the edifice endured for over 300 years, with only islands and isolated mainland territories in the Caribbean being lost to rival European powers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The frontiers of empire were ill defined, despite occasional attempts to demarcate them—notably, the Treaty of Madrid (1750), which recognized that Portuguese Brazil had expanded beyond the line established at Tordesillas in 1494. However, by the mid-sixteenth century the core areas of Spanish settlement had been clearly determined by two principal factors: the availability of precious metals (initially from native treasure hoards and from the mid-1540s from silver mining) and the presence of sedentary native populations accustomed since the preconquest era to providing tribute.

The empire's initial origins are to be found, of course, in the three voyages to "the Indies" mounted by Columbus in 1492 to 1498. The first led to his landfall in the Bahamas on October 12, 1492, and took him to the

The Spanish Conquests in America	
Region or People	**Date**
Hispaniola	1500
Puerto Rico	1507
Cuba	1511
The Mexica	1521
Guatemala	1527
The Inka	1538
Yucatan	1547
The Inka of Vilcabamba	1572
New Mexico	1696
The Itza	1697

THE GALE GROUP.

northeast coast of Cuba and the north coast of Hispaniola (modern Haiti and the Dominican Republic), where the first Spanish settlement in the Americas was founded two months later. By March 1493 Columbus was back in Spain, displaying American natives and gold to Ferdinand and Isabella. They promptly authorized his second expedition, whose seventeen ships and 1,200 men left Cadiz in September with the primary task of settling Hispaniola rather than searching for a route to Asia. His third and fourth expeditions went to Trinidad and Venezuela in 1498 to 1500 and Central America in 1502 to 1504. Although Columbus believed until his death (1506) that Asia could be reached by sailing west, his former collaborator, Amerigo Vespucci, realized during a voyage to Brazil in 1501 that the landmass he encountered was part of a hitherto-unknown continent, which he named *Mundus Novus* (New World). Increasingly, European geographers accepted his logic, and from 1507 were calling the new lands "America" in his honor.

By 1500, 6,000 men—mainly artisans, peasants, and seafarers—from southwestern Spain had migrated to Hispaniola, which gradually emerged as a base for the exploration and settlement of the other major Caribbean islands, including Puerto Rico (1508), Jamaica (1509) and Cuba (1511). Puerto Rico, in its turn, became the platform for the discovery of Florida in 1513, although the 1521 attempt by the island's governor to establish a permanent settlement there was defeated by native resistance. In Central America, too, initial attempts in 1509 to settle colonists on the isthmus of Panama were overcome by a combination of native hostility and yellow fever, with the loss of 1,000 Spaniards. However, reinforcements from Hispaniola rescued the enterprise, leading to the foundation of the city of Darien in 1510 and, three years later, the first Spanish crossing of the isthmus to the shores of the Pacific. During this period the first

contact was made with Yucatán, and further probes from Cuba in 1517 to 1518 culminated in the 1519 expedition of Hernán Cortés, which in 1521 captured the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, razed and rebuilt as Mexico City. This new phase of imperialism on the mainland reached even greater heights in 1533 with the capture of Cuzco, the capital of the Incas, by Francisco Pizarro. Peru, in its turn, served as the base for penetration northward into Ecuador and New Granada (modern Colombia) and southward into Upper Peru (modern Bolivia) and Chile, while new expeditions from Spain to the southern Atlantic founded Buenos Aires in 1536 and Asuncion in 1537. At both ends of this rapidly expanding empire the quest for further fabulous cities and civilizations drew intrepid Spanish explorers into increasingly remote regions, including the Amazon basin, the Guianas, and the borderlands of northern Mexico. The failure to find either treasure or easily subdued natives in these regions led to their abandonment or, at best, the establishment of isolated outposts. As a result, permanent settlement became increasingly concentrated in central and southern Mexico and the Andean region. These areas became the favored destinations for the continuous stream of new migrants—2,000 a year were sailing for America by the 1530s—as the Caribbean islands were relegated to a position of secondary importance.

An estimated 300,000 Spaniards migrated to America in 1492 to 1600. They were followed by 450,000 more in 1601 to 1700, and another 500,000 in 1701 to 1810, giving an overall total of 1,250,000. In the same period almost one million black slaves arrived from West Africa (75,000 by 1600; 292,000 in 1601–1700; 578,000 in 1701–1810). They were first shipped in significant numbers in the 1520s, as the disappearance of the native population in the Caribbean (due to ill-treatment and imported diseases such as measles and smallpox) created a demand for labor. As in British America, slaves were concentrated in areas where plantation agriculture flourished. However, blacks—slave and free—were also present in large numbers in towns and cities throughout the empire, working in Spanish households and also as artisans and shopkeepers. They had greater access to manumission (emancipation from slavery) than their counterparts in British America—a 1791 census showed, for example, that Peru had 40,000 slaves and 41,000 free blacks, while another (1797) identified 65,000 slaves and 54,000 free blacks in Cuba's total population of 272,000. This was partly because Spanish colonists were readier than the British to accept that, although all slaves were black, not all blacks had to be slaves. Most of the colonial censuses understated actual population, because of the close correlation between being counted and being registered for conscription or taxation. Moreover, categorization into ethnic groups

Mexico or New Spaine, 1690. *This early map of Mexico and New Spain was prepared by the British cartographer and royal hydrographer John Seller (ca. 1630–1697).* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

often reflected individuals' social or economic status rather than rigid racial classification. However, it is generally accepted that by the first decade of the nineteenth century Spanish America had almost seventeen million inhabitants (peninsular Spain had ten million), of whom blacks constituted 5 percent (800,000), Spaniards (a category that included the peninsular-born minority and the more numerous American-born creoles) 18 percent (three million), "Indians"—as the Spaniards still called the native Americans—43 percent (seven million), and those of mixed descent 34 percent (5.5 million). This last group—the *castas*—was predominantly *mestizo* (Indian/Spanish) except in areas like Venezuela where blacks had been introduced from an early date, thereby encouraging the growth of the *pardo* (black/Spanish) population. In theory slaves and *castas* occupied distinctly

subordinate places in the social pyramid, while Spaniards and Indians inhabited separate "republics," each with its own hierarchical structure. The reality was that the supposedly inferior groups were often more mobile—socially and politically—than the native inhabitants. There was, however, scope for indigenous community leaders to acquire considerable wealth and prestige, in return for their crucial intermediary role in the collection of the male capitation tax known as the tribute and the delivery of quotas of community Indians for labor service in mines and other enterprises. This conscription of native labor did not constitute slavery, because workers were paid, usually in kind, and service was for fixed periods, but in reality it was a devastating scourge upon communities, causing high mortality as well as mass migration from the provinces required to provide laborers for service in the mines.

Santo Domingo at the Time of Francis Drake's Expedition. *This engraving of sixteenth-century Santo Domingo, now the capital of the Dominican Republic, appeared in Santo Domingo Past and Present* (1873) *by Samuel Hazard.* **BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Potosí alone was allocated 14,000 native conscripts a year from 1573, and thousands more voluntarily worked there and at other mining centers in order meet their fiscal obligations to Church and state. From the mid-sixteenth century the fruit of their labor—silver—was the motor driving both regional economies in America and transoceanic trade. The crown sought to protect remittances to Spain by organizing transatlantic trade into the "fleet system," whereby annual convoys sailed from Seville (later Cádiz) for Vera Cruz and the isthmus of Panama—the half-way house to Peru—to exchange Spanish products for American silver. Silver was by far the most important commodity among American exports to Spain, representing 80 percent of their value in the Habsburg period and over 50 percent in the eighteenth century, when the Bourbons successfully promoted the export of sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, and hides from hitherto neglected regions of the empire. Two million pesos a year of taxation revenue were being remitted to Spain by the 1590s, although by the 1650s this figure had fallen to 300,000, and it would fall further during the reign of Charles II

(1665–1700) as Spain's commercial monopoly was undermined by foreign contrabandists and buccaneers. Moreover, by the seventeenth century the colonists were themselves producing and circulating many of the commodities previously imported from Spain—oil, wheat, wine, woolens—giving the empire a growing degree of economic autonomy from the metropolis, albeit within a context of continuing political subservience.

By the mid-sixteenth century the administrative parameters of Spanish America were clear. The crown established two viceroyalties—New Spain (capital Mexico City) and Peru (capital Lima); later, the latter's territory was reduced to more manageable proportions with the creation of the viceroyalties of New Granada (1739) and the Río de la Plata (1776). Each viceroyalty contained several "kingdoms," each with a crown-appointed governor (viceroy, captain-general, or president) who functioned alongside a judicial tribunal (*audiencia*) that also had administrative functions. At the subordinate level, local governors—known as *corregidores* in South America and as *alcaldes mayores* in New Spain—exercised jurisdiction over the

native population and oversaw tax collection and public administration. The missionary orders—notably the Franciscans and Dominicans—were increasingly subordinated to the authority of an ever more bureaucratized church, as bishoprics were founded to both organize evangelization and cater to the religious needs of the growing Spanish population. Archbishops were appointed in Lima, Mexico City, and Santo Domingo in 1546 (and in La Plata in 1609) to oversee the activities of some forty bishops and thousands of lower clergy—who to some extent acted as general agents of the Spanish crown, alert for signs of idolatry and sedition, particularly in native communities. In remote regions the religious orders continued to exercise secular authority, notably in Paraguay where the Jesuits ran their missions until their expulsion in 1767.

This expulsion was part of a wide-ranging process of change implemented by Spain's fourth Bourbon king, Charles III (1759–1788). Building upon the piecemeal changes of the earlier Bourbons, Charles III sought systematically to restore Spain as a major international power by overhauling internal administration, tightening fiscal screws, improving defenses, and, above all, liberalizing colonial trade. "Free trade," introduced in 1778, although still prohibiting trade with foreigners, authorized the principal ports of Spanish America to trade directly with those of Spain, and reduced and simplified duties. The result was a commercial boom that made Spanish Americans richer and happier, and willing in the short term to tolerate the intensification of absolutism. It also made them increasingly confident of their ability to maintain their burgeoning prosperity without Spain, although no serious moves were made to promote that possibility until the Bourbon monarchy collapsed in 1808 and the crown of Spain passed to Joseph Bonaparte.

SEE ALSO *Government, Colonial, in Spanish America; Haciendas in Spanish America; Law, Colonial Systems of, Spanish Empire; Mexico; Mexico City; Mining, the Americas; New Spain, the Viceroyalty of; Peru under Spanish Rule; Plantations, the Americas; Spanish American Independence, 1808–1825.*

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EMPIRE, ITALIAN

Like Germany, Italy was a latecomer to the European scramble for African and other overseas colonial possessions. Both Germany and Italy became unified nations only in the second half of the nineteenth century, when many smaller and often fragmented states united against the longstanding hegemony of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Italy, however, no state with the power and influence of Prussia emerged as the focal point of the nationalist movement. Indeed, while Berlin became the capital of the new German state and in every sense a major counterpoint to Vienna, Rome remained ambiguously within the sphere of influence of the Roman Catholic papacy, which had a long history of political domination in central Italy. Likewise, while both new nations scrambled to establish colonies in areas on the fringes of established British and French colonies, there was a significant difference in their approaches. Whereas the Germans aggressively established colonies adjacent to British and French holdings in East and West Africa, the Italians seemed content to settle for "leftovers."

The initial Italian possessions in Africa were located at what were then the farthest reaches of the decrepit Ottoman Empire. The first Italian colonies were established on the Horn of Africa and in Eritrea and Somaliland in East Africa. In 1885 a Roman Catholic priest, Father Guissepe Sapeto, who was acting in effect as an agent for Italian commercial interests, purchased the port of Assab from the Afar sultanate, an Ethiopian vassal state. The area around Assab was located at the fringes of the Ethiopian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the Anglo-Egyptian advancements into the Sudan. In combination with the general decline of the Ottoman Empire, the Mahdist uprising in the Sudan and the confused political situation in Ethiopia following the death of the Ethiopian Emperor Johannes IV (ca. 1836–1889) enabled the Italians to expand their holdings in Eritrea well beyond Assab.

What would develop into longstanding tensions between Italy and Ethiopia had their origins in a dispute over the Ottoman port of Massawa in Eritrea, which had passed informally into the Anglo-Egyptian sphere of influence. The British ceded their own and the Egyptian claims to the port in favor of the Italians, even though the Ethiopians believed they had been promised it in return for harboring Egyptian refugees from the Mahdist massacres. Landlocked, Ethiopia naturally placed a great value on controlling a port, but the British were concerned that the French might use the Ethiopian expulsion of Roman Catholic missionaries as a pretext to oust the Ethiopians from the port in order to establish their own presence in the Horn of Africa. Tellingly, the Ottoman Turks seem to have factored very little in any of these decisions.

The Italians soon discovered, however, that Massawa was the hottest port in the world. In large part to provide a retreat from the oppressive heat, the Italians began to take possession of some of the surrounding highlands. Ras Alula (1847–1897), one of the chief lieutenants of Johannes IV, controlled the territory into which the Italians were making these incursions. Alula's forces surprised and massacred an entire Italian division near Dogaly. In fact, the Ethiopians might have driven the Italians from Massawa, and perhaps even from all of Eritrea, except that the Mahdists attacked them from the west and Johannes IV was subsequently killed in the campaign to drive the Mahdists out.

In this same regionally tumultuous period, Italy took the first steps toward establishing a fuller presence in the Horn of Africa in the Ottoman-controlled part of Somaliland, adjacent to the established colony of British Somaliland. Over three decades, from the late 1880s to the end of World War I (1914–1918), the Italians increased their holdings in Somaliland incrementally at the expense of the Turks—through purchase, seizure, and transfer by treaty. The last parcels of what would become Italian Somaliland were ceded to Italy at the end of World War I as part of its compensation for entering the war on the Allied side.

In 1896 tensions between Ethiopia and Italy escalated into the First Italo-Abyssinian War. By 1889 Menelik II (1844–1913) had defeated several rival claimants and succeeded Johannes IV as emperor of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). In return for Italian support, Menelik had agreed to recognize Italy's claim to Eritrea. To formalize this arrangement, Menelik signed the Treaty of Wichale (1889), but it turned out that there were significant variations in the Italian and Amharic (a Semitic language of Ethiopia) versions of the treaty. Most significantly, the Italian version asserted that Ethiopia should be regarded as a vassal state within the Italian Empire.

In 1893 Menelik formally renounced the Treaty of Wichale. After diplomacy and economic sanctions failed to convince him to reconsider, the Italians began to attack adjacent portions of Ethiopia from Eritrea. Menelik responded by leading a major force toward Eritrea. Because Italy's forces were outnumbered, the Italian commander, Oreste Baratieri (1841–1901), wisely retreated toward Asmara. But embarrassed by this relatively unprecedented retreat from "native" forces and grossly underestimating Menelik's leadership and the amount of Western weaponry that he had managed to acquire, the Italian government of Francesco Crispi (1819–1901) ordered Baratieri to attack the Ethiopians.

At the 1896 Battle of Adwa, an estimated 120,000 Ethiopians encircled an Italian force of fewer than 15,000. Concerned about the limited supplies and ammunition available to his forces, Baratieri tried to force a decisive battle but ordered his forces forward into an area of rugged ground almost singularly unsuited to concentrated attack. Menelik's forces won a convincing victory over the Italians. Despite the great discrepancy in the sizes of the forces, both sides suffered between 10,000 and 11,000 casualties. The remnants of Baratieri's force trickled back to Asmara, and Menelik left Eritrea convinced that the Italians would sue for peace on his terms. When the news of this humiliating defeat reached Italy, Crispi's government was forced out of office and Baratieri was recalled. The new Italian government signed the Treaty of Addis Ababa (1896) with Menelik, recognizing the full independence of Ethiopia and fixing its borders with the Italian colonies on the Horn.

Italy had more success in the Italo-Turkish War (1910–1911). Concerned that France and Great Britain would soon assume control of the entire coast of North Africa, Italy took advantage of the tensions between those rival colonial powers, and of Ottoman weakness, and seized control of the North African provinces immediately opposite its own shores, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Because these two provinces were not deemed economically significant and because the interior beyond the immediate coastal areas was a vast, largely uninhabitable wasteland, the French and British were willing to accept an Italian buffer between their more prosperous spheres of influence in Tunisia and Egypt. In the 1912 Treaty of Lausanne that ended the brief Italo-Turkish War, the Ottoman Turks also ceded Rhodes and the other Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea to Italy, in part to stymie Greek claims to the islands.

Disturbed by extensive emigration from Italy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Italian government attempted to promote the opportunities in the new colonies as an alternative. That immigration to the colonies did occur on a fairly large scale was

ITALIAN EMPIRE, KEY DATES

1885: Roman Catholic priest, Farther Guissepe Sapeto, acting as an agent for Italian commercial interests, purchases the Port of Assab from the Afar Sultanate, an Ethiopian vassal state

1887: Battle of Dogali, Italians are defeated by the Ethiopian army

1889: Menelik II succeeds Johannes IV as Emperor of Abyssinia. The Italian government signs the Treaty of Wichale with Menelik II

1890: Italian Prime Minister Francesco Crispi establishes the Italian colony of Eritrea on the Red Sea

1896: Tensions between Ethiopia and Italy escalated into the First Italo-Abyssinian War

1893: Menelik II formally renounces the Treaty of Wichale

1896: Battle of Adowa, Ethiopian forces outnumber Italian forces by five to six times. The Italians suffer a resounding defeat

1911-1912: Italo-Turkish War or Turco-Italian War, Italian forces seize Ottoman provinces in Libya

1922: Benito Mussolini seizes power in Italy and declares his ambition to re-establish the glory of the Roman Empire

1934: Mussolini combines Tripolitania and Cyrenaica into a single colonial province that he calls Libya.

1935: Mussolini orders the forces he has massed in Eritrea and in Italian Somaliland to subjugate Ethiopia

1936: Italy adds Ethiopia to its East African colonies

1939: Italy annexes Albania as part of the Italian Empire

1941: Italian forces in East Africa surrender to the British

1943: All Italian soldiers have been driven out of Africa by the middle of the year

probably more a testament to the terrible economic conditions in southern Italy and Sicily than evidence of the actual opportunities available in the colonies. Nonetheless, the Italian government ruthlessly dispossessed the native populations from the most desirable land in the colonies, and some prosperous and attractive colonial communities were established. Most notably, despite the terrible, recurring regional conflicts of the last half of the twentieth century, Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, still retains many fine examples of Italian colonial architecture.

After his fascist regime seized power in Italy in 1923, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) often declared his ambition to reestablish the glory of the Roman Empire. Recurringly, he would overestimate and overextend his resources in trying to realize that ambition. The two colonies in North Africa were not completely "pacified" until the late 1920s, but in 1934 Mussolini combined Tripolitania and Cyrenaica into a single colonial province that he called "Libya," resurrecting a name given to the region some 1,600 years earlier by the Roman emperor Diocletian (245–316 C.E.). Seeking to expand the colonies and to redress the humiliating defeat at Adwa, Mussolini became increasingly bellicose toward Ethiopia and escalated his demands for concessions to Italian interests in

that country. In 1935 he ordered the forces he had massed in Eritrea and in Italian Somaliland to subjugate Ethiopia.

The Italian force, which included a large contingent of Askari troops from Eritrea, numbered about 100,000. The force was supported by airplanes, tanks, and mobile artillery. In response, the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975) was able to mobilize about 500,000 men, though many were armed with primitive firearms or even spears and shields. After several Ethiopian defeats, the League of Nations denounced the Italian aggression but then refused to impose effective economic sanctions on the Italians.

The Italian advance into Ethiopia continued steadily, but Mussolini wanted a much more dramatic victory. So he replaced the commander of the Italian forces and ordered that the full force of Italian arms be directed more ruthlessly against the remaining Ethiopian forces and against Ethiopian towns and cities that had not yet been subdued. Despite vocal international protests, Italian forces used some 300 to 500 tons of mustard gas against both combatants and civilians. Defeated and demoralized, the Ethiopian resistance collapsed, and some seven months after the Italian invasion had begun, Haile Selassie was forced into exile, where he became a gallant symbol of the growing resistance to fascism. With

the Ethiopian defeat, Mussolini declared the formation of Italian East Africa, consisting of all of the Italian holdings on the Horn of Africa. Angered by the British and French opposition to his imperial ambitions, Mussolini was drawn into an increasingly friendly relationship with German dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945).

Although Mussolini believed that his alliance with Nazi Germany would permit him to expand his sphere of influence in the Balkans and in northern and eastern Africa, World War II (1939–1945) quickly spelled the end to Italy's short-lived colonial empire. After some initial successes against the British forces in Egypt, Italian forces were driven back and almost entirely out of Libya. Only the intervention of the Afrika Korps led by German field marshal Erwin Rommel (1891–1944) prevented the annihilation of the remaining Italian forces. As the British were subsequently trying to slow the dramatic advance of Rommel's forces, and then building up their own forces at El Alamein, Egypt, to turn the tide against him, other British and commonwealth forces undertook a much less extensive and less publicized, but nonetheless arduous and equally successful, effort to expel the Italians from the Horn of Africa. By the middle of 1943, the Italians and Germans had been driven out of Africa.

After the war, Ethiopia regained its independence. Eritrea was made an autonomous state in federation with Ethiopia. Later Ethiopian attempts to eliminate Eritrean autonomy led to a thirty-year war and ultimately complete Eritrean independence. After being administered by the United Nations, Libya became an independent kingdom in 1951 and then ostensibly a republic in 1969. In the last three decades of the twentieth century, it became a "rogue state" under the leadership of Mu'ammar Gadhafi (b. 1942). In 1949 Italian Somaliland was named a UN trust territory, but alone among Italy's colonies, it was placed again under Italian administration. In 1960 it was granted independence and almost immediately merged with the former British Somaliland to form the independent nation of Somalia.

Although Italy never established colonies in the Americas, large-scale emigration from Italy, and especially from southern Italy and Sicily, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created sizable and significant Italian populations in both North and South America, in particular within the United States and Argentina. Ironically, it has become clear that Italian cultural influences will endure in the Americas much longer than in the former colonies of the Italian Empire in Africa.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Ottoman; North Africa, European Presence in; Scramble for Africa.*

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EMPIRE, JAPANESE

When young radicals overthrew the Tokugawa shogun in 1868, their overriding goal was to create a strong, sovereign Japan that could overcome the unequal treaties imposed by the Western powers. Over the next seventy-seven years, until defeat in World War II (1939–1945), Japan would assemble a vast empire in east Asia and the western Pacific. Yet the course of acquiring this empire was not predetermined but buffeted with disagreement and circumstance. Indeed the new leadership split over a plan to invade Korea in 1871. That action was blocked, but in 1875 Tokyo sent a fleet to the isolated nation, forcing Korea to open up to Japanese trade and contact.
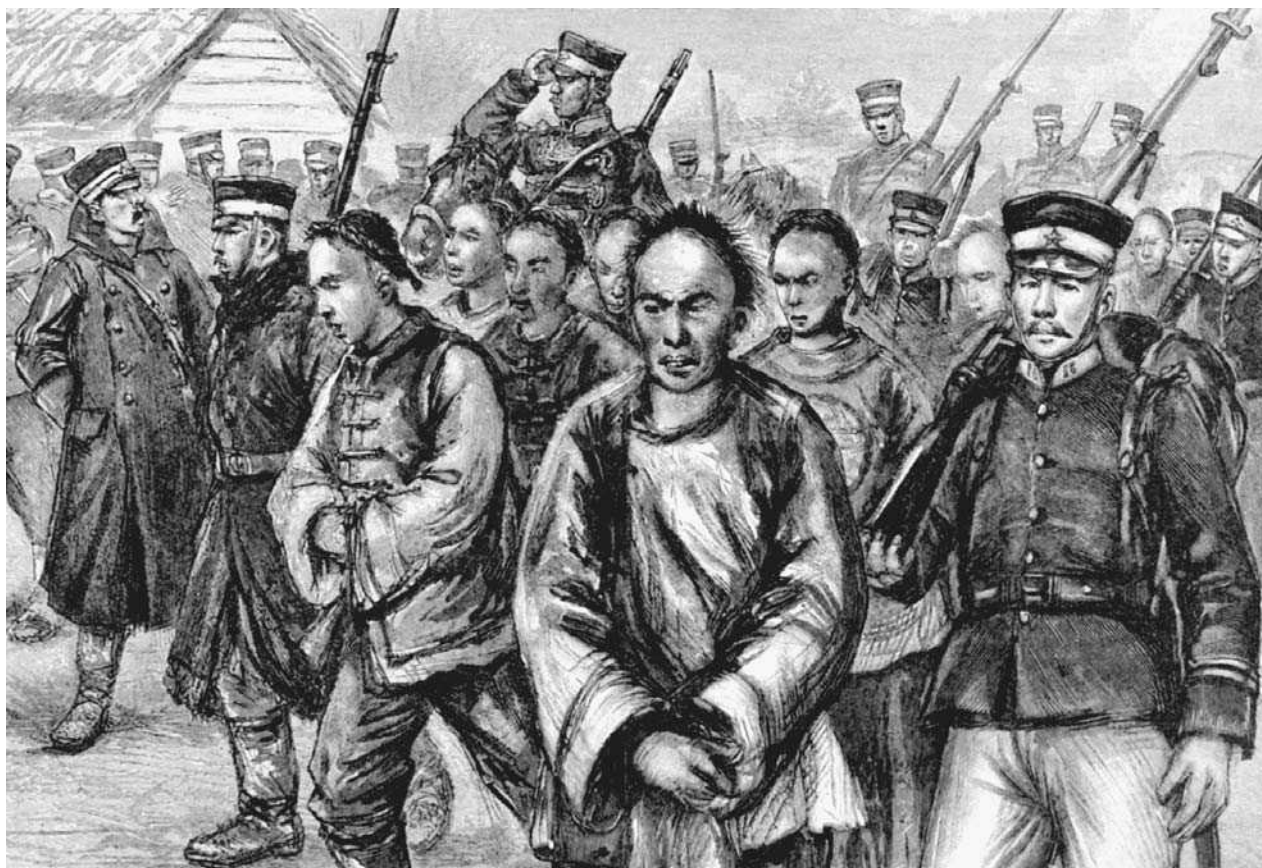
Chinese Prisoners During Sino-Japanese War. *Japanese soldiers march Chinese prisoners during the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). The war marked the beginning of Japan's policy of imperial expansion.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

BUILDING AN EMPIRE

For the next two decades Tokyo vied with China for influence in Korea, finally clashing in the short Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95. Japan's startling victory in this conflict yielded its first major colony, the island of Taiwan (or Formosa). The Sino-Japanese War also made Japan one of the powers in China, with treaty port rights and extraterritoriality. Armed with this new status Japan participated in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900. Its forces marched into Beijing with the Westerners, and Tokyo signed the Boxer Protocol, which granted it the right to station troops at various locations around northern China. Yet Japan was profoundly unhappy with moves by the Russian Empire to control both northeast China (Manchuria) and Korea, and joined with Britain in an alliance to force Russia to retreat. The two nations clashed in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, and Japan's victory in this conflict left it in a much stronger position on the Asian mainland. Japan soon gained complete control over Korea, made a formal part of the empire in 1910, as well as railway concessions and

ports in southern Manchuria. Japan also gained the southern half of the Sakhalin Island off the coast of Siberia.

Tokyo never completely fixed upon a colonial policy but increasingly moved toward "assimilation" for Koreans and Chinese in Taiwan. The colonized were compelled to use Japanese surnames, to be schooled and educated in Japanese language, and to revere the Japanese emperor. When Koreans traveled to Japan, however, they discovered that few Japanese accepted them as equals; discrimination against Koreans was blatant and often deadly. World War I (1914–1918) brought Japan new opportunities; in 1915 it presented a weakened China with 21 Demands, designed to increase its power on the mainland. Japan also grabbed German territories in the area, notably the German-held islands in the southwest Pacific that Japan held until captured by the Allies in World War II. Unlike the Koreans and Chinese who could plausibly be "Japanized" few felt that the Pacific Islanders could be assimilated. Islands such as Saipan were transformed mostly by Japanese immigration.

JAPANESE EMPIRE, KEY DATES

1868: Tokugawa shogunate overthrown by radicals; Meiji period begins

1875: Japan invades Korea and establishes trade supremacy

1879: Japan annexes Ryukyu Islands

1895: Control of Formosa (Taiwan) following victory in Sino-Japanese War

1900: Japan aids China in ending Boxer Rebellion; establishes military outposts in China

1905: Japan wins Russo-Japanese War and gains more control of Asian mainland

1910: Japan annexes Korea and begins Japanese enculturation

1912: Yoshihiro succeeds to throne, Taishō period begins

1914: Japan declares war on Germany and enters World War I

1915: Japan presents China with 21 Demands

1917: Lansing-Ishi Agreement reinforces Japanese interests in China

1918: Japan launches Siberian Expedition to gain foothold in Russia; World War I ends

1919: Korean colony displays nationalism in March 1st Movement; Japan counted among ''Big Five'' at Treaty of Versailles

1921: Prime Minister Hara Takashi is assassinated; Japan signs disarmament agreements at Washington Conference, relinquishing claims to Chinese territory

1922: Agrees to naval limits in Pacific in Nine-Power Treaty

1923: Kantō earthquake levels Tokyo in September

1925: Japan becomes last Allied nation to withdraw from Russia

1928: Taishō dies and Hirohito becomes emperor

1929: Great Depression affects Japanese economy

1931: Japanese Prime Minister Rikken Minseitō is assassinated; Japanese Guandong Army occupies Manchuria, which is renamed Manchukuo

1933: Japan withdraws from League of Nations

1936: Japan signs Anti-Comintern Pact with Nazi Germany

1937: Italy joins Japan and Germany to form Axis Powers; Japan begins invasion of China, triggering Second Sino-Japanese War

1941: Japan bombs Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7

1943: Cairo Conference plans return of Manchuria, Taiwan, and Pescadores Islands to China

1944: Japan gains control of Dutch, French, American, and British interests in Asia

1945: U.S. drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6th and 9th; Defeat in World War II leads Hirohito to surrender to Allies on August 14

1946: U.S. General Douglas MacArthur drafts model Japanese constitution

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TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHANGES

In the 1920s Japan seemed to back away from expansion, becoming more democratic at home and party to naval disarmament agreements signed at Washington in 1921. The onset of the Great Depression in 1929, however, stimulated unrest in Japan and fueled the growth of an ultranationalist movement. The right wing achieved its first big success in September 1931, when Japanese army officers stationed along the railway in northeast China faked a terrorist attack and quickly seized control of northeast China. A vast territory of 30 million people most of whom were Chinese, Manchuria was organized as a puppet state, Manchukuo, by the Japanese Imperial Army, which installed the last Qing monarch as ''emperor.''

In July 1937 Japan began an all-out invasion of China. Within six months the Chinese had abandoned most of their coastal cities; within two years much of eastern and central China was under Japanese control, and nearly half of China's population would live, at least for a time, in occupied areas. It was by far the greatest acquisition of the Japanese Empire to date. Yet China remained an active war theater, and despite puppet governments, Japan could not create a stable political structure. In the north, where the Japanese had long planned expansion and had developed the adjacent territory in Manchukuo, Japan achieved some success in exploiting coal and iron ore. In central and south China Japanese had to rely mostly on confiscation of Chinese enterprises and extraction of agricultural products.

The final saga in Japan's empire began with the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Within six months Japan seized the colonial possessions of the Western powers in southeast Asia, including the oil-rich Dutch East Indies and British Malaya with its tin and rubber. The American Philippines was overrun and much of British Burma. The Japanese occupied French Indo-China, though nominally under Vichy control. Japan called its new empire "The Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

The last gasp of the Japanese Empire was its most impressive yet but Japan failed to take advantage. Allied forces devastated Japanese commercial shipping, precluding the full use of the new colonies. Restive populations who initially welcomed Japanese "liberation" quickly became disenchanted when their ruler proved even harsher than that of the Western masters. Japan destroyed Western imperialism in southeast Asia, but it created a legacy of anti-Japanese feeling that took decades to erode.

When Emperor Hirohito announced surrender in August 1945, Japan lost all but the home islands. What had been the largest non-Western empire in the modern world was no more. And what legacy did it leave? Perhaps only in Taiwan do individuals acknowledge positive contributions of the experience. In divided Korea, few people see anything but humiliation and suffering in the colonial experience. In China, legacy over Japanese wartime atrocities still clouds relations between the two nations. As for Japan, it has found a new role as an economic giant; using trade rather than conquest to succeed.

SEE ALSO *Japan, Colonized.*

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Parks M. Coble

EMPIRE, OTTOMAN

The Ottoman Empire (1299–1923) was a Turkish-Muslim state that existed for more than six hundred years. It was one of the largest and longest-lived empires in history, and it represented one of the greatest civilizations of the modern period. Its territories, at its height, included Anatolia (part of present-day Turkey), the Middle East, parts of East and North Africa, and southeastern Europe, comprising a total area of more than 22 million square kilometers (about 8.5 million square miles).

The Ottoman state was established by a tribe of Oghuz Turks as one of many small Turkish principalities that emerged in Anatolia during the Mongolian breakdown of the Anatolian Seljuk State. The state was ruled by the Ottoman dynasty of the Kayi tribe. The dynasty was founded by Osman I (ca. 1258–1324; in English, *Ottoman*) in Söğüt, in the Marmara region of modern Turkey.

THE PERIOD OF ESTABLISHMENT AND EXPANSION

Situated on the borders of the tottering Byzantine Empire, Osman I quickly became a warrior of Islam, attracting the attention of wandering *ghazis*, or warriors for the faith, in Anatolia. In 1299 the Byzantine city Bilecik fell to Turks. This conquest was followed by the fall of many other Byzantine cities, villages, and forts during the early 1300s. Some of the nearby Turkish *beyliks* (principalities) and tribes were also taken over before Osman's death around 1324.

Osman's son Orhan (r. 1326–1362) conquered Bursa in 1326. Bursa became the first Ottoman capital, and facilitated the establishment of military, financial, and administrative institutions. Ottoman coins, for example, were used for the first time in Bursa. Between 1331 and 1338, the other large Byzantine cities of Iznik, Izmit, and Üsküdar fell to Turkish forces. Orhan's marriage to the daughter of the Byzantine emperor gave him a free hand in the region, and in 1354 Orhan's son Süleyman landed at Gallipoli across the Dardanelles, a

The Spread of the Ottoman Empire. *At its height, the Ottoman Empire included Anatolia, the Middle East, parts of East and North Africa, and southeastern Europe, comprising a total area of more than 22 million square kilometers (about 8.5 million square miles).* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

strait in northwest Turkey that connects that Sea of Mamara with the Agean Sea. Süleyman died in 1360, and Orhan's son Murad I (ca. 1326–1389) became sultan. During Murad's reign, peaceful acquisition of lands in Anatolia continued, as did war against Europe.

In the early 1360s the Byzantium city of Edirne in Thrace fell to Turkish forces. Edirne was made the new Ottoman capital, and served as a base for further expansion into the Balkans. Filibe (present-day Plovdiv, Bulgaria) was captured in 1363. A combined Serbian-Bulgarian army of seventy thousand soldiers was subsequently defeated, and by 1387 large parts of the Balkan Peninsula had come under Turkish rule.

The Ottoman rulers forced the leaders of Byzantine and Serbia to pay an annual tribute. The Ottoman system of integration of local rulers and chieftains into their administrative apparatus as vassals facilitated the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Murad I further expanded his territories and influence in Anatolia through marriages and the purchase of lands

In an attempt to stop the Turkish advance, several European armies formed a union of crusaders. However, Ottoman forces inflicted a heavy defeat on the European

crusaders in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, during which Murad I was killed by a Serbian assassin. He was succeeded by his son Bayezid I (ca. 1347–1403).

The new sultan's first move was to check the power of the Turkish Beyliks, who were challenging the Ottomans. Bayezid then turned to Europe to smash Balkan rebels. Bulgaria was put under direct Ottoman administration, and Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) was besieged for the first time. The crusaders organized by Hungary were defeated at the Battle of Nigbolu, on the Danube's shore, in 1396.

Bayezid then proceeded to Anatolia and expanded the Ottoman Empire far to the east, where it eventually came into contact with another rising Turkish dynasty, that of Timur (1336–1405), known in the West as Tamerlane. Bayezid lifted the siege of Constantinople in 1400 to meet Timur's challenge, but was defeated at the Battle of Ankara (1402) after some of his vassals deserted him. The sultan himself was captured and died in captivity in 1403. These developments led to an interregnum as Bayezid's four sons—Süleyman, İsa, Mehmed, and Musa—competed for the throne by declaring separate sultanates in Rumelia, Balıkesir, Amasya, and Bursa, respectively. Mehmed I (or

Muhammad I, ca. 1389–1421) emerged victorious in 1413, and the Ottoman state experienced a period of restoration.

Mehmed's son, Murad II (ca. 1403–1451), who succeeded him in 1421, continued the internal strengthening of the empire by taking control of further regions in the Balkans and in Anatolia, some of which had declared their independence during the period of chaos that followed the death of Bayezid. Murad also seized Selanik (Salonica or Thessaloníki, Greece) from the Venetians in 1430 and ended the Venetian blockage to the Adriatic Sea. Finally, after a victory against the combined European army at the Battle of Varna in eastern Bulgaria in 1444, Murad abdicated his throne to his twelve-year-old son, Mehmed II (ca. 1432–1481), who came to be known as "The Conqueror."

Murad took back the throne when crusaders began once again threatening the empire. The Ottomans defeated the attackers in the second Battle of Kosovo in 1448. Murad's reign saw the beginning of the *Devşirme* system of state bureaucracy. During the Devşirme period, Christian youths recruited from the Balkans were trained and organized as a new army corps called the *Janissaries*. After Murad's death in 1451, Mehmed II again succeeded him.

EMPIRE ON THE RISE

Shortly after his second ascent to the throne, Mehmed II besieged Constantinople. After fifty-three days, the Byzantine capital fell to the Ottomans in May 29, 1453, a victory that made the sultan the most prestigious ruler in the Muslim world. Even from as far away as India, letters of congratulations were sent praising him as the defender of Islam. This conquest marked an important turning point in world history.

Now, as an heir to previous civilizations, Mehmed II began to transform the Ottoman state into a worldwide empire. He kept Constantinople intact, maintained the current order, and moved the Ottoman capital there. He also renamed the city Istanbul. Mehmed invited talented artists, scholars, and craftsman from around the world, including Europe, to settle in Istanbul, thus making the city a great center of culture and civilization. Accordingly, members of different Christian and Jewish denominations were invited to set up their religious centers as *millets* (literally "nation," defined by religious affiliations) under the auspices of the sultan. This became a fundamental element in the Ottoman system of administration in which each *millet* took charge of the religious and educational needs, as well as the personal laws, of its members. Mehmed II also codified for the first time the criminal and civil laws of the Empire into a legal system known as *Kanunname*.

After the conquest of Constantinople, the expansion continued by annexing Serbia and Morea (in Greece), the city of Trabzon, the Genoese colonies on the Black Sea coast, several islands in the Aegean Sea, and Albania. Bosnia–Moldavia (a region in present-day Romania and Moldova) was forced to pay tribute, and the Khanete of the Crimea (in Ukraine) was made an Ottoman vassal state. Finally, in 1473 at the Battle of Otlukbeli, Mehmed II defeated Uzun Hasan (1453–1478) of the Akkoyunlu state, thus gaining control of all of Anatolia.

In 1480 Ottoman armies launched a campaign against Italy and captured the citadel of Otranto. Mehmed II died around the town of Gebze just outside Istanbul in 1481 on his way to another campaign against the Mamluks of Egypt. He left behind a vast empire.

Mehmed was succeeded by his son Bayezid II (1447–1512), who added Herzegovina and Moldavia (now fully) to the empire. Bayezid did not, however, push his campaign further to the west, partly because his rebellious brother Cem was being held in captivity in Rome. After fighting a year-long war for the succession, Cem had fled to Rhodes and finally ended up imprisoned in the Vatican. He died in 1495, probably as a result of poisoning. Meanwhile, in the east, the Ottomans fought against the Mamluks from 1485 to 1491. The fighting ended with no substantial Ottoman gain. Bayezid's last years saw various rebellions in eastern Anatolia instigated by Shah Ismail (r. 1501–1524) of the Safavids, who ruled parts of present-day Iran. In 1512 the sultan was obliged to hand over the throne to his son Selim I ("the Grim," ca. 1470–1520), who had taken control of the state with the support of the Janissaries.

THE AGES OF OTTOMAN SUPREMACY

Selim I greatly expanded the Ottoman Empire, virtually doubling the size of its lands. He initiated operations against Turkmen rebels who were in alliance with the Safavids, inflicting a crushing defeat on Shah Ismail at the Battle of Çaldıran in 1514. Then, Selim's forces defeated the Mamluks in 1516 at Marj Dabik and in 1517 at Ridaniye. Syria, Egypt, and the Hejaz (in present-day Saudi Arabia) were also annexed. These conquests gave the Ottomans control over the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and the shores of North Africa; they thus controlled traditional trade routes, making the Ottoman state the wealthiest in the world.

Selim also claimed the title of the "universal Muslim caliphate," which gave a great privilege as the holders of the Prophet's office and the defenders of the sacred places of Islam to the Ottomans among the Muslims of the world. These conquests opened the way to direct contact between the Ottomans and the Muslim sultanates and trading communities of the Indian Ocean. Selim I died

in 1520, on his way to a military campaign in the west. He was succeeded by his son Süleyman I (ca. 1494–1566), known in the West as "the Magnificent."

Under Süleyman, Ottoman naval supremacy was assured in Mediterranean waters, and the coast up to Morocco in North Africa was annexed. In Europe, Belgrade and most of Hungary were absorbed into the Ottoman Empire after the Battle of Mohacs (1521). The Ottomans seized Vienna in 1529, but never fully conquered the city. In 1540 Hungary became an Ottoman province. The Ottoman fleet also bombarded Nice, France, in 1543.

In order to keep their east-to-west trade route open, Süleyman launched a new campaign in 1544 against the Safavids. Ottoman forces captured Azerbaijan and Tabriz (in modern Iran) in 1552, and Baghdad and Basra (in Iraq) in 1553. Süleyman died in 1566 while besieging the castle of Zigetvar in Hungary, and his son, Selim II (ca. 1524–1574), succeeded him.

In his time, Süleyman was undoubtedly the most powerful ruler in the world. During his reign, the Ottoman Empire expanded greatly, both to the east and west, and threatened to overrun the heart of Europe. Süleyman was also a major player in European politics, and he pursued an aggressive policy of destabilizing Europe. He aimed to ensure that no state became powerful enough to unify Europe. To this end, Süleyman financially supported Protestant countries when European Christianity split Europe between Catholics and Protestants. It was primarily because of this Ottoman policy that the Habsburgs were forced to offer concessions to the Protestants, and it can be argued that Protestantism would never have succeeded but for Ottoman support.

Since European expansion was detrimental to the interests of Muslims in Asia, Süleyman pursued a policy of helping Muslim countries in Asia. He thus sent naval expeditions to the Indian Ocean as far as Indonesia, claiming that this was his duty as the caliph of Islam. These expeditions brought him great popularity among world Muslims. But in the end, the Ottomans were not successful in keeping the Portuguese away from the Indian Ocean region.

Süleyman also embarked on vast cultural and architectural projects. During his reign Istanbul became the most culturally innovative city in the world, thanks mainly to the great works of the famous Turkish architect Sinan (1491–1588).

Ottoman expansion continued under Selim II. The conquest of Cyprus in 1570 led to the formation of an alliance between the Spanish, Venetian, and papal states of Europe, which defeated the Ottoman fleet at the Battle of İnebahtı (Lepanto), near Greece, in October of 1571, though this defeat inflicted no serious harm to the Ottomans.

During the reign of Murad III (1456–1595), the son of Selim II, the Ottomans engaged in wars with the Habsburgs in the west and with the Safavids in the east. Much of Hungary was lost to Austria, but the Safavids were held back. The Ottomans also began to lose their hold in the Mediterranean, and this development severed links with the empire's far-flung Egyptian and North African territories.

Murad II died in 1595 and was succeeded by his son, Mehmed III (1566–1603). Some initial gains were made on the western front when Egri and Kanije castles (in Hungary) were seized and the Austrian army was defeated at Haçova in 1596. The Romanian regions of Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia also became imperial Ottoman lands again. Mehmed III died in 1603 during the latter military campaigns, and his son Ahmed I (1590–1617) ascended to the throne.

Seizing this opportunity, the Safavids attacked the Ottomans, but a succession of wars ended with no gain for either side. Meanwhile, the Jelali revolts (a series of rebellions in Anatolia against the Ottoman government in reaction to various bad social and economic conditions), which were crushed by Grand Vizier (the chief minister and absolute representative of the sultan) Kuyucu Murad Paşa (d.1611) in Anatolia, signaled the advent of a period of Ottoman stagnation. Various explanations have been suggested for this decline, ranging from an internal weakening of the bureaucracy and the role of the Janissaries to the increased military efficiency of European states. Even then, however, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire remained the most powerful single state in the world in terms of both military and economic capability.

OTTOMAN STAGNATION AND THE RISE OF EUROPE

Ahmed I was succeeded by his son Mustafa I (ca. 1592–1639) in 1617. Mustafa only ruled for a short time because of ill health and was eventually dethroned. Osman II (1604–1622) became the new sultan. When the Polish Cossacks invaded Ottoman lands, Osman, concluding that he could not meet this challenge with the undisciplined Janissaries, attempted to form a new Ottoman army. But the Janissaries rioted and killed him in 1622. After Mustafa I held the throne for a short second reign, Murad IV (ca. 1612–1640) became the sultan in 1623.

These developments led to new crises. Baghdad was lost to the Safavids and Erzurum governor Abaza Mehmed Paşa (d. 1634) rebelled in Anatolia. Murad IV reacted with ferocity, and the rebellions were suppressed. The Safavids were also pushed out again, and Revan (Erivan) and Baghdad were reconquered. Murad also

Topkapi Palace. *Built by Mehmed II in the fifteenth century and home to Ottoman sultans until the mid-nineteenth century, Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, Turkey, is now a museum.* © YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

implemented a system of reforms, outlawing coffee and tobacco, among other things, on moral grounds. His death in 1640 marked the end of a period of reconstruction. His brother İbrahim (1615–1648) proved to be less effective.

In 1645 large portions of the island of Crete, including the city of Hania, were taken by the Venetians, who also started attacking the mainland coast. İbrahim was soon dethroned, and his son Mehmed IV (1642–1693) became sultan. New rebellions broke out in Istanbul and Anatolia. However, stability was reestablished thanks to Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (ca. 1570s–1661), who became grand vizier in 1556.

The Venetians were finally driven out of Crete in 1669. But the long period of war with the Venetians between 1645 and 1669 forced the Ottomans to acknowledge the vulnerability of their state and the need for reforms. During this period, the Ottoman state was served by the great Köprülü family, who helped halt the decline by rooting out divisive factions at the center and by closely supervising local governments.

After the death of Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa in 1676, Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa (1634–1683), became the grand vizier. Merzifonlu besieged Vienna in 1683 for a second time. After several years, the siege proved disastrous for the Ottomans; the opposite result would have had incalculably negative consequences for Europe. The European coalition finally defeated the Ottoman army, and the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed in 1699, marking the beginning of the permanent Ottoman withdrawal from Europe. The provinces of Hungary and Transylvania were handed over to Austria. During this period, recurrent internal disturbances arose in Anatolia. In the meantime, Mehmed IV had been dethroned in 1687, leaving his place to Süleyman II (ca. 1642–1691), who was in turn succeeded by Ahmed II (ca. 1643–1695) in 1691.

Although it took a coalition of European nations to bring down the Ottoman Empire, this was a period of major growth in European military technology, and the conventional Ottoman military forces could no longer stand up to the new European armies. The Ottomans also began to lose control of strategic trade routes, upon

which their wealth had largely depended. Traders from the east to the west had by now changed their route, bypassing Ottoman lands by using sea-lanes around Africa. The northern trade route had to be abandoned after Russia took control of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1556).

In addition, well-established European commerce began to threaten local manufacturers as mercantilist policies of selling the greatest possible quantity of goods abroad, while restricting imports, eventually left no opportunity for Ottoman exports. Ottoman lands became a vast open market for European products.

The war with Russia was the last opportunity for the Ottomans to regain lands lost at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Treaty of Pruth (1711) was signed after a Russian defeat brought the Castle of Azak in the Black Sea region back to the Ottomans. This development kept Russia from expanding towards the Mediterranean.

After a war with Venice (1714–1718), the Ottomans recaptured several regions, including Morea, which had been ceded to the Venetians in the Treaty of Karlowitz. This advance marked the beginning of a period known as the Tulip Era, so named because of the growth in the number of gardens and lavish residences that were built in the empire to imitate European court life. The Tulip Era ended in 1730 after the Patrona Halil Riot in Istanbul, which occurred on the pretext of losses on the Iranian front. Sultan Ahmed III (1673–1736) was dethroned and his grand vizier, Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa(1662–1730), was killed. Nevertheless, some attempts at modernization resulted in a short period of economic prosperity for the Ottoman state. The printing press, for example, was brought to the region in 1727.

OTTOMAN DECLINE AND WESTERN DOMINATION

During the reigns of Mahmud I (ca. 1696–1754) and Mustafa III (1717–1773), the Ottomans continued to experience a gradual decline in the face of growing European superiority. The Ottoman response was limited military reforms, such as establishing military colleges with the help of Claude-Alexandre, Comte de Bonneval (1675–1747), a French convert to Islam.

The Ottomans abstained from the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) in Europe and did not participate in the scheme of alliances and counter-alliances that ensued. Russia, on the other hand, continued the policy of seeking access to the Mediterranean and formed an alliance with Austria against the Ottomans. However, the Habsburgs, the most important Ottoman rival in Europe, entered into conflict with France, which kept them away from the Ottomans. Consequently, much of

the remaining eighteenth century saw wars between the Russians and the Ottomans.

Wars that occurred between 1768 and 1774 and from 1787 and 1792 proved devastating for the Ottomans. The imperial Ottoman navy was wiped out at Çeşme in 1770 by the Russians, who sailed through the Baltic Sea. Crimea was first separated from the Ottoman Empire in 1774 by the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca; the region was then annexed by the Russians in 1783. The Ottomans also had to renounce their claims to Moldavia and Walachia. Thus, Russia once again had a free hand in the Black Sea.

One important Russian gain that later had serious consequences for the Ottoman Empire was the right of protection over the orthodox Christian subjects in Ottoman territory. Sultan Mustafa III died in 1773 during the wars, and was succeeded by his brother Abdülhamid I (1725–1789), whose reign ended at his death in 1789. Selim III (1761–1808), assuming the throne in the middle of the war with Russia, quickly seized the opportunity to introduce military reforms known as *Nizam-ı Cedid*. But Selim's efforts to organize a new army in line with European military techniques were met with opposition from the Janissaries.

A new development in Europe, namely, Napoléon Bonaparte's (1769–1821) invasion of Egypt in 1798 after the French Revolution, altered the entire situation. Napoléon's advance was a major blow not only for the Ottomans but for the larger Muslim world. The invasion of Egypt was taken as an indication that after subjugating other Muslim territories in Asia, Europeans would turn their attention to Ottoman regions. As it turned out, Napoléon, under pressure from the Ottomans, Russians, and British, had to flee to France.

Although the immediate crisis was over, the Ottomans had entered a new century that was to be dominated by European wars and expansion, and by the notions of "the European balance of power" and "the Eastern question." The balance-of-power system, introduced by the 1815 Congress of Vienna, was based on the assumption that peace required setting equal powers against each other, thus limiting one country's ambitions to threaten others.

The Eastern question, however, basically, centered around one issue: If and when the Ottoman Empire disappeared, what should happen to its territories (especially the European ones)? Each power approached the matter with the aim of ensuring maximum advantage. But the general understanding was that until an acceptable solution was found, the status quo should be supported. Not surprisingly, the Ottoman Empire became a focus for European politics, and the European powers

generally formulated their positions based on developments within the Ottoman Empire.

One man, Mehmed Ali (Muhammad 'Ali) Paşa (1769–1849), who was among the Ottoman soldiers sent to fight the French, was destined to become the most important figure in the political life of Egypt. The Ottoman government also had to deal with *Ayans* (local notables), who were revolting in the Balkans during the same period. This revolt facilitated the Serbian uprising of 1803, leading to a war between the Russians and Ottomans.

Selim III was imprisoned by reactionary Janissaries in 1807, and Mustafa IV (1779–1808) was put on the throne. An attempt to restore Selim to power resulted in his death, and finally his cousin Mahmud II (1785–1839), who himself had a narrow escape from death at the hands of revolting fractions, assumed the power in 1808.

Mahmud's initial step was to rid the empire of the *Ayans* who had forced him to sign an agreement called *Sened-i İttifak (Charter of Alliance),* which delegated some of Sultan's exercise of power to them and secured their position vis-à-vis the state. He did this by various means and finally took full control all over the country. But the overall Ottoman situation was deteriorating. While the war with Russia continued, Britain invaded Egypt and sent a naval force to seize the Dardanelles in 1807. Treaties were signed with the British in 1809, and with the Russians in 1812. Mahmud II then initiated a series of reforms; the most important was the abolition *(Vaka-i Hayriyye)* of the Janissary corps in 1826. Mahmud's other reforms were mainly social, economic, educational, and administrative in nature.

The 1820s were burdensome for the Ottomans. Apart from the effects of ongoing reforms, the wars with the Greeks and later the Russians were devastating. A combined British, French, and Russian force destroyed the Ottoman navy at Navarino in 1827. Although the Ottomans suppressed the Greek uprising, in the end, Greece declared its independence with the European support and the Russians gained lands in eastern Anatolia.

In 1831 France occupied Algeria and Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt rose in revolt, advancing as far as Kütahya in Anatolia. Mehmed Ali's advance could only be stopped by Russian intervention. The Russians required concessions in return in the 1833 Hünkar İskelesi Treaty. This treaty was followed by the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty of 1838 (*Balta Limanı*), which opened the Ottoman lands for a vast expansion of foreign trade. This gave the British the right to buy directly from the people and also intended to undermine the Russian commercial advantages, as well as to slow Mehmed Ali's

financial capacity by breaking Egypt's monopoly in trade (*yed-i vahid*).

The terms of this treaty were soon replicated by treaties with other European states; the treaties abolished the use of monopolies throughout the empire and cut the level of internal duties. As a result, European merchants obtained rights to direct business, on favorable terms, with local manufacturers of various agricultural products. The Ottoman Empire thus became an open market for European goods, and a type of "free-trade imperialism" developed. This and subsequent unequal trade concessions were fundamentally different from the earlier capitulations, which had been granted from a position of strength by Süleyman the Magnificent as part of his European strategy.

THE PERIOD OF REFORMS AND MODERNIZATION

In 1839 Mehmed Ali's forces again defeated the Ottoman army at Nizip (Nezib). Mahmud II died during this time, and European powers settled the crisis by forcing Mehmed Ali to retreat to Egypt. The new sultan, Abdülmecid (1839–1861), declared a set of reform edicts called *Tanzimat.*

The Tanzimat was an attempt to transform the old Ottoman Empire into a state on the European model in almost every aspect of governance. New legal codes and administrative bodies were introduced, and the Ottoman's entire tax and conscription systems were changed. In an attempt to stop the break-up of the empire in the face of growing waves of nationalism after the French Revolution, a new concept of Ottoman citizenship was advanced as state ideology.

For a time, it looked as though the Ottoman Empire would enjoy a period of respite, but the Russians started another war, the Crimean War, in 1853. It was during this conflict that the Ottoman Empire came to be called the "sick man of Europe." Britain and France sided with the Ottomans primarily for their own purposes—namely, to check Russian ambitions. In fact, the Crimean War was a European conflict that was fought on Ottoman territory, rather than an exclusively Ottoman-motivated war. During the war, Sultan Abdülmecid was urged by his European allies to declare another set of edicts (*Islahat Fermanı* of 1856), reiterating the Tanzimat and promising further religious freedom.

The Crimean War ended in 1856 with the Treaty of Paris, which guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and recognized it as a member of the concert of Europe. But this recognition depended in part on the application of promised Ottoman reforms, which in turn gave the European powers the right to interfere in the domestic matters of the Ottoman state.

All in all the reforms had been undertaken to guarantee the survival of the country and to keep the different Ottoman nationalities together. But for a number of reasons, including European intervention, the reforms did not turn out as planned. The Ottoman's growing financial burden was aggravated by equally catastrophic uprisings in the Balkans. Heavy loans, borrowed to finance the war effort and the reform projects, finally led to the bankruptcy of the state. In addition, anti-Ottoman sentiment was also on the rise in Europe due to the assertion of British Prime Minister William Gladstone (1809–1898) that Turks were killing innocent Christians in the Balkans.

In these circumstances, intellectuals (the Young Ottomans) and opposition bureaucrats forced a change, and Sultan Abdülaziz (1830–1876) was deposed in 1876. His successor, Murad V (1840–1904), suffered a mental collapse under the pressure and was removed from the throne only three months after his accession. The reign of his brother and successor, Abdülhamid II (1842–1918), began during a desperate period for the Ottoman state. Not only was the country already at war with Serbia and Montenegro, but the impending threat from Russia resulted in a new declaration of war.

Meanwhile, elections were held, and the first Ottoman constitution was adopted. The Ottomans repeatedly asked France and Britain to keep their promise to guarantee the territorial integrity of the empire, as stipulated by the Treaty of Paris, but the Ottoman pleas were in vain. Changing political conditions in Europe, after the Italian and German unification, had long signaled a shift in the European balance of power, leaving the Ottoman Empire to its fate.

The war with Russia ended with a catastrophic defeat for the Ottomans. The Treaty of Yesilkoy, signed in 1878, made it clear that Romania and Montenegro had became independent; in addition, Bosnia was left to Austria, and Bulgaria declared its autonomy. Apart from Macedonia and some other regions, the Ottoman hold over the Balkans had ended.

However, European powers, led by Britain, opposed this Russian plan, and another conference was held in Berlin. The result of the Berlin conference, though limiting Russian gains, was even more detrimental to the Ottomans. Britain had already established effective control of the Persian Gulf, and took the island of Cyprus with the wily nily agreement of the Ottoman government on the pretext of Russian proximity to the Mediterranean Sea.

Later, in 1882, Britain occupied Egypt "in the name of the Ottoman sultan." France had done the same in Tunis in 1881. The Ottoman war with Russia also marked the end of the traditional British policy of maintaining the territorial integrity of Ottoman dominions. It

was thus that Britain acquired Cyprus and Egypt, both considered important for British colonial interests.

One other outcome of the Berlin conference was the beginning of a German Ottoman rapprochement. Abdülhamid II saw Germany as a reliable ally, in contrast to France and Britain, and he hoped that with its advanced technology and strong economy Germany could help in the betterment of the Ottoman economy. This rapprochement, however, resulted in the Ottoman's increasing financial and military dependence on Germany.

The formal bankruptcy of the Ottoman state in 1875 led to the establishment of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration in 1881, which placed unconditional control of a large portion of state revenues in European hands. The Ottomans for the first time in their history had to surrender their sovereign rights over revenues to a "state within the state."

On the other hand, with the loss of the Balkan provinces, the demographic map of the Ottoman Empire dramatically changed, and the population was now predominantly Muslim. This demographic change inevitably affected state ideology. Although Ottomanism was still officially on the agenda, in reality Abdülhamid II pursued a policy of solidarity among Muslims, with an increasing emphasis on his role as head of a universal caliphate. This policy was called *pan-Islamism* by the colonizing powers, and it was interpreted as a threat to the "civilized world."

After the war, Sultan Abdülhamid II abolished the parliament and took control of all the affairs of state. He skillfully followed a deliberate policy of manipulating the rivalries of the European states. The remaining years of his reign saw a period of consolidation and stability. The Tanzimat reforms were carried out steadily, especially in the areas of education, administration, and finance; some success was achieved, particularily in finance. Unfortunately for Abdülhamid, however, the very graduates of the schools he opened initiated an opposition movement called *İttihat ve Terakki*; the supporters of the movement became known in the West as the Young Turks. The revolution forced Abdülhamid to restore the constitution in 1908; he was deposed the following year.

BEGINNING OF DISSOLUTION

The Young Turks, contrary to their expectations, found themselves in the middle of European power politics. Immediately after the revolution in 1908, Bulgaria declared its complete independence and Austria announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This development was followed by the Greek proclamation of their annexation of Crete. Within a short time, more territory was lost than had been lost under Abdülhamid II's entire reign.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE, KEY DATES

1299: Osman I founds Ottoman dynasty in Anatolia. The Byzantine city Bilecik, falls to the Turks, marking the first of many conquests

1326: Osman I's son, Orhan takes over the sultanate. He conquers Bursa, and Bursa becomes the first Ottoman capital

1331–1338: Large Byzantine cities of Iznik, Izmit, and Üsküdar fall to Turkish forces

1444: Murad abdicates the throne to his twelve-year-old son, Mehmed II, who came to be known as "The Conqueror"

1453: The Byzantine capital, Constantinople, falls to the Ottomans after a fifty-three day siege

1454–1455: All of Serbia and several other cities are annexed by the Ottoman Empire

1473: Mehmed II gains control of all of Anatolia during the Battle of Otlukbeli

1483: Bayezid II takes control of Herzegovina

1512–1520: Selim I greatly expands the Empire; Syria, Egypt, and the Hejaz are annexed. Ottomans now control all traditional trade routes

1540: Hungary becomes an Ottoman province

1570: Cyprus is conquered, leading to the formation of an alliance between Spanish, Venetian, and papal states of Europe

1595: Europeans form an anti-Ottoman alliance

1606: A peace treaty is signed between the Ottomans and Austria

1699: The European coalition defeats the Ottoman army; Treaty of Karlowitz is signed

1710: First Russo-Turkish War begins

1711: Treaty of Perth is signed after a Russian defeat

1768: Russo-Ottoman War begins

1774: Russians defeat the Ottomans; Treaty of Kuchuk-Kairnarji is signed

1798: Napoléon Bonaparte invades Egypt

1801: Ottoman and British forces combine to drive the French from Egypt

1805: Muhammad Ali becomes viceroy of Egypt

1838: Muhammad Ali declares Egyptian independence from Ottoman Empire

1839: Muhammad Ali defeats the Ottomans at the Battle of Nizip

1840: Britain negotiates the Treaty of London, making Muhammad Ali the ruler of Egypt and returning Syria to the Ottomans

1853: Crimean War begins

1856: Treaty of Paris is signed

1867: Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro declare war on Ottoman Empire

1875: Ottoman Empire declares bankruptcy

1909: Abdülhamid II is removed from power

1911: Italy declares war against the Ottomans

1923: Treaty of Lausanne is signed, formally ending all hostilities; modern Turkey is founded

Soon Italy declared war against the Ottomans and invaded Libya in September 1911. This war resulted in the rapid decline of the Young Turk venture. Political troubles at home soon combined with a new threat from the Balkan states. Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro formed an alliance and declared war against the Ottomans in early October 1912.

The Ottomans ended the hostilities with Italy on terms favorable to the Italians. Ottoman forces were thus free to deal with the Balkan threat without overstretching their limited resources. But the Balkan wars proved disastrous and virtually all the remaining Balkan territories were lost. Even Edirne, the former Ottoman capital, was ceded to Bulgaria. However, the division of new territories that the Balkan states gained from the Ottomans led to another Balkan war, and gave the Ottomans an opportunity to recapture Eastern Thrace and Edirne.

Immediately after the first revolution in 1908, the Young Turks had desperately tried to obtain support from Britain and France, but in vain. The feeling of being let down by these powers consequently drew them to Germany. By then, Europe had split into two blocks: Germany and Austria-Hungary (the Central Powers) on one side, and Britain, France, and Russia (the Triple Entente) on the other. The Young Turks' friendship with Germany resulted in alliance with the Central Powers

during World War I. Ottoman forces fought on many fronts and made a considerable contribution to the war effort.

The Ottoman success in holding back British and French forces at the Dardanelles contributed to the Russian Revolution, which led Russia to withdrawal from the war in 1917. During the war, the entente powers devised four secret agreements concerning the future of the Ottoman Empire. These were disclosed by the Russians after their withdrawal. In addition, to enlist Arab support during the war, Britain made various promises to Arab leaders, including guaranteeing Ottoman independence and recognizing the authority of the Arab caliphate. The Jewish people were also given assurances for the establishment of a national homeland in Palestine by the Balfour Declaration of 1917, an arrangement that conflicted with promises made to Arab leaders.

World War I ended with the victory of the Triple Entente powers, and the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, with the Germans and on October 30, 1918, with the Ottomans.

THE END OF THE EMPIRE AND THE PARTITION OF ITS TERRITORIES

The aftermath of World War I fundamentally changed the political, cultural, and social order of the world. The empires of Austria-Hungary, Germany, the Ottomans, and Russia disappeared; new countries were formed and new international organizations were established.

The victorious powers saved the worst treatment for the Ottomans. Their lands were divided, with a small region in central and northern Anatolia left for the Turks. France, Italy, and Greece were given control of much of Anatolia. However, Turkish resistance led by Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Atatürk, 1881–1938) forced out the invaders. After the Turkish War of Independence, a new Treaty of Lausanne was signed in July 1923, which formally ended all hostilities and led to the foundation of modern Turkey.

Because Russian and American reluctance did not permit direct European colonial rule over the Middle East, Arab lands were parceled out as mandates under the League of Nations. Lebanon and Syria came under French mandate, while Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan were given to the British. Egypt was left to British control, with Kuwait as a British protectorate. The North African countries of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia remained colonies of France, and Libya remained an Italian colony. The colonizing powers set up new boundaries, which generated territorial quarrels amongst the tribes and ethnic or religious groups. The Turks survived and managed to endure as the independent state of Turkey, even while so many other regions became victims of European colonization.

SEE ALSO *Abdülhamid II; Mandate System; World War I, Middle East.*

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Azmi Özcan

EMPIRE, PORTUGUESE

The rise of the Portuguese empire during the sixteenth century still stands foremost in the national consciousness of today's Portuguese. The epic *The Lusíads* by Luis Vaz de Camões (1524–1580), a romanticized version of the first discoveries, is still very popular. This article discusses the political, military, and commercial driving forces behind the Portuguese expansion in the Atlantic, Africa, Asia, and Brazil, and the decline of the empire in Asia.

THE AFRICAN ADVENTURES

Portuguese expansion began in 1415 with the conquest of Ceuta (a city in Morocco) by King John I (1357–1433). His son, Prince Henry (1394–1460), sometimes erroneously called "the Navigator," inherited his father's rights to discover, privateer, and trade in the Atlantic Ocean and leased these privileges to his vassals. Some of them colonized the unpopulated islands of Madeira and the Azores

Demography of Brazil

Year	Portuguese	Indigenous slaves	African slaves
1550	2,000	4,000	Few
1583–1584	25,000	18,000	14,000
1600	30,000	60,000	60,000

Table 1 THE GALE GROUP.

in the North Atlantic. These islands became agricultural sources of sugar and wheat. Other Portuguese, driven by the desire to advance in the ranks of the nobility, as well as by their thirst for gold and the demand for slaves and pepper, accomplished the stepwise discovery of the West African coast.

After Henry's death, King Alphonso V (1432–1481) received papal confirmation of his rights of conquest and mission. He declared a royal monopoly on the trade in gold, pepper, precious stones, civet cats (for their musk), and ivory, but leased the slave trade to private contractors. Under King John II (1455–1495), Elmina (in Ghana) became a center for trade in gold and slaves. John also pushed Portuguese discoveries farther south along the African coast. In 1488 Bartolomeu Diaz (ca.

1450–1500) rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached as far as present-day Mossel Bay, South Africa.

THE ASIAN EMPIRE

After the 1492 discovery by Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) of the West Indies, the two Iberian nations (Spain and Portugal) agreed in 1494 to divide the world in two halves. With the dividing line running through present-day Brazil (which at that time was still unknown to Europeans), the Portuguese crown would become suzerain over the waters and lands in the eastern hemisphere, the Spanish crown over the west.

King Manuel I of Portugal (1469–1521), in the belief that he was "chosen" to defeat Islam, undertook his imperialistic task with mystic zeal. In 1497 Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) was sent to discover the Indies and find spices and Christians. Setting out along a course that in the future would be followed by other European sailing traffic to India, and after various friendly and hostile encounters along the East African coast, da Gama arrived ten months later in Calicut on the southwest coast of India. His return voyage took almost a year.

The Portuguese navigator Pedro Álvarez Cabral (ca. 1467–1520), leaving Lisbon in 1500, intended to follow the same route, but when crossing the Atlantic, Cabral

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

Colonial Possessions of the Portuguese Empire, 1648

PORTUGAL

Goa

Luanda

Mombasa

Mozambique

Delagoa Bay
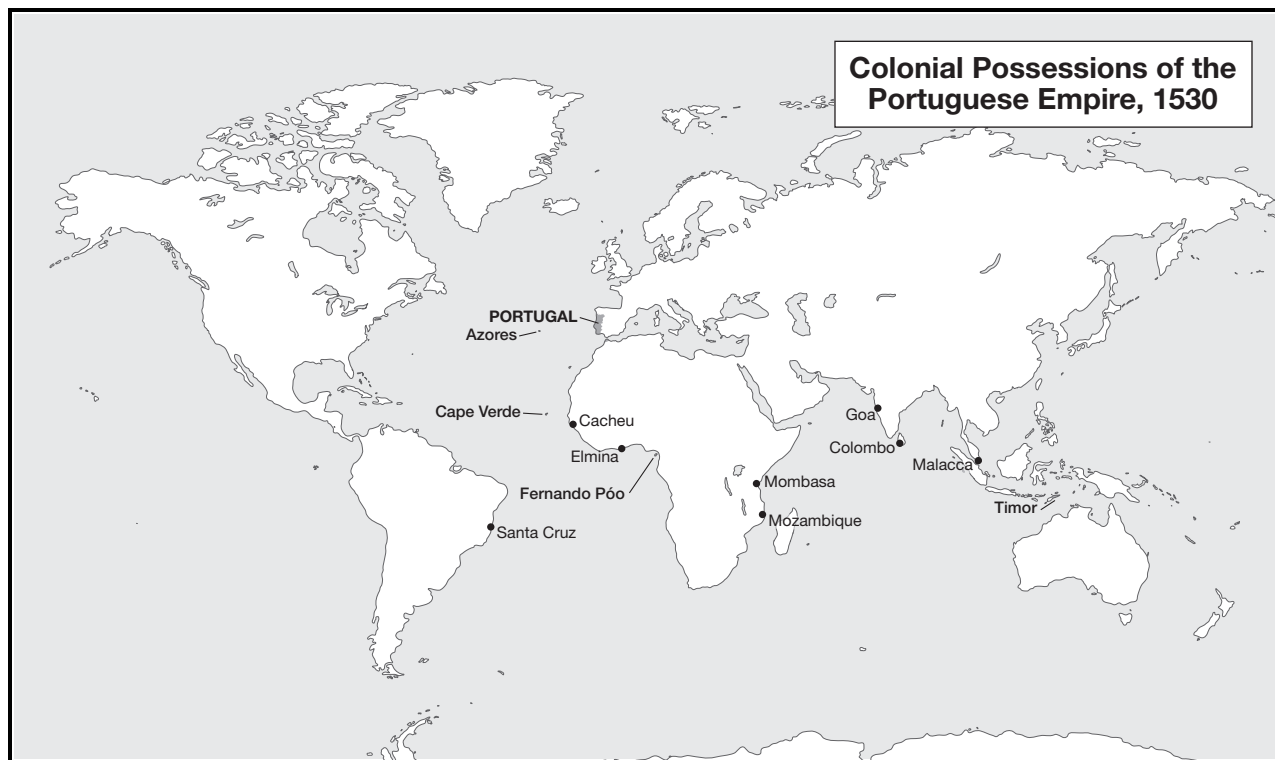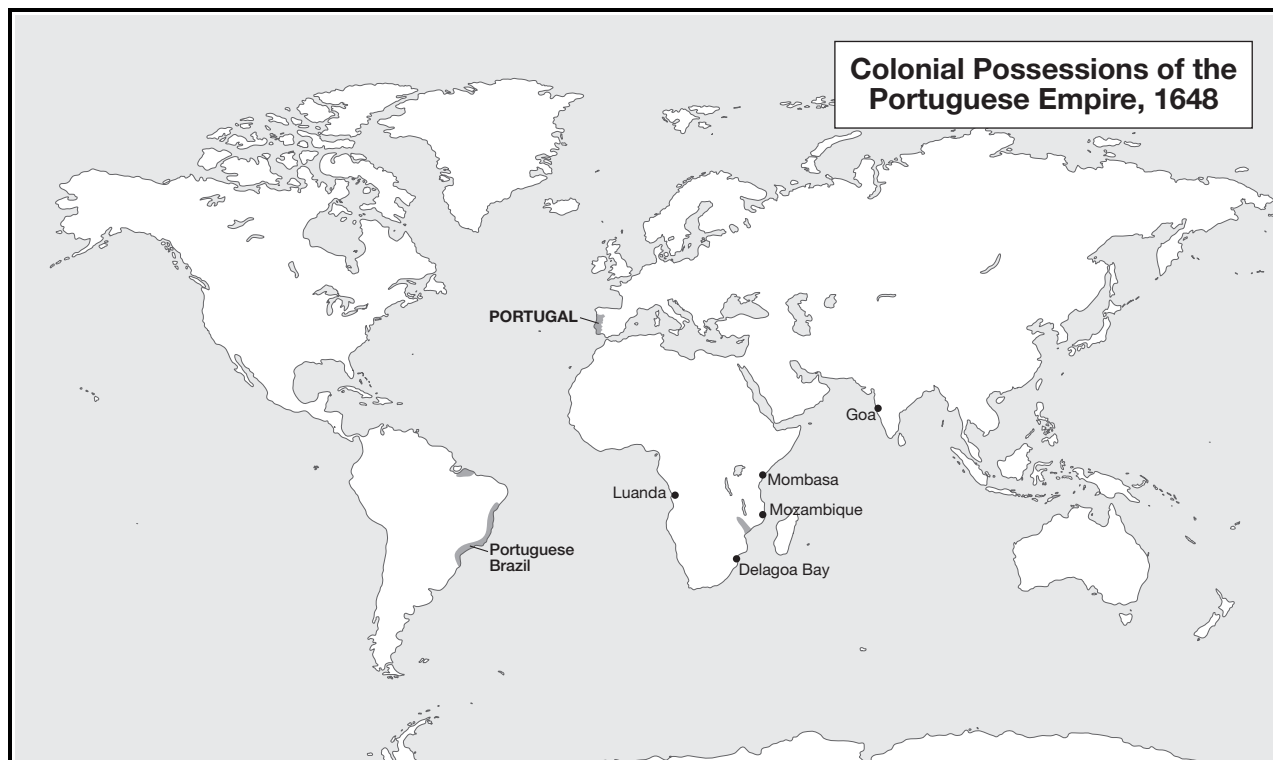
Portuguese Brazil

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

sailed too far west and landed in Brazil. One of his ships returned to bring the news of its discovery; the rest of the fleet continued to Calicut.

By the time the Portuguese entered the Indian Ocean, it was a thriving trading area, with Arabs and Gujaratis (from Northwest India) as the main carriers of pepper from the south and textiles from the north of India. Arab and Gujarati traders exchanged these goods for East African products, as well as horses, silver, gold, and European merchandise coming through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, or spices from Southeast Asia. India's Malabar Coast was divided into small principalities, with such rulers as the kolathiri of Cannanore, the *zamorin* (king) of Calicut, and the raja of Cochin. The Malabar trade, mainly pepper, was in the hands of immigrants: Mohammedans in Calicut and Jews and Brahmins in Cochin.

Not surprisingly, the attempts of da Gama and Cabral to buy pepper and other spices in Calicut were thwarted by Muslim merchants. Cabral therefore turned to the raja of Cochin, who was the archenemy of the *zamorin* and was eager to supply the desired products. On his second voyage, da Gama established a trading post in Cochin, but in Calicut he pursued a policy of intimidation, terrifying the other rulers of the Malabar

Coast into expelling the Arab colonists. Da Gama's ruthless behavior toward "enemies," alternating with diplomacy toward the "enemies of the enemies," would set the scene for further Portuguese expansion into Asia.

Upon da Gama's return, King Manuel I widened the scope of his policies, expanding his title—King of Portugal, the Algarve, and Lord of Guinea—to include "the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." The closure of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and the opening of trading and military posts throughout Asia became first priority.

Manuel's first viceroy of India, Francisco de Almeida (ca. 1450–1510), erected forts at Sofala, Kilwa, and Mombassa on the East African coast. His son Lourenço (d. 1508) established the first Portuguese treaty with one of the kings of Sri Lanka, promising protection against the king's enemies in return for tribute in the form of cinnamon and elephants.

Almeida's successor, Afonso de Albuquerque (ca. 1460–1515), a great believer in Manuel's imperialism, captured the island of Socotra (off the coast of present-day Yemen), hoping that it would be a suitable base from which to block the Red Sea trade to and from India. However, Socotra was too far away to effectively control traffic through the Straits of Bab el Mandeb. Another

Colonial Possessions of the Portuguese Empire, 1783
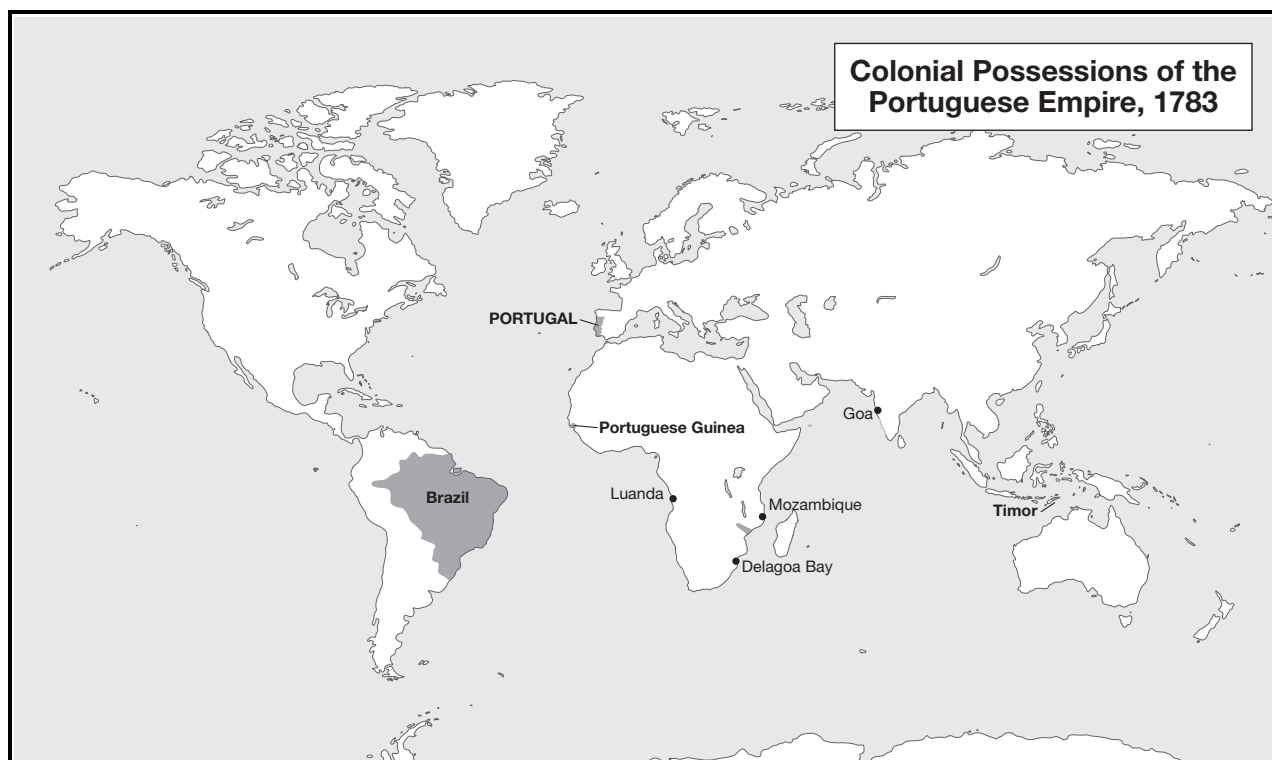
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

attempt in 1513 to close the Red Sea with an attack on Aden failed, and the flow of spices to Europe via this route did not stop until 1610, when the Dutch were able to undercut pepper prices in the Mediterranean.

In 1510 Afonso de Albuquerque captured Goa, a state on the west coast of India, which was to become the capital of the Portuguese State of India. In 1511 he took Malacca, the center of trade between South Asia, the Far East, and the Indonesian Archipelago. And in 1514 he managed to capture Hormuz, thereby gaining control over the traffic from the Persian Gulf. Thus, within fifteen years, a chain of military settlements was established that was expected to maintain control of sea traffic and to demand payment of license fees and excise duties.

However, after his death in 1515, Albuquerque was succeeded by Lopo Soares de Albergaria. Albergaria, who was in favor of free trade, set in motion the opening of the Asian seas to Portuguese private military and commercial initiatives, in total opposition to the centralism of Albuquerque.

The discovery in 1521 of the Philippines and the Moluccan spice islands by Ferdinand Magellan (ca 1470–1521), who sailed under the Spanish flag and made the awesome voyage through the straits that bear his name, caused the Portuguese to push further east and build a fort on Ternate, which was later relocated at Amboina

(Ambon). In 1529 the Holy Roman emperor, Charles V (1500–1558), sold his rights in the Moluccas to the Portuguese crown, and the demarcation line with the Spanish hemisphere on that side of the globe was established east of these islands. As a result, the Portuguese believed they had the right of access to the Philippines, China, and the western part of the Japanese island of Honshu. However, the Spaniards refused to leave the Philippines, and after 1571 Manila became their gateway for imports from China and Japan and for the export of South American silver to Asia.

In 1534 Diu and Bassein (both in Gujarat, northwestern India) were added to the official Portuguese Empire, and in 1543 the Indian provinces of Salcete and Bardez were added. However, Portuguese private interests went far beyond the reach of state officials. Although sea captains sometimes played the roles of diplomats and ambassadors between Goa and the indigenous rulers of the ports, they also sometimes assembled their own private armies to support their demand for trade or booty. Many Portuguese who had originally come as soldiers escaped from the control of the Portuguese state to become embedded in the local economies and trading networks of the Coromandel Coast, the Bay of Bengal, the Indonesian Archipelago, and the Far East. Futhermore, although their mission was financially

dependent on Goa, Portuguese religious orders acted independently and spread their nets widely all over Asia.

In 1543 the Portuguese made their first appearance in Japan, and their Jesuit mission became particularly successful. In 1549 the Ming imperial court of China prohibited the Chinese from trading overseas and the Japanese from entering China. This gave Portuguese merchants the chance, with the Jesuits in Japan as intermediaries, to establish a monopoly in the exchange of Chinese silk, gold, and porcelain for Japanese silver. After 1557 Macao (on the southern coast of China) became a center of Portuguese private trade and missionary activity.

THE ATLANTIC BASIN

The contrast between Brazil and the countries the Portuguese encountered in Asia could not have been sharper. The land had no proprietors, money did not exist, birds' feathers were the main form of wealth, and many of the tribes were cannibals. In the early 1530s the Portuguese crown began to dispense land in the form of hereditary captaincies to people it wanted to reward. As a result, Brazil became a settlers' colony, with plenty of room for private enterprise, including the hunting of Brazilian Indians to work as slaves on the plantations. In addition, the Catholic Church found a wide-open field for missionary activities.

In 1533 large-scale sugar cultivation was introduced in Brazil. The Indian slaves who performed the heavy work were in the course of time replaced by African slaves shipped from the coasts of Guinea, Congo, and Angola. In Congo, conversion of the local king and his sons to Christianity was a convenient inroad into the slave trade. Business in Angola was contracted out to private entrepreneurs. As a result, freight traffic on the Atlantic became triangular: from Lisbon to Congo or Angola with brassware and textiles that had been bought in Antwerp, from there to Brazil with slaves, and from Brazil back to Lisbon with sugar.

Until the discovery of gold in the 1690s the further development of Brazil remained closely connected to the production of sugar, which in turn was dependent on the availability of black labor. By the end of the sixteenth century, Brazil was replacing Madeira in the sugar market. In 1600 there were about thirty thousand Portuguese living in Brazil; by 1612 this number had grown to fifty thousand. In contrast, from Hormuz to Macao, there were not more than sixteen thousand people who considered themselves Portuguese at that time.

THE ASIAN TRADE

The king of Portugal controlled the building and equipage of ships for the *Carreira da India* (the Portuguese

Growth of sugar industry in Brazil

Year	Number of mills	Production (metric tons)
1570	60	2,000
1580–1583	118	5,250
1590	N/A	7,540
1600	200	9,000
1628	235	18,000
1645	300	21,000

Table 2 THE GALE GROUP.

passage to India), as well as their navigation and trade, but others were allowed to share in this monopoly in exchange for a *quinto* (one-fifth) of the value of the merchandise brought back to Portugal.

Fleets of carracks and caravels would leave Lisbon annually by the end of March, arriving in Goa between September and November. Their cargoes consisted of people, arms, artillery, and other necessities to maintain the Portuguese presence in Asia, as well as silver and gold to buy merchandise for the return voyage. The return cargoes included pepper and other spices, cotton and silk, indigo, opium, camphor, furniture, ivory, gold jewelry, precious stones, Bahrain pearls, Persian silk and carpets, and porcelain and other Chinese products. Most of these goods were brought to Goa via established indigenous trading systems, which included the use of *cáfilas*, large fleets of small indigenous ships that had previously navigated along the west coast of India, but now sailed under the protection of the Portuguese maritime fleet after payment of a license fee *(cartaz)*.

The crown organized "royal voyages" to areas where the Portuguese State of India had little or no control over local traffic. Most famous was the annual Great Voyage from Goa to Japan and back, with stops in Malacca (Melaka) and Macao. Other royal voyages traveled from Goa, Diu, and Cochin toward Coromandel, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, the Malay Peninsula, Thailand, and the Indonesian Archipelago.

Because of the monsoon, the return vessels of the Carreira da India had to leave Goa before mid-January. The time available for carrying out repairs and loading cargoes was therefore relatively short, and late departures, bad maintenance, and overloading caused many ships to wreck during the return voyage, making the Carreira a high-risk business.

The Crown's Withdrawal. The participation of the Portuguese crown in Asian trade diminished during the 1570s. Not only were Portugal's royal voyages to Asia now leased in the form of concessions, but beginning in 1575 the Carreira da India underwent significant changes

as German and Italian merchants were awarded contracts for its financing, operation, and pepper sales.

During the mid-1590s Portuguese New Christian merchants (descendants of Jews who by the end of the fifteenth century had been converted to Christianity) replaced the German and Italian merchants. Private merchandise, in particular cotton and silk, represented the major share of the value of their cargoes. In 1629 these financiers of the Carreira were allowed to leave Portugal to become moneylenders to the Spanish crown.

An attempt was made to establish a Portuguese East India company, but the project was abandoned in 1633. By that time the shipping volume leaving Lisbon was less than half of what it had been earlier.

Portuguese Decline in Asia. The decline of the Portuguese Empire in Asia is often attributed to corruption by Portuguese officials, the preference for South America within the Spanish House of Habsburg that ruled Portugal from 1580 to 1640, or simply Dutch and English aggression. However, from the early 1620s the Portuguese State of India lost control of events mainly because of major indigenous political changes in Asia, such as the expansionist wars of Shah Abbas (1571–1629) of Persia (Iran) and of the Mughals in India, as well as the formation of a centralized state in Japan, which the English and the Dutch took advantage of.

Low supplies of pepper and spices to Europe during the 1590s incited both the English and the Dutch to go and buy it for themselves. Besides trade, the Dutch United East India Company, established in 1602, aimed to thwart the Portuguese and Spanish, both of whom were under the reign of Philip II (1527–1598), the archenemy of the Dutch. As a result, Dutch shareholders had to wait until the early 1630s before their investments were fully honored.

In 1605 the Dutch United East India Company occupied the Portuguese fort at Amboina, and the Spanish took over the remaining Portuguese positions in the Moluccas. Portuguese merchants fled to Makassar (a port on Sulawesi in present-day Indonesia), where they continued their spice trade. Several Dutch attempts to conquer Malacca failed, and Dutch privateering in the South China Sea and blockades of Goa met with scant success.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, political changes in India brought new rulers who abolished existing contracts with the Portuguese and were looking for trade with European newcomers. For example, in Kanara on the southwest coast of India, where political and territorial divisions had enabled the Portuguese to obtain the lowest prices for rice, wood, and pepper, the Nayaks of Ikkeri gradually expanded their territory and absorbed the smaller principalities. Their next step was to contact the English for the sale of pepper, and to play them off against the Portuguese.

The textile and indigo trade of Gujarat was the backbone of the Portuguese monopolistic *cartaz* system. In 1612, however, the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1569–1627), the successor of the conqueror Akbar (1542–1605), allowed the English to establish a trading post in Surat, and in 1620 a similar concession was made to the Dutch. Further Mughal expansion led in 1632 to the conquest of Ahmadnagar, which brought the Portuguese forts at Chaul, Bassein, and Daman under Mughal protection. In 1637 the English and the Dutch set up factories in the neighboring state of Bijapur. However, the most serious blow to the Portuguese State of India, both in terms of finances and prestige, was the conquest in 1622 of Hormuz by Shah Abbas of Persia, who thereafter allowed English and Dutch companies to establish trading posts in Bandar 'Abbas, the port of Isfahan (in present-day Iran).

During the second decade of the 1600s, the increasing number of Christians in Japan (some 222,000 in 1609) came to be seen as a political threat for the ruling class. Harsh persecution of Christians and the expulsion of Portuguese missionaries were followed by a ban on both Christianity and Portuguese ships in Japan. The Japanese authorities allowed the Dutch to stay, however. The Dutch factory on the Japanese island of Deshima remained Japan's only window to the Western world until well into the nineteenth century.

In 1636 the Dutch initiated a strategic siege of Malacca, along with seasonal blockades of Goa. Simultaneously supporting the Sri Lankan king of Kandy against the Portuguese, in 1640 the Dutch traders obtained access to the cinnamon trade in Sri Lanka. The Portuguese surrendered Malacca in 1641.

In China, the Manchu emperor's entry into the palace of Beijing in 1644 marked the beginning of the Ching dynasty. Under the Ching, Canton (now known as Guangzhou) became a free harbor for foreign trading companies, although Macao remained an important point of departure for Portuguese merchant fleets.

Another remainder of the Portuguese State of India was East Timor, which, after being ruled by a Dutch renegade and his descendants, was left in Portuguese hands in 1694.

The restoration of the Portuguese crown under the Bragança (Braganza) family in 1640 brought peace in Europe. However, the Anglo-Dutch conflicts of the 1650s and the rumor that the Portuguese might allow the English India Company free access to Portuguese possessions in Asia provoked the Dutch to capture the Portuguese settlements in southern India and Sri Lanka.
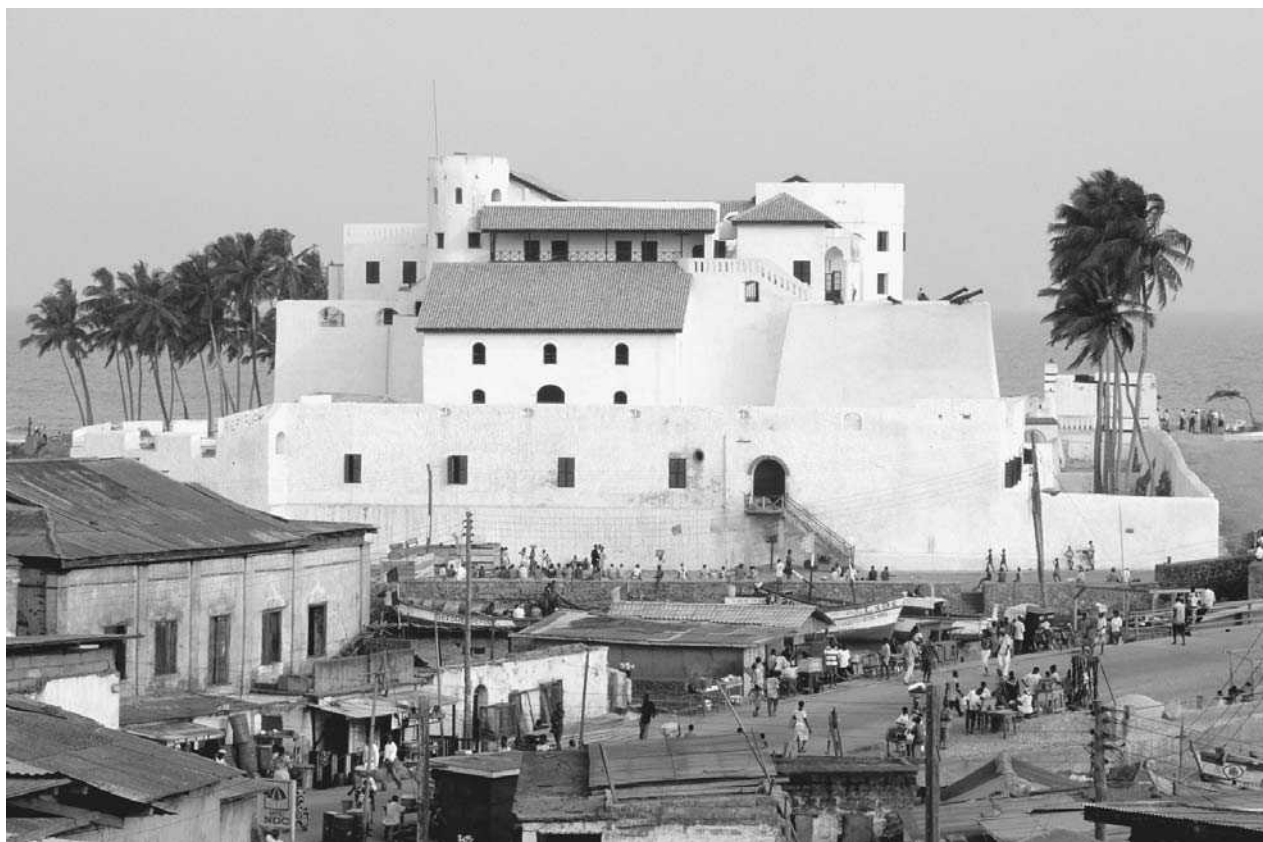
Elmina Castle. *Built in the late fifteenth century by the Portuguese, Elmina Castle in present-day Ghana was one of a string of Portuguese outposts on the west coast of Africa.* © MICHAEL DWYER/ALAMY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Portuguese civilian communities in such places as Goa, Macao, and East Timor survived, under the Portuguese State of India, for another three hundred years.

VICTORY AROUND THE ATLANTIC

In 1621 the Dutch established the Dutch West India Company, which aimed to break the Iberian monopoly of colonization and trade in the New World and along the West African coast. In 1633 the Dutch conquered Pernambuco in northeastern Brazil, but an attempt to occupy Bahia failed. In 1637 Governor Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679) took control of the Portuguese city of Elmina in Ghana, a conquest followed in 1642 by the seizure of Luanda in Angola and the island of São Tomé.

After the Portuguese restoration of 1640, however, the Dutch became more interested in trading with Portugal than in expanding their Brazilian colony. The number of Dutch troops in Brazil was reduced, and following a revolt of the Brazilian population the Dutch were only able to maintain control over Recife and a few

other sites in Brazil. In 1648 the Portuguese recaptured São Tomé and Luanda, and in 1654 all Dutch troops in Brazil were withdrawn. In the treaty of 1661 the Dutch were indemnified for their loss of Brazil and received the same trading privileges as the English.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Portuguese; Portugal's African Colonies.*

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Ernst van Veen

EMPIRE, RUSSIAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The beginning of imperialism and colonialism in western European nations has often been described as a time when rising national powers began to journey to distant lands in search of new sources of trade and capital beyond their immediate grasp. The ultimate goal, implicitly or explicitly, was to build closer ties to the Far East, with its vast markets and valuable products. This was not how Russia began its own road to empire. Russia's move in this direction began with its expansion into the steppe south of its original domains: a frontier unlike those

faced by other Europeans. Given Russia's traditional lack of borders and low levels of social cohesion, the steppe presented a robust challenge to Russian sedentary cultural patterns, which developed from an economic system founded upon peasant, communal village agriculture. Because the Russians began their encounters with the Middle East in the steppe, this region linked them to the Middle East in many ways and determined how they later treated it.

Russia's expansion into the steppe occurred in two distinct phases. Its patterns of territorial expansion in an initial period between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries more closely resembled patterns of nation building in medieval Europe than the growth of world empires during the early modern era. By the eighteenth century, Russians had shifted their approach to adopting the imperialist strategies of their European rivals to extend direct colonial control over vast areas to their south and east.

While much of the commercial, social, and political impetus of this later rise to empire on Russia's part can be observed clearly in its drive eastward across Central Asia toward the Pacific Ocean, Russian dreams of establishing a presence in the Middle East were first guided by ideological and only later by pragmatic concerns. Its desire to serve as the main guardian of Orthodox Christian tradition shaped how it became involved in the Middle East, particularly after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. To a greater or lesser degree, the dream of retaking Constantinople always lingered in the minds of various tsars. In a more concrete fashion, Russo-Turkish conflicts that ensued over the following four centuries continued to be motivated by Russia's attempt to protect and establish its own authority over Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule. This took place in parallel with longstanding Russian efforts to convert Muslims and others in Central Asia to Christianity as they were brought under the tsar's authority: a project pursued for centuries with varying levels of enthusiasm by different rulers.

After the eighteenth century, the ideological and spiritual goals of protecting Orthodox Christians and their holy sites as well as attracting converts to the faith were augmented and overshadowed by Russia's growing strategic and geopolitical ambition to be recognized as a great power. To further both their strategic and ideological goals, the Russians nurtured the nationalist movements of fellow Orthodox Christians in the Balkans through Pan-Slavism. In addition, they saw the Middle East as an arena in which to assert the growing naval and military power that they had begun to develop following the reforms of Peter I ("The Great") (r. 1682–1725). The Russians' greater global focus during this period, in

turn, caused western European powers to react by aiding and propping up the Ottomans, particularly during the nineteenth century, in order to prevent the Russians from acquiring too much power in Eurasia. Thus, Russian imperial agendas in the Middle East during the nineteenth century came to be defined by a complex mixture of different impulses. Russia sought to expand its commercial and geopolitical reach to equal or surpass the imperial projects of other European powers of that time, but the pursuit of this goal continued to be shaped by the enduring spiritual and ideological components of how Russia defined itself as a nation. Russia's view of its mission as a successor to the Byzantine Empire always had a profound influence on how it perceived its true role in the world, particularly in the biblical lands of the Middle East. Until the Bolshevik Revolution and the imposition of an entirely new governing paradigm, it was a thread that linked the earliest and latest involvement of Russia with the Middle East during the tsarist era.

THE BEGINNING OF RUSSIAN EXPANSION EAST AND SOUTH, 1223–1450

Russia's existence as an independent nation arose out of the confederation of various Slavic principalities dominated by merchant oligarchies that flourished in Kiev, Novgorod, and Moscow beginning in the tenth century. These trading principalities were always linked on trade routes to more powerful states farther east and south such as the Khazars in Central Asia and the Byzantine Empire with its capital in Constantinople, so the eastward focus of their merchants and traders coincided with their emergence as independent political entities. For a while, they came together into a loosely unified polity known as the *Rus*, dominated first by Kiev and later by Novgorod and Moscow, but all of these cities perceived trade east and south as an important component of their prosperity.

By the early thirteenth century, these principalities had been broken up into warring factions, which made them easy prey for the Mongol armies rapidly expanding and conquering westward from Central Asia. The Mongols exploited the Russians' internal divisions and were soon able to conquer them. Many component city-states of the *Rus* were made vassals of the Mongol khanate of the Golden Horde, and Muscovy clearly began to emerge as a leading one in the early fifteenth century with the decline of Golden Horde power. Russia fairly quickly developed as a nation from being a power subject to Muslim overlords, to being their equals, to ruling them as it grew into an empire that expanded continually eastward. Although historians have spent decades trying to get beyond the concept that Russia became a nation partly because it "threw off the Tatar yoke," this stereotypical view remained an important component of how

contemporary Russians perceived their own empire's development, regardless of how inaccurate it is.

EXPANSION TO THE SOUTH AS NATION-BUILDING: RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, 1450–1696

The first phase of Russia's relations with the Middle East in this period began with the attempts of Ivan III ("The Great") (r. 1462–1505) to secure Russia's status as a separate, autonomous nation. Ivan engaged in complex diplomacy with various Muslim rulers in the steppe to consolidate his power, entering into alliances in the 1480s with the Crimean khan Mengli Giray, the khan of Kazan, and the Nogais against their nominal overlords: the khans of the Golden Horde. In this earliest phase, as Russia behaved like the assertive vassal of a master whose control was waning, it negotiated small-scale agreements with rivals of similar stature and military power to bolster its standing in internecine disputes, but without radically altering the status quo.

This state of affairs defined a status quo for a considerable period of time until Ivan IV ("The Terrible") (r. 1533–1584) commenced a program of extending Russian control much farther south than where it had previously reached. He conquered Kazan in 1552 and established Russian control over the Volga region, opening large parts of the steppe to Russian colonization and settlement. This influx of Russian and other settlers and colonists pushed the Crimean khans closer to the Ottomans, whose vassals they had formally become in the late fifteenth century.

After Ivan's demise, his forceful advance of Russian power in the south was undercut by a prolonged series of internal struggles and succession crises in the early seventeenth century, mitigated only partially by the establishment of the Romanov dynasty on the throne. Throughout this period, the Russians made tentative forays into the Crimea but were rebuffed by the Ottomans and did not pursue these campaigns due to an awareness of their own military weakness. Between 1637 and 1642, a group of Don Cossacks held the Ottoman fortress of Azov and only relinquished it after Tsar Mikhail Romanov persuaded them to surrender, following an Ottoman threat to kill their Orthodox subjects as retribution. At this time, in spite of such Russian advances and successes, the Ottomans still held the advantage in the evolving balance of power.

After a series of three attacks on the Crimea, in 1687, 1689, and 1695, Peter I, who took the throne in earnest in 1689, assembled a naval force that enabled him to defeat the Ottomans in 1696 fairly decisively and to secure Azov. This success helped launch Peter's

modernization program and it changed how Russia viewed the Middle East.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND RUSSIAN TERRITORIAL EXPANSION, 1696–1856

Despite this first Russian success at Azov, the Ottomans succeeded in retaking it a few years later—a situation which was then reversed permanently by the Russians in the late 1730s. In 1721 Peter I had himself formally proclaimed "Emperor of All Russias." This event coincided with a new era in Russian relations with the Middle East, in which the region became an increasingly attractive imperial prize to be seized ("imperial" because an emperor now ruled Russia). The first evidence of change occurred in the early 1720s, when Russia seized control of the northern half of the west coast of the Caspian Sea down into Azerbaijan. This foray was made possible by the collapse of the ruling Safavid dynasty of Iran after their Afghan subjects invaded that country. Although the Russians were forced only a few years later to relinquish much of what they had conquered, this incursion helped set the Russian agenda for further territorial acquisition, which became more reminiscent of the way in which other European powers were acquiring colonies at this time.

In the wake of Peter's modernization and expansion programs, the idea became more widespread that Russia should extend its territorial control southward and consolidate its rule over the Black Sea to provide an appropriate outlet for its growing military power and maritime commercial needs. At a more idealized level, the pressure to establish this control caused certain Russian nobles to begin openly advocating the liberation of Constantinople from the Ottomans as well. During the 1780s, Catherine the Great's favorite courtier, Prince Grigorii Potemkin, repeatedly spoke of making it the new Russian capital.

A series of Russian-Ottoman military conflicts in the eighteenth century marked successive phases of Russia's project to secure control over the northern Black Sea region. This was reflected in documents such as the 1774 Ottoman-Russian treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, in which the Ottoman sultan was allowed to continue to claim the title of "caliph" over the Crimean Muslims only as a face-saving gesture, as he had lost political control of that region. The spiritual allegiance of the Crimeans to the sultan was decoupled from the political allegiance owed to the tsar in a way that paralleled the expansion of the tsar's rights to oversee the affairs of the sultan's Orthodox subjects. Various clauses in this treaty allowed Russia to build a church in Istanbul and have jurisdiction over it as well as the right to "make representations" to the Ottoman sultan, presumably on behalf of his Orthodox subjects, although this was not specified in the document. Regardless of the details of the agreement, Russia used it over the next few decades to assert its right to protect all Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule.

The end of the eighteenth century also witnessed continual Russian attempts to secure control over lands east and west of the Black Sea through the recruiting of local Orthodox Christian rulers to become either implicitly or explicitly their vassals. In Bessarabia and the Danubian Principalities in the Balkans, as well as in Georgia and Armenia in the Caucasus in the early nineteenth century, this strategy was used quite effectively to extend the range of Russian power and influence, at the same time that the Russians were achieving success more and more frequently in combat against the Ottomans.

Russia and the Ottoman Empire were also both profoundly affected by the increasingly global rivalries of the major European powers at this time. Russia suffered the great physical calamity of Napoleon's invasion, while the psychological shock of his brief but momentous occupation of Egypt (1798–1801), swiftly followed by the rising influence of European capitalism on Middle Eastern economies, had a substantial impact on the Ottoman Empire. During the rise of European manufacturing in the Industrial Revolution, the Ottomans were bound by the constraints of various capitulations agreements, which enabled an influx of European goods to dominate their markets in ways that more and more favored European economies instead of their own. Both the Russians and the Ottomans were thrust into reactive modes by the dramatic events that followed on the French Revolution during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. However, the Russians, then ruled by Tsar Nicholas I, were also able to capitalize on Ottoman insecurities, and thus to soften their previously confrontational stance toward the Ottomans. By the 1820s the Ottoman Empire appeared to Russia as preferable to many of its alternatives, despite ostensible Russian support for anti-Ottoman liberation movements led by their Orthodox brethren, such as the Greek War of Independence.

One alternative to Ottoman power that the Russians helped check, for example, was Muhammad Ali, the ostensible Ottoman governor of Egypt who by the early 1830s threatened to displace the Ottomans altogether. This prompted the Russians, in an uncommon gesture, to send troops to help the Ottomans defend themselves against him. As a result of this intervention and the preoccupation of the major European powers with the Belgian and French revolutions of 1830, the Ottomans and Russians signed the Treaty of Hünkar İskelesi in 1833 as a military alliance, to which the main contribution by the Ottomans was their agreement to keep the Bosphorus and Dardanelles

demilitarized. The British and French were able to soon have this replaced by the 1841 London Straits Convention, which satisfied the Russians but brought the other Great Powers into this diplomatic process more closely.

Farther east, Russia had taken the opportunity afforded by the rise of the new Qajar dynasty in Iran (which came to power at the end of the eighteenth century) to secure control over Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. This control was formally ceded to Russia by the 1813 Gulistan Treaty with Iran, which also gave Russian merchants freer access to Iranian markets than they had ever previously enjoyed, and thus marked the beginning of the steady growth of European commercial activity in Iran throughout the nineteenth century. Although the Iranians rose up against the Russians in the 1820s under Abbas Mirza, they were again defeated and made to sign the 1828 Turkmanchai Treaty in which they were forced to offer Russia even more concessions than in the previous agreement.

Although these treaties enabled Russia to secure formal political control over the Caucasus region, this did not mean the end of local resistance to their assumption of power. For almost three decades from the 1820s until the late 1850s, Russian authority there was stymied by an extended guerilla war in Chechnya and the mountainous region of Daghestan in the northern Caucasus. It was conducted by a coalition of various mountain tribesmen united under Imam Shamil, who led them in numerous campaigns there, considered stages in a religious struggle to establish Sharia (Islamic Holy Law) in areas that had been freed from Russian control.

Through connections across the Caspian and along the major inland trade routes, though, Russia was able to establish a growing presence in Iran after 1828, in particular through its connections with Iranian Armenians: a minority community that had functioned as an important conduit of trade and influence between Russia and Iran for many centuries. In the Ottoman Empire, the role of Russia as the ultimate protector of Orthodox Christians, formally established in 1774 according to the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, intensified its growing rivalry with France, itself long considered the protector of all Catholics in Ottoman lands. This competition, combined with mishandled great-power diplomacy and the sudden death in 1855 of Tsar Nicholas I, who had pursued a more conciliatory policy toward the Ottomans, became a major factor in precipitating the Crimean War.

From one perspective, the Crimean War seems to have arisen due to an unfortunate coincidence of diplomatic and political miscalculations, but it was also brought on by more elemental internal conflicts in Russia itself. The nation was divided by different perceptions of the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, in France and

Europe respectively: For some, they were inspiring and exciting, for others, terrifying and chaotic. It also vacillated in its attitude toward the Ottomans; on the one hand, they were longstanding adversaries, ultimately to be removed from their illegitimate occupation of the Holy Places of Orthodox Christendom; on the other hand, they seemed far preferable to so many other possible rulers of the Middle East. From the Ottoman perspective, France's attempt to leverage its status in the Middle East as the main guardian of Catholic interests in their lands to promote its own global standing had increased suspicions, which paradoxically were not alleviated when France and Britain sided with the Ottomans in the Crimea against Russia.

In military and political terms, the British and the French made the fateful choice to come to the aid of the Ottomans at this time as their global strategy began to include the containment of Russian ambitions as an important goal. The 1856 Treaty of Paris that ended the Crimean War also formally ended the Russians' ability to claim even an implicit status as sole protectors of the Ottoman Orthodox population, because its text explicitly placed this population under the care of a consortium of European powers. The agreement also set out to ease tensions on the Black Sea, by calling for its complete demilitarization. Russian attitudes about their empire's presence and expansion in the Middle East continued to be defined by their longstanding ideological and religious views, though, as much as by commercial, geopolitical, and military considerations. As Russia's traditional role in the Ottoman Empire shifted, a new ideological force in Russia, Pan-Slavism, which became popular in the early 1870s, began to have an impact on its Ottoman policy. With regard to Russia itself, Pan-Slavism promoted a return to traditional values in contrast to the earlier modernizing reform movements of the mid-nineteenth century; at the same time, it caused the growth of popular Russian sentiment in favor of liberating "Slavic brothers" from their Ottoman rulers. This sentiment fueled a nationalist fervor that was a potent force in causing the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. This war, which had also been brought on by a constitutional crisis that had set the Ottoman sultan at odds with his newly created parliament, was only resolved at the 1878 Congress of Berlin. There, a Balkan map was drawn up that froze battle lines for a few decades, during which time tensions continuously rose behind artificially constructed barriers in Macedonia, Albania, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. From the Ottoman perspective, the losses imposed by the Congress of Berlin were devastating in terms of territory and people: Roughly a third of the Empire's territory and a fifth of its population were lost, and a terrible refugee problem ensued.

RUSSIAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST EMPIRE, KEY DATES

1200s: Mongol armies conquer the loose confederation of Slavic principalities led by the ruling-class merchants of Kiev, Novgorod, and Moscow

1480s: Ivan III brokers agreements with Muslim rulers in the steppe, hastening the decline of their common ruler, the khans of the Golden Horde

1552: Ivan IV overruns Kazan, opening the Volga region to Russian colonization

1696: Peter I defeats Ottoman forces at the fortress of Azov, expanding Russia's empire to the south

1720s: Russia continues to extend southward, gaining control of the Caspian Sea's northwest coast, though loses the territory two years later

1774: The Ottoman-Russian Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca is signed, giving Russia political control of the Crimea, and introduces Russia's claim to be the protector of all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire

Late 1700s: Russia tries to consolidate power in the Black Sea region by convincing fellow Orthodox Christian rulers to fall under the Russian Empire

1813: Iran and Russia enter the Treaty of Gulistan, giving Russia control of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, and opening up Iran to Russian influence

1833: Russia and the Ottomans reach a military alliance by signing the Treaty of Hünkar İskelesi

1848: In Russian-controlled Azerbaijan, the first modern oil well was drilled, attracting foreign investment in the region

1853: The Crimean War begins with the Ottoman Empire declaring war on Russia. France and Great Britain side with the Ottomans, hoping to gain influence in the region and balance Russia's growing power

1856: The Treaty of Paris ends the Crimean War

1877: The Russo-Turkish War begins, inspired by Pan-Slavic ideas, with Russia looking to free fellow Slavs from Ottoman rule

1878: The Congress of Berlin settles the Russo-Turkish War, with the Ottoman Empire shrinking by one-third and new boundaries set in the Balkans, creating the states of Macedonia, Albania, and Bosnia-Herzegovina

1914: The assassination of Franz Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, leads to the outbreak of World War I, with Russia joining sides with French and British forces against Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire

1917: The Bolshevik Revolution ends the Russian Empire

Farther east, Russia and Britain engaged in proxy struggles in Afghanistan to define the frontiers of their vast imperial projects. This finally settled down with the imposition of stable rule in Afghanistan under Amir Abd al-Rahman and the establishment in the 1890s of the Durand Line, which secured the westernmost frontiers of British India and established Afghanistan as a buffer state between Russia and the subcontinent. In the Caucasus meanwhile, the stabilization of Russian control over the region following the Crimean War also created an important conduit for modernization in the Middle East. Tiflis, the capital of Georgia and the center of Russian administration in the Caucasus, became an outpost of European culture and intellectual life there. Despite strict tsarist censorship, Persian and Turkish books and newspapers printed there became widely circulated in Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

More importantly, Azerbaijan under Russian control became one of the main sites of the birth of the modern petroleum industry. The first modern oil well was drilled near Baku in 1848 and the first refinery constructed there in 1859. When private companies were allowed to participate in its oil business in 1872, Baku rapidly grew from a provincial outpost into a wealthy and sophisticated city. European investors, including the Nobel brothers and the Rothschilds, entered the market. By the end of the nineteenth century, Azerbaijan was producing more than half of the world's oil supply. It became the site of labor troubles in December 1904, when a general strike among the oil workers there broke out, led by the young Bolshevik Georgian leader Joseph Stalin. Among Russian dissidents, this uprising helped create the revolutionary atmosphere that led to the St. Petersburg riots and massacre of "Bloody Sunday" in January 1905.

Although Russians always dominated business and government in the Caucasus during the late 1800s, some Azerbaijanis and Armenians became important leaders in various aspects of industrial production there, such as transporting oil on the Caspian Sea. Young intellectuals in the region were influenced by developments in Russia

and created political parties that in turn had influence among their Iranian and Ottoman counterparts, helping to inspire the Iranian Constitutional Revolution in 1906 as well as the 1908 Young Turk Revolution in the Ottoman Empire. Following the uprisings of 1904–1905, the Russian viceroy of the Caucasus, Count Vorontsov-Dashkov, forcefully suppressed political dissent, but a small cohort of revolutionary activists continued to engage in political activity there and preserved connections with their comrades in the Middle East during the period leading up to World War I.

This era also saw the development of robust mercantile and intellectual connections between Russian-controlled Muslim areas of Central Asia and Iran and the Ottoman Empire. Because of improvements in transportation and communication, substantially larger numbers of *hajj* pilgrims from these Russian-ruled areas were traveling through the Ottoman Empire and connecting their own Muslim cultures with the larger Muslim trends in the outside world.

The tenuous peace in the Balkans that had been created by the Congress of Berlin began to unravel in the beginning of the twentieth century in various little wars. These small conflicts produced ethnic tensions that led up to Franz Ferdinand's assassination, the spark credited with setting off World War I in June 1914. This war, which caused the end of the Russian Empire following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, completely redefined Russia's relations with the Middle East. Communist Russia's ostensible goal now became the "liberation of the working class." After a short hiatus, however, longstanding imperial goals of consolidating and sustaining control of colonial populations reappeared. This led to the creation of a number of ethnically Muslim "Soviet Socialist Republics," which ostensibly functioned as autonomous constituent units of the larger Soviet Union, but were under the firm control of the central Soviet state and supported its political and social agendas.

CONCLUSIONS

It would be accurate to observe that Russia did finally begin to act like an imperial power to some extent in the Middle East, but only considerably after other European powers had done so and only in certain ways. Along its southern frontier, the area where its territorial expansion required the most military activity, its conquests were not regarded as colonizing enterprises until centuries after they had begun, with the result that the Russia colonial impact in places like Crimea has only been felt strongly during the past century and a half.

The Middle East proper remained only an elusive goal of conquest for Russia and served as more of an emotional rallying point in its role as the original home of

Christianity and the site of Constantinople. This emotional appeal began with Russia's attempt to assert its status as the main guardian of Eastern Orthodoxy, but evolved to include Pan-Slavism as Russians supported the nationalist dreams of Slavic populations under Ottoman rule. The Russian presence in the Middle East never developed, though, as European merchant interests had evolved there, primarily as a means to secure economic dominance. Although the Russians constantly traded with the Middle East, their relations with it were never defined by economic interests to the extent that those of other European powers were during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

SEE ALSO *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in the Middle East; Central Asia, European Presence in.*

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Ernest Tucker

EMPIRE, UNITED STATES

For most of its history the United States was an expansionist power that acquired considerable territory through treaty, conquest, and annexation. However, except for one period at the end of the twentieth century, the United States did not follow the classic patterns of colonialism and imperialism. Furthermore, the nation has traditionally identified itself as an anti-imperial power that was committed to self-determination and the promotion of democracy, equality, and individual liberty.

Proponents of America's global role have often credited the United States with being the leading opponent of colonialism. Opponents of American foreign policy have argued that the United States developed a less overt form of imperialism that provides the same degree of control and reward as traditional colonialism but avoids the costs

The United States and Its Territories, 1870–1920

Midway Islands
1867

Wake Island
1899

Philippines
1898

Guam *1898*

Johnston Atoll
1858

Howland and Baker Islands
1857

PACIFIC OCEAN

American Samoa
1899

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Puerto Rico
1898

U.S. Virgin Islands
1917

Navassa Island
1857

N

0   1000   2000 mi.
0 1000 2000 km
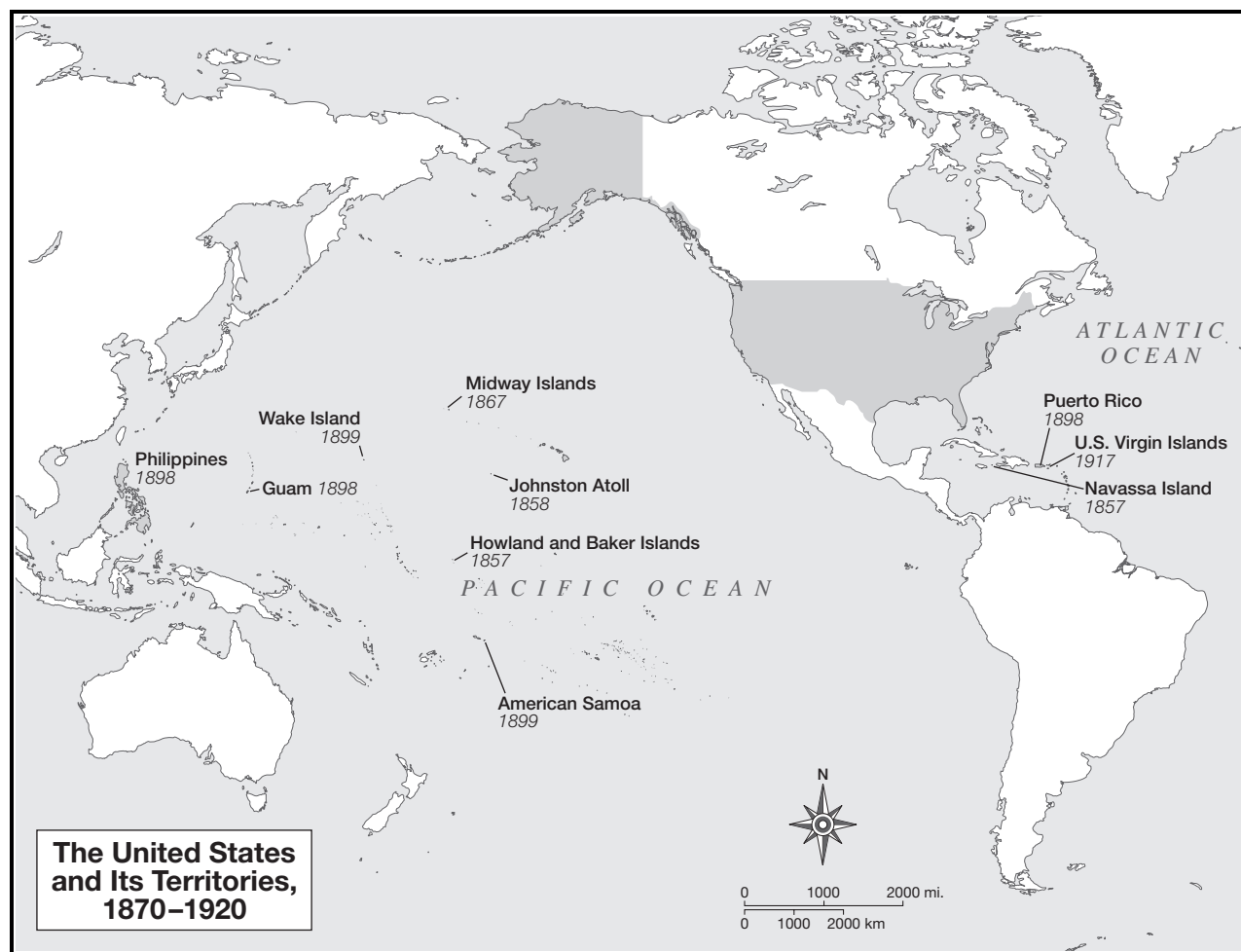
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

of empire because territory is not under the formal control of the United States. In the post–World War II era there has been increased debate about the actions of the United States, even as scholars have begun to redefine the concepts of empire and colonialism in order to account for the preponderance of American power in the post–Cold War era.

AMERICAN ANTICOLONIAL TRADITIONS

The United States as a country was founded on the basis of anticolonialism and self-determination. Nonetheless, the American colonists, and later the American people, saw their western border as ill-defined, and most accepted that it was proper for the United States to expand westward. This created a dichotomy in which the nation expounded the virtues of democracy and anticolonialism yet often behaved as a colonial power as new territories were acquired. The opposing sentiments of anti-imperialism and expansionism that emerged from the American

Revolution would continue to influence American policy throughout the nation's history. In the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, U.S. anticolonialism came to be expressed on two levels: the domestic level and the level of foreign policy.

During the early period of the country, American policy was expansionistic, but not in the traditional colonial sense. Colonialism was based on the notion of foreign sovereignty: that another state had political, economic, and military control over a territory. Colonial powers sought colonies that would be economically profitable but also politically subservient to the mother country.

In contrast to traditional colonialism, successive American administrations sought to acquire territory through diplomatic means and then bind those areas to the United States by allowing them to become full political and economic participants in the nation through the process of statehood. Sovereignty, instead of being concentrated in the hands of the colonizing country, would

be divided between the federal government and the state governments under the American system. American politicians, leading public figures, and newspapers asserted that the American system actually spread liberty and democracy. There was also a notion of divine right in American expansion that would later be codified in the doctrine of *manifest destiny* (the notion that the population of the United States was predestined to expand to the natural borders of the country). This represented an effort to reconcile the fact that the nation was acquiring new territories, but the peoples of these areas (usually indigenous peoples) often had little choice over incorporation into the United States.

As the United States expanded across the continent, it adopted a foreign policy that was designed to distinguish America from the European empires. American foreign policy was also crafted to bolster the American economy instead of the nation's geostrategic position. Isolationism was the core U.S. foreign policy for most of the early period of the nation's history. In his farewell address, President George Washington (1732–1799) warned his successors not to enter into "permanent" alliances with other states. However, the United States did vigorously promote its economic interests through a series of commercial treaties with other states.

One reason for American anticolonialism in the early days of the country was the inability of successive administrations to gain legal access to markets controlled by the colonial powers. Because it found itself shut off from trade with Spanish or French colonies, the United States supported a range of independence movements. Yet Washington's admonishment against formal alliances constrained the ability and willingness of American politicians to provide aid in the struggle against Spain.

In the 1820s Congressman Henry Clay (1777–1852) advocated a broad inter-American alliance against the colonial powers, but Secretary of State (and later president) John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) instead argued in favor of diplomatic support for independence movements, but not military assistance. Adams's position became the favored one and would be codified in the Monroe Doctrine (1823), in which the United States pledged to block efforts at new colonization in the Western Hemisphere in exchange for its own noninterference in European affairs. The Monroe Doctrine was one of the strongest early American expressions of anticolonialism, but it also demonstrated the dichotomous nature of U.S. policy since the United States would oppose some colonial ventures but accept others, including British efforts in Canada.

The Monroe Doctrine did acknowledge the right of existing countries in the Western Hemisphere to consolidate their regimes, and the subsequent American acquisitions of territories, including those from the Mexican-American War and the purchase of areas such as Alaska, were justified on this basis. In addition, Americans noted that their territorial gains were not overseas empires, but part of a contiguous expansion of a political union of states. This union was asserted to be different from a formal empire. Yet concurrent with anticolonial actions, the United States also engaged in quasi imperialism. For instance, the colony of Liberia was established by the American Colonization Society in 1821 as a semiprivate enterprise, and over the next twenty years various states, including Virginia and Mississippi, also attempted to develop colonies in the region. These colonies ultimately merged into a commonwealth and declared their independence in 1847 (although the United States did not formally recognize Liberian independence until 1862).

INFORMAL IMPERIALISM

The United States engaged in a variety of forms of informal imperialism in the nineteenth century, and these would lay the foundation for later U.S. actions in the twentieth century. American settlers frequently encroached upon the territory of other sovereign countries. A pattern developed that would be replicated throughout the period of manifest destiny and would also be followed as the United States acquired possessions such as Hawaii. As part of a broader pattern of westward migration, Americans would settle in areas under foreign sovereignty. These areas might include territory that was formally a part of another nation, such as Mexico or Hawaii, or that had been granted autonomy by treaty with Washington, as was the case for most of the Native American nations. As more Americans settled in these areas, they would begin to agitate for self-government or annexation to the United States.

Texas provides an example of this trend. In the 1820s large numbers of Americans began to settle in Texas. The volume of immigration was such that the Mexican government forbade additional American settlers in 1830. Within two years armed conflict broke out between the Americans and the Mexican government. This conflict culminated in a rebellion and Texan independence in 1836. After a brief period as a sovereign republic, Texas was annexed to the United States in 1845. A similar pattern occurred in Hawaii, where American missionary efforts beginning in 1820 and an American-led insurrection in 1893 led to formal annexation of the island kingdom in 1898. Native Americans also continuously found themselves forced from their territory as American settlers moved in and then demanded union with the United States.

The United States also practiced a more subtle form of colonialism: cultural imperialism. Concurrent with the

settlement of Americans in continental territories was the advance of American culture, technology, and economic systems. Within the territory that became the United States, the advance of American culture eroded local societies and traditions and undermined the will and ability of people to resist U.S. expansion. American cultural imperialism would also have a profound impact on those areas that did not become part of the United States. For example, American missionaries were active throughout the Pacific region and in Africa. In addition to bringing the Christian gospel, these missionaries also brought Western ideals, cultural traditions, and language, in addition to a range of devastating diseases.

One of the most dramatic and far-reaching instances of American cultural imperialism in the nineteenth century was the dispatch of Commodore Matthew Perry's (1794–1858) two expeditions to Japan in 1853 and 1854. These two missions were sent in an effort to force the Japanese to open their country to Western trade, and Perry's missions had the impact of prompting the Japanese to launch a massive effort to industrialize and develop in order to compete with the Western powers. On one level, the missions can be viewed as anticolonial since Perry did not attempt to acquire territory, and was not authorized to do so. However, the missions had a major impact on Japanese culture in a manner that foreshadowed the globalization trends of the twentieth century (they also spurred Japan's later emergence as an imperial power). The United States would pursue a similar policy toward China by pressuring the Chinese government to open the country to American commercial interests (this open-door policy would further be applied to the imperial powers that had carved China into spheres of influence). The United States would also use military force to ensure Chinese compliance with its open-door policy during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.

AMERICA'S IMPERIAL MOMENT

For a brief period the constraining influences of isolationism and anticolonialism were abandoned, and the United States engaged in direct imperialism and the acquisition of colonies. There was a range of motivations that propelled this short-lived effort at formal colonialism. By the 1890s the frontier in the continental United States had begun to close, and Americans began to look beyond the territorial confines of the United States for economic and other opportunities. This would include emigration to Alaska and various areas of the Pacific and Caribbean. In addition, the growing popularity of the inherently racist social Darwinism meant that many Americans accepted the notion that they were destined to rule over other peoples. Compounding these trends was a missionary impulse that convinced many in the
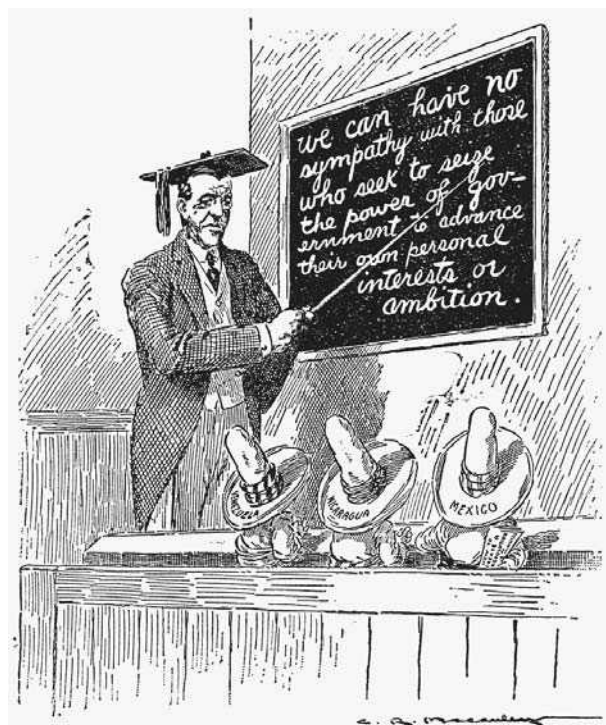
Woodrow Wilson, The School Teacher. *This cartoon, published in the United States in 1914, comments on the role adopted by the U.S. government in the affairs of Latin American countries during the early twentieth century. In particular, the cartoonist calls attention to American efforts to promote democracy in Mexico, Venezuela, and Nicaragua.* THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

country of the necessity of taking a more proactive role in the world to civilize and uplift native peoples and protect them from the worst ravages of European imperialism.

In the later stages of the nineteenth century, imperialism became a domestic political issue. In 1885 President Grover Cleveland (1837–1908), a Democrat, announced that the party would oppose future expansion or the acquisition of new territory. Cleveland resisted efforts to annex Hawaii, and after he left office following his second term in 1896 his successor as leader of the party, William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925), became noted for his opposition to an expansionist foreign policy. The next Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), frequently authorized military expeditions to support his foreign policies, which were paradoxically rooted in idealism, support for international law, and self-determination. Wilson's use of realist policies, including military interventions, to pursue idealistic goals foreshadowed the rise of internationalism within some circles of the Democratic Party and paralleled the internationalist wing of the Republican Party.

A growing number of elites in the United States also sought to operationalize the theories of naval officer and historian Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914). Mahan argued for the need to create and maintain a powerful naval force to protect American commercial and political interests abroad. However, to maintain such a navy, the United States would need ports for refueling and repair around the globe. Mahan's arguments were diametrically opposed to traditional American isolationism, and he urged a more proactive role for the United States in the global arena. Adherents of Mahan's theories included such prominent figures as future president Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) and Henry Cabot Lodge (1850–1924), a powerful member of the U.S. Senate. The Pacific Ocean was of particular importance to Mahan's supporters because many perceived that the centuries-old westward movement of Americans would continue into the region. When U.S. Marines supported the American-led insurrection in Hawaii in 1893, it marked the onset of the nation's imperial moment.

Victory in the Spanish-American War (1898) allowed the United States to acquire several colonies, including Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. It also led to U.S. occupation of other areas, such as Cuba, and it ignited a vigorous debate in the United States over imperialism. While pro-imperial advocates, including Roosevelt and Indiana senator Albert Beveridge (1862–1927), extolled the virtues of American expansion and the duty of the United States to promote its values and ideals among other people, a range of opponents to American colonization also emerged. Ardent anti-imperialists, including Samuel Gompers (1850-1924), Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919), and William Graham Sumner (1840–1910), formed the Anti-Imperialist League in 1899 to oppose U.S. expansion.

Among the foremost concerns of the anti-imperialists was the incompatibility of democracy and empire. They argued that a nation that promoted self-determination and individual freedom could not also engage in imperialism. Anti-imperialists were particularly upset over the military campaign waged by the United States against Filipino insurgents who sought independence. The anti-imperialists noted that the Filipinos were fighting against a colonial power in the same fashion that Americans had once fought against the British. Many anti-imperialists also had less noble reasons for opposition to imperialism, including a fear of immigration from newly acquired territories and a belief that annexation of such territories would undercut American values and ideals because the inhabitants of these regions were perceived to be inferior to Americans.

Initially, American public and political opinion seemed to be on the side of the imperialists. In addition to the direct annexation of territory, the U.S. Congress enacted the Platt Amendment (1901), which reduced Cuba to the status of an American protectorate and gave the United States the right to intervene militarily. In their efforts to increase circulation, the leading newspapers of the day openly supported and even encouraged expansion by exaggerating stories and news items in a jingoistic style that came to be known as *yellow journalism*.

Following the assassination of President William McKinley (1843–1901), Theodore Roosevelt, an ardent imperialist, became chief executive. Roosevelt undertook a number of actions to expand American influence, particularly in the Caribbean. He envisioned the Caribbean as an "American Lake" and frequently used American power to further U.S. interests. Roosevelt's policies and style, as well as his willingness to use military force and the threat of military action, would be replicated by successive American presidents both in the Caribbean and the broader world.

A keen student of history, Roosevelt realized that the United States could avoid the costs and problems of empire by avoiding direct annexation of territory through the implementation of some of Mahan's theories. Instead of stationing large numbers of troops in economic or strategic areas, the United States could use its naval power to force regimes to comply with American demands and interests. This would allow the United States to develop spheres of influence around the world without the cost of maintaining a military garrison or a civil service. In addition, the policy meant that the United States could avoid charges from both domestic and international audiences that it was forming an empire. Roosevelt's strategy was a modification of British gunboat diplomacy, but it was based on the same premise: install a friendly regime and use a combination of naval power and rapidly deployable troops, such as the U.S. Marines, to support the local government.

This indirect form of imperialism would be repeatedly utilized throughout the twentieth century. There was a range of military interventions in the Caribbean throughout the early 1900s. In spite of pledges to formulate and implement a less intrusive foreign policy, presidents from both parties utilized military interventions in order to secure American interests. The major modification to the strategy of using military intervention to maintain spheres of influence would be the post–World War II rise of covert operations to replace overt military deployments.

THE WORLD WARS AND U.S. ANTI-IMPERIALISM

In both world wars the United States rallied public opinion against the nation's enemies by issuing appeals against imperialism. During World War I the

administration of Woodrow Wilson claimed to be fighting in order to "make the world safe for democracy." The administration also contended that it was on the side of the enlightened, liberal empires (France and Great Britain) against the repressive empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary. During World War II the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) portrayed itself as fighting the fascist empires of Germany and Italy.

In the aftermath of both conflicts the United States did seek to promote self-determination and democracy. It also supported decolonization. Following World War I the Wilson administration worked to have the colonies of the former Central Powers taken over by the Allies with the expectation that these territories would be transitioned to self-rule. Instead, the Allies, including Japan, Great Britain, and France, proved unwilling to decolonize many of the areas entrusted to them. After World War II the United States would press for complete decolonization.

Many scholars contend that after World War II the American empire transitioned from a regional colonial system, based on spheres of influence and protectorates, to a quasi-imperial system with global reach. Others argue that the United States was not only not an imperial power, but that it defeated the last multistate empire, the Soviet Union, and was chiefly responsible for the rise of democracy in the post–Cold War era.

American foreign policy did radically change after World War II as the twin constraints of isolationism and the avoidance of permanent alliances both dissipated. In an effort to avoid the experiences of the post World War I era, first the Roosevelt administration and then the Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) administration embraced an internationalism that accepted a substantial role for the United States in world affairs. The result was the formation of a consensus on foreign policy that was remarkably stable throughout the Cold War, but which also laid the foundation for charges of neo-imperialism against the United States. Central to the charges of a new American imperialism was the degree of economic and military power the United States exercised during the Cold War. Even the staunchest critics of U.S. policy did not argue that the country was following the traditional paths of the empires of Europe; instead they asserted that the United States had developed a less direct but still pervasive system of control over other states.

In the aftermath of World War II the Soviet Union developed an empire that mirrored the traditional colonial entities of the nineteenth century. The Soviets directly annexed some countries, while others were treated as satellite states and were controlled from Moscow through military and political means. Most Soviet bloc states were economically dependent on Moscow, as colonies had been previously, although some strategically important allies, such as Cuba, were actually subsidized by the Soviets. Significantly, the Soviets concentrated mainly on their periphery, and it was only as the Cold War wore on that Moscow made serious bids to increase its global presence.

In contrast, the United States exerted a much more powerful influence on world affairs in the immediate post–World War II era. Unlike the Soviet empire, the United States has often been characterized as an empire of the willing or as an informal coalition. This characterization refers to the preference that many states had for American primacy as opposed to Soviet domination. This phenomenon was particularly true of Western Europe and the economically developed, established democracies of the world, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and others. For these countries, the United States offered military and economic assistance that was critical in efforts to rebuild after World War II. In return, the countries surrendered a degree of autonomy on security and economic issues. However, when they disagreed with the United States they often saw little in the way of sanctions or punishments from America. France's withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1966 or disagreements over U.S. involvement in Vietnam are frequently cited as examples of the willingness of the United States to tolerate dissent within its coalition. Nonetheless, there were deep differences between how the United States treated allies that were economically and militarily developed and those states that were less developed.

Those countries that sided with the United States during the Cold War can be divided into three categories. First, there were the *allies*. Although the United States often exerted economic or diplomatic pressure on allies to develop consensus, these were states that the United States treated more or less as political equals and involved in decision-making and global strategy. Examples of allies included Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan. Second, there were a number of states that were *associates* or partners of the United States. These countries agreed with the United States on most issues, but were more willing to oppose American policies and often used the superpower conflict to extract concessions from both the United States and the Soviet Union. Examples of associates included Brazil, Mexico, and Pakistan. Third, and finally, were the *client* states. These regimes owed their existence to U.S. support, and the United States often had to provide significant military or economic aid to ensure their survival. This dependency provided the United States with a high degree of control over these countries. States in this category included Iran, Nicaragua, and South Vietnam. These differences among countries resulted from the implementation of the core principles of American Cold War policy.

American foreign policy in the Cold War period was based on four principles: containment of the Soviet Union; the promotion of free trade; the spread of democracy; and support for multilateral international organizations. Central to post–World War II American foreign and security policy was the containment of the Soviet Union. To successive administrations of both parties, the Soviets represented a global challenge that threatened world domination. As such, all other aspects of foreign, economic, and security policy were secondary to containment. In 1945 the United States had the world's largest economy and needed export markets; therefore, polices were enacted to promote free trade, which was seen as a way to open markets. The establishment of liberal democracies was tied to the longstanding belief that democracies were less likely to go to war with each other, and democracy was seen as a bulwark against communism. Finally, multilateralism, in the form of such international institutions as the United Nations, the World Bank, or NATO, was promoted as a way to lessen the costs of global leadership and to share the burden of containment.

Each of the four goals was laudable, but their implementation was uneven and often exacerbated global inequities. For instance, National Security Council memorandum 68 (1950) enshrined the doctrine of containment in foreign policy, and it specifically repudiated colonialism. Nonetheless, the United States supported ongoing French colonialism in Indochina and British imperialism in Africa as a means to counter Soviet influence in those regions. The United States sought decolonization but was also fearful of creating vacuums that would allow for Soviet expansion. The goal of containment repeatedly led the United States to support anti-free trade and antidemocratic regimes, as long as they were anti-Soviet.

In addition, the free trade policies of the United States promoted global commerce, but they were also designed to enhance the U.S. economy. A range of economic and aid programs was implemented that mainly benefited the United States and other developed economies. One result was the continuation of unequal patterns of trade that often replicated colonial patterns. This system of trade involved the export of resources, ranging from foodstuffs to mineral resources, in exchange for the import of manufactured goods by lesser-developed states. The postwar period also witnessed the rise of multinational corporations that actively lobbied to develop policies that enhanced themselves, even at the expense of people in developing countries. Critics of the postwar global economic system argued that the unequal flow of goods and services forced lesser-developed countries into a state of dependency on the developed world (a concept known as *dependency theory*).

Successive American administrations also offered support to undemocratic regimes in return for anti-Soviet policies. Hence, American support for democracy was tempered by containment policies. The United States even undertook a number of covert operations in places such as Iran (1954), Guatemala (1954), and Chile (1973) to replace regimes that were considered antagonistic to the United States. These actions reinforced notions that the United States was acting in an imperialistic fashion and treating countries as if they were quasi colonies.

American actions toward countries during the Cold War reflected the different status of those states. America's allies and partners were far less likely to face punitive actions when they disagreed with the United States than were America's client states. Nevertheless, the United States did exercise a high degree of control and influence over all three categories of associated nations. In the end, this was because the United States was not a traditional imperial power. The United States used economic and military rewards, incentives, and punishments to exercise its power, instead of formal conquest and colonization.

Furthermore, the spread of American influence was aided by the nation's *soft power*—the attractiveness of its culture, ideals, and values. American political norms and values came to be embraced by the majority of the world's nations, even if its individual policy actions were often criticized. Colonialism, based on external sovereignty of territory, did not adequately describe the American global presence because its control and influence over other states was based less on direct sovereignty and more on indirect, subtle forms of influence. In this regard, the nation behaved more like a hegemon and less like a global empire.

A *hegemon* is a state that has the ability to set and enforce the rules of the international system. During the Cold War, the United States behaved like a hegemonic power, although its reach was rebuffed by some actors, mainly the Soviet bloc and some members of the non-aligned movement. By developing international institutions that reflected American preferences, including the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (later the World Trade Organization), and NATO, the United States was able to promote its values and interests, all the while sharing the burden of its superpower status among its allies, associates, and client states.

Because of the hegemonic potential of the United States, it did not have to formally colonize states to ensure their economic compliance or political pliancy. Furthermore, the perceived threat of Soviet expansion added incentives for many states to cooperate with the United States as members of an empire of the willing.

UNITED STATES EMPIRE, KEY DATES

1803: Thomas Jefferson negotiates the sale of the Louisiana Purchase from the French for fifteen million dollars

1821: The American Colonization Society establishes the colony of Liberia, followed by other efforts by several American states to establish colonies in West Africa

1823: The United States adopts the Monroe Doctrine, which attempts to limit new European expansion into the Americas; in return, the United States agrees not to interfere in European affairs

1836: American settlers in Texas rebel against Mexican rule and create the Republic of Texas

1845: The United States annexes Texas

1846: Disputes over the border between Mexico and Texas lead to the Mexican-American War

1848: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican-American War, with Mexico agreeing to give up much of the Southwest and California for fifteen million dollars

1867: Russia sells Alaska to the United States

1893: The United States supports a rebellion in Hawaii

1898: The United States annexes Hawaii, seeing Pearl Harbor as a strategic military base

1898: The Spanish-American War begins in April, though the fighting only lasts until August when the Spanish ask for a truce. The Treaty of Paris formally ends the Spanish-American War, and the United States gains control of the former Spanish colonies of Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. Cuba is declared independent, but occupied by the United States until 1902

1899: Prominent Americans, including Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, and Samuel Gompers, found the Anti-Imperialist League, opposing the expansion of the United States

1901: The U.S. Congress passes the Platt Amendment, making a protectorate of Cuba and retaining the right to intervene militarily in Cuban affairs

1903: The United States supports independence for Panama in exchange for the right to build a canal through the country

1904: President Theodore Roosevelt develops the "Roosevelt Corollary," suggesting the United States has the obligation to aid smaller countries in the Western Hemisphere when threatened with economic troubles. Using this principle, the United States takes over the finances of the Dominican Republic in 1905, intervenes in Haiti in 1915, and sends the military into Nicaragua on several occasions in the early 1900s

1918: After WWI, the United States advocates decolonization, suggesting that the victorious Central Powers, including France, Great Britain, and Japan, transition their colonies to self-rule

1945: With the end of WWII, the United States looks to sustain influence by creating collations of similar-minded democracies, large and small, to balance the Soviet Union's expanding empire

1950s-1970s: To fight the perceived Soviet Communist threat, the United States covertly replaces leaders in Iran (1954), Guatemala (1954), and Chile (1973) with governments more friendly to the United States

During the Cold War, scholars identified the United States as a *benign hegemon*—a country that had the military and economic power to dominate the world, but whose actions benefited the majority of states in the international system.

POST–COLD WAR PRIMACY

With the end of the Cold War, the Soviet threat diminished. In addition, the economic power of the United States declined in relative terms as other economies grew faster than that of America. The result was that explicit U.S. political and economic leadership declined. Countries had less incentive to ally themselves with the United States on global issues. As a result, during the 1990s there emerged a range of issues that divided the United States from even some of its formerly close allies. Many scholars and public officials around the world began to predict that the United States was in decline and had lost any hegemonic potential it may have possessed during the Cold War.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century the United States remains the world's most powerful country in economic and military terms. Whether it can force its
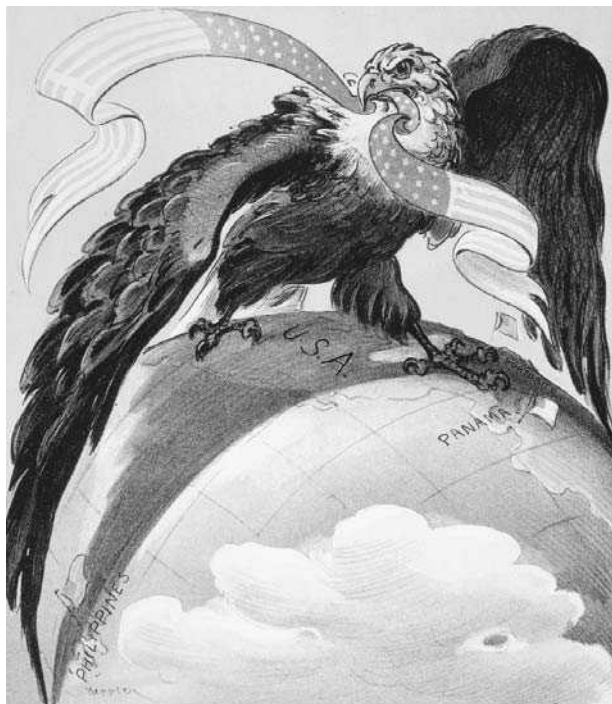
The Eagle of American Imperialism. *This cartoon, drawn by Joseph Keppler Jr. in 1904, represents American imperialism as a bald eagle with its wings spread from the Caribbean to the Philippines.* THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

will on other states is a more open question, which strikes at the heart of contemporary charges of neo-imperialism. The series of military actions at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s demonstrated that the United States remained the world's leading military power. However, the United States found less global support for its military operations. The soft power of the United States remained considerable, although increasingly other populations were less attracted to the political and philosophical aspects of American culture, and more drawn to materialism and consumerism. In many areas of the world this trend created a backlash against what was perceived to be American cultural imperialism and the subsequent undermining of local customs, traditions, and values.

International disagreements over the "war on terror" and the 2003 invasion of Iraq also demonstrated that the United States was not able to set new rules for the international system (including the effort to promote a doctrine of preemptive military strikes—the Bush Doctrine). By 2004 the broad effort to promote multilateralism, which had been the hallmark of U.S. foreign policy since World War II, had been seriously undermined by the Bush Doctrine and the war in Iraq.

Combined with other actions, including rejection of the Kyoto Protocol on global warming and opposition to the creation of an International Criminal Court, the policies of the late 1990s and early 2000s eroded American soft power and undermined the nation's ability to exert global leadership.

Critics of the United States argue that it continues to pursue neo-imperial policies designed to bolster the nation's global power. The United States has demonstrated that it is unwilling to surrender or share any significant degree of sovereignty with international bodies. When other countries or international institutions support American policies, the United States embraces them. When there is opposition to U.S. actions, the nation ignores them. Supporters of the United States continue to assert that the nation promotes policies that uplift peoples and is willing to bare the costs necessary to provide global security. In either case, the United States clearly is the most powerful country in the contemporary world, but it is a nation that falls short of empire or hegemony.

SEE ALSO *Anti-Americanism.*

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Tom Lansford

ENCOMIENDA

The *encomienda* was a grant of the right to use labor and exact tribute from a given group of natives conveyed to a person in return for service to the Spanish crown. The origins of the institution in the Americas dates back to 1497 when Christopher Columbus assigned native communities to Francisco Roldán and his men. Roldán and his company had risen in revolt against the Crown's authority and refused to reestablish peace except at that price. Subsequently, under Governor Frey Nicolás de Ovando (in office 1502–1509), who as Commander of the Order of Alcántara had administered *encomiendas* in Spain, the grants were institutionalized and extended to the entire Island of Hispaniola as a means to control the natives. The *encomienda* was not a land grant (*merced*). Instead, the conveyance consisted of native peoples, identified by their chiefs, put at the disposal of the *encomendero* or grantee to work in their homes or on public and private construction projects, and in their fields and mines. Initially, the natives labored without limit, benefit, or tenure. In time, royal officials made such grants with conditions: that the *encomenderos* marry, live in a nearby town, Christianize the natives, and protect and treat them benevolently. Thus began an institution that supported a class of powerful individuals, created by royal fiat, that would figure prominently in the history of the New World for the next century and into the eighteenth century on the fringes of the Spanish New World empire.

Encomenderos, addressed as *encomenderos feudatarios*, had no peers at first. They held a monopoly of local political power as the only persons able to sit on the town council. Their grants also gave them a near monopoly over native labor. Later-arriving Spanish immigrants depended on them for the help they needed to build homes and shops, tend plants and animals, or mine ore. This control and their prestige as first founders and conquerors quickly enriched the majority of *encomenderos*.

Harsh treatment of the natives and the catastrophic decline in their numbers due to disease, overwork, starvation, and flight caused the crown and Council of the Indies to reconsider the *encomienda*. Royal officials sent decrees ordering the fair treatment of the natives. These were codified in the Laws of Burgos of 1512 and again in the New Laws of 1542. One clause of the latter abolished the *encomienda* at the death of the holder. *Encomenderos* in Mexico protested this assault on their status and well-being. The *encomenderos* of Peru revolted, and eventually confronted the first viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela. They found him unyielding in his zeal to implement the laws, so they beheaded him, setting off a civil war that was not totally quelled until 1549.

The rebellion and civil war in the Andes together with continuing news of the unchecked mistreatment of the natives and their dwindling numbers forced the crown to take steps to reconquer the Americas from an ever more powerful and semi-autonomous *encomendero* nobility. The *encomienda* was thereafter renewed (or not) on an individual basis, at the death of the previous *encomienda* holder; assigned a steep transfer tax; and gradually eliminated, except on the frontiers of the empire (e.g., Paraguay). The crown also appointed local magistrates, called *corregidores de indios*, as its representatives to mediate the relations between *encomenderos*, non-*encomendero* settlers, and the natives. In this way, the crown could more easily direct the use of indigenous labor to activities deemed worthwhile, like mining. The increasing control and eventual disappearance of these grants ended the political dominance of the *encomendero* class. Power passed to royal officials, miners, landowners, and eventually merchants. The surviving native population, under increasingly Hispanicized chiefs and overlords, then became liable for a tribute payment to a royal official and for periodic, temporary, rotating, and paid labor service to designees of the Spanish crown.

SEE ALSO *Mita; Tribute.*

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Susan Elizabeth Ramírez

ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY (EIC)

The English East India Company, formally known as the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East-Indies, was first incorporated by a charter from Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) on December 31, 1600. The charter gave the company exclusive rights to all "Traffic and Merchandize to the *East-Indies*...beyond the *Cape of Bona Esperanza* [Good Hope], to the Streights of *Magellan*." While this initial charter was experimental, limited to fifteen years, the East India Company was soon rechartered as a permanent body politic (1609) and over time became the most successful, most significant, and certainly the most famous of English joint-stock companies organized for overseas trade.

The English East India Company became a crucial pillar of the London financial and stock market, a key creditor to the English state, and an important player in English politics. As a joint-stock company, it, along with its rival Dutch East India Company, was the forerunner of the modern multinational corporation.

Headquartered at the India House in London's Leadenhall Street, the English East India Company was directed by twenty-four individuals known as *committees* (after 1709, *directors*), headed by a governor and deputy governor and elected by a general court of stockholders. Collectively known as the Court of Committees, these men governed an independent political system, a network of ships, soldiers, and "servants" (as its employees were known) in Europe and Asia. As a corporate body politic, the company set the institutional and ideological foundations for the British Empire in Asia.

Its beginnings, of course, were much more humble. While occasional English traders and adventurers made their way to the East Indies through the sixteenth century, no English monarch had been willing to challenge Portugal's claims to exclusive rights to the route around southern Africa. Sporadic attempts to search for a northwest or northeast passage had benefits, such as the discovery of Newfoundland and the founding of the Russia (Muscovy) Company, but yielded no route to rival either the Portuguese or the overland caravan trade.

By the end of the century, groups of merchants, including leaders of the English Levant (Turkey) Company, began to press fervently for a chartered company to pursue the southern maritime route. Their arguments were made stronger with the capture in the West Indies of the *Madre de Dios*, a Portuguese ship laden with a vast amount of East India goods and spices, as well as the *Matricola*, a confidential Portuguese register and inventory of its Estado da India. These investors, aided by a brief that was likely authored by the geographer, explorer, and imperial theorist Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), used this prize to demonstrate the vast fortunes to be had in East India trade. The administrative documents also seemed to prove that Portugal neither occupied nor used the hemispheric jurisdiction it claimed. Many, including Hakluyt, also interpreted the capture as a providential endorsement for an English entry into the East India trade. In 1599 Queen Elizabeth and her privy councilors relented.

The company's first voyage, four ships commanded by Captain James Lancaster (ca. 1554–1618), set sail in February 1601. These early expeditions were intended not for South Asia, but for Indonesia and its rich spice and pepper entrepôt of Banten. These English ships also sought to attack and plunder Portuguese shipping. The meteoric rise in power in Indonesia of the newly created Dutch East India Company, however, forced the British company to look for other markets.

Pepper remained the East India Company's largest import for its first several decades, but the English East India Company soon diversified into silk, indigo, saltpeter, and textiles. In addition, its servants began to develop a complex and lucrative trade to and from points within Asia, later known as the *country trade*. The company also began to turn its attention towards South Asia.

Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644) was sent as ambassador from King James I (1566–1625) and the English East India Company to the court of the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1569–1627). In 1616 Roe secured company rights to land for its first factory, to include a trading post, warehouse, and residence, at Mughal India's busiest and most lucrative overseas commercial port, the western Gujarati town of Surat. In the following year, the company further expanded its operations in Western Asia, with a *farman* (an imperial command) from the Persian emperor permitting a factory to be established at Isfahan (a city in present-day Iran).

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The English East India Company experienced great initial success. It sent twelve expeditions in its first decade and a half, and returned more than 100 percent profit over its original capital investment. By the 1630s, though, a depressed market in Europe and overextension in Asia began to take its toll on company fortunes. Meanwhile, the company faced more rivalry in England, including an antimonopoly sentiment that grew with hostility towards the king. In 1639 Charles I (1600–1649) allowed a patent for William Courteen and a consortium of traders to do business in the East Indies in places where the East India Company did not. The so-called Courteen Association did a great deal to sully the company's reputation and credit, both in London and Asia, forcing the company to spend great sums both to combat the association and to recover the company's standing in Indian markets.

Competition with European powers had also begun to intensify. By 1615, English East India Company ships had repelled two major Portuguese assaults near Surat, India, and in 1622 the Company's alliance with the Persian emperor led to the expulsion of the Portuguese from their valuable Persian Gulf outpost of Hormuz. In exchange, the company was given an outpost at Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbas) in Persia and a share of the customs receipts of the port.

Despite this success against the Portuguese, the English East India Company continued to lose ground to the Dutch in Indonesia. Perhaps most famously, in 1623 Dutch officials arrested, tortured, and executed, under the charge of treason, ten English company officials living at Amboina (present-day Ambon, Indonesia). The Amboina "massacre" became a rallying cry against the Dutch for the better part of the century. Making matters worse, in the same year company officials were also forced by the Japanese to abandon their factory at Hirado, an island near Nagasaki.

The execution of King Charles I in 1649 and the republic under Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) in the 1650s marked the nadir of the English East India Company's fortunes in seventeenth-century England. In 1653 Cromwell declared the company's royal charter invalid, and opened the East India trade to all takers, including Courteen. Though the rival traders were never successful, their competition and sabotage of the company allowed states and merchants in Asia to drive up the expense of goods as well as diplomatic transactions. Prices of East India goods in England began to rise, while profit, customs receipts, and the financial stability of the company fell proportionally.

Eager to recover England's advantages in the East, Cromwell offered the English East India Company a new charter in October 1657, putting the company on much more solid footing than it had been on previously. Most importantly, the joint-stock, now totaling almost £750,000, was made permanent. Though technically forfeited with the restoration to the throne of King Charles II (1630–1685) in 1660, the charter was reissued with almost identical terms in 1661. Over the next several decades, Charles II and his successor, James II (1633–1701), issued further patents, expanding the company's powers to enforce law (including martial law) on English subjects in Asia, to make war and peace, to mint coins, and to "erect and build Castles, Fortifications, Forts, Garrisons, Colonies or Plantations" as the company saw fit.

Given this new financial and political foundation in Europe, the English East India Company began to enhance its network in Asia. At the core of this system were fortified sovereign cities, settlement colonies, and military outposts, as well as trading factories central to company administration. Here, company officials tended to much more than trade; they governed a growing cosmopolitan Eurasian population, which in turn demanded attention to law and justice and a civic administration requiring such infrastructure as churches, prisons, schools, hospitals, mints, courts, and, of course, systems of taxation, customs, and revenue collection.

Madras, on the southeastern Indian coast, had been in East India Company possession since 1639, when the company's representative Francis Day initially leased the land from the *nayak* (provincial governor or local sovereign) Damarla Venkatappa. At its center was Fort Saint George and the surrounding "White" or "Christian" town, but its jurisdiction also encompassed the surrounding so-called "Black" or "Gentue" town. By the 1680s, its leaders boasted (perhaps exaggeratedly) of a cosmopolitan Eurasian population of over 100,000. In 1687 the East India Company incorporated the town, giving it an urban administrative apparatus similar to English corporate cities, including a locally elected mayor, aldermen, and burgesses.

In 1668 Charles II also transferred to the English East India Company, for an annual rent of £10, the Western Indian archipelago of Bombay, given to the English Crown from Portugal seven years earlier as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705) when she married Charles. By the 1680s, Bombay had become the center of the company's commercial and political administration in India. The company also controlled the South Atlantic island of Saint Helena, where it attempted to create a plantation society, as well as a watering station for its ships. In 1696 the company was given a *zamindari* (the right to collect revenue and to administrate) over three villages in eastern India, as well
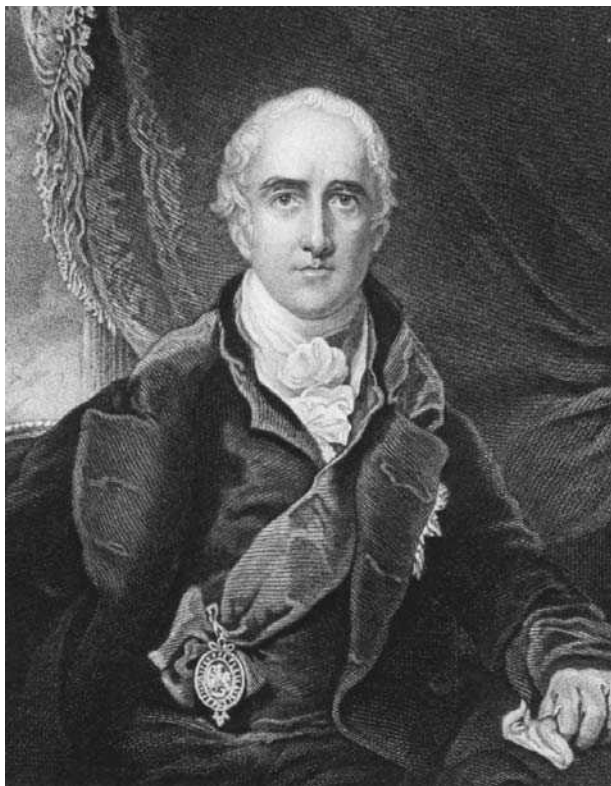
Marquis Wellesley. *The colonial administrator Richard Wellesley (1760–1842), governor-general of British India from 1797 to 1805, extended British control throughout India and expanded the territories of the British East India Company.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

as permission to fortify in the city that would soon be known as Calcutta, with Fort William at its center.

The English East India Company also reclaimed its position outside of India. It recovered from its expulsion by a Dutch-backed coup from Banten in 1684 with the construction of a factory and fortified city at the Sumatran port of Bengkulu in the 1690s. Additionally, its early unsuccessful factories in Siam (Thailand), Malaysia, and Japan were replaced by stations at Taiwan, Amoy (Xiamen, China), and ultimately Canton (Guangzhou, China), from which it began its large-scale eighteenth-century trade in tea and porcelain.

In this period, company leaders in London and their subordinates in Asia, particularly company committee and sometime governor Josia Child (1630–1699) and company general in Asia John Child (d. 1690, no relation), had also become much more vigilant and hawkish in the protection of the company's rights and political position in Asia. From 1686 to 1690, the company fought wars with Siam and the Mughal Empire, one in Bengal and another in Bombay. Though the latter resulted in the

occupation of the island by the Mughal Sidi tributary for two years, in the long run these experiences only reinforced the company leadership's belief in the need for military strength to defend its establishment in Asia.

The English East India Company's recovery from these wars was also hindered by events in Europe. A decade of war following England's Glorious Revolution of 1688 to 1689, which brought Mary II (1662–1694) and William III (1650–1702) to the throne, made it extremely difficult to get shipping out of the Thames, leaving the English East India Company in Asia short of money and ships. The wartime financial needs of the English state and the efforts of the House of Commons to assert its prominence also prompted the Parliament to accept the offer of a group of well-funded interlopers and disaffected former company servants for an East India charter in exchange for a loan of two million pounds. The so-called "£2 million Act" (1698) created a "new" East India Company that immediately sent ships to India, along with William Norris (ca. 1657–1702), the first ambassador from an English king since Sir Thomas Roe.

In 1695 the Scottish Parliament also chartered its own "Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies," which was perhaps most infamous for its short-lived attempt to establish a colony on the isthmus of Panama. This, along with a spate of assaults on Mughal shipping in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf from English and American pirates like Henry Avery (d. 1728) and William Kidd (ca 1645–1701), greatly jeopardized the "old" company's position in Asia and Europe.

Under pressure from both English companies, the terms of the legislative union of England and Scotland of 1707 included the abolition of the Scottish company. Meanwhile, Queen Anne (1665–1714) and her lord treasurer Sidney Godolphin (1645–1712) arbitrated an agreement for a merger of the two English companies, completed in 1709. This new "United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies" inherited the old company's established commercial and political system and the new company's fiscal might. Through the early eighteenth century, it built up its western Indian naval force, the Bombay Marine, and grew in prominence in eastern India as well.

In 1717 the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar (d. 1719) recognized the English East India Company's growing prominence with a *farman* that granted the company customs-free trading and other privileges throughout Bengal. In Britain, the company also recovered its commercial success as Indian goods began to dominate the English market. Tea, in particular, though mostly trivial for much of the seventeenth century, became the company's most important and profitable commodity, bringing in over £12 million annually by 1770.

Anglo-French conflict, particularly the War of the Austrian Succession (1738–1742) and the Seven Years' War (1757–1765), also contributed to the buildup of British military forces in South Asia in the mid-eighteenth century. Hoping to arrest the expansion of English East India Company power, in 1756 Siraj-ud-daulah (d. 1757), *nawab* (provincial ruler) of Bengal, invaded and occupied Calcutta. In response, the company dispatched an expeditionary force, led by Captain Robert Clive (1725–1774), from Madras, which defeated the *nawab* at the Battle of Plassey in June 1757. Another company victory at Buxar in 1764 sealed its preeminence in the province, prompting the Mughal emperor to make the company *diwan*, or revenue collector and de facto administrator, in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.

The *diwani* effectively gave the English East India Company sovereign power in Bengal, causing a political crisis back in Britain. In 1767 Parliament formed an ad hoc committee to hold inquiries into company actions. The House of Commons also began to pass a series of acts designed to limit company power and increase oversight of its affairs. The Regulating Act of 1773 instituted the position of governor-general to centralize company governance in India, as well as a supreme court in Calcutta to check his power.

A decade later, the India Act (1784) created a parliamentary-appointed Board of Control to supervise the company and its directors. The introduction by Edmund Burke (1729–1797), a prominent member of the British Parliament, of articles of impeachment in 1786 of the first governor-general, Warren Hastings (1732–1818), was also part of this rapid attempt by the British state to assume power over the company and thus its expanding empire in India. In its charter renewal of 1813, the company lost most of its monopoly rights, and in 1833 was shorn of its commercial functions altogether.

Despite this assault in Britain, the English East India Company continued to grow in India through the mid-nineteenth century. As its law reached further into the Bengali countryside, including the institution of a permanent settlement of revenue with *zamindars*, or landholders, in 1793 under Governor-General Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805), the company also solidified its power in southern and western India with the defeat of Tipu Sultan (1750–1799) of Mysore in 1799 and of the Maratha Confederacy in 1818. The company's bureaucracy and army, which consisted mostly of South Asian soldiers known as *sepoys*, grew proportionally. The company also expanded through the establishment of "subsidiary alliances," which though recognizing the sovereignty of South Asian princely states rendered them de facto company dependencies.

Such expansion eventually reached its limit. The mutiny of sepoys from the Third Native Cavalry at Mirath in 1857, followed by rebellion amongst soldiers, peasants, and landlords throughout northern India that lasted the better part of a year, shook the foundations of the so-called Company Raj. Parliament, the press, and the British public held the English East India Company responsible, and in 1858, after the rebellion had been suppressed, the British Crown assumed direct formal control of British India from the company, which was ultimately dissolved in 1873.

SEE ALSO *English East India Company, in China; Sepoy.*

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Philip J. Stern

ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, IN CHINA

In the late seventeenth century the East India Company shifted its attention in East Asia to China. Tea, silk, and porcelain were the main exports from China; silver, Bengal cotton, and, eventually, opium (traded indirectly) were the company's principal exports.

Tea had been introduced to Europe in the middle of the seventeenth century. After 1704 consumption became popular in England. To meet the public's demand the company sought regular access to China but faced resistance from the Chinese government. Disinterested in overseas trade, the government was prepared to tolerate it as long as trade was controlled and confined to the empire's periphery. By 1713 the company had secured access to Canton, although it attempted trade at other ports until 1757 when the Chinese restricted all foreign trade to Canton.

The company conducted its trade under a structure known as the Council of China. The China voyages carried five or six merchants who formed a single board or council under a chief merchant to manage all aspects of the trade during the trading season. The trading season extended from June to February, although between the 1730s and 1757 two councils existed, to foster competition. The merchants returned with the ships. In 1770 the company decided to form a permanent council. Merchants were to remain for one year in Canton, where the company had been given permission to establish a permanent factory, or trading station, in 1762.

To pay for the tea, the ships carried mainly silver. The Chinese were little interested in European manufactures. To ensure that the trade was conducted as orderly as possible, the Chinese devolved administration of all aspects of the trade to a group of merchants or Hong, organized into a guild or Co-Hong. The first Hong had been active foreign traders, but after 1730 their income depended solely on the European trade at Canton. They became brokers and bureaucrats, intermediaries between European merchants and imperial Chinese authorities. The potential for misunderstanding was great.

The company's position concerning European competitors at Canton and smugglers at home was strengthened by the Commutation Act (1784), reducing the tea duty in Britain from 125 percent to 12.5 percent. In 1757 the company imported 1.3 million kilograms (3 million pounds) of tea, in 1800, 10.5 million kilograms (23.3 million pounds), and in 1833, 15.8 million kilograms (35 million pounds). To end the drain of silver financing this boom the company responded ingeniously to two developments: British private traders' domination of the Asian country trade by the 1780s, and the company's territorial expansion in India, giving it control over the opium-producing areas of northeastern India.

Chinese imports of opium, which had been used mainly for medical purposes, were banned in 1800 as demand for the drug for recreational purposes increased. But immense profits could be made by encouraging this unlawful habit. Mutually advantageous business relationships involving the company, private British merchants (to whom the company outsourced the shipping and sales of the illicit commodity), corrupt Chinese officials, and Chinese merchants evolved. By the 1820s opium outstripped cotton as the most profitable export from India to China and became essential to the financing of the tea trade. The contraband traders exchanged their profits (bullion) for bills of exchange issued by the company in Canton (payable in London or Calcutta) enabling British traders to recycle their gains securely and the company to pay for its tea.

This virtuous circle was short lived. In 1813 the company was stripped of its trade monopoly with India and in 1833 the China trade was opened to all. Trade between Britain and China became a matter of interstate relations. These quickly soured resulting in the Opium War of 1839–42, the Treaty of Nanjing, and the forced opening of China on terms highly advantageous to Western powers and detrimental to China.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; English East India Company (EIC).*

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Derek Massarella

ENGLISH INDENTURED SERVANTS

During the seventeenth century, emergent societies of the English Atlantic were transformed by large-scale migrations of hundreds of thousands of white settlers. Most ended up in colonies that produced the major staples of colonial trade, tobacco and sugar: approximately 180,000 went to the Caribbean, 120,000 to the Chesapeake (Virginia and Maryland), 23,000 to the Middle Colonies, and 21,000 to New England. The peak period of English emigration occurred within a single generation, from 1630 to 1660. White immigration averaged about 8,000 to 9,000 per decade during the 1630s and 1640s, then surged to 16,000 to 20,000 per decade from 1650 to 1680, before falling back to 13,000 to 14,000 in the 1680s and 1690s. Across the century, about three-quarters of immigrants arrived as indentured servants and served usually four to seven years in return for the cost of their passage, board, lodging, and various freedom dues, which were paid by the master to the servant on completion of the term of service that typically took the form of provisions, clothing, tools, rights to land, money, or a small share of the crop (tobacco or sugar). They were mostly young, male, and single and came from a broad spectrum of society, ranging from the destitute and desperate to the lower middle classes.

Sweeping changes that transformed English society during the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had a direct bearing on English colonizing projects and on the experience of servants before embarking for America. Of major significance, because so much stemmed from it, was the doubling of England's population from approximately 2.3 to 4.8 million in little more than a century between 1520 and 1630. This huge increase had far-reaching consequences. Rising prices and declining real wages led to a disastrous drop in the living standards of the poorer sections of society, while sporadic harvest failures and food shortages brought widespread misery throughout many parts of southern and central England. Poverty was reflected in the rapid rise in the numbers of poor in town and country alike, the spreading slums of cities, spiraling mortality rates, the massive increase in vagrancy, and the steady tramp of the young and out of work from one part of the country to another in search of subsistence. By early century, the third world of the poor had expanded dramatically in some regions, particularly in woodlands and forests, manufacturing districts, and the country's burgeoning towns, cities, and ports, where as much as half the population lived at or below the poverty line.

For the poor, taking ships to the plantations in the Chesapeake and the West Indies was a spectacular form of subsistence migration necessitated by the difficulties of earning a living and the lack of any immediate prospect of conditions getting better. These emigrants came from a wide variety of regions and communities: London and its environs, southern and central England, the West Country and, in fewer numbers, the northern counties. Many were from urban backgrounds and had lived in small market towns, manufacturing centers, provincial capitals, ports, and cities most of their lives or had moved from the countryside a few months or years before taking ship. Those leaving directly from rural communities came mainly from populous wood-pasture districts, forests and fens, and marginal areas.

Particular reasons that prompted servants to emigrate are obscure, but occasionally there are glimpses that reveal individual circumstances. Jonathan Cole, for example, "being a poor boy," contracted in 1685 to serve as servant in Barbados for seven years. Half a century before, Thomas Jarvis, from Bishopsgate, London, a tailor who had fallen on hard times, was given a £1 "towards supplying his wants" by the Drapers Company of London when he left for Virginia. James Collins from Wolvercot, Oxfordshire, moved to the capital shortly after his father died, where he was taken up from the streets as "an idle boy" in the summer of 1684. Faced with the choice of being sent to prison for vagrancy or laboring in the plantations, he opted for twelve years of service in the Chesapeake. Aboard ship, he might well have met Will Sommersett, formerly of Whitechapel, London, who had no means of supporting himself after being abandoned by his father. The length of their indentures suggests that both were no more than children when they left. Loss of one or both parents was common among poor migrants, and parishes routinely rid themselves of the expense and trouble of caring for unwanted children by indenturing them for service overseas.

The poor, orphaned, and unemployed made up the majority of servants who emigrated, but there were also skilled men like Owen Dawson of London, a joiner, and Edward Rogers of Purbury, Somerset, a carpenter, who were doubtless attracted by the likelihood of high wages in the plantations. Others—blacksmiths, glaziers, sawyers, tailors—were perhaps impressed by stories of high wages to be had in the colonies, or were persuaded to
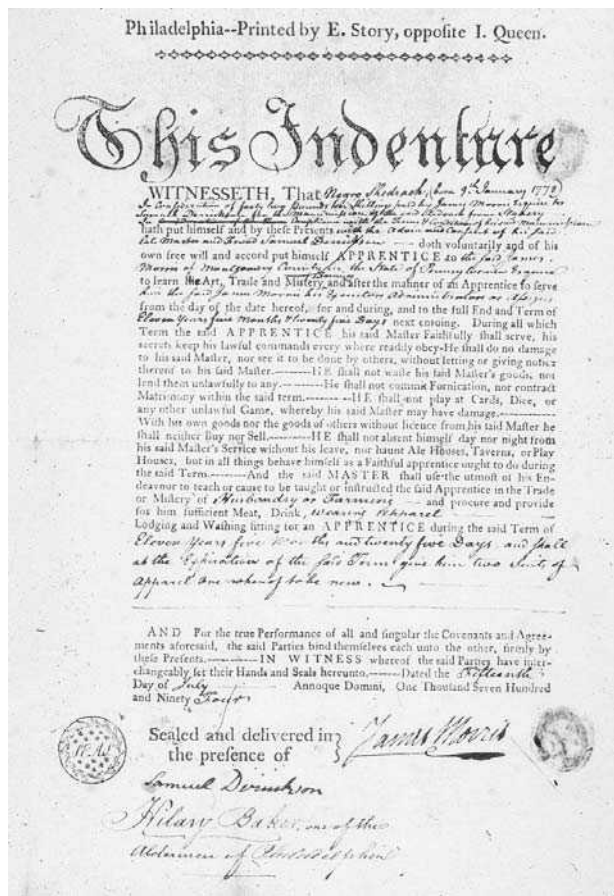
Certificate of Indenture. *This document, dated July 15, 1794, describes the conditions under which a former slave named Shadrach was to be apprenticed to Pennsylvania farmer James Morris. Indentured servitude was a common condition for both whites and blacks in colonial America.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

leave by the prospect of becoming independent land-owners after what they construed as an apprenticeship in sugar planting or tobacco husbandry.

In terms of sheer numbers, the heyday of indentured servitude in English colonies was between 1635 and 1660. During the 1640s, West Indian sugar planters began replacing white servants with enslaved Africans, the latter being considered a more profitable long-term investment. By 1660, the enslaved population (33,000) equaled that of whites in the islands. In the Chesapeake, white servitude remained the main form of field labor for another thirty years but by the last quarter of the century wealthy tobacco planters were also switching to African slaves.

Unlike Spanish America, where Native American peoples provided a plentiful supply of labor for Spanish settlers, and Brazil, where the development of sugar

plantations was underpinned by African slaves, in English America the immigration of hundreds of thousands of indentured servants throughout the seventeenth century was a distinguishing feature of colonization. Indentured servants were a crucial means of building and sustaining colonial populations in English plantation societies that, owing to high mortality rates, would otherwise have collapsed. They also provided a key source of cheap labor without which the rapid growth of staple production would have been impossible. Many died young or failed to improve their economic position—exchanging one kind of poverty in England for another in America—but for a fortunate few moving to the New World opened up opportunities that would have been unthinkable at home.

SEE ALSO *Sugar Cultivation and Trade; Tobacco Cultivation and Trade.*

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James Horn

ENLIGHTENMENT AND EMPIRE

From its very beginnings in the late seventeenth century, the Enlightenment—a term used to describe a host of transformations in European cultural, social, economic, and political thought that placed a great deal of emphasis on reason and empirical knowledge—has been intimately connected to the expansion of European empire. Enlightenment thinkers valued highly and thrived on public political debate. As the modern German philosopher Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929) has described it, new social institutions like coffeehouses and the wider circulation of newspapers and political pamphlets made this kind of debate possible; it also, Habermas has argued, created a social revolution by creating a "public sphere," dominated by the urban, male middle-class and

increasingly differentiated from the domestic, or the private, sphere.

Both in person and print, this newly expanding world of politics, particularly in Great Britain, was increasingly dominated by overseas affairs and imperial conflicts. Even the social spaces themselves, like the coffeehouse, had imperial roots, tying together as they did the conversations upon which the Enlightenment depended and the consumption of luxury goods, like coffee, tea, and tobacco, so deeply connected to empire.

Still, the associations between Enlightenment and empire are even deeper. The very foundation of much political theory characteristic of the Enlightenment was inspired by European expansion, and particularly by increasing contact with new peoples. It was increasingly commonplace in the Enlightenment that European explorers and colonists had found in the indigenous peoples of the Americas—and later the Pacific—human beings in their "natural state." European fascination with the extra-European world was only further nourished in the context of the expansion of the British Empire in India in the late eighteenth century and the growth of British, French, and German Orientalism, a branch of Enlightenment study concerned with cataloging and elucidating the languages, customs, and history of the East.

Meanwhile, the new languages of class and species that emerged through the efforts of natural philosophers, such as the Swedish scientist Carl von Linné (Linnaeus, 1707–1778), to sort and arrange the animal and plant world were applied equally to understanding difference and hierarchy amongst humans. As early as the late seventeenth century, the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) had founded his influential theory of property and his notion of an original "state of nature" on the claim in his *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) that "in the beginning all the world was America."

A century later, the notion that Europeans had discovered what the Irish statesman Edmund Burke (1729–1797) called "the great map of mankind" led *philosophes* like the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers William Robertson (1721–1793) and Adam Ferguson (1723–1816) to argue that Europe had found in its global expansion evidence of human history itself at its various stages of development. The "stadial" or "conjectural" histories that followed were even further nourished by the growth of theories that simultaneously put European civilization at the top of an evolving human history. It also provided an argument for European distinctiveness and often superiority.

While empire was the basis for some of the most fundamental intellectual assumptions of the Enlightenment, the Enlightenment in turn underpinned a great many of the ideological, political, and cultural foundations for empire. The fact that Europeans envisioned themselves as "enlightened" lent support to arguments that justified command over those who were not. More specifically, Enlightenment thought about the appropriate nature and use of law, religion, political economy, and history can be found directly influencing the thought of imperial policymakers, most notably in British India. Furthermore, the great emphasis on what contemporaries called "useful knowledge" and "improvement" demanded the discovery and exploitation of the world's resources; it also quite often justified the dispossession of those that failed themselves to do so.

In addition, the search for knowledge became an imperial imprimatur. Explorers like James Cook (1728–1779) and Louis-Antoine Bougainville (1729–1811) in the Pacific became national heroes, but their efforts at expanding Europe's imperial reach were also inseparable from scientific missions: to observe celestial phenomena; to report upon and collect exotic florae and faunae; and to gather ethnographical and geographical knowledge.

Back in Europe, this knowledge was codified by mapmakers and "armchair geographers"—figures like James Rennell (1742–1830) in Britain and J. B. B. d'Anville (1697–1782) in France. These men translated the Enlightenment emphasis on empiricism into a new cartographic rhetoric. On the one hand, they "wiped the map clean" of its assumed knowledge to demonstrate how little of the world Europeans actually knew. At the same time, surveys, cartography, and new geographical techniques, such as stood behind the Great Trigonometrical Survey in India (begun 1802), supported the demands of military expansion, revenue collection, and policing raised by these ever-growing imperial dominions.

There was also a cultural connection between Enlightenment and empire that concentrated on a fascination with collecting and consuming the "exotic" and what contemporaries referred to as "curiosity." In turn, genteel patrons of science, as well as state-supported institutions, came to serve empire. Perhaps the most vivid example of this is found in the British Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew near London. Under the stewardship of its principal patron, the naturalist Joseph Banks (1743–1820), president of Britain's Royal Society, Kew became a museum of exotic curiosities: plants from the far reaches of the world. Yet, it was also a laboratory for experimenting with their uses and possible circulation and transplantation across the empire. Similar gardens, geographical societies, scientific associations, and museums were soon found throughout Enlightenment Europe, in colonial India, and elsewhere. In the process, the rendering of much of the rest of the world as both "exotic" and "erotic," from the prelapsarian liberation of the South Seas to the hypersexualized mystique of the harem, provided

another crucial ideological groundwork for the rational and reforming imperial regimes in the early nineteenth century.

This contact with new peoples, places, and political systems—and particularly the romantic idea of an uncorrupted "noble savage"—also quite frequently provided the lens through which to refract the critique of Europe that was also very much a concern of the Enlightenment. French *philosophes* like Denis Diderot (1713–1784), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), and Voltaire (1694–1778) capitalized on this new ethnological knowledge—and their audiences' fascination with the Americas and Asia—to put in relief the fundamental problems they saw in European politics, economy, and morality. Works like Montesquieu's (1689–1755) fictional *Persian Letters* (1721), in which two Persian travelers visit and comment both upon their own society and still Feudal France, offered both an exoticized vision of Asia and a subtle and satirical comparison between the much-maligned "Oriental despotisms" of the East and political and social behavior under the absolutist monarchies in Europe.

But the Enlightenment emphasis on the universality of human nature, reason, beauty, and natural liberty sat uncomfortably with empire's emphasis on difference, dominance, and hierarchy. This was especially stark when Enlightenment thought turned to slavery and the slave trade that underwrote European Atlantic empires. Thus, while underpinning empire, Enlightenment thought also inspired some of its most trenchant critiques. For example, Abbé Guillaume Thomas Raynal's (1713–1796) *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes* (A Philosophical and Political History of the Establishments are commerce of Europeans in the Two Indies, 1770) popularized the idea of the noble savage and made a persuasive argument for international commerce and against much of the colonizing project, particularly Atlantic slavery.

More broadly, the rediscovery and popularization of the sixteenth-century arguments of Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), Francisco de Vitoria (ca. 1483–1546), and in particular Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566) against Spanish treatment of Amerindians, known as the *leyenda negra* or "black legend," continued to offer a powerful ideological critique of Spanish empire in the Atlantic, while also still serving as justification for the Protestant European Atlantic empires. In the late eighteenth century, Edmund Burke's calls both for conciliation with Britain's rebelling American colonies (1775) and the impeachment from 1786 to 1794 of the East India Company's governor-general, Warren Hastings (1732–1818), drew heavily upon arguments about rights, liberties, and the nature of politics at the core of the Enlightenment.

While many of these critiques criticized only the way in which European empires conducted themselves, other strands of cosmopolitan and relativist Enlightenment political theory rejected empire outright. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), in his essay on "Perpetual Peace" (1795), offered a vision of an international federation of republican states that left little room for colonial empires or universal monarchies, let alone the imperial wars that underwrote them. His student, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), particularly in his *Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Man* (1784–1791), made perhaps an even more explicit argument against colonialism. He insisted not only on the virtues of pluralism but also that the heterogeneous and hybrid nature of large empires was ultimately doomed to failure.

As the Enlightenment began to manifest itself in Europe's colonies, it also became a powerful intellectual and political challenge to those empires. Enlightenment science thrived in British America. From the well-known, like Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) and Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), to more anonymous and popular experimenters, the Enlightenment implicated itself quite famously in British-American culture. Moreover, from Franklin and Jefferson in the British mainland American colonies to Simón Bolívar (1783–1830) in Spanish South America to Toussaint L'Ouverture (1743–1803) in French Saint-Domingue (Haiti), the Enlightenment critique of Europe and its emphasis on republican liberty informed the wave of American revolutions against European empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Enlightenment also influenced a host of other responses to empire in colonies, including "reform" movements such as the "Bengal Renaissance" or "Bengal Enlightenment" in early nineteenth-century India. While these movements came to have a great influence over the policy and politics of colonial rule, they also contributed its eventual rejection of colonial rule. The ideological and social revolutions of the Enlightenment became crucial to early nationalism, particularly in giving rise to an urban middle-class "public" that would in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries form the vanguard of anticolonial movements throughout European empires.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism; Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Empire, British; Empire, French.*

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Philip J. Stern

ENLIGHTENMENT THOUGHT

A developed concept of colonialism did not exist in the eighteenth century. Enlightenment thought, therefore, did not directly address the topic of colonialism. Reference works produced in the eighteenth century, for instance, had no entries for "colonialism." But writers of the Enlightenment, in Europe and America, frequently wrote on subjects that we now recognize as falling under that topic. Eighteenth-century writers approached colonialism from widely differing perspectives and with varying goals. It is not surprising, then, that they drew diverse and even opposed conclusions about the origins, dimensions, consequences, and future of European colonialism.

EUROPEAN SUPERIORITY IN THE "AGE OF DISCOVERY"

The European "discovery" and subsequent colonization of much of North and South America from the late fifteenth through the end of the eighteenth century—as well as the exploration and colonization in Africa, Asia, and the islands of the South Pacific—informed Enlightenment thought in important ways. The "Age of Discovery" and its aftermath were interpreted by many Enlightenment thinkers as real evidence of the advances occasioned by the application of science. The Age of Discovery was also seen as an age of change leading the Western world to new stages of development.

David Hume (1711–1776), an important Scottish Enlightenment historian, philosopher, and man of letters, characterized these events as ones that led to a new epoch in the history of humankind: "America was discovered: Commerce extended: The Arts cultivated: Printing invented: Religion reform'd; And all the Governments of Europe almost chang'd" (1932). Hume considered the transformation wrought by the European discovery of America as a point from which to date "the commencement of modern History." Hume's fellow Scot, William Robertson (1721–1793), in his *History of America* (1777), argued that the Age of Discovery was the time "when Providence decreed that men were to pass the limits within which they had been so long confined, and open themselves to a more ample field wherein to display their talents, their enterprise and courage."

With the window that the Age of Discovery opened on a wider world, Enlightenment writers were led to discuss many topics related to the nature of civil society. International commerce and domestic industry, the institution of slavery and the slave trade, population growth and decline, all were debated in the "Republic of Letters." Enlightenment writers aimed to link those and similar debates to ones about human nature and also attempted to fit them into larger trends of historical development. Some Enlightenment thought on these topics was abstract and philosophical, but that was not always the case. Enlightenment thought on colonialism—as on other topics—was also often and intimately connected with the real world within which Enlightenment writers lived and wrote, as well as the historical world many aimed to recover and analyze. Enlightenment writers often filtered their ideas about

colonialism through their experiences with it, past and present.

Enlightenment thinkers had a long history of earlier writings on colonialism on which they could, and did, draw. Included in that tradition were writers on ancient empires but also Spanish writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Francisco de Vitoria (ca. 1483–1586); Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566), who gained a reputation as the so-called Apostle of the Indies; José de Acosta (1539–1600); and Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616). Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (The Natural and Moral History of the Indies, 1590), for instance, circulated widely in the eighteenth century, not only in Spanish, but in translation throughout Europe and Britain. Like Acosta, Las Casas, in his *Apologética historia sumaria* (Brief Apologetic History), was critical of what he took to be Spain's harsh colonizing of such peoples as the Aztecs of central Mexico and the Incas of the Andes of South America. That critical edge resonated in other sixteenth-century pre-Enlightenment writers, such as Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), for instance, whose essays, such as "On Cannibals," were skeptical about Europeans' supposed superiority over "primitive" non-European peoples.

Writers of the Enlightenment built upon those earlier and critical foundations. They also relied on travel accounts of various sorts, such as those edited by Giovanni Ramusio (1485–1557), Richard Hakluyt (c.1552–1616), and Richard Eden (ca. 1521–1576), whose *Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (1555, 1577) was popular in the English-speaking world, but also others that were compiled in the eighteenth century. Important here were the *Journals* of James Cook (1728–1779); the works of the Dutch naturalist Cornelius de Pauw (1739–1799), including *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* (Philosophical Inquiry into the Americas) (1768–1769); and Louis-Anne de Bougainville's (1729–1811) *Voyage autour du monde* (A Voyage Round the World) (1771). All of these sources, and many others, were used by Enlightenment writers as the raw materials from which to construct theories about humans, their natures, and their development.

The Enlightenment also inherited a pattern of thought that in some ways assumed European domination of the world and that was ambivalent about the implications of that domination for others. Illustrative of such ideas was the Treaty of Tordesilla (1494), which had aimed to divide the colonial world between Spain and Portugal. It was on the foundation of the Treaty of Tordesilla that Spain claimed its American empire, which, based at first on the island of Hispaniola, grew to include present-day Mexico and Peru, but also large parts of western South America, Florida, and southwestern North America. Portugal laid claim to and colonized lands to the east of the Tordesilla line, including Brazil.

This treaty and others like it gave little or no credence to the rights of the non-European peoples who happened to inhabit the lands in question. The possessions of the Iberian powers, however, faced intense rivalry from the British, French, and the Dutch, who increasingly came to want their own colonies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Taken as a whole, Europe's expansion in the early modern period acted to validate a sense of European superiority and, in the minds of many, bolstered a European right of continued expansion.

Enlightenment thought sometimes assumed this European domination of the world and also acted to buttress a European sense of superiority in other ways. The French naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon's (1708–1788) theory on the degeneration of animals, for instance, was a widely circulated and influential part of his *Histoire naturelle* (1749–1788) that argued for the natural inferiority of America's fauna and flora. That theory was criticized by other Enlightenment writers, including some who were colonials, such as Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787) aimed to show the superior size of America's animals as well as to illustrate the natural virtues and eloquence of Native American peoples.

COLONIALISM, COMMERCE, AND POLITICS

Enlightenment thought systematized earlier writings but also took debate about colonialism into new directions. Enlightenment writers often mitigated early Spanish criticisms of colonization, for instance, especially in emphasizing what was seen to be the reciprocal advantages of commerce. That was the case in a number of important Enlightenment texts, including the monumental work of the French Enlightenment, the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers* (Encyclopedia, or Classified Dictionary of Sciences, Arts, and Trades; 1751–1772), edited by Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783). In the *Encyclopédie*'s article for "Colonie," for instance, François Véron de Forbonnais (1722–1800) differentiated types of ancient and modern colonies, arguing that the "discovery of America towards the end of the fifteenth century has multiplied European colonies, and offers us a sixth type." Modern colonies were ones that were "either founded with an eye towards both commerce and agriculture, or have eventually moved in this direction. On this basis, these *colonies* required the conquering of territory and the driving out of existing inhabitants, in order to import new ones." But these

modern colonial endeavors, and the trade associated with them, were such that by their nature they encouraged commerce to "flourish everywhere."

Important in focusing Enlightenment thought on the topic of colonialism and commerce, as he was on others, was the French social and political writer Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu (1689–1755). In his *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu gave a section to "The Discovery of two new Worlds, and in what Manner Europe is affected by it." Like Acosta and Las Casas, Montesquieu was critical of the Spanish treatment of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, writing that the Spanish "sported with the lives of the Indians." But he was also interested in tracing some of the positive consequences, for Europeans, of colonialism. When he thought about the English and French conquests in the New World, for instance, he especially was interested in delineating the commercial wealth generated by those colonial activities.

With Montesquieu, we can also see how the study of colonialism sparked interest in related topics, such as the theory of value. Montesquieu wrote that "Gold and silver are a wealth of fiction or of sign. These signs are very durable and almost indestructible by their nature. The more they increase, the more they lose of their worth, because they represent fewer things. When they conquered Mexico and Peru, the Spanish abandoned natural wealth in order to have a wealth of sign which gradually became debased" (*Spirit of the Laws*).

Like Montesquieu, writers of the Scottish Enlightenment were especially interested in discerning the economic and political consequences of colonialism. They did so in philosophical writings, but also in historical writings and popular essays.

David Hume addressed colonialism in his *Essays Moral and Political* (1741 and 1742), *Political Discourses* (1752), and at many points in the six volumes of his widely read *History of England* (1754–1762). Hume was interested, in part, in detecting the negative impacts of colonialism on the colonizer. In his essay "On the Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth" (1752), for instance, he wrote that "extensive conquests, when pursued, must be the ruin of every free government; and of the more perfect governments sooner than of the imperfect; because of the very advantages which the former possess above the latter." In his essay "Of the Balance of Power" (1752), he concluded that "The power of the house of Austria, founded on extensive but divided dominions, and their riches, derived chiefly from gold and silver, were more likely to decay, of themselves, from internal defects, than to overthrow all the bulwarks raised against them." For, he thought, "enormous monarchies are, probably, destructive to human nature; in their

progress, in their continuance, and even in their downfall, which never can be very distant from their establishment." Hume's writings were to have a particular impact in America in the eighteenth century, but other Enlightenment writers pursued similar paths.

William Robertson, a Scottish clergyman and educator, aimed in part in his historical works to turn the attention of the enlightened to the relationship between wealth and corruption. In all of his historical writings, Robertson was interested in delineating the causes of Europe's commercial expansion, a theme that is evident in his *The History of Scotland During the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI* (1759) and also his *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769). In *The History of America* (1777), perhaps his most important book, Robertson focused his discussion of Spain's American conquests on the overriding theme that informed so much of his work, Europe's commercial expansion.

Colonialism was a central feature—even one of the guiding themes—of Adam Smith's (1723–1790) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, a book that included an entire chapter titled "Of Colonies." In a section called "Of the Motives for establishing new Colonies," Smith differentiated modern colonialism from that of the ancients, arguing that when Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) arrived in America in 1492 he found "nothing but a country quite covered with wood, uncultivated, and inhabited only by some tribes of naked and miserable savages." In "Causes and Prosperity of New Colonies," Smith wrote that the "colony of a civilized nation which takes possession, either of a waste country, or of one so thinly inhabited, that the natives easily give place to the new settlers, advances more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society." And in "Of the Advantages which Europe has derived from the Discovery of America, and from that of a Passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope," he celebrated many of the social and political advances of England's American colonies.

The French and the Scots were not the only ones to think in these ways. English Enlightenment figures such as Edmund Burke (1729–1797) did too, as is evident from *An Account of the European Settlements in America* (1757), a book that Burke wrote with his brother, William. There, and in other writings, Burke aimed to delineate the positive effects of colonization for the commercial life of the colonizers. Similar themes may be traced in Burke's important *Annual Register*, a widely read periodical publication whose first number was printed in 1758.

COLONIALISM, UNIVERSAL HISTORY, AND RACE

Eighteenth-century writers were often drawn to sketch the history of humankind. Those histories increasingly aimed to incorporate the knowledge gained of overseas peoples. The late 1750s and early 1760s saw a number of such histories, including Antoine Yves de Goguet's *De l'origine des loix, des arts, et des sciences, et de leurs progrès chez les anciens peuples* (1759) (The Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, and Their Progress among the Most Ancient Nations), Jens Kraft's *Brief History of the Various Institutions, Manners, and Opinions of Savage Peoples* (1760), and Isaak Iselin's *Philosophical Conjectures on the History of Mankind* (1764).

For other writers of the Enlightenment, such as Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), European colonialism provided evidence that was to be worked into broad understandings of humans and their developments. Widely considered to be the father of modern sociology, Ferguson in his *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) relied on travel accounts and other writings to fashion a theory of societal development that he divided into four stages—savage, barbarian, commercial, and polite.

The writings of Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782), especially his *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), helped to popularize ideas that were commonplace by the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Ideas of this sort could be used to justify colonialism as a means with which to help non-Europeans move from one stage to a higher one.

Enlightenment thought addressed, as well, the question of racial differences. A footnote to Hume's essay "Of National Characters" (1748) was important here. Hume wrote in that essay:

> I am apt to suspect the negroes, and in general all the other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous of the whites, such as the ancient Germans, the present Tartans, have still something eminent about them, in their valor, form of government, or some other particular. Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction betwixt these breeds of men.

Hume's footnote was repeated often in writings in Europe and America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), an important philosopher of the German Enlightenment,

for instance, cited Hume in his *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764), as did Edward Long (1734–1813) in his *History of Jamaica* (1774). Other Enlightenment writers, such as Thomas Jefferson in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, struck notes not dissimilar to Hume's. However, some Enlightenment writers, including the American writer Benjamin Rush (1746–1813), satirized Hume and wrote in support of the abolition of slavery. Indeed, Enlightenment thinkers were often critical not only of slavery in particular but of colonialism in general.

ENLIGHTENED CRITICS OF COLONIALISM

Enlightenment thought was not infrequently critical of colonialism in a direct way. Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce Lahontan (1666–1716), for instance, in his *Conversation Between the Author and a Savage of Sound Common Sense* (1702–1703) argued that "it is the so-called civilized nations that are the real barbarians, in fact: may the example set by the savage peoples teach them to recover their human dignity and their freedom." Others, such as the English writer Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), popularized similar notions. That was the case in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), a novel based loosely on the life of Alexander Selkirk, a real castaway, and in which Defoe's hero treated the Man Friday as a human being capable of being taught in European ways.

That critical attitude was magnified by the midpoint of the eighteenth century by writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) in *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts) (1750) and *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (Discourse on the Origin of Inequality among Men) (1755) and François-Marie Arouet, better known by his penname, Voltaire (1694–1778). Rousseau's works and Voltaire's *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (Essay on the Manner and Spirit of Nations) (1756) continue to be read today.

Not as well remembered today as an Enlightenment thinker, but illustrative of a trend that aimed to see all people as naturally equal in important respects was the Swiss physiologist and poet Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777). Von Haller wrote in 1755:

> Nothing is better calculated to dispel prejudice than an acquaintance with many different nations and their diverse manners, laws and opinions—a diversity that enables us, however, with little effort to cast aside whatever divides men and to comprehend as the voice of Nature all that they have in common. However uncouth, however primitive the inhabitants of the South Sea islands may be, however remote the Greenlander may be from Brazil or the Cape of Good Hope, the first principles of the Law of Nature are identical in

the case of all nations: to injure no man, to allow every man his due, to seek perfection in one's calling, this was the path to honour with the ancient Romans, and it is still the same for dwellers on the Davis Strait or the Hottentots.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment criticisms of colonialism were heightened in a changing world in which some European colonies had fought for their independence. The thirteen colonies of British America had fought and won a war of independence from 1776 to 1783, and the French colony of Saint Domingue (present-day Haiti) claimed its independence in 1804.

Kant, in *Perpetual Peace, a Philosophical Sketch* (1785), wrote of "the *inhospitable* conduct of the civilized states of our continent, especially the commercial states" and of "the injustice which they display in *visiting* foreign countries and peoples (which in their case is the same as *conquering* them)." Diderot's later writings witness a similar tone of censure and identified the negative consequences of European colonialism, views he often put forward in works of fiction. In his *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (Supplement to a Voyage of Bougainville) (written in 1772, first published in 1796), for instance, Diderot had a fictitious Tahitian ask a European: "So this land is yours? Why? Because you set foot on it! If a Tahitian should one day land on your shores and engrave on one of your stones or on the bark of one of your trees, *This land belongs to the people of Tahiti*, what would you think then?"

Richard Price (1723–1791), a Welsh Enlightenment writer, assessed Britain's colonial expansion more bluntly: "Englishmen, actuated by the love of plunder and the spirit of conquest, have depopulated whole kingdoms and ruined millions of innocent peoples by the most infamous oppression and rapacity."

Perhaps the most important of the Enlightenment's anticolonialist works was produced by the Abbé Guillaume Thomas Raynal (1713–1796). The most important of Raynal's works was his multivolume *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (A Philosophical and Political History of the Establishments and Commerce of Europeans in the Two Indies). First published in an anonymous edition in 1770, the third edition of 1780 was greatly expanded and was the work not of Raynal alone but of a "*société de gens de lettres*" (society of men of letters). Raynal and his contributors, who included Diderot, offered a biting criticism of European colonialism that was widely read by contemporaries in its numerous printings and translations.

Raynal's text is perhaps best seen as an apt summation of much Enlightenment thought on colonialism.

Raynal asserted that he had "interrogated the living and the dead. I have weighed their authority. I have contrasted their testimonies. I have clarified the facts." His conclusion was that "there has never been any event which has had more impact on the human race in general and for Europeans in particular, as that of the discovery of the New World. . . . It was then that a commercial revolution began, a revolution in the balance of power, and in the customs, the industries and the government of every nation. It was through this event that men in the most distant lands were linked by new relationships and new needs." But Raynal was ambivalent when it came to assessing the implications of all of these changes. "Everything changed, and will go on changing. But will the changes of the past and those that are to come, be useful to humanity? Will they give man one day more peace, more happiness, or more pleasure? Will his condition be better, or will it be simply one of constant change?" Raynal's book was a best seller by any standard, with more than thirty editions coming out between 1770 and 1787. In 1785 Raynal's long-time interest in Europe's overseas colonies produced another work of note, his *Essai sur l'administration de St. Dominque* (Essay on the Administration of St. Domingue).

In 1791 Joseph Priestly (1733–1804), an English scientist and philosopher, was not only critical of European colonialism, he looked forward to its end, which he predicted. In his *Letters to the Right Honorable Edmund Burke, Occasioned by his Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Priestly wrote:

> The very idea of distant possessions will be even ridiculed. The East and the West Indies, and everything without ourselves will be discarded, and wholly excluded from all European systems; and only those divisions of men, and of territory, will take place which the common convenience requires, and not such as the mad and insatiable ambition or princes demands. No part of America, Africa, or Asia, will be held in subjection to any part of Europe, and all the intercourse that will be kept up among them will be for their mutual advantage.

Enlightenment writers, we see, frequently acknowledged the significance of colonialism in their thought, but they assessed its importance in disparate ways. There is no single Enlightenment understanding of European colonialism. Rather, it was judged in varying ways. Enlightenment thought provided colonialism with some of its rationale; it also provided a good deal of criticism. The consequences of Enlightenment writings for the legacy of colonialism in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries continue to be debated by modern scholars.

SEE ALSO *Enlightenment and Empire.*

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ETHICAL POLICY, NETHERLANDS INDIES

In the 1901 annual speech by Queen Wilhelmina (1880–1962), the Dutch government for the first time introduced into government policy the idea of an "ethical calling" toward its main colony, the Netherlands Indies. With this statement, the ethical policy is regarded to have started. The term itself was coined by the journalist Pieter Brooshooft (1845–1921) in a pamphlet published that same year titled *De ethische koers in de koloniale politiek* (The Ethical Direction in Colonial Policy). The ethical policy was the third in a series of three policies characterizing Dutch colonial strategy between 1830 and 1942: the cultivation system, the liberal policy, and the ethical policy.

The ethical policy can be defined as a policy aiming at the submission of the complete Indonesian Archipelago under Dutch authority and the development of the country and people towards self-rule under Dutch control within a Western political framework. The first part of the definition covers the final conquest of the outer regions of the archipelago, more specifically Aceh in northern Sumatra, where the Dutch fought a protracted colonial war between 1894 and 1903. The second part refers to the importance of the role of indigenous but Western-educated elites in the administration of the Netherlands Indies and characterizes the four main areas in which the ethical policy made headway: the development of an indigenous civil administration, a social policy to combat poverty and improve welfare, support for nationalist currents, and support for agricultural development.

Three distinct periods characterized Dutch ethical policy in the Netherlands Indies: 1894 to 1905, when the emphasis was on the establishment of imperial control over the entire Indonesian Archipelago; 1905 to 1920, which saw important social and economic developments; and 1920 to 1942, which was a period of consolidation, shifting emphasis, and growing conservatism.

Ethics and an ethical approach to the Netherlands Indies first became an issue as early as the 1870s, at a time when Christian democratic parties became part of the political establishment of the Netherlands. In parliament and in the political program of his party, Christian democratic leader Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920) spoke about the "ethical calling" of the Dutch toward the East Indies. During the last decade of the century, the final colonial expansion into the outlying areas of the archipelago took place under the administration of governor-general C. H. A. van Wijck (1840–1914), in office from 1893 to 1889. On the advice of military commander and governor of Aceh J. B. van Heutsz (1851–1924) and government adviser Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), the development of new ideas about pacification took root, marking the real beginning of a new colonial policy.

The idea was that the expansion of the colonial state should benefit the peoples of the Netherlands Indies, and in time lead to a multiracial independent state. The development of the country included the exploitation of natural resources, the extension of agricultural businesses, and the development of the infrastructure. The development of the indigenous population comprised education and administrative policies, including initiatives as diverse as credit for small entrepreneurs, agricultural education, poverty alleviation, irrigation, health care, the removal of tutelage from indigenous administration, tolerance for nationalism, and the development of an indigenous legal system.

The second phase of the ethical policy saw the implementation of most of the policy's aims around 1905. The civil pacification process was well under way, the economy flourished, and there was a budget for the implementation of social, health, and educational policies. Ambiguities were visible too, however. Strong expressions of nationalism were curbed, and to implement the many aspects of the ethical policy, more and more European officials were appointed. This development hampered the growth of an indigenous civil service, originally part of the ethical development agenda.

It is important for the understanding of the formulation of the ethical policy in the period between 1901 and 1920 to make a distinction between ethical policy as such and the ethical movement in Dutch colonial politics. In many cases, the ideas formulated about ethics in colonial policy were radically different from the ethical policy in action. A. W. F. Idenburg (1861–1935), a Christian democrat, was three times minister for the colonies (1901–1905, 1908–1909, 1918–1919), governor of Surinam (1905–1908), and governor-general of the Netherlands Indies (1909–1916). A sympathizer of Abraham Kuyper, Idenburg showed himself to be a

socially minded colonial administrator during his terms of office in the colonies. However, as minister he was responsible for the appointment of J. B. van Heutsz to the post of governor-general in 1905, putting someone in charge who championed military and political pacification instead of the more social aspects of the ethical policy, and who was no friend of the ethical movement. With Idenburg's successors, the differences between ethical policy and ethical ideas continued to dominate the political debate. In addition, the diversity of opinions between politicians and opinion leaders in the Netherlands on the one hand, and administrators in the Netherlands Indies on the other, influenced the way ethical policy was interpreted and valued.

Between 1920 and 1942, the ethical policy took on a more conservative character, with strong shifts in emphasis during the economic crisis of the 1930s. The growing population of Java made agricultural reforms a more challenging task, and the shrinking economy pushed poverty levels up again. The development of Western-style education was halted out of fear of "half-intellectuals" entering the overstretched labor market. In addition, nationalism was increasingly regarded as a threat to Dutch authority and social order; consequently, political and administrative reforms leading to a more democratic system were halted under the administration of the conservative and autocratic governor-general B. C. de Jonge (1875–1958), in office 1931 to 1936.

Still, the final goal remained the implementation of reforms leading to a European political and societal model. The last governor-general of the Netherlands Indies, A. W. L. Tjarda van Strakenborgh Stachouwer (1888–1978), in office 1936 to 1942, undertook new initiatives in this direction. Assisted by an upward economic trend after 1935, his administration promoted the transmigration of Javanese farmers to other parts of the archipelago, as well as industrialization and the production of food crops. In education, large strides were made with the expansion of basic education, the extension of higher education to include the humanities, and the establishment of a school of governance in the administration of the colony. Additionally, the decentralization of government jurisdiction was taken up again, and the relationship between the government and the colony's representative body, the *volksraad* (peoples' council) was normalized. In the end, however, the events of World War II (1939–1945) and its immediate aftermath brought the ethical policy to an abrupt end.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Dutch; Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan.*

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ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia is a country in eastern Africa, in the region known as the Horn of Africa; it was historically sometimes known as Abyssinia. Almost as large as Texas and California combined, the country consists of a large highland region surrounded by lowland deserts. Historically this geography isolated Ethiopia from its neighbors and from Europe, though external trade did take place. Geography was also a factor in Ethiopia remaining as one of only two African countries (the other was Liberia) that were never formally colonized by European powers.

Ethiopia is one of the likely origin places of humans and their near relatives, and anthropologists have found fossil hominids dating from about four million years ago there. Ethiopia is often thought to be the historical home of the Queen of Sheba and the biblical land of Punt, an important trading partner of ancient Egypt. The sophisticated Axum (Aksum) civilization developed in Ethiopia during the first century C.E., forming an empire that traded with India, Arabia, Egypt, and the Mediterranean world. This civilization was Christianized around 300 C.E. (or even earlier, according to some scholars); the Bible was translated into the local language of Geez, and churches and monasteries were built. Even today Ethiopia is a predominantly Christian country with over half the population belonging to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

The Axum empire declined around 1000 C.E. with the rise of Islam and Arab expansion. Medieval Ethiopia flourished but was isolated from the rest of Christianity. European legends of Prester John, a mythical ruler of a vast Christian empire thought to lie in Africa, stimulated European interest in the 1500s. Portugal established close relations with Ethiopia, even assisting it in its wars against Islamic invaders. After a period of instability, Ethiopia was largely unified after 1855 as a single state under the rule of Emperor Tewodros II (1818–1868). During his reign the country came into conflict with the British, who were beginning colonial expansion into East Africa.

After the power struggle following the death of Tewodros, Johannes IV (1831–1889) became emperor in 1871 and immediately found himself immersed in the colonial rivalry between British, French, Italian, and Turkish interests in the Horn of Africa. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had made Ethiopia and the Red Sea strategically important, and European powers were keen on acquiring territory in the region.

After the death of Yohannes in 1889, Menelik II (1844–1913) was crowned emperor. His policy of unification, modernization, and expansion increased the territorial size of Ethiopia and brought it technological advancement. Menelik founded a new capital at Addis Ababa and introduced such innovations as electricity, telephones, railroads, and a modern military armed with European weapons. In a dispute with Italy over claims to the Red Sea coast, he granted Italy control of Eritrea in return for Italian recognition of Ethiopia's sovereignty. The Treaty of Wichale, signed in 1889, was in both the Italian and Amharic languages, and differences in these texts led to conflict between the two signatories: Italy interpreted the treaty as giving it protectorate status over Ethiopia, while Menelik did not. The Italians used their interpretation of the treaty to justify expansion into Ethiopian territory, precipitating the Battle of Adwa, fought between the Italians and Ethiopians in 1896. Italy was resoundingly defeated in the battle, an event significant in the history of African colonialism in that it was a clear victory of Africans over European colonial forces.

Menelik's grandson succeeded him as ruler but was soon deposed by the Ethiopian nobility, who substituted Menelik's daughter as empress. During this period the nobleman Ras Tafari Mekonen (1892–1975) became prince regent and the effective ruler of the country, securing its entry as a member of the League of Nations in 1923. When the empress died in 1930 Ras Tafari (whose name is the origin of the Rastafarian movement) became emperor, taking the name Haile Selassie I. Haile Selassie continued Ethiopia's modernization, attempted to form international alliances, and resisted European colonial expansion, despite British and Italian attempts to increase their neighboring colonial territories.

Italy, under its fascist ruler Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), again attempted to enlarge its African colonial empire with a second assault against Ethiopia. Mussolini also wanted to avenge Italy's humiliating loss to Ethiopia in 1896. The Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935; other European powers failed to intervene, despite their obligations under the League of Nations, which called for sanctions to be applied against aggressor states.

Ethiopian Fighters. *A group of Ethiopian fighters assembles during the 1935 Italian invasion of the African kingdom.*
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The British and French were willing to appease Mussolini and refused to provide any real support for the emperor. Haile Selassie's departure from Ethiopia and his personal appeal to the League of Nations in 1936 was ineffective, and the Italians occupied Ethiopia, fusing it with their Somali and Eritrean territories to form the colony of Italian East Africa. Ethiopian popular resistance to Italian occupation was brutally suppressed; the Italians bombed hospitals and ambulances, used biological weapons, and massacred civilians.

With the beginning of World War II in 1939, Ethiopia sought help from the British and other allies against the Italians. Italy declared war against Britain in 1940, and together British and Ethiopian forces were able to defeat the Italian military in East Africa, allowing the emperor to return in 1941. After the war Ethiopia retained its independence, though the British remained influential in Ethiopian affairs until 1955, when Ethiopia sought greater contacts with the United States. In the 1960s Haile Selassie's government became increasingly corrupt and ineffectual, failing to respond effectively to famines and popular discontent. In 1974 a socialist revolution overthrew the emperor and installed a repressive Marxist regime governed by a council called the *Derg.* The Derg was itself defeated in 1991 by a popular front, and Ethiopia became a democracy. Eritrea was separated from Ethiopia and became an independent country in 1991, but border disputes and occasional warfare continue between the two countries. Agitation by other ethnic groups against central government domination and conflicts with neighboring countries continue to plague modern Ethiopia. Today one of the world's poorest countries, Ethiopia is important as a symbol of the African anticolonial struggle.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism; Empire, Italian.*

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EUROCENTRISM

During most of the last two centuries, the prevailing popular view of world history held that a *mainstream* of facts could be identified in the flood of events taking place since the dawn of humanity. Essentially, this *mainstream* coincided with the history of Europe and its antecedents and successors—all the heirs and transmitters of civilization. The source of this stream of facts was located in Egypt and the Near East, and via Greece and Rome it slowly flowed westward to medieval western Europe. In the course of two colonization waves—the first starting in 1450, the second in 1870—it finally came to encompass the whole planet.

During the twentieth century, Europe's child, the United States, gradually succeeded Europe as the *mainstream*'s driving force. This *mainstream* principle divided the peoples of the earth into two categories: *active* peoples in the heart of the *mainstream* and *passive* peoples in its periphery. Non-Western cultures belonged to the passive peoples, but they could change their status and become historical agents through three forms of contact with Europe: either they had to threaten Europe (the Islamic peoples between the seventh and seventeenth centuries); be discovered, civilized, and converted by Europe (the Americas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries); or modernize like Europe (Russia in the eighteenth and Japan in the nineteenth century).

The *mainstream* concept of world history had at least two anomalies, the first of which was structural: The *mainstream*'s beginnings lay outside Europe—in Egypt and the Near East. This demonstrates that the *mainstream* principle has illogical characteristics. The second anomaly was teleological and related to colonialism: unlike the independence struggle of other colonies, the eighteenth-century decolonization of the United States was often portrayed (especially after 1945) as a rebellion of heroes. This anomaly can only be explained by the fact that the successors of these American heroes took the lead of *mainstream* history after 1945.

In this popular grand narrative, the era of European colonization (1450–1945) was nothing other than European history outside Europe, the European epic of discovery and incorporation of other territories. With supernatural strength, European colonizers walked around the globe, realized their plans, and met "indigenous" peoples who were inferior, deficient, and helplessly unable to resist Europe's grip.

Non-Western cultures, such as the Aztecs of Mexico or the Incas of western South America, were introduced into the narrative with brief flashbacks at the very moment of their disappearance or submission. Instances of bloody invasion, colonial mass murder, and slave trade, as well as episodes of anticolonial resistance, were explained away or minimized, and often conveniently forgotten. In the centuries of imperialism, this popular view was fed by, and penetrated into, scholarly thinking.

As late as 1965, British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (1914–2003) could write:

> Perhaps, in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none, or very little: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is largely darkness, like the history of pre-European, pre-Columbian America. And darkness is not a subject for history. Please, do not misunderstand me. I do not deny that men existed even in dark countries and dark centuries, nor that they had political life and culture, interesting to sociologists and anthropologists; but history, I believe, is essentially a form of movement, and purposive movement too. It is not a mere phantasmagoria of changing shapes and costumes, of battles and conquests, dynasties and usurpations, social forms and social disintegration. If all history is equal, as some now believe, there is no reason why we should study one section of it rather than another; for certainly we cannot study it all. Then indeed we may neglect our own history and amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe: tribes whose chief function in history, in my opinion, is to show to the present an image of the past from which, by history, it has escaped. (Trevor-Roper 1965, p. 9)

Mainstream logic perceived post-1945 decolonization as a process in which Europe withdrew—mostly voluntarily—from its colonies. Insofar as the colonized (then called "colored peoples") were able to act, they did so because Western doctrines of nationalism and human rights had "awakened" them. Most countries emerging from decolonization, however, were seen as retarded and dependent. Called *underdeveloped countries* or the *third world*, they were thought to bridge the gap only by giving

up their own culture and traditions to emulate modern Europe and, by extension, the West.

FIVE LEVELS OF EUROCENTRISM

The *mainstream* principle reveals a broader tendency—namely, to perceive one's own culture as the center of everything and other cultures as its periphery. This tendency is called *ethnocentrism.*

If we exclude the seventeenth-century forerunner Francis Bacon (1561–1626)—a British historian and philosopher of science who identified four *Idols* (or fallacies), among which were Idols of the Cave (fallacies of group loyalty)—the first to describe and name this tendency was the American anthropologist William Sumner (1840–1910) in 1906. Ethnocentrism is a universal phenomenon occurring at all times and places; therefore, it is not negative but logical to give one's own culture the most attention. It exists everywhere, for example, in Europe *(Eurocentrism),* China *(Sinocentrism),* and Africa *(Afrocentrism).* The concept, however, takes a dangerous turn when, first, centrality changes into superiority, and second, this attitude of superiority is held by people who have the power to dominate others.

Eurocentrism took this double step. It became more influential than other forms of ethnocentrism because it was the cultural ideology of the European colonizers who conquered the world—first in their capacity as early modern societies; later, in the nineteenth century, in their capacity as industrial nations. The more arrogant forms of Eurocentrism had a negative impact upon non-Western cultures and their history. Depending on the non-Western cultures targeted, they manifested themselves at five levels. They are described here in order of importance.

Level 1: "Non-Western history does not exist." This *ontological Eurocentrism,* concerning the reality of non-Western history and promulgated by the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), among others, served to justify Western expansion toward those non-Western cultures that were cataloged as "primitive." "Primitive" peoples were "peoples without history" because they were deemed incapable of historical agency. Their past was seen as a succession of chaos, barbarism, poverty, and stagnation. They were thought to develop myths instead of causal logic to explain the past. They were also thought to possess a cyclical conception of time, and therefore to live in a static present, referred to as the *ethnographic present.*

Sometimes, "primitive" peoples were compared to "prehistoric" peoples (the *archaic illusion*) or to children (the *recapitulation theory*). The most radical form of ontological Eurocentrism consisted in denying that indigenous peoples had ever lived on certain territories before the arrival of the Europeans. On disembarking, the latter preferred to believe that many of these territories—especially in what are now called the Americas, South Africa and Australia—were "empty." These regions were regarded as not inhabited, not owned, and not used; this is the *terra nullius (land of no one)* doctrine.

Historiography (the writing of history) of later years has adequately and extensively refuted these misconceptions by revealing that for centuries "primitive" peoples have successfully survived, and, far from being static, they introduced important innovations (such as fire, food production, plant and animal domestication, symbols, music, language, art, etc.). Perhaps, then, negative forms of ontological Eurocentrism have disappeared today, although two of its positive forms may be said to survive. One of these positive variants maintains that the happiest peoples are those without history—a modernist variant on the centuries-old theme of the *noble savage.* Another variant, divulged by concerned anthropologists, holds that indigenous cultures are vanishing under the pressure of modernization and globalization (ironically called the *despondency theory* by American anthropologist Marshall Sahlins [b. 1930]), thereby denying any autonomy or historical agency to these cultures.

Level 2: "Non-Western history cannot be known." This *epistemological Eurocentrism* concerns the knowability of history and was the result of the primacy that for centuries had been given to written sources. Where non-Western written sources were not available, alternative sources remained unacknowledged; where alternative sources had been preserved, they were generally either ignored or destroyed by colonial authorities.

In combination with first-level Eurocentrism, two versions of epistemological Eurocentrism developed. The milder version held that "non-Western history exists but cannot be known," while the stronger version held that "non-Western history cannot be known, therefore it does not exist." Only gradually was the definition of *sources* extended to include archeological, iconographical, linguistic, and oral evidence.

Even so, it remains incontrovertible that scores of non-Western sources are lacking and that the history of certain non-Western periods, regions, and social strata cannot be reconstructed—or only with the greatest difficulty. The reasons for this shortage were climatic, political (destruction of sources by those in power), and social (in some cases, non-Western conceptions of time or history were not document- and archive-oriented). Unavoidably, this structural lack of balance between sources from different regions leads to a Eurocentric bias in the writing of world history.

Insiders and Outsiders defined

INSIDERS ACCORDING TO:

Insiders	Outsiders
We care more about our culture.	They are biased and ethnocentric.
We have superior experience, knowledge, imagination, and insight when it regards our culture.	They cannot guarantee superior or uniform insight.
Our understanding is determined by origin and identity.	Their understanding is not guaranteed by origin and identity.
	Their purist and protective cultural ownership reflex should be rejected because it leads to autobiography, not history.

OUTSIDERS ACCORDING TO:

Insiders	Outsiders
They often speak clinically about our culture.	We possess distance and detachment.
They cannot guarantee that they are impartial.	We acquire experience, knowledge, imagination, insight by disciplined training and terms of stay and study in their culture.
Their empathy with our culture is impossible.	Our empathy with their culture is possible because humans of all times and places are intellectually and psychologically comparable, and therefore knowable to a large extent.
Their version of history should be rejected for not depicting our "living" culture.	We are equipped to study cultural taboos (slavery, dictatorship, genocide) and determinants of life (demographic or ecological patterns) not immediately evident to insiders.
Their study of cultural taboos fouls our culture.	

Table 1 THE GALE GROUP.

Level 3: "Non-Western history has little value." This *ethical Eurocentrism* was the classical form of Eurocentrism. Whenever episodes of non-Western history were effectively dealt with, they were evaluated and stereotyped according to Western concepts and criteria. Typical popular prejudices heard in the post-World War II era were: "The third world is still living in the Middle Ages" or "The third world will never arrive in two generations' time at development levels that the West took two millennia to attain."

Non-Western societies ("primitive" ones and others) were thus characterized by their real or alleged deficiencies: they had no writing, no state, no unity, no prosperity, and no culture. Therefore, their history was not considered worth studying. Great achievements contradicting this view were often explained away by an assumed pristine European intervention in non-Western territory (in studies of Africa this view is known as the *Hamitic hypothesis*).

Today, non-Western history is gradually being revalorized. It has also become apparent that comparability between present-day non-Western cultures and the pre- or protoindustrial situation in Europe is very limited because the present global context is radically different from the European context in the medieval or premodern period.

Level 4: "Non-Western history is not relevant or useful." This was *utilitarian Eurocentrism*. Ignorance about non-Western history (the result of second- and third-level Eurocentrism) led to an underestimation of non-Western achievements, and particularly of numerous non-Western contributions to Western culture. It resulted in the equation of "Western culture" with "culture" as such and in the perception of seeing culture as the exclusive result of "Western genius." It was either forgotten that many contributions came from outside Europe, or it was assumed that these contributions had only been perfected by Western hands.

The combined third- and fourth-level ethnocentrism left no room for other "*mainstream*s" than the European. To be sure, European superiority at the technological level after 1500 and at the economic level between 1800 and 1945 was very real. To a large extent, post-1500 world history is effectively a story of westernization. It is not easy to reconcile dominance by one culture with the equivalence of all. However, the *mainstream* view unrealistically generalized this European superiority during a limited period of time and at one (admittedly important) level to all periods and all levels. It saw Europe, and by extension the West, as exceptions. This *exceptionalism* was often expressed in the dictum "the West and the rest."

Many explanations have been given for why and when Europe started to diverge from "the rest." These explanations may be deterministic (seeking causes in race, climate, or geography) or historical (seeking causal factors

in feudalism, capitalism, the urban bourgeoisie, maritime-military superiority, etc.). Questions of European uniqueness should not obfuscate, however, that non-European territories and pre-1500 Europe cannot be lumped together in one uniform residual category.

Level 5: "Non-Western history is too difficult and too embarrassing." This *didactic Eurocentrism* concerns the ways of teaching about other cultures and naturally prevailed at schools. Undoubtedly, teaching about non-Western societies with their distinct modes of thinking entails specific didactical problems. However, these problems do not necessarily lead to confused or caricatured representations of history. When history teachers and authors of history textbooks prepare carefully, they should be able to illustrate historical mechanisms, processes, and structures with the support of non-Western examples.

Furthermore, it is certainly true that major parts of non-Western history are embarrassing stories of hunger, poverty, and injustice, and therefore painful episodes to deal with. The same can be said, however, about large portions of Western history. Besides, history should not be reduced to its embarrassing side only. History teaching is a historiographical genre reaching wide audiences; therefore, it is crucial that it presents balanced historical views.

In much of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the five forms of Eurocentrism described above were petrified by the doctrine of *essentialism*—the belief that cultures had a timeless kernel or essence that was more important than changing historical circumstances. Essentialism gradually evolved into *racism*—an attitude that attributed cultural differences to biological differences and transformed centrality and superiority into inherited characteristics. This led to the conviction that the European nations were elected peoples. Such was the case for large sectors of European and Western public opinion until 1945.

In the postwar decades, however, the decolonization and emergence of the third world enlarged the perception of the Western public. The popular and Eurocentric *mainstream* view of world history, although deeply engraved into mentalities, slowly disappeared—a process that is, in fact, still going on. Ethnocentrism as such, however, does not disappear—nor could it.

ORIGINS AND DOMINANCE OF THE *MAINSTREAM* VIEW OF HISTORY

Switching from future to past perspectives, it should be emphasized that the *mainstream* view of history has not always existed. At full strength, it prevailed between 1870 and 1970. It was the result of a very peculiar combination of at least three factors.

First, the Renaissance—a period in Europe (circa 1400s to 1600s) in which the roots of European tradition were relocated to antiquity—called into question medieval notions of continuity. Against this background, the newly discovered non-Western peoples in the Americas and elsewhere stimulated the evolutionary view that all peoples on earth found themselves in one of three stages of linear historical development: wild (representing "primitive" hunters living close to nature), barbarian (representing nomadic but conquering peoples), or civilized (representing sedentary civilizations). Of course, this *social evolutionism* saw Europe as the leading continent.

Second, during the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, this view was given a peculiar dynamic when it was linked with the ideas of progress and modernization. Scholars came to think that civilized Europe had already passed through its own wild and barbarian stages. The political and industrial revolutions of the late eighteenth century encouraged this thinking in terms of progress: Such terms as *wild* and *barbarian* were replaced with "equivalents" such as *primitive*, *traditional*, *pagan*, and *premodern*.

Third, around the same time, a series of archaeological discoveries greatly improved knowledge of the early Mediterranean cultures. A few decades later—under the influence of Romantic ideas—European historians were looking for links between their national state and old and glorious civilizations in order to build their national identity on a past to be proud of (the doctrine of *historicism*).

When European countries finally started their second wave of expansion around 1870, they combined evolutionary and historicist thinking into a unique vision of world history—the vision that this entry refers to as the *mainstream* view. During this new era of imperialism, this vision was exported and forced upon colonized and other peoples in the periphery of Western expansion. It led to a slow process of historiographical acculturation and worldwide convergence of historical thinking. Even where westernized styles of historical scholarship met with resistance and had to merge with preexisting indigenous modes of historical thought (especially in non-Western countries with strong written or oral historiographical traditions), they gradually exerted dominance almost everywhere.

In the early years or the twenty-first century, if only a minority of non-Western historians seems to lament this situation, it is because the *mainstream* vision has gradually given way to more plurality and because the core of Western historical scholarship—its scientific method—developed beyond its European roots and appears to possess universal value. This is proven by the fact that non-Western historians have relentlessly criticized Eurocentric works of their Western colleagues

by using the latter's own weapon: Western historical method. Indigenous historiography, where it still exists, is now seen as a valuable source of study.

In recent decades historians from all regions have exposed racist and ethnocentric features in historical writing—European and non-European. Modesty and relativism—perennial but secondary currents in the modes of thinking of European and non-European peoples—came to counterbalance earlier arrogance. Even currents that exaggerated and idealized historical achievements of non-Western peoples were observed. The circle of human beings who became included in the account of historians expanded to humanity at large. Today, many historians (though far from all) feel responsible for the whole of world history, which by definition cannot be written when non-Western history is omitted from the account.

INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS

The next question, then, is whether people are really able to understand each other. Is there an unbridgeable gap of knowledge and understanding between cultures or can ethnocentrism be transcended, and if so, to what extent? The former view is called the *insider* perspective (members of culture *x* have monopolistic access to knowledge about *x*), whereas the latter is the *outsider* perspective (nonmembers of culture *x* have privileged access to knowledge about *x*). Table 1 gives an overview of these positions.

From Table 1, it may be concluded that both visions have advantages and disadvantages, and that, ideally, multiperspectivism is necessary for those scholars testing hypotheses and aspiring to complete knowledge. Weighing the positions of both parties, as is done in Table 1, is not enough: In addition, three facts should be pondered. The first is that radical "insiderism" leads to deadlock because all insiders are inevitably outsiders in relation to all others and therefore, on their own assumptions, are excluded from studying them.

The second fact is that outsiders *do* communicate their views about insiders and their culture, and these therefore merit study. In 1988 Mexican historian Luis González calculated that there were approximately one thousand historians writing about Mexico: About half of them were non-Mexican. If that is true for Mexico, it is even more so for numerous countries with lesser historiographical traditions. Even when outsider views are not correct or not desired, it is worth asking why they are not, especially when the holders of these views are able to exert political or other power over insiders.

The last fact is that the essence of any scholarship is its claim to universality that presupposes the possibility of knowing others. Indeed, scholars—like moderate outsiders—maintain that truth is universal, whereas insiders call it relative and experience-dependent. Without this claim to universality, the sciences of history and anthropology—with their study subjects often outside one's own time or space—would squarely come to an end, as American sociologist Robert Merton (1910–2003) clearly saw: "Taken seriously, the [Insider] doctrine puts in question the validity of just about all historical writing... If direct engagement in the life of a group is essential to understanding it, then the only authentic history is contemporary history, written in fragments by those most fully involved in making inevitably limited portions of it" (Merton 1973, p. 123).

CONCLUSION

The French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908) has argued that a certain dose of lucid ethnocentrism is necessary to safeguard optimal cultural diversity: "Humanity... will have to learn again that each real act of creativity implies a certain deafness to the appeal of other values and that these may be refused or even disregarded. For it is not possible at the same time to lose oneself in—and identify oneself with—the other and still remain different" (Lévi-Strauss 1983, p. 47, quotation translated by Antoon De Baets).

This quotation also reveals that the key concept in any discussion about ethnocentrism is cultural diversity. This concept should be understood accurately. Overdoses of ethnocentrism and cultural relativism endanger cultural diversity. Too much ethnocentrism may lead to racism, ethnocide, or genocide; too much cultural relativism may lead to isolation or infertile uniformity.

These are all forms of exaggeration that threaten cultural diversity either by freezing or eliminating it. Historical wisdom teaches people to restrain ethnocentrism, not to eradicate it, and to encourage cultural relativism, not to exalt it. Such is the paradox: Cultures have to orient themselves toward each other, and, at the same time, stick to their own values. Both attitudes should remain in balance.

In the past, Eurocentrism, and especially its arrogant variants, was cultivated to aberrant heights, and therefore it is time to support cultural relativism today. Not to every price, however, because exchanging exalted Eurocentrism for exalted cultural relativism yields no progress. Czech author Milan Kundera (b. 1929) warned about such a risk in his *Book of Laughter and Forgetting*: "Each interpreted the other's words in his own way, and they lived in perfect harmony, the perfect solidarity of perfect mutual misunderstanding" (Kundera 1982, p. 227).

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism; Censorship.*

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Antoon De Baets

Theodor de Bry's late sixteenth-century engraving depicts coastal Indians trading with the British explorer Bartholomew Gosnold and his men. The Europeans trade knives and hats for strings of wampum. © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

EUROPEAN EXPLORATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

In the aftermath of Christopher Columbus's (1451–1506) voyages to the Western Hemisphere, the monarchs of western European nations sent explorers seeking a faster, more direct passage to Asia. Although these explorers failed in this mission, they helped map out a rich land for Europeans to control and colonize.

English exploration differed from that of Spain, Portugal, and France. The English monarchs did not have the wealth of their counterparts, so English merchants played a large role in English exploration and colonization. In addition, English kings for many decades were more involved in securing control over the British Isles than in seeking to expand to a New World.

Nonetheless, while beginning in more fits and starts than its neighbors, England established a strong set of colonies that in time would come to dominate North America, albeit as the independent countries of the United States and Canada.

In 1497 and 1498, an Italian explorer, Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot, ca. 1450–1499) explored North America on behalf of King Henry VII (1457–1509) of England. In this first expedition, Cabot left Bristol on May 2, 1497, with one small ship, the *Matthew*, and only eighteen men. He reached Newfoundland, which he claimed for the king, believing it to be an island off Asia. King Henry approved a second voyage and provided one ship; English merchants funded four more. The expedition set out in May 1498; one ship soon

returned for repairs and the other four, as well as Cabot, disappeared, never to return.

King Henry VIII (1491–1547) followed his father, and was not as supportive of such expeditions or expenses. Sebastian Cabot (ca. 1484–1557), John's son, left in 1508 and returned to England when his crew threatened mutiny. He found that Henry VII had died and Henry VIII declined to finance a return. In time, Sebastian Cabot moved to Spain and sailed under the sponsorship of the Spanish Crown.

English exploration and adventuring in the Americas increased after Elizabeth I (1533–1603) succeeded her father, Henry VIII, in 1558. The search for a Northwest Passage to Asia continued to influence explorers: From 1576 to 1578 Martin Frobisher (ca. 1535–1594) made several transatlantic voyages in search of a Northwest Passage. After his failure, John Davis (1543–1605) made several more abortive quests for such a passage in 1585 to 1887.

During the same period, the English also became more active in intruding into Spanish domains in the Americas. Francis Drake (ca. 1543–1596) set sail in 1577 with five ships to explore the Americas and to bring home treasure and spices. He lost several ships but continued in his flagship, the *Golden Hind,* around South America. He reached California in June 1579, and thereafter sailed around Asia and Africa and returned to England, where Elizabeth knighted him on his ship.

The next year, Elizabeth authorized Sir Humphrey Gilbert (ca. 1539–1583) to "plant" an English colony in America. He envisioned a colony as a place to dispose of England's surplus population, and he aimed for what he called "Norumbega," a region later called North Virginia, and finally New England. Gilbert's first attempt, in September 1578, failed when storms forced the ships to seek refuge in Plymouth. He tried again in 1583, and he reached Newfoundland on August 3. He returned to England on one of the smaller ships in his small fleet, and as they neared the English coast that ship, the *Squirrel,* disappeared with Gilbert. But he had involved his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618), who subsequently continued to pursue schemes for English colonization in the Americas.

Raleigh received a charter similar to Gilbert's from Elizabeth I, and he sought to colonize North America to serve England and to make profit. In 1584 Raleigh sent an expedition that sailed along the Atlantic Coast of North America, and he named this area Virginia after Elizabeth, England's "Virgin queen." The expedition explored Roanoke Island, off present-day North Carolina. Three years later, Raleigh sent a colonizing expedition of men, women, and children to settle Roanoke. He intended to send more supplies the

North American discoveries	
THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES	
1497	Voyage of Cabot to North America
1498	Second Voyage of Cabot to North America
1524	Verrazanno: Cape Fear to Newfoundland
1534–1541	Cartier: Gulf of St. Lawrence
1539–1543	De Soto: Mississippi River

THE GALE GROUP.

following year, but 1588 marked the appearance of the first Spanish Armada, a fleet of warships sent by Spain to invade England. For several years, England was consumed in the great effort of battling Spain, and Raleigh's supply ships could not return until 1590. When the ships arrived, the colonists had vanished, and no sign of them, save for one word, "Croatan," carved on a post, has ever been found—an enduring mystery.

This experience halted English efforts at colonization until James I (1566–1625) succeeded Elizabeth in 1603. As gold and other wealth from Spanish America flowed through Spain, sometimes to English merchants, these merchants formed early versions of limited liability corporations, so-called joint-stock companies, to explore and settle the New World and to create riches for their investors.

Equally important, one Englishman helped make a strong case for colonial settlements in North America. Richard Hakluyt (ca. 1552–1616) was an English geographer, editor, and clergyman. In 1589 he published *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation,* which consisted of eyewitness accounts and other records of more than two hundred overseas voyages. These accounts created interest in colonizing North America, and Hakluyt himself helped organize the settling of the Jamestown colony.

The idea of limited liability and Hakluyt as propagandist combined to lead to the two principal English settlements in North America, which subsequently expanded to create the thirteen colonies that existed on the eve of the American Revolution in the 1770s. Two joint-stock companies received charters in 1606. One, the Virginia Company of Plymouth, sent two ships that made landfall in August 1607 along the coast of Maine. After two months spent building a small settlement and fort and befriending local Indians for supplies, the colonists faced the harsh Maine winter; a fire destroyed the storehouse and several other buildings, and the men soon sailed for home.

The other company, the Virginia Company of London, had better luck though the venture was not

Early English Colonists Arriving at Roanoke Island, Virginia. *In 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to North America explored Roanoke Island, off present-day North Carolina. Three years later, Raleigh sent a group of men, women, and children to settle Roanoke. By the time supply ships returned to Roanoke in 1590, all the settlers had vanished.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

without difficulties. In 1609 the company sent an expedition to present-day Virginia, and established Jamestown, named in honor of James I. After a rough start, John Smith (1580–1631) took control and provided needed discipline, and the settlers discovered what at the time seemed a novel crop, tobacco, which helped the colony survive and prosper. Colonies in Massachusetts, Maryland, and elsewhere followed the colony in Virginia, and eventually helped establish a line of English settlements along the Atlantic Coast.

Meanwhile, as the English struggled to establish settlements along the North American coast, French explorers fared better. The French king, François I (1494–1547), sent Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), who left Saint Malo in 1534 with two ships seeking a passage to Asia and new lands to claim for France. Cartier passed Newfoundland and found the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River. On his second voyage in 1535, he explored the Saint Lawrence and passed the sites that

became the cities of Quebec and Montreal. He sailed back to France in 1536.

While French kings became caught up in warfare on the European continent, two explorers followed the path that Cartier had blazed. Samuel de Champlain (ca. 1570–1635) established France's first permanent settlement at Quebec in 1608, and further explored the upper Saint Lawrence, as well as the coasts of Nova Scotia and Maine. He found the lake reaching south of Montreal that was later named after him, and made his way along the Great Lakes to Lake Huron. In the 1680s Sieur de La Salle (1643–1687) built upon Champlain's explorations to reach the Mississippi River by portage. He claimed that great basin for the French king, Louis XIV (1638–1715), and named it Louisiana.

Missionaries, soldiers, and fur traders followed these explorers, and they interacted with American Indian tribes far better than the English colonists to the south.

In many ways, the great voyages of exploration were ending, and the era of colonial exploitation and war for territory would soon begin.

SEE ALSO *Biological Impacts of European Expansion in the Americas; Columbus, Christopher; Empire in the Americas, British; Empire in the Americas, Dutch; Empire in the Americas, French; Empire in the Americas, Portuguese; Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Hakluyt, Richard; Mission, Civilizing.*

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EUROPEAN EXPLORATIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA

At the end of the fifteenth century, technological developments in shipbuilding and the search for new commercial markets and spices combined with unique configurations of crusade, curiosity, and adventure to take Europeans across the Atlantic. Christopher Columbus's (1451–1506) four voyages of discovery are the most famous of these explorations, and their motivations and characteristics were continued and developed throughout the sixteenth century across the South American continent.

When Columbus caught sight of land (which he named San Salvador) in the Bahamas on October 12, 1492, he believed that he was close to Japan and a valuable westward route to the spice trade of Asia. He subsequently sailed on to Cuba and Hispaniola, naming and recording his brief encounters with native people before hurrying back to Spain to register his discoveries with the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand II (1452–1516) and Isabella (1451–1504). By the time of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) with Portugal, Columbus was already on his second voyage, during which he discovered the destruction of his settlement of Navidad on Hispaniola by native people. Columbus returned to Spain in 1496 to defend himself against the complaints of bitter colonists whose dreams had yet to be realized. Columbus's third voyage (1498–1500) took him to Trinidad and the fresh water delta of the Orinoco River, which he speculated might lead to the Earthly Paradise in a vast new continent (it was Amerigo Vespucci [1454–1512], following in Columbus's wake, who received the credit for formulating this idea). In 1500 Pedro Álvars Cabral (1468–1520) landed on the Brazilian coast near Porto Seguro in Bahia on Portugal's follow-up voyage to Vasco da Gama's (1460–1524) successful sea voyage to the Indian Ocean. On his fourth voyage (1502–1504) Columbus's mystical and religious leanings thrived on his bitterness at ill-treatment by his colonists. He traced the coastline of Central America from Honduras down to Panama, on the way being captured by native people. He escaped. By now Columbus was more interested in millenarian prophecies of using New World gold to finance a crusade on Jerusalem than in augmenting his own personal fortune.

After Columbus's death in 1506, exploration of the circum-Caribbean was fuelled by two factors: the desire to capture more Indian labor to replace those native people who died of disease or abuse, and the adventurous instincts of Spanish men hoping to make their fortunes in the New World. Puerto Rico was conquered in 1508, Jamaica in 1509, and Cuba in 1511. Juan Ponce de León (1460–1521) discovered Florida in 1513. These islands provided the basis for further explorations. In 1513 an expedition was sent out from Spain under Pedrarias Dávila (1440–1531) to conquer the Isthmus of Panama. A survivor of an earlier slave-raiding expedition in 1509, Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475–1519), crossed the isthmus first and claimed the waters of the Pacific Ocean for the Catholic monarchs in September 1513. Dávila quarrelled with Balboa and had him executed.

In this engraving (circa 1521), the Italian-born explorer, Amerigo Vespucci, (1454–1512) for whom the American continent was named, stands at the bow of his ship, surrounded by fantastic sea creatures and deities. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Once begun, discovery and conquest developed their own momentum. Hernán Cortés (1484–1547) came to epitomize the bold fortune hunter. Diego Velázquez (1465–1524), governor of Cuba, sent out two expeditions to explore the coast of Mexico in 1517–1518. In 1519 Cortés took advantage of the findings of these expeditions by launching the conquest of what he came to label New Spain, without authorization from Velázquez. During the next three years Cortés dedicated himself to the conquest of the empire ruled by Montezuma II (1466–1520) from the great city of Tenochtitlán. Cortés exploited, and was himself used by, pre-existing conflicts between native people. He launched major military campaigns against those who opposed him. At the same time he wrote *Cartas de relación* to Charles V (1500–1558) back in Europe, appealing over the heads of colonial officials for recognition of his extralegal conquests. Cortés's example further heightened the momentum of adventure, ambition, and exploration. Pedro de Alvarado (1485–1541), who had

served under Cortés, spent ten years in the conquest of Guatemala and El Salvador before reaching expeditions sent up from Panama by Dávila. Francisco de Montejo (1479–1553) attempted the conquest of the Yucatán in 1527, which was resisted by the Maya until their rebellion was violently suppressed in 1542.

Panama was the base for exploration of the Pacific and, eventually, the discovery and conquest of Peru. Francisco Pizarro (1475–1541) and Diego de Almagro (1475–1538) obtained permission to this end from Dávila in 1524. Returning after repeated difficulties, Pizarro was convinced that he could found a personal empire on the wealth of the rumored kingdom of the South. In 1530 he set out from Panama with about 180 men. Using Cortés's dealings with Montezuma as a model, in 1532 Pizarro captured the Inca emperor Atahualpa (1502–1533) and exploited the subsequent stumblings of the Inca empire to manipulate local factions and grievances. Atahualpa was executed in 1533.

Pizarro entrusted the exploration of the northern provinces of Quito to Sebastián de Benalcázar (1495–1551). He had to compete with a rival expedition under Pedro de Alvarado (1485–1541) who arrived from Guatemala. During the 1530s Benalcázar progressed north into the Cauca Valley. Near the capital of the Chibcha, Bogotá, he encountered two expeditions that had traveled down from the Caribbean coast, led respectively by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada (1495–1579) and Nikolaus Federmann (1505–1542). The groups avoided armed confrontation, and their combined findings encouraged belief in the existence of a city of gold, El Dorado, which would itself act as the spur to further explorations of New Granada and Venezuela. The consolidation of European rule in Peru foundered on rival claims to wealth and political influence. Further south, Pizarro's attempt to build a personal empire for his family and descendents was resisted by rebellions led by the Inca heir Manco Inca Yupanqui (1516–1545) during 1536–1539, and by his own bitter subordinates. Civil war between the followers of Almagro and Pizarro in 1537 and 1538 ended with Almagro's execution and a subsequent chain of bloodletting that encompassed Francisco Pizarro who was killed in 1541. In the same year his brother, Gonzalo (1502–1548), led an expedition from Quito, the consequence of which was Francisco de Orellana's (1490–1546) discovery and navigation of the river he named the Amazon because of the female warriors who attacked him during the exploration.

In addition to the Amazon, the New World provided a new lease of life for medieval legends including golden cities, fountains of youth, paradise on earth and, of course, great wealth. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (1490–1560) survived an 1528 expedition to Florida and journeyed overland until he reached Mexico City in 1536. His stories inspired other adventurers to explore new lands; Cabeza de Vaca himself later journeyed through the Brazilian interior to Paraguay, where he was briefly governor of Asunción (1542). In 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado (1510–1554) explored New Mexico and Arizona in search of the mythical Seven Cities of Cíbola, traversing through Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Another of Pizarro's men, Hernando de Soto (1500–1542), sought his fortune in 1541 on an expedition through Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, leading to the discovery of the Mississippi River. Francisco Pizarro's advances led to many subsequent expeditions using Peru as a base. Pedro de Valdivia (1498–1553) left Cuzco in 1540 and after crossing the Andes and the Atacama Desert, founded Santiago de Chile in 1541. Valdivia was killed in battle with the Araucanians in 1553.

On the Atlantic coast, Portugal was distracted by its efforts on the route to India during the first half of the

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South American discoveries

THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

1492–1493	First Voyage of Columbus: Caribbean
1493–1496	Second Voyage: Puerto Rico and Jamaica
1498–1500	Third Voyage of Cabot: South America
1499–1500	Ojeda and Vespucci: South America
1500	Cabral Claimed Brazil for Portugal
1502–1504	Fourth Voyage of Cabot: Central America
1513	Balboa Crossed Panama and Saw the Pacific
1517	Hernández de Córdova: Yucatan
1519–1522	Magellan Voyage Circumnavigated the Globe
1524–1528	Pizarro: The Coast of Peru
1526–1532	Sebastian Cabot: Rio de la Plata

THE GALE GROUP.

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sixteenth century, but it began to explore and settle in Brazil to ward off potential French competition during mid-century, triggered by the exploratory voyages of the French Breton sailor Jacques Cartier (1491–1557). The Jesuit order was fundamental in collaborating with royal government to establish a strong central government in Brazil. The lack of immediate financial returns was a further reason delaying settlement and conquest on the Atlantic seaboard. Further south, the River Plate estuary was explored by Spanish adventurers in the hope that it might provide Columbus's long-hoped-for passage to Asia. Juan Díaz de Solis (1470–1516) explored in 1516 and Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521) four years later. Unsuccessful, Magellan travelled south in search of such a passage and in November 1520 discovered the straits that led him into the Pacific.

While desire for gold and silver was important, explorations were also orientated by dreams of power and social advancement, shaped by encounters with indigenous people, and developed their own momentum through the influence of charismatic figures such as Columbus, Cortés, and Pizarro, whose efforts were recorded and relayed throughout the new colonial world. But if exploration had only been motivated by plunder it would not have happened at all. While Columbus may have been a self-styled discoverer, the likes of Cortés and Pizarro looked beyond the short-term in the hope of establishing permanent settlements from which they and their families could extract permanent honor, influence, and wealth. The spread of religion was also an important factor in the configuration of exploration. In difficult moments Columbus and Cortés revealed their millenarian and crusading inspirations. Chivalric tradition is particularly evident in conquistador writings, and the desire to bring Christianity to the heathen must not be discounted from the encounter between Old and New

Worlds, no matter how much it was besmirched by the often grubby and violent nature of physical conquest. Myths and legends suffused the exploration of South America by Europeans. Whether there were claims that indigenous people welcomed them as returning gods or dreams of noble savages and cities of gold, exploration was closely linked to colonization, settlement, and conversion. Indeed adventure, exploration, and quests for honor through travel remained important themes through subsequent centuries. Exploration led inextricably to empire.

SEE ALSO *European Explorations in North America.*

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Matthew Brown

EUROPEAN MIGRATIONS TO AMERICAN COLONIES, 1492–1820

In the three centuries following the voyages of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) to the Americas, the world was transformed by a massive transoceanic movement of peoples, the largest in human history up to that time. The migration of several million Europeans to the Americas during this period was fundamental to the formation of New World society. European settlement and diseases devastated indigenous populations and led to a scramble for lands on a continental scale that resulted in a checkerboard of Euro-American societies from the Hudson Bay in northern Canada to Tierra del Fuego, an island group off the southern tip of South America. From the Atlantic ports of Europe—principally of Britain, Spain, and Portugal—wave after wave of settlers, rich and poor, took ship seeking their fortune "beyond the seas."

MAGNITUDE AND PACE

Between 1492 and 1820, approximately 2.6 million Europeans immigrated to the Americas (compared to at least 8.8 million enslaved Africans). Across the period, slightly less than half of all migrants were British, 40 percent were Spanish and Portuguese, 6 percent were from Swiss and German states, and 5 percent were French. In terms of sheer numbers, other nationalities—Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish, for example—although contributing to the heterogeneity of Euro-American society, were negligible.

Annual rates of emigration climbed steadily across the three centuries, from 2,000 annually before 1580, to 8,000 per year in the second half of the seventeenth century, and between 13,000 and 14,000 per year in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Three principal phases of movement can be identified. The first century and a half was dominated by Spanish and Portuguese emigrants, who made up 87 percent of the 446,000 settlers leaving Europe between 1492 and 1640.

The second phase, lasting from 1640 to 1760, saw a three-fold increase in numbers of emigrants. During this period, 1.3 million settlers left Europe for the New World. Many of the British, French, Swiss, and German settlers who immigrated during this period arrived under labor contracts that typically obliged them to work between four and seven years in return for the cost of their passage, board, and lodging, and certain payments called "freedom dues." Freedom dues were made by the master to the servant on completion of the term of service, which typically took the form of provisions, clothing, tools, rights to land, money, or a small share of the crop (tobacco or sugar).

The final phase of early modern immigration, from 1760 to 1820, was once again dominated by free settlers and witnessed an enormous surge of British migrants to North America and the United States. These British migrants made up more than 70 percent of all emigrants who crossed the Atlantic in these years.

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the decision by Spanish and Portuguese monarchs to take possession of the New World and establish colonies governed by the crown required the transfer of large settler populations. Besides the plunder of American Indian societies, Spanish discoveries of silver mines at Potosí in Peru and Zacatecas in Mexico during the 1540s provided a significant stimulus to immigration throughout the remainder of the century. In the long run, however, the most important development that encouraged large-scale immigration of settlers from western Europe was not so much the pillage of Indian civilizations and the discovery of precious minerals as
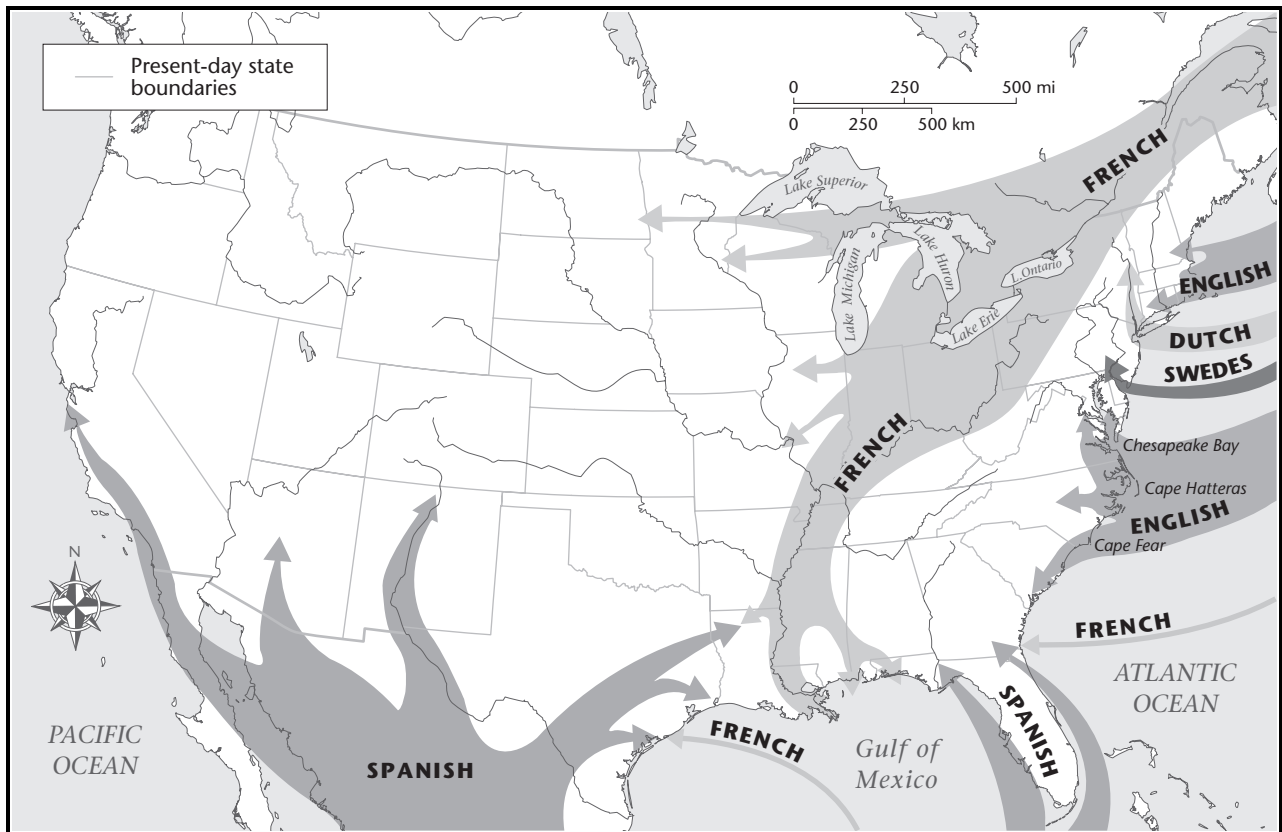
The Paths of Early European Penetration of North America. *Between 1492 and 1820, approximately 2.6 million Europeans migrated to the Americas. The Spanish moved into North America from the south; the English, Dutch and Swedes entered along the eastern seaboard; and the French mostly traveled from the northeast along the Saint Lawrence River and Great Lakes, with a few French migrants entering from the south and southeast.* **MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.**

the production of consumables in high demand in Europe, notably sugar and to a lesser extent tobacco.

Sugar plantations had been established on the Atlantic islands of the Canaries, Madeira, and São Tomé by the Spanish and Portuguese in the second half of the fifteenth century. In the Americas, Portuguese Brazil (specifically the northeastern provinces of Pernambuco and Bahia) emerged as the epicenter of the world's sugar production by 1600, followed a half century later by a new sugar plantation complex founded by the English and French (supported by Dutch merchants and planters) on the islands of Barbados, Saint Christopher, Martinique, and Guadeloupe in the West Indies. Meanwhile in Chesapeake, the English colonies of Virginia and Maryland had begun to rapidly expand output of tobacco during the 1620s and 1630s.

In Spanish and British America alike, plantation colonies absorbed the great majority of white (and black enslaved) immigrants. Most of the 350,000 English migrants who crossed the Atlantic during the seventeenth century, for example, ended up in the West Indies

(180,000) and Chesapeake (120,000). Only about 23,000 settlers made their way to the American Middle Colonies and 21,000 to New England. English immigration represented the transfer of a massive labor force to America, which was essential for the development of staple agriculture—sugar and tobacco—in the West Indies and Chesapeake.

THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF MIGRANTS

Gentlemen (*hildagos* in Spanish), government officials, merchants, servants, *filles du roy* (French maids), artisans, soldiers, planters, and farmers were among the tide of Europeans who embarked for the Americas in the early modern period. One vital distinction between them was whether they arrived free or were under some form of contractual labor obligation. Of the latter, the great majority were indentured servants (British), *engagés* (French), and *redemptioners* (German) who made up about half a million migrants between 1500 and 1800 and who worked under specific terms of service. Convicts and political prisoners contributed another 129,000

bound immigrants. In addition, an indeterminate number of men and women who were servants (for example, Spanish *criados*) in the service of an official, priest, or gentleman, and who might themselves be of relatively high social rank, made their way to the New World.

It is impossible to be precise about the proportion of those who arrived in America as unfree laborers. Across the entire period, certainly no less than 25 percent were servants, convicts, and prisoners. During the peak years of servant emigration in the second half of the seventeenth century, the figure was closer to 50 percent. Indentured servants made up between 70 and 85 percent of settlers who emigrated to the Chesapeake and British West Indies between 1620 and 1700. In British and French North America, cheap white labor was crucial to the early development of colonial economies and predated the adoption of enslaved African labor by several generations.

Servants came from a broad cross section of lower-class society, embracing child paupers and vagrants, unskilled laborers, those employed in low-grade service trades, domestic and agricultural servants, and poor textile workers. The great majority were young (between sixteen and twenty-five years of age), male, and single. Among sixteenth-century Spanish emigrants, women never made up more than 30 percent of the total. More than three-quarters of servants who left England in the seventeenth century were men and boys, rising to over 90 percent between 1718 and 1775. Of French *engagés* departing from Nantes and Bordeaux in the early eighteenth century, over 90 percent were male and between 67 and 70 percent were nineteen years of age or less.

Servant emigration was generally a two-stage process shaped by the same social and economic forces that influenced broader patterns of lower-class movement. Indentured servants were a subset of a much larger group of young, single, and poor men and women who moved from village to village and town to city in search of greater opportunities than were to be had at home. Cities and ports throughout Europe attracted the surplus labor of the surrounding countryside and market towns, as well as from further afield. London, for example, was a magnet for the poor, who poured into the capital and took up residence in the burgeoning slums outside the ancient city walls. According to a contemporary, they included "soldiers wanting wars to employ them, . . . servingmen whose lords and masters are dead, . . . masterless men whose masters have cast them off, [and] idle people, as lusty rogues and common beggars." They came, he observed, "hearing of the great liberality of London,"(Beier 1985, pp. 40–41).

Free emigrants—those able to fund their own transportation to America—were an equally diverse group.

Hundreds of thousands of independent farmers and tenants emigrated to set up farms and plantations. Alongside them from all parts of Europe was a steady flow of lesser gentry, professional men, and artisans— merchants, factors, teachers, doctors, priests, clergymen, accountants, ministers, weavers, smiths, carpenters, and others—in continual demand as the colonies expanded and matured. What distinguished them from servants was not only the possession of some capital to set themselves up in America but also personal or political connections.

Free migrants tended to be older than those who arrived under labor contracts, and they were more likely to arrive with their families, kin, or friends. Such family or kinship connections were of paramount importance in stimulating movement from Extremadura in Spain to the New World, for example, and also influenced (to a lesser degree) free emigration from Britain and parts of Germany.

As mentioned above, free migration was the dominant form of white movement during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and in the period after 1750. A key characteristic of the second half of the eighteenth century was the increasing numbers of skilled and independent migrants opting to leave Europe against a background of growing prosperity and trade. As American commerce flourished and channels of communication were strengthened, the cost of passage fell and colonies became increasingly attractive and accessible.

Whether free or unfree, emigration from Europe to America was intensely regional. During the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, the origins of Spanish emigrants were heavily skewed toward the southwest. Andalusia alone contributed between one-third and one-half of all migrants from Spain. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the character of Spanish emigration changed dramatically, with far higher numbers of people moving from the poorer provinces of the north coast, the east, and from the Balearic and Canary Islands.

French migrants came chiefly from northern and western provinces and the Atlantic port towns of Rouen, Saint-Malo, Nantes, La Rochelle, and Bordeaux. Most migrants leaving England for America in the seventeenth century came from London, the Southeast, East Anglia, and the West Country. The eighteenth century, by contrast, saw large-scale movements from northern England, Ulster, southern Ireland, the western districts of the Scottish Borders and Lowlands, the Highlands, and Hebrides. German emigration embraced a wide variety of regions in the Protestant areas of the Palatinate, Nassau, Hesse,

European immigrants to America, 1500–1820

1500–1580	
Spain	100,000
Portugal	90,000
Britain	0
Total	190,000
1580–1640	
Spain	90,000
Portugal	110,000
Britain	50,000
France	4,000
Netherlands	2,000
Total	256,000
1640–1700	
Spain	70,000
Portugal	50,000
Britain	303,000
France	45,000
Netherlands	13,000
Total	481,000
1700–1760	
Spain	90,000
Portugal	250,000
Britain	289,000
France	51,000
Netherlands	5,000
Germany	97,000
Total	782,000
1760–1820	
Spain	70,000
Portugal	105,000
Britain	615,000
France	20,000
Netherlands	5,000
Germany	51,000
Other	5,000
Total	871,000
1500–1820	
Spain	420,000
Portugal	605,000
Britain	1,257,000
France	120,000
Netherlands	25,000
Germany	148,000
Other	5,000
Total	2,580,000

SOURCE: Adapted from James Horn and Philip D. Morgan (2005, 21-22).

THE GALE GROUP.

Baden-Durlach, and Wurttemberg, as well as the Swiss cantons of Basel, Berne, and Zurich.

Motives for leaving Europe—religious, political, or social—were as diverse as migrants' social backgrounds, but economic opportunity in the broadest sense was the single most important reason that people boarded ships for the colonies. Roderick Gordon, a Scot who immigrated to Virginia, confided to his brother in 1734,

a "pity it is that thousands of my country people should stay starving att [*sic*] home when they may live here in peace and plenty, as a great many who have been transported for a punishment have found pleasure, profit and ease and would rather undergo any hardship than be forced back to their own country" (Horn 1998, p.51). America was described by one settler as a "paradise" where newcomers "had nought to do but pluck and eat," (Horn 1998, p.51). If not paradise, the New World offered the possibility of a better future for those who risked moving to America and, if they survived, a lifestyle that would have been impossible at home.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Empire, British; Empire, French; European Explorations in North America.*

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James Horn

EXPLORATION, THE PACIFIC

During the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Europeans became accustomed to luxury goods, especially rare spices, imported from Asia. Islam's spread—including the 1453 fall of Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey) and the 1517 Ottoman invasion of Egypt—cut off this trade and lent a new urgency to Europe's quest to find a direct route to the Far East. This, in turn, resulted in an era of European exploration that eventually led to the discovery of the Pacific Ocean, the world's largest body of water extending from the western Americas to eastern Asia and Australia, and one of its most diverse cultural regions, including such civilizations as the Chinese, Aztecs, and Polynesians.

Portugal took the lead in this undertaking under Prince Henrique (1394–1460), better known as Henry the Navigator, who supported exploring parties that mapped almost the entire coastline of West Africa. In 1492 Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) attempted to circumnavigate the globe by sailing west, and mistakenly thought he had discovered a new route to Asia when he discovered the New World. In 1498 Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) rounded Africa, reached the Indian Ocean, and later arrived in India. By 1516 the Portuguese were in China, and by 1557 they had convinced the ruling Ming dynasty (1368–1644) to cede them Macao, the first European colony in Asia. In 1542 Portugal also became the first European country to trade with Japan. The Portuguese mariner Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521) sailed around South America in 1520, landed in the Philippines in 1521, and led the expedition that became the first to circumnavigate the globe. In 1529 Spain and Portugal divided Asia between them in the Treaty of Saragossa. In 1564 a Spanish fleet conquered the Philippines, which remained a Spanish colony through 1898. Meanwhile, British influence in the Pacific region gradually grew. In 1578 Sir Francis Drake (ca. 1543–1596) transited the Strait of Magellan to the Pacific Ocean. After exploring as far north as present-day San Francisco, California, he sailed across the Pacific to the Moluccas (Spice Islands). When Drake reached Java he took on a load of spices, and returned to England in November 1580. Drake's success

threatened Spain's spice monopoly, but in 1588 the British Navy destroyed the Spanish Armada, which ensured the freedom of the seas. This victory allowed another small European power—Holland—to obtain a toehold in the Pacific. The first Dutch fleet commanded by Jacob Mahu (ca. 1564–1598) reached the Pacific around 1600. Most of the ships were shipwrecked or sunk, but at least one found its way to Japan. Its pilot, William Adams (ca. 1564–1620), served the Japanese shogun until his death. After the Dutch colonized Indonesia, calling it the Dutch Indies, they moved north and landed on Formosa (Taiwan), meaning "beautiful island." In 1624 the Dutch built a fort on Formosa called Zeelandia. In February 1662 Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga, 1624–1662) besieged Zeelandia and forced the Dutch to retreat. In 1683, after a fifty-nine-year absence, Taiwan returned to Chinese control.

In 1600 Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) of England granted a charter to the "Governor and Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies," better known as the East India Company. Beginning in 1699, the East India Company also established a trading post in the southern Chinese port of Guangzhou (Canton). Following Britain's conquest of India in 1757, King George III (1738–1820) sent Lord George Macartney (1737–1806) to open up China in 1793. Although his mission failed, British intentions to dominate trade with China eventually resulted in the first Opium War (1839–1842), which for the first time opened up other Chinese ports to foreign trade. Meanwhile, British explorers, most notably James Cook (1728–1779), continued to explore the Pacific. Based on their discoveries, the British began to colonize Australia in 1788 and New Zealand in 1790. Other European nations, like Russia, were also moving into the Pacific region. Following the fifteenth-century collapse of the Mongol Empire, Czar Ivan the Terrible (1530–1584) made Russia a Eurasian power by extending his realm from the White Sea in northwest Russia all the way to Siberia in 1584. By the late 1630s, the Russian settlement of Udsk was founded on the Sea of Okhotsk. In 1860 Russians founded the city of Vladivostok, meaning "ruler of the east," on the Pacific Ocean directly across from Japan.

Before the European advance into East Asia, Japan was isolated and its international trade was small. In 1854 U.S. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858) visited Japan and forced it to open diplomatic and trade relations with the United States. With the Meiji Restoration, which began in 1867, Japan actively adopted Western ways, including a constitutional monarchy, a modern army and navy, and international law. In May 1875 Japan annexed the southern Kuril Islands to the north of Hokkaido, and then in 1876 obtained all of the Kurils in exchange for ceding the southern half of Sakhalin Island to Russia. In 1879

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

Born on October 27, 1728, the English explorer, navigator, and cartographer Captain James Cook is famous for his voyages in and accurate mapping of the Pacific Ocean, and for the application of scientific methods to exploration. After gaining experience with a local shipowner and undertaking several voyages to the Baltic Sea, Cook enlisted in the Royal Navy at the onset of the Anglo-French war in 1755. He was promoted to master's mate after only one month, and by the war's end in 1763 was in command of a flagship on the St. Lawrence River.

Cook's career is marked by three significant voyages. The first voyage was initiated when the Royal Society asked the British government to send a ship to the Pacific to study the transit of Venus across the sun, and to explore new lands in that area. Cook was placed in command of the vessel *Endeavour*, which set sail on August 26, 1768, with a crew that included an astronomer, two botanists, a landscape artist, and a painter of fauna.

After witnessing the transit of Venus, Cook arrived at New Zealand and made an accurate chart of the waters of the two islands, which took six months. He then sailed along the east coast of Australia. After landing at Botany Bay, near present-day Sydney, he named the region New South Wales and claimed it in the name of the king. He eventually reached England on June 12, 1771. For circumnavigating the globe, charting new waters, and discovering new land, Cook was promoted from lieutenant to commander.

Cook's second voyage began on July 13, 1772. Sailing in the *Resolution* and accompanied by the *Adventure*, he explored the New Hebrides, charted Easter Island and the Marquesas, visited Tahiti and Tonga, and discovered New Caledonia and the islands of Palmerston, Norfolk, and Niue. Cook also proved that if properly fed, a crew could make a long voyage without ill effects. From a crew of 118, he lost only one man to disease. For this feat, the Royal Society presented him with the Copley Gold Medal and elected him as a fellow.

After reaching the rank of captain in August 1775, Cook embarked upon a third and final voyage on July 12, 1776, in search of a passage around North America to the Atlantic Ocean. Sailing in the *Resolution* and accompanied by the *Discovery*, Cook was unable to find a northern passage. However, this voyage did feature the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands.

Cook's life came to a tragic and sudden end when, after returning to Hawaii for much-needed repairs, fresh supplies, and sunshine, he was clubbed and stabbed to death in a skirmish with Hawaiian natives on February 14, 1779. In 2002 *History Today* reported the possibility that Captain Cook's relatives might undergo DNA testing to determine if an arrow contained in the Australian Museum—given by Hawaii's King Kamehameha II to one of King George IV's doctors—was made from his thighbone.

Japan annexed the Ryukyu Islands, and they became the Okinawa Prefecture. After the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), Japan acquired the island of Taiwan, and after World War I (1914–1918), Japan received a League of Nations mandate over the Carolines, Marianas, Marshalls, and Palau Islands.

The United States came relatively late to the Pacific, but made its mark in the early nineteenth century by dominating the whaling industry. In 1867 the United States purchased Alaska for $7,200,000. While this was jokingly called "Seward's Folly" at the time, because Secretary of State William H. Seward (1801–1872) had brokered the deal with Russia, the discovery of gold, and later petroleum, repaid this investment many times over. Thirty years later, as a result of the 1898 Spanish-American War, the United States paid Spain $20 million for the Philippines, acquired Guam as a territory, and annexed the Hawaiian Islands, which became the fiftieth state in 1959. After World War II (1939–1945), the United States retained bases in the Philippines through 1992, on Guam, and especially on Okinawa, which still hosts many of the U.S. forces in Japan.

Most colonies in East Asia were given their independence after World War II, including the Philippines in 1946, India in 1947, Indonesia in 1949, Malaysia in 1957, and Papua New Guinea in 1975. By 1980, almost all of the Pacific Islands had achieved their political independence, with Palau becoming independent in 1994. Trade, however, remains vitally important to the world economy, and beginning in the 1990s the United States for the first time traded more with Asian nations than with Europe.

SEE ALSO *Indigenous Responses, the Pacific; Occupations, the Pacific.*

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Bruce A. Elleman

EXPORT COMMODITIES

Debates about western European exceptionalism continue, with no agreement in sight. Why did this relatively underdeveloped area expand around the world, while China, for example, a sophisticated empire, spread abroad mainly by the informal migrations of Chinese people, and then only to the eastern Pacific Ocean, and mostly in modern times?

Economic needs clearly played a part in driving European expansion. One series of discussions points to the intensity of European exchanges, including warfare, migration, and trade, coupled with a relative lack of important raw materials (e.g., precious metals, dyes, and such "miracle" cereals as maize and paddy rice) and items of elite consumption, such as silk textiles. (The industrial uses of coal and petroleum, later plentiful in Europe, had not yet developed.)

Contacts between the medieval Italian city-states and China showed the potential for profit in trade with Asia, particularly through the export to Europe of high-value spices, such as pepper and cinnamon. These contacts were cut off in the later fourteenth century by the black death (an epidemic of bubonic plague that killed nearly a quarter of Europe's population), the breakup of the Tatar Empire, and the incursions of the Ottoman Turks. But with a demographic recovery from the plague-ridden fourteenth century and a combination of Mediterranean and Atlantic maritime and military technologies in the fifteenth century, Europeans resumed their search for valuable commercial commodities.

Portuguese sailors who traveled down the West African coast demonstrated the possibilities for obtaining sub-Saharan gold and ivory. Portuguese fishermen went even further into the ocean in search of fishing grounds to supply the salt fish trade. The kings of Portugal and Castile both sought to take control of the Atlantic islands (Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries), and their subjects grew increasingly interested in opening maritime routes to the sources of valuable commodities in Africa and Asia.

Cultural influences and geographical location also played a part in making Portugal and Spain into the pioneers of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European exploration and conquest. Some historians emphasize the militarism and crusading religious impulses brought on by centuries of warfare against Islam. Others have pointed out that the coastline from Lisbon to Cadiz in southern Spain is western Europe's most favored corner in an age of sailing ships, with northeasterly winds for part of the year permitting much easier and faster voyages to the south and southwest.

Moreover, Portugal and Spain controlled the clusters of "steppingstone" islands—the Cape Verdes, the Canaries, the Azores, and Madeira—which, two or three weeks out to sea, provided places to rest the crews, land the sick, and resupply with food and water. Thus Lisbon and the small Spanish ports west of Cadiz were especially favored for explorations of the West African coast and for the southern crossing to the Caribbean.

CONDITIONS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF LONG-DISTANCE TRADE

Europeans met very different local conditions after arriving in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, the two Americas, and Oceania, and these influenced their ability to exploit the resources that they encountered in these lands. The influences that affected their ability to exercise power and develop long-distance trade can be roughly grouped into three categories: (1) demography and distance; (2) disease barriers; and (3) the impact of disease on native peoples.

Demography and Distance. The Portuguese, after voyages of four to six months in small ships, had the firepower and warlike temperament to bombard and destroy Indian coastal cities. But they could not dream of conquering the Indian landmass, much less that of China, because both were occupied by dense populations and strong state structures, and both shared a similar stock of diseases with the Europeans.

The Portuguese were, then, limited to establishing trading enclaves such as Goa in India and Macao in southern China, and to using warships and strategic forts to tax merchants' ships, especially when they were passing though narrow straits such as Hormuz, Palk, and Malacca. Small cargo holds, plus limits imposed by time, distance, and the cost of freight, restricted exports to Portugal to compact items of high value, such as exotic spices, precious stones, and silks. Only much later could

such Europeans as the Dutch and the English occupy larger areas and export mundane commodities like jute, cotton, and tea.

Disease Barriers. Unlike the Americas, sub-Saharan Africa was fertile ground for diseases such as yellow fever, malaria, and sleeping sickness *(trypanosomiasis).* The European newcomers to Africa, lacking immunities to or treatments for such illnesses, suffered disastrous mortality when they attempted to penetrate inland. As a result, they were usually limited to offshore islands, such as Fernando Póo (now Bioko in Equatorial Guinea) and São Tomé, and breezy, cooler enclaves such as Elmina (in Ghana) and Mozambique. Even the southern tip of Africa, with its more temperate climate, saw little European expansion from the coast until the eighteenth century.

In these circumstances, Europe's largest exports were slaves, usually purchased from intermediaries. Most of them were then sold in the Americas as plantation labor. European colonization of tropical Africa had to wait for the medical revolution of the nineteenth century.

The Impact of Disease on Native Peoples. In the Americas, Hawaii, Australia, and other isolated regions, Old World diseases have been described as the "shock troops" of the conquest. No doubt such factors as weapon superiority including gunpowder, destructive and close-cropping animals such as pigs and sheep, and internecine warfare among native polities, all played major roles in the subjugation of these areas. But disease, by reducing indigenous populations so drastically, helped the invaders not only with the conquests, but also with the establishment and maintenance of social control in the new colonies.

In fact, early colonial exports and imports of this third regional category were to a large degree determined by disease and distance. Distance, time, and freight rates inhibited the development of exports from the Americas and Australia, as was the case in Asia. To give one example, the development of sugar as an export was delayed until the reduced native populations could be replaced, in part, by African slaves. Even when this happened, sugar could pay its way to European markets only from the Caribbean and northeast Brazil, which were relatively close to Europe. Distant Mexico, even more distant Peru, and the far-off Philippines could show a profit only when shipping such valuable products as bullion, precious stones, spices, and silks. These were, in fact, the major exports of the first two centuries of colonial rule.

Diseases brought by Europeans and Africans, plus colonial wars, not only aided conquest and the establishment of new regimes, but also cleared space for immigration, especially in such areas as Hawaii, New Zealand, and parts of Australia and America that because of latitude or altitude had relatively temperate climates. Thus the largest European export to these regions was people—soldiers, administrators, farmers, miners, herders, and others. Conquered territories, such as New England, present-day Argentina, Australia, and New Zealand, brutally cleared in whole or in part of their native inhabitants, soon became populated with transplanted Europeans.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS AND EXPORTS

The mechanisms of colonial control set up by Europeans also depended to a considerable extent on the above factors. Where the Portuguese were able to establish commercial enclaves, their control was limited to monopolizing sea lanes, manipulating local politics and trade, forming strategic alliances with native rulers, staging occasional shows of force, and incorporating marginal peoples, such as untouchables and low-caste fisherfolk. Later colonial rulers, such as the British in Hong Kong and the Dutch in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), used essentially the same tactics.

In the densely-populated regions of India, where European newcomers never numbered more than a tiny minority, the British used more elaborate methods. Local troops under British officers defeated rebellions and followed them with spectacular ceremonial punishments. Native elites were co-opted and often educated in England, new broker classes were assigned to serve as bureaucrats and minor traders, and trade and trade items were stimulated or discouraged to suit imperial needs.

In spite of enormous population losses and considerable Spanish immigration, the densely inhabited parts of America remained largely indigenous during the Spanish colonial period. There, imperial rule and the manipulation of trade, trade items, and exports had to adopt different methods.

Both the so-called Aztec and Inca empires had been based on various forms of tribute exactions from the peasantry in goods and labor. The Spanish regime, accustomed to such tributary systems, continued them with little change at first. Products such as maize, beans, and cotton cloth were collected in large quantities, then sold within the cities or redistributed via official auctions. Luxury goods such as feathers, seashells, and obsidian, culturally useless to Spaniards, were soon eliminated from the tribute system, and silver coinage and European crops and animals replaced them.

Early efforts to find American commodities suitable for export to Europe led to the development of plantation crops such as sugar and tobacco. However, it was the discovery of rich sources of precious metals that

underpinned the rapid development of economic relations between Europe and the Americas. Spaniards found silver in great quantities in two major areas: in an arc of mines, including Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosí, northwest of Mexico City; and in Upper Peru (now Bolivia), where the famous "rich hill" of Potosí may well be the richest silver mine ever discovered.

Here again, especially in Peru, the Spanish found a system of labor drafts, the Incan *mita*, which they expanded and used mainly as a way of supplying labor to Potosí. Thus, tribute payments and silver mines supplied Spanish America's great export—refined silver bars and silver coinage, sometimes debased. Large annual fleets, loading in Veracruz in Mexico and ports on the Isthmus of Panama, trundled slowly across the Atlantic to Seville and later Cadiz.

Conspicuous consumption of precious metals had long been a feature of European noble courts and of ecclesiastical ornamentation, but until the discovery of America, commercial Europe had been short of a high value, malleable, symbolic coinage. The influx of American silver caused what was apparently the first European general inflation, as well as a rapid monetization of even mundane transactions and a consequent speeding up of exchanges and credit understandings based on silver. Much of the imported silver soon left Spain for more advanced European economies, such as France and later the Netherlands. American silver also fuelled the development of European trade with the East.

As trade with the Pacific expanded, American silver was transferred across the Pacific via galleons traveling from Acapulco in Mexico to Manila in the Philippines; or directly to China by the age-old silk route across central Asia; or by the much longer route around the Cape of Good Hope and across the Indian Ocean. Europe's problem, until the British organized the export of opium from India to China, was that China had little need of European goods, but Europeans craved Chinese and other Asian products, especially silks, teas, and spices. The solution for Europe was to pay in silver, much of which was turned into coinage or was hoarded.

Gold exports to Europe had an older history than the Iberian conquest of America. The trans-Saharan trade from coastal West Africa, via the great warehouse cities of Gao and Timbuktu in present-day Mali, was precolonial. Forest gold was exchanged for salt and Mediterranean goods as early as the establishment of the Mali Empire of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the trade continued into the colonial era.

After this trade declined, the hiatus in European gold imports was filled by gold panned from streams after the Spanish conquests of the major Caribbean islands. Hispaniola (the island now occupied by Haiti and the

MANILA GALLEON TRADE

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After the discovery of a sea route from the Philippines to Mexico in 1565, the Spanish began employing a highly profitable, though dangerous, trade route. Ships especially outfitted to carry large cargoes set sail from Acapulco, carrying silver mined in the Americas, and headed to Manila, where the metal was exchanged for Chinese silks, porcelains, and ivory, as well as for fragrant goods from the Spice Islands and jewels from Burma, Ceylon, and Siam. The galleons then returned the much sought-after Asian goods back to Acapulco, where they were carried overland to Mexico City and then sent across the Atlantic to Spain. The first Manila galleon set sail for Acapulco in 1573.

Whereas the wind-aided passage from Acapulco to Manila took only eight to ten weeks, the return trip from Manila to Acapulco took between four and six months. Navigating the treacherous Philippine archipelago with an overloaded galleon often took over a month, and many ships that did not complete the journey before typhoon season began perished in the rough weather. Because the profits from the Manila galleon trade averaged 30 to 50 percent, adequate provisions were often rejected in favor of loading more goods on the galleons. Consequently, many ships saw 30 to 40 percent of their crews perish, with losses of 75 percent not uncommon in some years. Despite these risks, however, the Manila galleon trade continued for nearly 250 years, remaining an important source of income for Spanish merchants.

Dominican Republic) was the main source. The decline in the native population, along with shrinking yields from gold-bearing streams, put an end to this brief boom and was one reason why Spaniards left the islands to seek other sources of wealth on the American mainland. The empty Antillean landscapes became filled with semiferal cattle, and the main export became hides.

Gold from the Chocó in what is today Colombia was mined mostly by black slaves. The next boom arose in Minas Gerais in Portuguese colonial Brazil. Eighteenth-century exports were so large that some have described Portugal of that era as a gold empire in contrast to Spain's silver empire. Gold exports also arrived from convict-era Australia, from South Africa, and from elsewhere. The famous North American gold strikes in

California and the Yukon were postcolonial for the most part.

American depopulation gave rise to a transatlantic trade of its own. As populations collapsed, imported cattle and horses grazed on emptied fields and eventually swarmed everywhere. Meat consumption, much of it as jerky (dried meat strips), increased enormously in parts of the Americas. Still, the major resultant American product was hides, which were shipped to Europe in huge quantities, especially from the Caribbean islands in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the native population had vanished and many Spaniards had moved on to mainland conquests. Lacking inexpensive glass, Europeans used hides for many kinds of containers, door and window coverings, shoes, and clothing, and, in an era of equine transportation, for saddles, tack, and wheel rims.

FOOD EXPORTS AND DIETARY CHANGES

Europe's expansion around the world changed food preferences and diet in many places. Although the American colonies did not export large quantities of foodstuffs, the Americas provided dynamic crops unknown elsewhere. Many parts of Africa subsist today on a diet of American maize, probably first brought to the west coast by Portuguese ships. American cacao in the form of chocolate occupies a special niche worldwide, although most of it today is grown in the Ivory Coast and nearby countries. Chinese, Indian, or Sri Lankan tea is the favorite beverage of many, especially in Great Britain, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand. Coffee, imported from areas that, for the most part, were not colonized, is even more popular worldwide. The potato originated in an Andean tuber; tomatoes are another New World cultigen; and even Indian curry is based on chilies, originally found in America.

THE INDUSTRIAL AND SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTIONS

Two eighteenth-century European intensifications dramatically changed the nature and volume of colonial exports. The first was the growth of the old West African slave trade. Millions of people were brutally exported to Brazil, the Caribbean, and North America. Plantation slavery in the British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies gave rise to a sugar boom of such intensity and relative efficiency that sugar became the basis of many European fortunes and a staple of the diet there. In fact, some scholars would add sugar, a cheap and plentiful source of calories via candies, soft drinks, jams, and pastries, to coal and iron ore as essential ingredients of the Industrial Revolution in northwestern Europe.

The other relevant phenomenon of the eighteenth century was the Industrial Revolution itself. The rise of the factory and of mass production was accompanied by significant technological advances in transportation, both by land and sea, and by the beginnings of modern sanitary and epidemiological medicine. There were three main consequences for colonial exports. The first was the increased European demand for cheap, abundant raw materials such as cotton, hemp, coal, unrefined ores, and plantation foodstuffs.

In addition, the revolution in sea transportation meant that the constricting determinants of time, distance, cargo space, and freight rates were all diminished. This meant, in turn, that common mass-produced goods could now be transported for long distances and still show a profit. Australian coal could begin to supply naval stations all the way from Japan to California to central Chile. Indian and Egyptian cotton filled the needs of the mills of Lancashire in England (a role later taken by the U.S. South). The common people of Europe began to consume enormous quantities of Asian teas, Middle Eastern and Latin American coffees, and African chocolate.

The Industrial Revolution, along with lower transportation costs and an increased speed of delivery, also led to a significant rise in mass-produced, inexpensive, European exports to the colonies, where imperial preferences and monopolistic privileges were additional disadvantages for colonial producers. Examples abound. Inexpensive British textiles ruined many, although not all, local mills all the way from Mexico to Chile and throughout the Indian Subcontinent. The metallurgical revolution, with its inexpensive pots and pans, furniture, and tools undercut artisanal production throughout the colonial world. Aniline dyes from Germany ruined local and international trades in such natural colorants as indigo and cochineal. With the new availability of rapid transportation, millions of the poor left Europe for the colonies, where they expelled native peoples from their lands and purchased some of their needs from Europe.

The third consequence of the Industrial Revolution was the opening up of previously exempted areas to European colonization and exploitation. With the medical revolution, sub-Saharan Africa became less deadly for Europeans, and the race for Africa was on, bringing intense competition among the leading western European powers to establish colonies there. African colonial production of raw materials and foodstuffs, from diamonds and gold to palm oil, rubber, ivory, tin, and copper, flowed north. The Belgian Congo was perhaps the leading example of a brutal, export-oriented, colonial economy, although much of its population, as elsewhere, continued as subsistence farmers.

Other areas also became exploitable. French Indochina, Burma (Myanmar), Malaya, and even parts of Borneo and Sulawesi in present-day Indonesia witnessed the rise of plantations and mines, as well as exports of such goods as rice, copra, timber, tin, and rubber. Latecomers as colonialists were Russia, which gradually seized Siberia and much of central Asia, and the United States, which conquered Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines in 1898. These colonies quickly became tied to the U.S. market.

Many colonial exports and imports were far from tangible. Europeans took with them their cultures, ideologies, and institutions. Some of these imports, such as racism, were noxious. Others, such as the fruits of the Enlightenment, no doubt helped to weaken caste divisions in some regions, and bore within them the paradoxical seeds of the future anticolonial struggles of the subject peoples.

Western Europe also imported, acculturated, and educated many native elites, in some cases setting them further apart from their own people. Again, some of the results were contrary to the intentions of the colonial powers: Ho Chi Min (1890–1969) of Vietnam, partly educated in Paris and Moscow; Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) of Ghana, who studied in both the United States and Great Britain; and José Rizal (1861–1896) of the Philippines, educated in Spain, are three of the many examples of Western-educated leaders of colonial independence struggles.

The European search for resources that could be converted into commodities for long-distance trade had several important consequences. First, it helped stimulate the drive to establish overseas colonies in the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Second, colonial exports, such as maize, potatoes, cacao, and quinine, revolutionized diets and medicines around the world.

Some colonial products, such as tobacco, were noxious. Some, such as opium, were a blessing for humanity in the form of pain-relieving opiates such as morphine, but also a curse in their use as addictive drugs. Even the potato, which so vastly increased population and production on marginal lands, had disadvantages, since it also caused the development of fragile monocultures. The Great Irish Famine of the mid-1800s arose from political decisions made by the colonial power, but overdependence on the potato, struck by blight, contributed greatly to the disaster.

Sugar is a case apart. Introduced to the colonies from Europe, it was then reexported to the industrializing world in quantity, where it revolutionized diets, not always for the better. Sugar also provided the inexpensive calories needed to feed workers brought from the countryside to the factory.

Bullion's effects have been studied more than most exports. It caused inflation, but also provided a widely recognized monetary exchange, thus speeding up exchanges and the extension of credit. The hunger for precious metals, of course, led to some of the world's most dreadful injustices. Luxury products such as silk, spices, some dyestuffs, and exotic perfumes were consumed largely by elites and may have reinforced class divisions by making them more apparent.

The slave trade is yet another special case. Today, no one can reasonably defend the inhumane exploitation of so many millions, but it must be recognized that, against their will, African slaves built the economies of the Caribbean, Brazil, and North America. Slaves also contributed to the emergence of new and distinctive cultures. The role of convicts and indentured servants exported to the colonies, though less notable, also deserves mention.

In the long term, colonial exports fueled the Industrial Revolution, homogenized cultures worldwide, and helped to reduce the stock of languages and other cultural differences. In short, export commodities helped to shape many of the basic characteristics of our world today.

SEE ALSO *Cacao; Cotton; Sugar Cultivation and Trade.*

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EXTRATERRITORIALITY

Extraterritoriality is usually defined as the practice of exempting certain foreign nationals from the jurisdiction of their country of residence. The most common application of extraterritoriality is the custom of exempting foreign heads of state and diplomats from local jurisdiction. Another form of extraterritoriality is the limited immunity from local jurisdiction that U.S. servicemen on overseas duty enjoy under the Status of Force Agreements. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, extraterritoriality was often used synonymously with consular jurisdiction, which was the practice of consuls exercising jurisdiction over their nationals in certain non-Western countries.

The origins of consular jurisdiction are usually traced back to medieval practices of merchant self-government in the Mediterranean region as well as to Muslim law. Proponents of the practice usually justified it by referring to the alleged incompatibility between Western and non-Western legal systems. The sultan of the Ottoman Empire gave the first formal recognition of consular jurisdiction in 1535, when he granted extraterritorial privileges to French merchants. These privileges were later extended to most European nationals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in treaties collectively referred to as the Capitulations. These privileges applied mostly to civil suits and to criminal cases involving foreigners only. In East Asia, the earliest origins of consular jurisdiction are more obscure, but it is generally agreed that Chinese authorities allowed foreign merchants in the coastal ports to resolve disputes among themselves. China also has a long tradition of subjecting different ethnic and professional groups to different jurisdictions, dating back as far as to the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1279–1368).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, functionaries of the European trade companies, such as the English East India Company (EIC), often exercised limited jurisdiction over European merchants residing in Guangzhou, the only Chinese port open for overseas trade. When the monopoly of the EIC on Sino-British trade was rescinded in 1834, the British Parliament also moved to set up a consular court in China. The aim was to withdraw Britons from Chinese jurisdiction entirely, since Chinese penal practices were widely resented by British merchants. Chinese authorities did, however, resist this move and China did not formally concede extraterritorial privileges to Britons until after the Sino-British Opium War (1839–1842). These privileges were later extended to other Western countries in a number of treaties, which subsequently became known as the unequal treaties.

Western diplomats usually claimed that in contrast to the Ottoman Capitulations, the Chinese treaties granted foreigners near complete immunity from Chinese jurisdiction and they endeavored to introduce this form of extraterritoriality to other East Asian countries that were not under direct colonial control. By the 1880s, most European and North American countries had concluded extraterritorial agreements with China, Japan, Korea, Siam (Thailand), and the Ottoman Empire and its dependencies. The Treaty Powers were also able to expand the scope of extraterritoriality to include corporate entities, natives in foreign employ, and Christian converts. Consequently, extraterritoriality was increasingly resented as an instrument of indirect colonial control. In the late nineteenth century, many countries reformed their legal systems to convince the Treaty Powers to relinquish extraterritoriality.

Japan was the only country that succeeded in abolishing consular jurisdiction through legal reform prior to 1900. However, the fall of the Qing (1911) and Ottoman Empires (1923) as well as the weakening of Western imperialism following the First World War (1914–1918) increased the momentum to abolish consular jurisdiction. By the 1920s, consular jurisdiction had been eliminated in most countries except in China and Egypt, where it was not abolished until the late 1940s. Extraterritoriality has left a controversial legacy in the countries in which it was practiced and it forms an integral part in collective memories of injustices inflicted by Western imperialism.

SEE ALSO *Law, Colonial systems of.*

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Pär Cassel

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VOLUME 2

F-O

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FACTORIES, SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, European trading companies from Portugal, the Dutch Republic, England, Denmark, France, Sweden, and the Austrian Netherlands founded numerous trading factories in Asian port cities. These settlements varied in their form from simple business offices to strong fortifications, but had in common their central function: to provide access, whenever possible privileged, to indigenous commodity markets. Furthermore, the factories operated as supply centers and provided military protection. Accordingly, they were manned with administrative, mercantile, and military personnel. Spread over the whole of South and Southeast Asia and organized hierarchically, they made up the backbone of the European trading networks in Asia.

Europe's expansion into Asia in the early modern period never strove for the type of colonialism known from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Commercial profit rather than territorial expansion was the central aim of the chartered companies. Because Asia was characterized by established state systems, most European factories could only operate with the permission and protection of local rulers. Only in a few exceptional cases were the companies able to achieve control over port cities. As a rule, negotiations over trade agreements between European representatives and the local authorities were an essential first step. Agreements permitted European settlements and factories, and regulated the local commercial organization. The results of negotiations varied depending on the local situation. Strong

local rulers were able to dictate conditions, refuse privileges, and determine the location of a new factory. Some local rulers allowed several competing factories under their control (e.g., in Bantam and Makassar), but mostly they were interested in reliable long-term trading contacts achieved through a privileged agreement with one single European partner. In places where indigenous rulers were weak or European military presence was strong, Europeans were able to force local rulers to accept unequal contracts. In these cases, the factory remained nominally under the ruler's protection, but became the actual authority (as, for example, on the Moluccas).

During the sixteenth century the Portuguese built up the first European factory network, with its center in Goa and important secondary factories in Diu, Malacca, and Macau. During the seventeenth century, with only a few exceptions (Goa, Macau, Timor), the Portuguese were displaced by Dutch and English trading companies—namely, the Dutch Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) and the English East India Company (EIC). The heart of the Dutch factory system was Batavia, which in 1621 became the residence of the governor-general. On the next level of the VOC hierarchy, the fortified residences of governors (in Ambon, Banda, Ternate, Makassar, Malacca, Semarang, Cochin, and Colombo) ensured a strong Dutch position. Less important factories were led by directors (exclusively an economic position in the Dutch system) or simple residents who ran small settlements without military relevance.

The first English attempts to establish the EIC in Indonesia failed due to competition from the Dutch. The EIC's first center, in Bantam, was lost as early as 1682, and the factories in the Moluccas quite a bit earlier.

Only some peripheral factories remained (Bencoolen on Sumatra, Balambangan off North Borneo). The EIC's main focus shifted to the Indian subcontinent, where residencies in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, and Pondicherry were established.

Due to the VOC's dominance in Indonesia and the power of China and Japan's emperors, the greatest number of factories in Asia existed in India. Here, smaller European trading empires established limited networks—as with France (headquartered in Pondicherry) or Denmark (headquartered in Tranquebar)—or had to content themselves with isolated factories, as with Sweden or the Austrian Netherlands (the Oostende-Company).

Hypothetically, factories passed through five stages of development (see Rothermund, 1981). Initially, a factory would obtain goods for a company by purchasing whatever it found on the local market. In its second stage of development, a factory would zero in on specific items it wanted from the local population; it would produce samples to demonstrate its wants and use subscription payments to encourage focused production. In its third stage, it would begin to finance orders in advance, which allowed the company to implement standardization and quality control. Next, it began to intervene in the production process, in order to speed it up and thus increase the quantity of exports. Finally, it took over the organization of production by instituting a putting-out system, in which workers produced goods at home under company supervision and using company-supplied tools. This model most closely fits the textile trade in India, where these stages of development led ultimately to the economic system in which India became a British Crown Colony. Thus, the factories represented the core of the later territorial colonialism. Unlike India, settlements based on the spice trade normally finished their development at the third stage, as was the case with most of the Dutch factories in the Malay Archipelago.

The above remarks help explain the importance of factories for later colonial development, but they do not cover the whole spectrum. Depending on the function of a particular factory in a company's system and on the level of influence European representatives were able to achieve in particular local communities, divergent developments were also possible. Additionally, differences in the strategies and aims pursued by companies facing differing local conditions produced varying outcomes. Thus, the establishment of factories could lead to aggressive policies, as in Makassar where the VOC, after first attempting to control the spice market by offering the highest prices, later conquered the port in order to eliminate local competition. The subsequent establishment of a fortified factory under a governor solidified the factory's new function. Thus, the economic and political influence of European factories varied depending on local conditions and European strategies. Their cultural influence remained minimal, however, as factories were always primarily a key instrument of early modern mercantile expansionism.

SEE ALSO *Bullion Trade, South and Southeast Asia; English East India Company (EIC); Sugar Cultivation and Trade; VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie).*

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FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

Following a popular referendum in 1978, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) began to be organized as an independent nation in 1979. After a seven-year transitional period, complete independence was achieved in 1986. This relatively new nation consists of more than six hundred islands with a total land area of just over 700 square kilometers (about 270 square miles). Yet, it extends across more than 2,735 kilometers (about 1,700 miles) of the western Pacific Ocean and includes over a million square miles of ocean. It is therefore understandable that the federal government would concede a great deal of autonomy to the governments of the four states (listed from west to east): Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae.

The federal government concerns itself with foreign relations, international trade, and disputes between the states. The governments of the individual states manage almost every other aspect of governance. Both the federal and state governments have been loosely modeled on the three-branch structure of the U.S. government. The legislature is, however, unicameral rather than bicameral, and includes one senator from each state who is elected to a four-year term and ten senators apportioned according to population who serve two-year terms.

Known previously as the Caroline group, these islands were first visited by Portuguese traders early in the sixteenth century. The islands were then colonized by the Spanish, who had established settlements in the Philippine Islands as a counter to Portuguese and, somewhat later, Dutch influence in the East Indies (present-day Indonesia). The Spanish controlled the islands for more than three centuries. Following their defeat in the Spanish-American War (1898) and the loss of such Pacific possessions as the Philippines and Guam, the Spanish sold the islands in 1899 to Germany, which was anxious to establish a colonial presence that would suggest its growing parity with France and the United Kingdom. But after only a decade and a half, after the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Japan opportunistically declared war on Germany and seized control of the Caroline Islands as well as other German possessions in the Pacific. In 1920 the United Nations extended a formal mandate to the Japanese administration of the islands.

Unlike the Spanish, the Germans had begun to develop the islands economically, establishing copra production (dried coconut meat that is rendered to oil) as a major export industry. Under the Japanese, this economic development accelerated, with the introduction of sugarcane processing plants and mining enterprises. The downside of this prosperity was the extensive Japanese immigration into the islands, which ultimately reduced the indigenous peoples to about two-sevenths of the total population. In any case, any progress achieved under the Japanese civilian government was undercut when the Japanese military seized power and ruthlessly exploited all available resources to support Japan's war effort. Japanese preparations to defend the islands, and the eventual American conquest of them left the islands devastated on almost every level, from the topographical to the economic.

Through the United Nations, the United States was granted a trusteeship over many of the island groups in the western Pacific, including the Carolines. Although the United States did much to reconstruct and to improve the islands' infrastructures, the sustained infusion of considerable foreign aid did not promote the development of self-sustaining economic enterprises. Thus, although the islanders seem to have been well prepared for political independence, they have not achieved economic independence. The continued close relationship between the United States and the Federated States of Micronesia is reflected in the Compact of Free Association, which declares that the citizens of the two nations do not require visas to travel across each other's borders.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Martin Kich

FIJI

Fiji is a group of islands in the South Pacific Ocean. The Dutch navigator Abel Janszoon Tasman (ca. 1603–1959) reached some of the Fijian islands in 1643, and eighteenth-century visitors included James Cook (1728–1779) and William Bligh (1754–1817). Sandalwood, valued in China, drew European traders to Fiji in the early nineteenth century; missionaries also arrived at this time.

By the 1860s, Europeans, Americans, and colonial Australians began to negotiate substantial land sales with Fijian chiefs. A leading chief, Cakobau (1815–1883), attempted to form a centralized indigenous government in 1871, but the demands of investors, planters, traders, and Fijians proved irreconcilable. Fearing anarchy, Cakobau ceded Fiji to the British Crown in 1874.

British rule in Fiji was characterized by a romanticized view of indigenous Fijians, and a desire to promote Fiji's economy using imported labor from India. Fijians thus retained control of land and local government, and British governors prided themselves on their knowledge of Fiji's language and customs. This practice of Aindirect rule would be adopted in other parts of the British Empire.

By the 1960s decolonization was accelerating in other parts of the British Empire, but Fiji's small size and plural society were perceived to be barriers to rapid independence. Fiji had been described as a three-legged stool: Fijian land, Indian labor, and European government. The British perceived their role as crucial to the protection of indigenous Fijian interests, especially after the 1940s when Indians began to outnumber Fijians. Independence came in 1970, but unfinished business from the colonial period, especially the country's race-based approach to identity and political representation, continues to haunt Fijian politics.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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FINANCING, DEBT, AND FINANCIAL CRISES

From the 1700s to the 1900s, the Middle Eastern economy underwent a transformation brought about through an alteration in its economic relationship with Europe and the global economy. This process of alteration began with European commercial penetration, which expanded to include financial and then political penetration. This process facilitated a pattern of dependence that stifled Middle Eastern economic growth and income.

Europe's Industrial Revolution prompted its commercial penetration of the Middle East, where Europeans desired trade expansion and exerted political pressure to limit commercial restrictions. Europe's financial penetration of the Middle East, particularly in Egypt and Turkey, began during the mid-nineteenth century when both had demonstrated their inability to finance reforms through existing revenues.

European credit institutions capable of mobilizing extensive funds as loans for foreign governments were developing simultaneously. Egypt and Turkey became dependent on foreign loans, enabling European states, banks, and companies to maneuver for larger concessions while expanding trade. During the peak of European imperialism, Egyptian and Ottoman bankruptcy became means to developing international financial regimes in both areas, restricting their financial sovereignty. Middle Eastern economic dependence on Europe was reinforced through political might and, in Egypt, direct political control.

EARLY COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP

From 1500 to 1800, the Middle East experienced growth in key economic sectors, but this growth paled in comparison to Europe's, leaving the Middle East with a relative sense of decline. Capitalist industrialization remained absent in the region while expanding rapidly in Europe. Consequently, the economic gap between the Middle East and Europe widened from the seventeenth century onward, shifting the economic balance of power in Europe's favor. During the early eighteenth century, the Middle Eastern economy was stagnant in terms of investment and income, techniques and methods of organization, and production levels. The region's resources were underutilized, and it suffered from poor transport and irrigation systems.

The trade reduction following the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route to India, effectively eliminating the Middle East's role as a crossroads of trade between Europe and the Far East, corresponded to the decline of Venice's control of the Mediterranean and

its control by Britain and France. This established a new pattern of global trade where European manufactured goods were exchanged for Middle Eastern raw materials.

Under the protection of the Capitulation Treaties, which were a series of agreements between the Ottomans and certain foreign governments granting their citizens specific exemptions from Ottoman law, and their national consuls, European merchants congregated in sections of port cities while relying on intermediaries familiar with local languages and the region's commercial nuances. For their services, intermediaries were placed under the umbrella of a European consulate, according them low customs duties applicable to Europeans.

The Middle East became a destination for increased amounts of British goods during the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815). Britain expanded its Middle Eastern presence and strengthened its control of the Mediterranean at the expense of France, which reasserted its position during the 1840s. European economic stagnation prompted entrepreneurs to search abroad for financial investments. In addition, improved transportation systems throughout the Middle East encouraged Europeans to expand their commercial penetration.

European governments supported their own merchants' commercial interests and exerted political pressure on their behalf. European-controlled commercial tribunals were established during the 1850s. The Ottoman Commercial Code (1850), based on French customs, was a response to European pressure to comply with Anglo-French commercial practices. Britain exerted military and political pressure on the Ottoman government in 1838 to reduce its monopolies, and the British renegotiated the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention (1820) to include a reduction of internal tariffs.

Following the Napoleonic Wars, the Ottomans attempted to reform their military along European lines. While such efforts in Turkey were meant to counter increasing European political and military intervention, in Egypt they were simultaneously directed toward achieving independence from Ottoman authority. In both cases, these reforms were financial burdens. Attempts to increase revenue by reasserting control over the countryside met mixed results and increased administrative costs.

The Ottoman government's failure to collect sufficient revenues forced it to issue short-term bonds. During the 1830s, the military received about 70 percent of revenues, yet many officers remained unpaid. Ottoman rulers concluded that a government loan was inevitable, yet the government's inability to secure adequate revenue cast doubts on its capability to repay the loan.

THE ROAD TO BANKRUPTCY IN TURKEY

The 1850s and 1860s brought a period of rapid economic expansion in Europe, where increased foreign trade corresponded with rising foreign investment. New institutions for mobilizing domestic savings developed in Europe; these were capable of drawing funds from a wider range of investors. These institutions adopted more aggressive investment policies to generate rapid returns to compete with traditional banks. The Middle East was a promising investment area due to increased trade and Ottoman efforts to create a European-style military, administration, and economy.

The development of transportation and irrigation systems proved enticing for European investors searching for new schemes following the end of the British and French railway construction boom. The most lucrative loans were government loans, which were easy to publicize and involved increasing sums of money with minimal flotation risks. Credit institutions created schemes to attract Ottoman investment and used gimmicks to convince the European investing public to purchase Oriental bonds.

Many European-controlled banks in the Middle East were instrumental in collecting revenue for Turkey and Egypt. Initially focused on Middle Eastern economic development, such banks concentrated on obtaining profits from state finance. A further stimulus was tensions between European powers eager to extend their Middle Eastern economic and political influence through financial and administrative schemes or through development projects.

Although in 1851 the Ottoman sultan rejected an agreement for a loan of 55 million French francs, it became apparent that the Ottoman financial situation was desperate. The sultan feared increased European interference, yet maintaining a modern military competent to defend Ottoman integrity was financially onerous. The government experimented unsuccessfully with short-term fiscal measures to balance its finances. With no alternative, the government pursued a policy of regular foreign borrowing.

Although the Ottomans paid high interest rates on the full amount of their loans, they never received the face value of the sum borrowed due to heavy flotation fees and discounting. The first loan, for £T3,300,000 (British pounds), was arranged in 1854 after the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853–1856). One year later, an agreement was signed for a loan from London's Rothschild bank. Britain and France, anxious for the Ottomans to continue warring against Russia, assisted in getting the Ottomans favorable terms. Over the next twenty years, the Ottomans obtained thirteen more loans from European banks, amassing a total debt of

£T242,000,000 and a large floating debt comprised of short-term bonds. As Ottoman debt mounted, terms of subsequent loans became less favorable.

The Ottomans used most of the sums received from loans for debt payments, leaving little for administrative and military costs. Consequently, economic development and public works projects received hardly any government funds. Attempts to increase tax revenues were hindered by administrative irregularities concerning collection methods, as well as numerous residents, including Europeans, who qualified for tax exemptions. Furthermore, the government failed to exploit new sources of revenue. As expenditure continued to surpass income, the Ottomans relied on short-term finance methods to make regular payments, resulting in additional small loans at high interest rates and the mass issuing of bonds. Attempts to liquidate bonds with further loans were unsuccessful due to the amount issued.

The Ottoman financial administrative system was inept at dealing with the crisis. The sultan's ministers jointly approved departmental budgets without the minister of finance's approval. The sultan's private expenditure was not restricted, and an auditing and accounting department did not exist until 1880. Financial control in rural areas was limited, and reform efforts, often posed to secure European funds, were unsuccessful. Furthermore, accessibility to European loans perpetuated a relationship of financial dependability.

On October 6, 1875, the Ottoman government announced its intention to pay half of the amount necessary to service its debt in cash, paying the rest in bonds. Europeans interpreted this as a declaration of bankruptcy. The Ottomans attempted to find alternative methods of payment and abandoned nearly all cash payments in 1876.

OTTOMAN PUBLIC DEBT ADMINISTRATION

From 1876 to 1881, the Ottoman government and its European creditors trudged toward a general financial agreement to restore financial stability and reinstate access to further loans. There was difficulty convincing creditors to agree to common terms, since each loan had been issued under different conditions. Furthermore, the Ottomans attempted to resist the further surrendering of their financial sovereignty to European powers coordinating their efforts on behalf of their nationals.

The Ottoman financial and political situation continued to deteriorate. A famine and die-off of livestock in 1873 and 1874 exacerbated matters. The empire lost vast amounts on military campaigns in the Balkans (1875–1876) and against Russia (1877–1878). The Ottoman need for soldiers for combat prompted the reduction of its military in the countryside, hindering attempts for more efficient tax collection. The Ottoman government lost some of its richest sections at the Berlin Congress of 1878, where bondholders lobbied for international support. In 1879 Britain sent warships to the Dardanelles, (a strait in Turkey), pressuring compliance with foreign demands.

The Ottoman Empire and its creditors reached an agreement in 1881. Published in the Decree of Muharram, the agreement resulted in the creation of a system of international financial control through the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (PDA), which eliminated Turkey's financial sovereignty. The PDA consisted of a council with representatives from the main groups of bondholders (British, Dutch, French, German, Austro-Hungarian, Italian, and Ottoman), although the Ottoman representative had no vote. The council's presidency rotated between members from Britain and France, which argued that they had the largest interests at stake.

The PDA received support from European embassies in Istanbul and from foreign-controlled banks. Britain and France were the powers initially interested in Turkey's financial situation, yet Germany soon took increased interest. While imperial rivalries existed among the powers, they cooperated within Turkey to protect the interests of those with shares in the Ottoman public debt and to further European economic penetration through the development of public works projects, as well as concessions for the production and export of mineral products. It was implied that Ottoman refusal to support such projects would prompt the revocation of European financial support. While this method of economic control fostered resentment, the empire's weakened political and economic condition made it impossible for it to be challenged.

The Ottomans attempted to develop the empire's economy on its own. However, inept administrators, limited financial resources, a weakened international position, and a growing technological gap between the Middle East and Europe hindered these efforts. The Ottomans realized that constructing a proper means of transportation throughout the empire was essential for economic progress. The cost of transportation by camel was expensive and restrictive, hindering trade and limiting agricultural production for export. Yet lack of finances was a constant problem, and the Ottomans were forced to rely on European funds and the PDA.

European assistance for construction of public works projects was a frequent liability to the Ottoman government. For example, the agreement for the construction of the Izmir to Aydin railway guaranteed an interest rate of 6 percent on construction costs set at 31 million francs. As the construction company encountered financial and

engineering difficulties, the government agreed to increases in the sum guaranteed to 46 million francs in 1861 and to 48 million francs in 1863. The company did not amass profits until 1869, thereby involving an enormous outlay by the Ottoman government.

European railways, built primarily in the 1850s and 1860s, assisted the development of Middle Eastern export crops by improving their transportation and lowering costs. Yet the more extensive railway systems allowed European economic penetration of the interior. The value of land located by railways increased, and in 1867 Europeans pressed for a law to extend their rights to landed property so they could increase purchases and push inland.

The providing or withholding of money was used to pressure the Ottomans into accepting financial projects. Banks or credit institutions might agree to float a loan only in exchange for concessions for its nationals. At other times, a loan might not be offered unless used toward a particular development project or to purchase specific foreign imports. The PDA, banks and credit institutions, and entrepreneurs coordinated efforts to exploit the Ottoman Empire. An example of this alliance was the awarding of ancillary rights to foreign railway companies, including rights to mineral deposits located within 20 kilometers (about 12.5 miles) of either side of the railway. Another example of this alliance was the practice of granting railway companies an Ottoman guarantee for compensation for losses, provided a certain number of trains ran over a particular section of track.

Under the Decree of Muharram's terms, the PDA directly collected specified tax revenues for the payment of the external debt and its interest. The PDA expanded its functions to include duties reserved for the Ministry of Finance and the reservation of funds for the servicing of new loans, increasing Ottoman dependence on the PDA and foreign money, or for financial guarantees for public works and mineral-extraction projects.

The PDA provided security for European investments, which increased the value of shares in the public debt. The PDA also delivered regular debt payments. The Ottomans secured better terms for further loans, and the PDA assisted in underwriting the empire's credit. Yet the PDA's growing administrative staff added costs to the government, which incurred expenditures assisting the PDA in completing its functions, and the PDA's independent operations fostered resentment. The PDA nonetheless continued to expand its economic control by establishing more tax-collecting offices and extending the types of taxes it collected. Until 1903, the PDA could withhold collected revenues from the government, including amounts exceeding the fixed debt. An amendment called for division of surplus revenue between the

PDA and the government at the ratio of seventy-five to twenty-five.

The imbalance between Ottoman expenditure and income continued. From 1886 to 1914, the government received nearly thirty foreign loans totaling £T170,000,000. The European powers' economic and financial cooperation was not affected by conflicting interests until shortly before World War I (1914–1918), when increased nationalism fostered the tentative division of the Ottoman Empire into spheres of economic interest.

THE ROAD TO BANKRUPTCY IN EGYPT

The Egyptian ruler Muhammad Ali (1769–1849) initiated reforms in Egypt during the early 1800s, and he attempted to raise revenues through state monopolies of cash crops. Egypt briefly regained financial independence, but reliance on cotton exports proved disastrous when its declining price in the global market from 1836 to 1837 initiated a period of instability. Muhammad Ali also constructed European-style factories to realize Egypt's industrial potential. Initially producing military supplies, such factories soon produced manufactured goods, eliminating Egypt's reliance on foreign production. Egypt's limited market, lack of coal and workable iron, and lack of technological experience hindered Muhammad Ali's endeavors. Furthermore, the elimination of local industrial competition enabled European manufacturers to infiltrate the Middle Eastern market.

After Muhammad Ali, rulers attempted reforms and development programs surpassing Egypt's financial capabilities. Sa'id Pasha (1822–1863), who ruled from 1854 to 1862, sponsored numerous public works projects and attempted to develop Egypt's infrastructure through joint Egyptian-European companies. Several Europeans exploited Sa'id by befriending him and then manipulating him for personal gain. Foreign consuls, whose influence increased, extracted government indemnities for alleged losses of concessions. For example, in 1858 the bankrupt Nile Navigation Company persuaded Sa'id to purchase its investors' shares to prevent them from losing money.

The initial agreement between Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805–1894), a French diplomat and developer, and Sa'id for the construction of the Suez Canal disadvantaged the Egyptian government. The canal would eliminate revenues from the transport of mail and from passengers crossing from Alexandria to Suez. Egypt agreed to supply an annual corvée of 20,000 laborers, and the country abandoned its rights to territory along the main canal, as well as a second canal constructed to provide fresh water for workers. Egypt assumed responsibility for purchasing 64,000 of the initial issue of 400,000 (500-franc) shares. Subscriptions sold poorly

when opened to the public in 1858, and Sa'id agreed to purchase most remaining subscriptions.

Upon advice from de Lesseps, Egypt issued treasury bonds and later used bonds to pay its employees. By 1859, there was over £2,000,000 of government paper in circulation. An additional £3,500,000 was issued to purchase Egypt's canal shares. In 1860 Sa'id secured a foreign private loan for 28 million francs. Under the agreement's conditions, Egypt was to stop issuing treasury bonds. However, the government continued issuing short-term paper under different guises to meet its financial obligations. Egypt's floating debt may have been as high as £11,000,000 by late 1861.

In 1863 Ismail Pasha (1830–1895) inherited a state in financial crisis. The government was required to pay 34,000,000 francs to shareholders of the bankrupt Medjidiah Company. Under the Convention of March 1863, Egypt reaffirmed its obligations to the Suez Canal Company and agreed to pay the remaining 200 francs per share, which totaled 35,000,000 francs. Ismail exacerbated matters by sponsoring ambitious public works projects and joint companies. He began borrowing from local banks, but hesitated from taking out foreign public loans, which required the sultan's formal approval. Such a situation became inevitable after the imposition of the arbitration terms negotiated by the French emperor Napoléon III (1808–1873). The arbitration terms resolved a dispute between Egypt and the Suez Canal Company, requiring Egypt to compensate the company for £84,000,000 over the return of some granted concessions.

Egypt secured its first pubic loan in September 1864 for £5,700,000. In the following years, Egypt arranged six additional loans for a total of £60,000,000. The terms for loans became increasingly onerous as Egypt's financial situation deteriorated. The government again resorted to issuing treasury bonds and other short-term paper to meet its obligations, amassing a floating debt of about £35,000,000 in 1873. In 1875 Egypt sold its canal shares to Britain for £4,000,000. In 1876 the government borrowed short-term loans at high interest rates to meet its obligations.

In April 1876 the Egyptian government announced its inability to honor the interest payments on its debt for three months. Egypt's creditors interpreted this as a declaration of bankruptcy. The government's weak international position placed it at a greater disadvantage than Turkey to negotiate a settlement with its creditors. Egypt's small size, semiautonomous status, and strategic position made it important to ambitious European powers, which saw the debt as a means to achieving political control and eagerly supported their national creditors. When Egypt challenged its creditors' terms, foreign troops occupied the country, a fate Turkey avoided until the end of World War I.

CAISSE DE LA DETTE PUBLIQUE

From 1876 to 1880, Egypt's creditors devised several unsuccessful plans incorporating European control to regulate Egypt's financial situation. None of these plans reduced Egypt's debt or accurately estimated what Egypt could pay in interest and amortization. Such plans accompanied the establishing of a Caisse de la Dette Publique (Public Debt Fund) with directors from Britain, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and later Russia to collect revenues assigned for debt repayment.

In 1876 George Goschen (1831–1907) and Edmond Joubert, representatives of British and French stockholders, devised a plan that remained operational until 1880. They divided Egypt's debt into four categories: Ismail's private loans, to be paid from his personal revenue; shares of loans due for early repayment (those of 1864, 1866, 1867); preference debt established for holders of some government bonds issued for Egypt's remaining outstanding loans (those of 1862, 1868, 1873); and all remaining debts. As a whole, Egypt's debt was fixed at £89,309,000, with an annual interest charge of £6,000,000.

A series of events, including the low level of the Nile River in 1877 and the financial strain of the Ottoman war against Russia, worried Europeans, who feared a second Egyptian bankruptcy. In 1878 Anglo-French diplomatic pressure increased European control by allowing a commission of inquiry to complete a full examination of Egypt's finances and recommend better financial management methods. The commission's preliminary report called for the royal family's private estates to serve as security for a new loan, with some income set aside for extra budgetary support. Meanwhile, the government continued its payments using unofficial bank loans.

After the report, Ismail's cabinet received a British minister of finance and a French minister of public works. Ismail, attempting to limit increased foreign control, dismissed the European ministers in April 1879. Anglo-French control was soon reimposed, and in November one British controller-general to supervise government receipts and one French controller-general to oversee expenditure were appointed with seats in the Egyptian cabinet. Both were nominated by their governments under the understanding that neither could be dismissed without British and French consent. The commission of inquiry issued a second report in 1879 recommending the reduction of Egypt's annual interest charge and an increase in revenue through tax reforms.

Opposition to tax reforms resulted in a protest by large landholders and led to Ismail's overthrow.

The Law of Liquidation of 1880 created a second commission and served as the basis for the final settlement between Egypt and its creditors. Egypt's debt was fixed at £98,378,000, while the annual interest charge was lowered to 4 percent, or £4,243,000. The commission concluded that this fee was the maximum amount Egypt could afford based on Anglo-French experiences making debt payments during the initial years of occupation after the restructuring of Egypt's financial administration and revenue-collection system. The settlement called for expanding European control over Egypt's finances and stated explicitly the limits placed on Egypt's financial sovereignty. Britain regarded the law as having international treaty status, and its violation would be justification for direct foreign intervention.

Expanded European control led to an increase in the number of Europeans serving in Egypt's civil administration. In 1876 Europeans reorganized Egypt's Customs Office, Post Office, and Office of Public Accounts, placing them under the direction of Europeans receiving inflated salaries. These actions were justified through claims that such offices controlled sections of revenues reserved to service the public debt.

Egyptian resentment against Europeans mounted. The strain on Egypt to make regular payments to its creditors, along with anti-European sentiments, played a significant role in the National Movement of 1881 to 1882, led by Colonel Ahmed Urabi to restore the national integrity of Egypt by seizing control of the government to remove foreign control. Military reductions in terms of manpower and salary paved the way for Muhammad Sharif Pasha (1826–1887) and his successors to take control of Egypt and attempt to reclaim financial sovereignty.

British occupation of Egypt was regarded initially as a temporary situation for reestablishing foreign control. However, Britain repeatedly delayed its withdrawal and amended mechanisms of foreign control to strengthen British influence. Britain dissolved the "dual control" of Egypt between itself and France, replacing it in 1883 with the appointment of one British financial advisor to supervise all government financial decisions. In addition, an international conference amended the Law of Liquidation by increasing the limit for government expenditure and making a provision that revenues assigned to the Caisse de la Dette Publique exceeding the amount required to meet the annual interest and amortization payments would be split with the Egyptian government in a fifty-fifty ratio.

One last public loan was issued to fund the floating debt incurred during the first years of occupation, and also to fund works of economic development. As part of the 1904 Anglo-French entente, France agreed to remove the limit set for government expenditure and allowed the abolition of the international agencies established to control organizations whose revenues had been allocated to the Caisse de la Dette Publique. Following this agreement, Britain essentially gained control of Egypt's daily financial operations, even while subject to international obligations, such as servicing the public debt.

Once Egyptian occupation became permanent, Britain sought an economic policy enabling it to retain control at minimal cost to itself. British officials were concerned over Egypt's agricultural sector, believing an alliance with the landowning and peasant classes was essential to maintain imperial rule. British officials claimed their policies benefited Egypt economically, therefore justifying imperial control. The 1907 financial crisis and the disastrous 1909 cotton harvest countered British claims. Under British control, Egypt became dependent on a single crop and lost the ability to develop its own economy.

LEGACY OF FINANCIAL DEPENDENCE

By 1914, Middle Eastern elites generally believed that the region's political weakness resulted from its economic weakness, which was caused by dependence on foreign financial institutions and on agriculture rather than industry. Such elites reasoned that progress would result only if the state apparatus assumed a direct interventionist role and pursued a nationalist economic policy. Such a program became difficult to implement following World War I. The Ottoman Empire was divided into separate polities and zones of influence among European powers that continued to exploit the region before gradual withdrawal around the mid-twentieth century. Nationalist Egyptian elites had to rely on large landowners and foreign executives for political support, while the Turkish regime of Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) remained dependent on foreign capital and enterprise.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Ottoman.*

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Eric Martone

FRANCE'S AFRICAN COLONIES

Until the 1850s, the French position in Africa was a very marginal one. In 1659 France occupied two island bases: Saint-Louis in the mouth of the Senegal River and Gorée in what is now Senegal's Dakar harbor. Trading posts on the upper Senegal River, along the West African coast, and in Madagascar served as bases for French trade, mostly in slaves but also in gum, hides, and wax. When the slave trade ended in the early nineteenth century, various colonial governors sought a new trade in commodities.

In 1854 Major Louis Faidherbe (1818–1889) was appointed governor of Senegal. In wars with major Senegalese states, he established control of the Senegal River, opened up access to the Niger Valley, reduced customs paid to African states, and occupied some coastal areas. He also built schools, organized a bank, created a rudimentary civil administration, and began an accommodation with Islam.

France was forced to cut back its imperial ambitions by the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), but within a decade French soldiers, interested in seeing action and restoring France's military prestige, were promoting railroad construction in Senegal and between the Senegal and Niger rivers. The first, which connected Dakar and Saint-Louis, was built between 1882 and 1885. The second, connecting the Senegal and Niger rivers, necessitated a military effort if the line was to be protected. In 1879 Governor Brière de l'Isle (1827-1896) sent Colonel Joseph-Simon Gallieni (1849–1916) to investigate possible routes. The following year, French troops under Major Gustave Borgnis-Desbordes (1839-1900) began the conquest of the Sudan.

In Equatorial Africa, French interests were more limited, though there were several trading stations along the coast from the 1830s. The most important was Libreville (in modern Gabon), founded in 1849 for freed

Louis Faidherbe (1818–1889). Faidherbe, the French governor of Senegal during parts of the 1850s and 1860s, was a leader in the establishment of the French Empire in Africa. © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

slaves. In 1875 France sent Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza (1852–1905) to explore the interior. His two explorations and treaties signed with African chiefs became the basis for French claims to land north of the Congo River when the European powers divided up Central Africa at Berlin in 1885. The Berlin Conference also set up the ground rules for the partition of Africa and began a race for control of Africa.

The Soudan (Sudan) became the fief of soldiers, who conquered it between 1883 and 1898, often ignoring civilian authority in the process. In Madagascar, French rule was not definitively established until the suppression of a Malgache revolt by Gallieni in 1896. French Guinea was created in 1893 by uniting various trading posts. In 1896 a small French force was able to take over the powerful kingdom of Futa Jallon (in present-day Guinea). Dahomey was conquered in 1894, and French rule was gradually extended further north. The colony of Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) was proclaimed in 1893, but was not securely under French control until the eve of World War I (1914–1918). In Mauritania, efforts at peaceful pacification failed when its architect, Xavier Coppolani (b. 1866), was assassinated in 1905, and the last resisters were not defeated until 1934.

After a brief period of rule through the governor of Senegal, decrees of 1902 and 1904 created two federal administrations with capitals in Dakar and Brazzaville (in present-day Republic of the Congo). Each had authority over law, administration, communication, health, public works, and agriculture. Boundaries between colonies were regulated and each was divided into *cercles* (administrative districts), which in turn, were divided into *cantons*.

Writers on colonialism have often compared French direct rule and British indirect rule. In some ways, this comparison is deceptive. The French did not preserve the trappings of the traditional state and were more likely to interfere with rules of succession and boundaries between traditional states. The French did, however, rule through chiefs, most of whom were chosen from traditional ruling families, and in areas like the Futa Jallon and the Mossi kingdoms (Burkina Faso), those traditional chiefs had a great deal of power. Colonial rule was thinnest in Saharan *cercles*, where tribal leaders were usually recognized, and in Equatorial Africa, where the regime gave large areas to concessionary companies.

Conquest brought peace and an end to slave-raiding and slave-trading. The regime was more timid in dealing with slavery. A 1905 law abolished any transactions in human beings. Administrators were also told they could no longer support the claims of masters to their slaves. Though many administrators hoped that slaves would not leave their masters, more than a million did so, often to return to earlier homes. Others remained where they were, but gradually asserted greater control over their work and family lives.

The major concern of the new colonial regimes was economic growth. The end of warfare and the construction of railroads opened large areas to trade and cash-crop production. The process was, however, often a harsh one. The French had obtained large areas, but with lower population densities and lower productivity than areas acquired by the British and Belgians. Colonies were expected to pay their own way, which led to taxes, which were coercive for peasants who worked the lands with hoes. Much of the infrastructure of the colonial state was created by the use of forced labor.

The French ideal of assimilation had a limited importance. The disestablishment of the Catholic Church during the early years of the twentieth century raised the cost of schools, which had been run by the missions. Those schools generally placed importance on the acquisition of French language, which in the long run produced an elite very much at home in French culture.

Politically, the rights of French citizens were given only to the inhabitants of the Four Communes of Senegal (Saint-Louis, Dakar, Rufisque, and Gorée).

French Africa, 1914
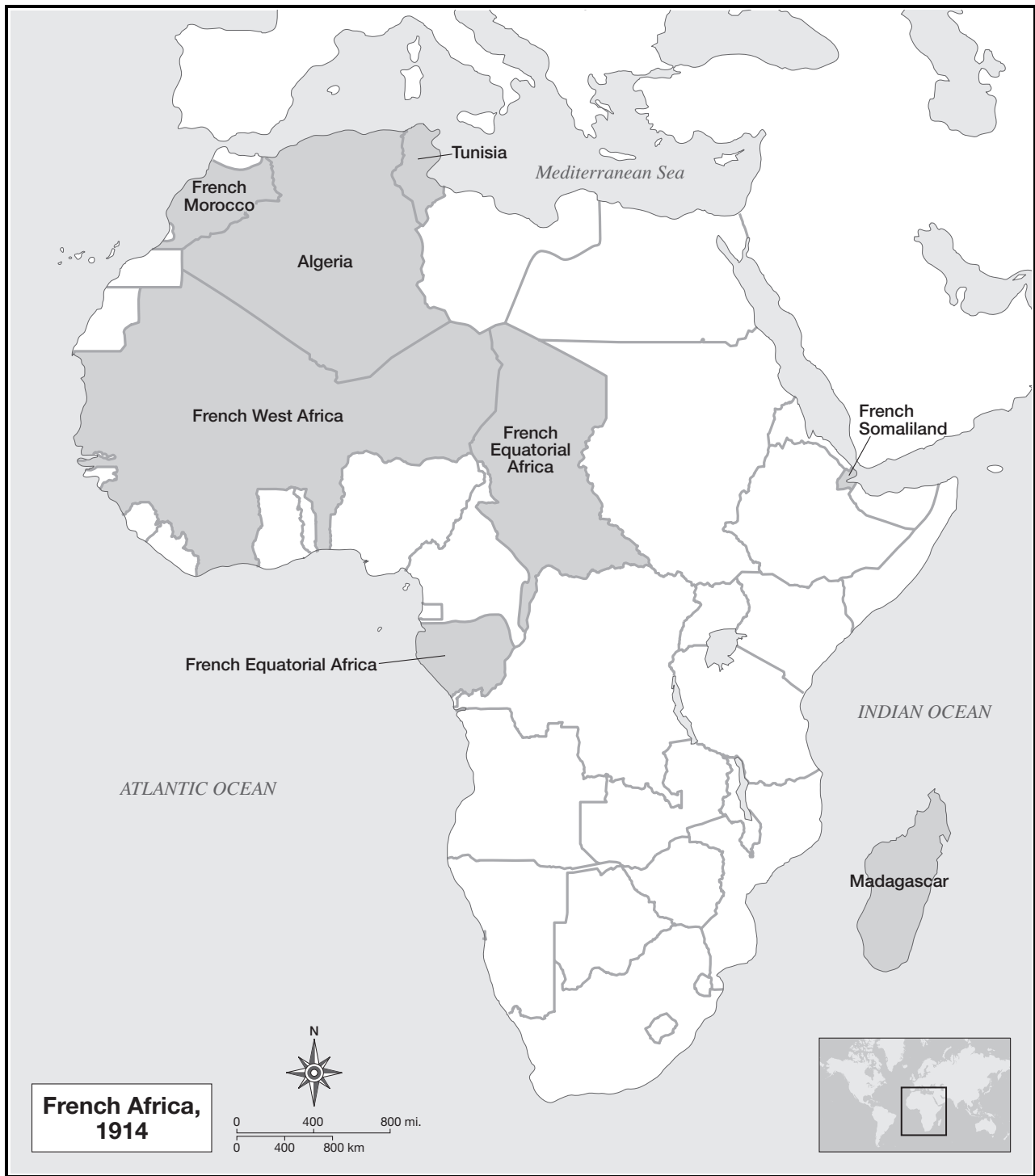
These rights were poorly defined until World War I forced France to turn for help to African soldiers, and France gave Senegal's black deputy, Blaise Diagne (1872–1934), the leverage to demand confirmation of those rights. The idea of assimilation was most clearly articulated by the reforms that took place after World War II (1939–1945). All French colonies were given representation in the French Parliament.

This experiment contributed to the political education of a new elite, but it did not last long. Colonial voters recognized that they would always remain second-class citizens in the French Union. Leaders of wealthier colonies, most notably Felix Houphouet-Boigny (1905–1993) of the Ivory Coast, did not want their taxes used to support poorer colonies. The *loi-cadre* of 1956, which restructured French West Africa weakened federal authority and focused power more on the individual colonial governments. In 1958 the constitution of Charles de Gaulle's (1890–1970) Fifth Republic offered those colonies a much greater autonomy. Only the Guinea of Sekou Toure (1922–1984) rejected that offer and chose independence. Nevertheless, within two years, the leaders of all of France's African colonies had gone to Paris and been given independence. Formal French rule in West and Equatorial Africa was ended.

SEE ALSO *Empire, French; Scramble for Africa.*

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Martin Klein

FREEBURGHERS, SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Alongside official crown or company servants, unbound European males called *freeburghers* shaped the character of Europe's early modern expansion to South and Southeast Asia. Generally, they settled in the European centers of the Asian trading world, made their living from interport trade or the supply of services, and were married to indigenous women. Portuguese *casados* and Dutch *vrijburghers* were the most important groups among the freeburghers.

For the numerous members of the Portuguese lower classes who reached Asia without contract onboard Portuguese ships, an existence as *soldado*—unmarried and only recruited in case of need by the Estado da India (the governmental organisation of Portuguese presence and commerce in Asia)—did not offer a sufficient income. Alternatively, a considerable number strove as private merchants and settled down with an indigenous wife, which was the only way for Europeans to establish a family in early modern Asia.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *casados* lived in all Portuguese settlements as a constitutive part of the colonial society. In 1635 approximately 4,900 *casados* settled under the Estado's authority (which included 12,000 Portuguese overall), with their greatest communities in Macau in southern China (850) and Goa in western India (800).

The *casados* were generally divided into three major hierarchical categories. Those born of white parents were known as *reinois* (in Portugal) and *castiços* (in Asia). *Mestiços,* as descendants of a Portuguese father and his Asian or Eurasian wife, were less prestigious. *Casados pretos* (black casados), converted and acculturated native Asians, were not regarded as at all integrated into the *casado* community.

As free traders, the majority of the *casados* guaranteed close commercial ties between the different Portuguese settlements from East Africa to China, even when Dutch competition, as well as corruption and inefficiency, induced the decline of the Estado da India. Whereas the latter primarily controlled the main sea routes, the former used the offered advantages to fill trading gaps and to gain from their transcultural commercial networks, as well as from land ownership (especially in Goa). Thus, they were an indispensable pillar of the shrinking Portuguese presence in South and Southeast Asia.

From the beginning, the position of the Dutch *vrijburghers* was much more difficult. After primary plans to establish a colonial society by immigration of male and female Europeans failed early in the seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company placed emphasis on cooperation with Asians and allowed their time-expired employees to settle down and to marry indigenous women. But the company's restrictive policy limited the attractiveness of this option. Individual settlement and marriage required a permit, and profitable trade with Indian and Moluccan spices, high-quality textiles from India and China, and raw materials like indigo or copper were strictly prohibited to private merchants.

Furthermore, the strong indigenous and Chinese competition in crafts and services interfered with the economic efforts of the *vrijburghers,* who, therefore, preferred economic niches. Tavern-keeping became the most popular occupation, and private merchants concentrated on supply functions for Dutch communities, trading foodstuff and European luxury goods. In the course of the eighteenth century, they penetrated increasingly typical Asian trades, including slaves and maritime products.

At the beginning of this century, endeavors to improve the Dutch East India Company and liberalize Asian trade achieved only slight success. Private capital and know-how proved to be insufficient, and the company's insistence on monopolies anticipated the expansion of a mercantile community. Thus, the number of *vrijburghers* was always low. In 1673 the largest community of *vrijburghers* (340 persons) lived in Batavia (present-day Jakarta). Smaller groups concentrated on the main Dutch port cities, such as Colombo, Cochin, Malacca, or Makassar. This colonial society remained small and, beyond Indonesia, disappeared during the early nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, in the core regions *casados* (Macau, Goa, Malacca) as well as *vrijburghers* (Indonesia, Ceylon) became the nucleus of new transcultural colonial societies. Their mestizo descendents perpetuated the families, which combined elements of both cultures. Luso-Asiatic communities have prevailed until the present, and the "Indische Culture" (Milone 1966/1967) offered recruitment potential for economic and administrative elites in colonial Indonesia.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Dutch; Empire, Portuguese.*

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Jürgen G. Nagel

FRENCH COLONIALISM, MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East and North Africa were central regions in the history of modern French colonialism. France's second colonial empire was founded in Algeria in 1830, after the loss of most of the first overseas empire in the Americas in the eighteenth century and the final defeat of Napoléon in Europe in 1815. France's "Islamic" empire was concentrated in North Africa, which remained the lynchpin both of a wider "French Africa" stretching far south of the Sahara, and of France's strategic position in the Mediterranean. However, the conquest of the Maghrib (Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco) was preceded by involvement in Egypt that, beginning with the Napoleonic occupation of 1798 to 1801, also had long-term significance, and was followed by rule over Syria and Lebanon in the Mashriq (Levant) between 1920 and 1946. Formal French control at the height of the empire therefore extended to both major regions of the Arab world, with informal influence (through schools, commercial interests, and, especially in the nineteenth century, technical and military advisors) reaching more widely, for example, into Iran.

While French imperial interests and policies were frequently formulated in direct competition, and often in real or imagined conflict, with those of Britain, the rationales and practices of French colonial rule in the Middle East were similar to those of the British in many respects. Perceived French commercial and strategic interests dictated decisions about colonial expansion to a large extent; colonial administration was for the most part "indirect," operating through local intermediaries, and the French, like the British, attempted to secure long-term influence in their colonized territories after the departure of occupation troops and administrators. Unlike the British in the Middle East, however, the French, particularly in North Africa, engaged in large-scale colonization of land by European settlers, and many French imperialists considered their project as part of a specifically French vocation to promote a republican and humanist "civilization" worldwide. Perhaps most enduringly, French, like British, colonialism in the region created the context that shaped influential contemporary ideas about the societies and cultures of the Middle East and of Islam. These ideas were of great

significance not only in the creation of dominant Western perceptions of "the Orient," but in the self-perception and political organization of the postcolonial Middle East itself.

EGYPT

Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798, and the subsequent occupation of the country that was ended by British and Ottoman forces in 1801, has often been seen as the moment marking the beginning of the Middle East's "modern" history, a fact demonstrating the salience of imperialism in Europe-centered conceptions of history, and overlooking internal developments in the region as well as its connections with and beyond Europe in the eighteenth century. The occupation was important, however, in that it effectively separated Egypt from the Ottoman Empire, a significant moment in the long process of the empire's partition by European powers, and it demonstrates the importance of the broader social and cultural, as well as specifically political and strategic, aspects of imperialism that would continue to characterize the colonial relationship between France and the Middle East. As a strategic episode in France's revolutionary war against the monarchical powers of Europe, the Egyptian expedition was intended to attack Britain's communications with India. Coming in the wake of the French Revolution, it also marked the beginning of a newly asymmetrical relationship between post-Enlightenment, revolutionary, and "modern" France and an Arab-Muslim world imagined by French writers, travelers, soldiers, and politicians as backward, irrational, and fanatically superstitious. A major expression of the new, scientific understanding of the "backward" East by the "advanced" West was the *Description of Egypt*, an encyclopedia of discoveries in Egypt produced by the scholars who accompanied Napoleon's army.

The French occupation was resisted by the Egyptian population of Cairo, who rebelled in October 1798, and in the countryside. Napoleon himself remained in Egypt only a few months, and French troops were evacuated in September 1801. France retained great influence, however, as a political, economic, and cultural power, for the dynasty founded by the new ruler of Egypt, Muhammad Ali (or Mehmet Ali, r. 1805–1849), an Albanian soldier who arrived with the Ottoman army in 1801 and took effective control of the country in 1811. A series of Egyptian educational missions was sent to study in France from 1827 onward. Under the engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps, the Suez Canal project began in the 1850s as a primarily French undertaking. In 1876 France and Britain began exercising control of Egypt's finances, to guarantee payments on Egyptian debts to European creditors. Politically, France eventually gave way to Britain, when British troops occupied Egypt in 1882, but both in the legal system and culturally, French influence remained significant. French tutors educated members of the royal family, and French remained a language of the Egyptian ruling class into the twentieth century. Egyptian law was (and remains) largely derived from the French model.

French troops returned to Egypt alongside British forces in the two powers' last colonial adventure in the Middle East, the Suez invasion of October 1956, when both governments, in collusion with Israel, attempted to overthrow Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser's Arab nationalist regime. At Suez, however, France was not primarily interested in Egypt, but in ending Egyptian support for the independence of France's last colonial territory in the region, Algeria.

NORTH AFRICA

The Napoleonic army that invaded Egypt in 1798 had been supplied with grain from Algeria during campaigns in Italy, and from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the rulers of Algiers dealt as diplomatic equals with European monarchs. The Ottoman Empire exercised a nominal suzerainty over the North African regencies of Algiers and Tunis, but a local dynasty was established in Tunis in 1705, and the rulers of Algiers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were selected from among leading members of the city's military forces, governing notables, and corsair captains (privateers). The pursuit of corsairing by ships from Algiers, when European fleets had largely abandoned this form of warfare, was partly the result of European merchants' closing their markets to North African shipping at the end of the 1700s, but gave rise to the stereotype of "Barbary piracy" as "the scourge of Christendom." This image persisted through the colonial period. Debts on Algiers' grain shipments to revolutionary France remained unpaid by the Restoration government, and in 1827 a confrontation in which the ruler of Algiers, Husayn Dey, struck the French consul with a fly-whisk, escalated into a French naval blockade. In 1830, beset by domestic pressure, the government of Charles X (r. 1824–1830) launched an invasion that toppled the Ottoman establishment in Algiers. Charles X himself fell from power only weeks later in the 1830 revolution, and the new government inherited an indecisive military occupation of Algiers. As projects for both military and civilian colonization gained support, however, the conquest expanded in the east and west of the country, and southward toward the Sahara.

Resistance to the conquest emerged almost immediately, as Algerian leaders, sometimes in rivalry with each other, responded to the collapse of central authority.

In the west, the emir 'Abd al-Qādir (1808–1883), acting at first in the name of the Moroccan sultan, defeated his local rivals with French help and tried to come to terms with the French, to limit their occupation to coastal enclaves while establishing his own state inland. In the east, the city of Constantine fell in 1837 but its Ottoman governor, Ahmad Bey, led resistance in the Aurès Mountains until 1848. Local revolts broke out throughout the country, and French troops penetrated further inland and into the mountains in "pacification" campaigns, repressing resistance on the edge of the Sahara in 1849 and in the Djurdjura Mountains of Kabylia in 1857. 'Abd al-Qādir surrendered in 1847, and the last major revolt was crushed in Kabylia in 1871.

By 1872 Algeria had lost one-third of its 1830 population of about three million. To the colonial lobby, influenced by social Darwinist ideas, this was a sign of inevitable racial decline among the "natives," who were destined to be replaced by "industrious" European settlers. Later Algerian nationalist writers called it "genocide." The European population, however, never expanded significantly after the turn of the twentieth century, and instead of presiding over a demographic replacement of "natives" by colonists, colonial politics became obsessed by the demographic "threat" of a rapidly growing Algerian population (5 million in the 1920s, ca. 9 million by 1954), apparently set to overwhelm the Europeans (ca. 800,000 in the 1920s, ca. 900,000 in 1954). White minority rule was preserved by refusing full French citizenship to Algerian Muslims (indigenous Algerian Jews became citizens by decree in 1870), limiting or blocking the reform programs that began to be proposed after World War I, and repressing nationalist opposition from the late 1920s into the 1950s. By the time of the centenary celebrations of "French Algeria" in 1930, the country, considered as three *départements* of metropolitan France, was seen by officials, settlers, and travelers as an "integral part of France"—as, indeed, it had been designated in 1848.

Algeria's situation set it apart from other Middle Eastern colonial territories: It was ruled as part of France's "interior," its economy was entirely geared to French interests (especially the export of minerals, cereals, and wine), and its administration, public services, industry, infrastructure, and major landholdings were almost entirely controlled by a large and assertive European population. Algeria's precolonial social, political, and cultural institutions were either destroyed or subjected to pressures that were generally experienced with lower intensity in other parts of the region; much of what survived colonization was uprooted in the war of independence (1954–1962), which dislocated much of Algeria's rural society as well as finally precipitating the departure of the colonial European population.

By the later nineteenth century, this Algerian model of total conquest "by the sword and the plough" (war and settlement) gave way to supposedly more enlightened methods known as "peaceful penetration" and colonial development. The security of the Algerian frontier and the prospect of land and investments encouraged colonial soldiers and commercial lobbyists to press for the extension of French rule to Tunisia and Morocco. In Tunisia, the state-strengthening policies of Ahmed Bey (r. 1837–1855) and the promulgation of a constitution in 1861 were intended to prevent foreign domination. Funding the expansion of the state and its powers, however, led to unmanageable foreign debt and rural insurrection when taxation was increased to meet debt repayments. British, French, and Italian influence in Tunisia's politics and the economy increased, and in 1869 the regency was forced into bankruptcy, with an international financial commission set up to protect the interests of European creditors. On the pretext of securing the Algerian border against incursions by Tunisian tribes, a French military expedition occupied Tunisia in 1881. A protectorate was imposed, under which at first the management of Tunisia's defense and foreign relations, and then also domestic government and the economy, fell under the control of a French resident-general and his staff. Officially the resident-general was only chief advisor to the Tunisian monarch, the bey, but the beys quickly became almost powerless figureheads in whose name policy was enacted by French officials appointed by the foreign ministry in Paris. Beys who attempted to assert their own authority were threatened with military force, as in 1922, when Muhammad al-Nāṣir Bey's palace was surrounded with troops to prevent his abdication in protest against French policy, or removed, as in 1943, when Munsif Bey, who opposed Vichy France's anti-Semitic laws and hoped to restore his own sovereignty, was deposed and exiled.

Control of land, towns, industry, and commerce passed largely into European hands. By 1914 European control of the country's productive resources had already almost reached its maximum extent—about one-fifth of the total cultivated land, and almost half of the richest land, was owned by just under five thousand Europeans. A European landholding averaged 250 hectares (618 acres), whereas the Tunisian rural population of about 480,000 families retained holdings averaging about 6 hectares (15 acres) each, or became tenants of landlords at increasing rates of rent. The tendency toward concentration of landholdings was marked throughout French North Africa, with small colonial farms as well as formerly private, collective, or tribal lands being absorbed into large, European-owned estates. In the fertile area around Tunis, by 1950 Europeans held between 30 and 50 percent of all cultivated land. The concentration of

Louis Lyautey with Sultan Moulay Youssef, Circa 1925. Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey, the French military leader and resident-general of Morocco from 1912 to 1925, dines with Moulay Youssef, sultan of Morocco. © **HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

the best land in the hands of a small group of individual and corporate owners paralleled the increasing urbanization of both the European and indigenous populations. In Algeria, in the early 1870s almost half the European population lived on the land; only a quarter remained by 1936. And whereas in the 1890s the Europeans outnumbered the Muslims in major Algerian towns, by the mid-1930s the proportions of urban population were equal, and by 1954 there were almost twice as many Muslims as non-Muslims in the main urban centers. French political dominance was also threatened by rival European powers, especially in Tunisia, where in 1901 there were only 24,000 French, but over 71,000 Italian, citizen settlers. French predominance was ensured by naturalization campaigns, in which Europeans of Maltese, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and other origins, as well as indigenous Jewish families and the few Muslims who converted to Christianity, were encouraged to take French citizenship. In Tunisia, the French colony began to outnumber the Italians only in the 1930s. But among Algerian or Tunisian Muslims, only a small number, mainly

decorated war veterans, members of important families, or those with access to education and liberal professions, wished or were allowed to gain the full political rights that came with French citizenship.

Similar factors as those leading to the annexation of Tunisia were responsible for the gradual incorporation of Morocco, first under French economic and military influence, and finally, in 1912, into formal political control under a protectorate. The *Comité de l'Afrique française* (French Africa Committee), a lobby group of business and political interests set up in Paris in 1890, and military officers anxious both to secure Algeria's western borders and to extend and consolidate their African conquests, pushed for French dominance in Morocco against Spanish, Italian, German, and especially British rivals, all of whom had material or declared commercial and political interests in the country. Increasing European commercial and financial control over Moroccan products and markets increased local resentment and instability, undermining the credibility of the sultan. The ruling Alawi (or Filāli) dynasty had

been established in the seventeenth century. The sultan was understood to be invested with authority by virtue of the recognition of Morocco's religious and political leaders that he would uphold the law, the integrity of the country, and the duty to defend it from foreign enemies. The increasing instability of the throne, however, largely caused by imperial penetration, contributed to the insecurity that European powers saw as anarchy threatening their interests, and hence to further pressure for direct imperial intervention. In 1907, when riots broke out in Casablanca, the French navy shelled the city and landed troops (some of whom joined in the rioting). When Moroccan tribes rose in revolt against the French occupation of Casablanca, they called on the sultan's brother to replace him, leading to civil war in 1907 to 1908. The new sultan, 'Abd al-*H*afiz, however, was financially dependent on France, which now controlled Morocco's internal revenue, banking, and remaining state-owned commerce. In 1910, a French military mission took over the organization of the Moroccan army. When unrest broke out again in 1911, French troops occupied the major cities, and the sultan had to accept the establishment of a protectorate. Most of the country fell under French control, while a Spanish protectorate was set up in the Rif Mountains of the north and in the coastal strip of desert to the south that became the Spanish Sahara (now Western Sahara). The city of Tangier, on the strait of Gibraltar, became an international zone.

The protectorate regime in Morocco was especially influenced by the work and ideas of Louis-Hubert Lyautey. France's first resident-general in Rabat, Lyautey was an army officer who served first in Indochina (Vietnam) as it fell under French control, and who played an important part in the gradual extension of French rule to Morocco after his arrival in the Sahara, on the border between Algeria and Morocco, in 1903. Lyautey ruled Morocco for thirteen years, and was buried there when he died in 1934. When his remains were transferred to Les Invalides in Paris in 1961, he was officially celebrated as the theorist of French imperialism at its most "humane." Lyautey's model of colonial conquest and rule was the antithesis of what had happened in Algeria. Instead of total conquest by force of arms, the destruction of indigenous institutions, and the takeover of land by thousands of colonial settlers, Lyautey proposed what he called "peaceful penetration" of territory and the "association" of local institutions and society with what he saw as the enlightening and modernizing influence of France. Peaceful penetration meant that armed force was to be used as a last resort; instead, the army should establish outposts providing security for travel and trade, medical assistance, and policing, and reach agreements with local leaders whose positions would be strengthened by the French, and through

whom French influence would spread. Association meant indirect rule, by a handful of European planners and administrators, through existing local institutions, which, like the law, customs, and way of life of the people, must be preserved, while their environment and economy would be modernized, rationalized, and made more productive.

The actual operation of colonial rule hardly worked as straightforwardly as the theory supposed. After 1913, when landownership began to be registered and traded on an open market, Moroccan peasants became landless cultivators or tenants on estates owned by local notables or by Europeans, and property transactions involving Europeans, as elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East, were taken out of the jurisdiction of local courts and entrusted to French courts. The attempt to preserve and codify local custom provoked the beginning of mass nationalism in 1930, when a decree was passed placing civil law in Berber-speaking areas (much of rural Morocco) under Berber customary law, and criminal law under the jurisdiction of French administrators; the decree was seen as an attack on the country's Islamic law and customs, and as an attempt to divide Berber-speaking Moroccans from their Arabic-speaking Muslim compatriots. The careful preservation of Morocco's urban heritage in the great medieval cities of Fez and Marrakesh led to the creation of a kind of "urban apartheid," with the old cities' development frozen and new, effectively racially segregated European towns developing alongside, but distinct from, them. The European population, too, especially in the rapidly developing city of Casablanca, became numerous and relatively privileged, and when decolonization became imminent in the 1950s, European terrorist groups emerged to oppose it in Morocco (under the name *Présence française*, French Presence) as in Tunisia (*La Main rouge*, the Red Hand) and Algeria (*Organisation armée secrète*, Secret Armed Organization). As in Algeria and Tunisia, however, colonialism in Morocco also contained space for North Africans to challenge the system on its own terms. In 1934, Moroccan leaders called for a "real protectorate" that would work in the interests of Moroccans, just as Tunisian constitutionalist leaders in 1905 to 1907 called for a reformed protectorate to benefit Tunisians, and Algerian liberals from 1912 to 1936 made proposals for Algerians to gain full civil and political rights within French Algeria.

Despite Lyautey's theory, armed force remained integral to French colonialism in the Maghrib. After the occupation of Fez, messianic religious figures led resistance in the north and south of Morocco until 1918, and so-called pacification campaigns continued in the countryside until 1934. In the Rif Mountains of the north, French troops and air power were used in 1926 to 1927

to repress the resistance led by the emir 'Abd al-Krīm al-Khattābi, who set up an independent Republic of the Rif after defeating the Spanish army in 1921. Armed resistance to colonial rule reemerged in both Morocco and Tunisia in 1952, and in 1953 the sultan, Muhammad ben Yūsuf, was deposed at gunpoint by the French and forcibly removed into exile. But by 1955 the French government, faced with the end of one colonial war in Indochina (Vietnam), and the beginning of another in Algeria, opted for a negotiated transition to independence for the protectorates, in Morocco on March 2, and in Tunisia on March 20, 1956. In Algeria, however, the renunciation of French sovereignty was unthinkable, and decolonization came only through another long war, from November 1954 to March 1962.

THE LEVANT

Formal French rule in the eastern Mediterranean was more mitigated, and of shorter duration, than in the Maghrib. Nonetheless, here too French colonialism both drew on and departed from an earlier, longer-term historical relationship with the region. And in the Arab east as in North Africa, France's empire sought to imprint a durable cultural and social influence as well as expanding the metropole's political and strategic power.

France's relationship with the Ottoman Empire had been ambiguous, as part of the long struggle for dominance among the European powers. The Ottomans, as the world's most powerful Islamic state and the dominant power in the eastern Mediterranean and southeastern Europe, were important allies of the French monarchy against the Holy Roman Empire, dominated by the rival Habsburg dynasty, during the sixteenth century. From 1853 to 1856, French as well as British soldiers fought in alliance with the Ottomans to protect the empire against Russian expansion in the Crimean war. At the same time, French expeditions against Egypt, Algiers, and Tunis captured territory that had been under at least nominal Ottoman sovereignty, and French commercial and financial expansion in the nineteenth century played an active part in imperial Europe's penetration of the central Ottoman state. From 1890 to 1914, France was the largest investor in the Ottoman Empire, with double the investments of the nearest European rival, Germany. When the impossibility of servicing debt on state loans led to Ottoman bankruptcy in 1875, France was part of the international consortium managing the state's debt and the revenues appropriated to pay it, 63 percent of which was in French hands by 1913. After 1883 a French-owned agency controlled the production, processing, and tax revenue on tobacco in the empire. The port of Beirut, and the road and railway

linking Beirut with Damascus, were constructed by French companies.

As in Morocco, economic interests became the prelude to political control when the Ottoman state, allied with Germany in World War I, collapsed following defeat in 1918, and its territories were partitioned. France's diplomacy at the end of World War I, which aimed at control of Syria and Lebanon as France's share of the former empire's provinces, was based on these material interests combined with longstanding cultural claims—especially the claim, originally made by Louis XIV in 1649, to protect the Maronite community in Lebanon (members of a Christian church linked to Roman Catholicism). French troops occupied the Lebanese coast and pushed inland, but an Arab government set up in Damascus in 1918 attempted to assert sovereignty over as much of historic Ottoman Syria (present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and Palestine) as could be preserved from European rule. Financially dependent on Britain, however, and faced with internal instability and French force, the Damascus government fell before French troops who occupied all of Lebanon and Syria in 1920, under a mandate from the League of Nations for the governance of the two countries. The mandate system devised after World War I changed the international rules under which colonialism operated, so that Syria and Lebanon were never "French" in the way protectorate Morocco and Tunisia were, much less annexed as Algeria had been. European rule was now supposed to guide the political and economic development of mandated territories until they were judged capable of self-government. If national independence was explicitly foreseen as the outcome of colonial rule, however, European powers hoped to create states in the mandated countries that would be locally effective and stable rulers while remaining firmly under imperial influence after formal independence was declared. The effects of imperial strategies intended to ensure this, however, turned out to be unpredictable.

The long-standing French relationship with the Maronites in Lebanon helped shape a Lebanese republic partitioned from Syria in such a way that the Maronite community became politically dominant, but in a "Greater Lebanon" that was made economically viable only by the addition of areas inhabited mainly by Sunni and Shia Muslims. The institutionalization of confessional communities as political units, and the country's changing demography, meant that the National Pact of 1943, which set the proportions of each community's political representation, was soon out of step with the country's social makeup. Divergent loyalties on local, regional, and international levels—to conservative and Christian Lebanese nationalism, radical and secular Arab nationalism, or, more recently, revolutionary and
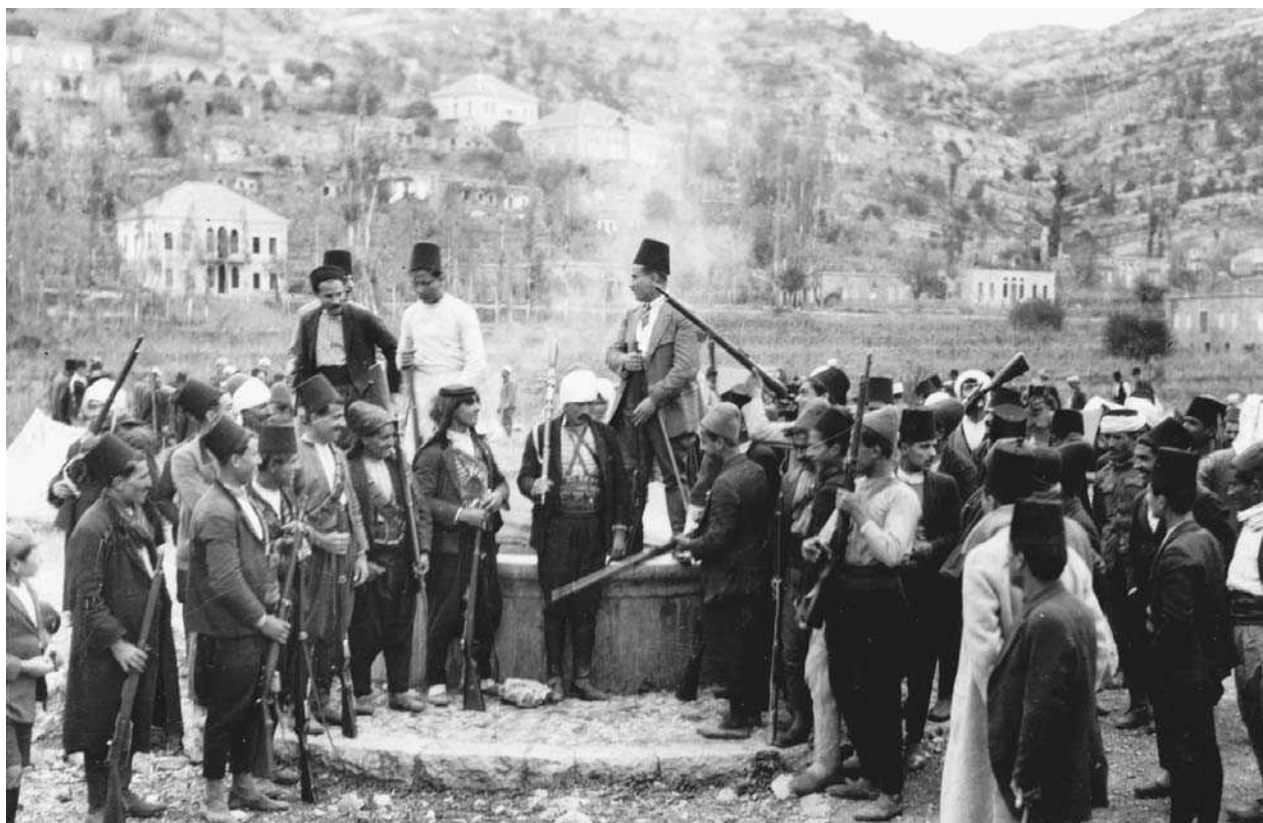
Gunnery Instruction in Lebanon, Circa 1925. *Soldiers of the regular French Levant army instruct volunteer forces in the use of rifles in preparation for threatened attacks by Druzes and revolutionary Syrians.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

utopian transnational Islamism—later aggravated these tensions when the Lebanese state imploded in civil war in 1958 and again in 1975.

In Syria, French rule was imposed against widespread popular opposition and was faced with a major revolt in 1925 to 1927, repressed by massive military force. At the same time, Lyautey's Moroccan model of imperial administration was now orthodox doctrine for colonial officers and officials, and many aspects of the theory of rule recently applied to North Africa were adopted in the Levant. This included ideas about the Middle East's population being fundamentally characterized by division into separate, mutually hostile, ethnic or religious groups. French administrators arrived in Lebanon and Syria with ready-made assumptions that, like the divisions they believed to exist between Berbers and Arabs, cities and countryside, peasants and nomads, in North Africa, the Levant's people existed only as ethnic groups or sects, in anarchy among themselves and having known nothing but oppression by "despotic" Muslim rule under the Ottoman sultans. Developed and articulate political demands of Syrians

for unity and independence were ignored as agitation fomented against French rule—supposedly by the British. On this basis, colonial rule divided Syria into autonomous ethnic mini-states, and although this policy was subsequently revised, French administration continued to instrumentalize preconceived social fracture lines, attempting to find support in the countryside against the cities, where the most organized opposition to the mandate was located, and in Christian and other religious minority groups against the Sunni Muslim community and its dominant urban notables. The previously isolated and heterodox Alawi community, an offshoot of Shia Islam living mainly in the mountainous northwest of Syria, were heavily recruited into the military, giving them a new-found dominant role in Syria's armed forces after independence.

After the failure of negotiations with Syrian leaders for a treaty relationship in 1933, unrest and a general strike in 1936 forced concessions from the French and a Franco-Syrian treaty that provided for nominal independence and allowed elections to be held. But the *Kutla*, or National Bloc government that took office in November

1936, resigned three years later, after the French parliament failed to ratify the 1936 treaty and agreed to cede the partly Turkish-populated district of Alexandretta, in northwest Syria, to Turkey. Military rule was imposed and the parliaments dissolved in 1939, with the onset of World War II, and in 1941 British and Free French troops invaded Syria and Lebanon, removing the Vichy government's administration there. In 1943 the constitutions, suspended in both countries before the outbreak of the war, were restored and new elections held, giving majorities to nationalist governments who proclaimed independence from France. The French administration began to transfer civilian government functions to the nationalists, but attempted to maintain France's cultural and military presence in both countries. After mass protests and violent demonstrations in both Syria and Lebanon, France was forced by international pressure, particularly Anglo-American, and eventually from the U.N., as well as by massive popular demand, to evacuate its troops from Syria in April, and from Lebanon in December 1946.

LEGACY

The lasting influence of French colonialism on the shape of society, culture, and politics in France's former territories in the Middle East, and on their relationship to the former colonial power, was not always what the imperial planners had intended, but in several ways it continued to be important. The models of the colonial state, as a republic, in Lebanon, Syria, and Algeria, or the monarchy in Morocco, and its bureaucratic practices were largely taken over into the independent nation-states that followed. In Morocco, former officers of the colonial army became the mainstays of the armed forces and internal security when the sultan returned from exile as King Muhammad V, and the institution of the monarchy, through which the French had attempted to rule but that had become the central symbol of nationalism, inherited a stronger state than it had ever possessed before the protectorate. In Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, the nationalist leader who had studied law in France, embarked on a rationally authoritarian, top-down "modernization" of law, the economy, and society, enabling important social liberalization, especially in the status of women, but never political democratization. The sectarian political divisions, and the class positions of dominant and subordinate social groups that they often expressed, continued to influence developments in Lebanon and Syria. Despite the rejection of French cultural preeminence, French educational models and institutions, especially French-language secondary schools in North Africa and Egypt, and higher education institutions, notably St. Joseph University in Lebanon, remained important in the education of new ruling groups. France remains important in the commercial and political connections of social and cultural elites from its formerly colonial countries, and with the exception of Algeria and Syria, these territories (including Egypt) remain members of the intergovernmental "Francophonie" organization, a grouping of francophone countries, especially those formerly part of the French empire. French public space is a significant arena in cultural, political, and economic terms; in France, writers, students, filmmakers, human rights activists, and workers from North Africa and the Middle East publish books, attend university, show their work, lobby governments, and look for jobs. The connections between France and its former colonial territories in the region are also significant for migration, tourism, investment, and trade.

SEE ALSO *Algeria; Egypt; North Africa; North Africa, European Presence in.*

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James McDougall

FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

The European competition for the lucrative trade routes to India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was played out amongst rival trading companies, of which the French were relative latecomers. It is somewhat of an historical misnomer to speak of the French East India Company as a single entity because it evolved from a variety of disparate predecessors rather than from a

singular corporate entity. Hence, the history of the French East India Company is not the history of a continuous, unitary corporate body. Unlike the English and Dutch companies, moreover, the later French variants were more closely aligned to the state and more prone to the fiscal pressures and internal dynamics of official government policy. While the French saw themselves as rivals to the English East India Company, however, they preferred to emulate the federated structure of the Dutch East India Company.

In fact, historians are able to trace six different companies that were formed at various times. Although Henry IV issued the first patent in 1604 to grant the *Compagnie des mers Orientales* exclusive rights to trade in Asia and to establish colonies, this venture was largely a failure due to lack of funds and the opposition of the Dutch. Louis XIII granted a new patent in 1615 to form a company called *La Compagnie des Moluques,* which sent two ships to India, of which only one returned.

However, it is not until the influence of Cardinal Richelieu under Louis XIV that maritime endeavors received the attention of the French state. The formation of *La Compagnie d'Orient* in 1642 was the first company of colonization in the Indian Ocean area, founding the trading post of Fort Dauphin on the island of Madagascar as the strategic midway point between France, Africa, and the lucrative Asian trade. The establishment of *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales* in 1664 by Jean-Baptiste Colbert and the emerging importance of colonies such as the *Ile de France* (Mauritius) and the *Ile de Bourbon* (Réunion) saw a new era of direct competition with the Dutch and the English for the South Asian trade. Whereas *La Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* had a trading monopoly in North America and on the west coast of Africa, the former was given the French patent to trade from the Cape of Good Hope and throughout the Indian and Pacific Oceans and, hence, covered a vast area that included the southern and eastern coasts of Africa, India, Southeast Asia, China, Japan, and stretching as far as New Caledonia and Tahiti. In 1719 the company was amalgamated into the broader American and African operations under the umbrella organization *La Compagnie des Indes.*

The difficulty of establishing a base on Madagascar saw the French Company look further afield to India, which was the main object of European colonial ambition. First settling in Surat in 1666 and then founding the important center of Pondicherry in 1673, the French was the last European power to compete with the Indian trade on the subcontinent and were in direct competition with the English and the Dutch who were already established there. Under Benoît Dumas and Jean François Dupleix in the 1730s to 1750s, the French Company developed a largely successful policy of forming subsidiary alliances with local rulers to gain commercial advantages and sought corporate control of Indian territory. This was a strategy that was later emulated by the British to their greater advantage.

The defeat of the French at the Battle of Wandiwash in 1760 and the intermittent capture of Pondicherry and other French settlements during the Anglo-French Wars meant that the company's operations in India were precarious. The French East India Company was liquidated in 1770 with the transfer of all assets and trading stations to the French government who took direct control of colonial affairs under the Marine Ministry. There were some attempts to revive purely commercial operations in 1785 when a new company was formed by Charles-Alexandre de Calonne, but these were thwarted by the events of the French Revolution and the emergence of the English East India Company as the paramount territorial sovereign power on the Indian subcontinent.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; Dutch West India Company; English East India Company (EIC).*

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Adrian Carton

FRENCH INDOCHINA

Indochina is a French colony and four protectorates in Southeast Asia established between l860 and 1904, and covering the present-day territories of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. The five colonial components of Indochina became independent in 1954.

BEGINNINGS

French imperialism in Southeast Asia began almost accidentally in 1858, when a French fleet bombarded the Vietnamese port of Tourane (present-day Danang) to avenge the execution of Catholic missionaries by the Vietnamese regime. Hoping to gain commercial advantages and military renown, French troops occupied the southern city of Saigon (present-day Ho Chi Minh City) in 1860 and by 1867 France had expanded its colony—which it named Cochinchine (Cochin China)—over six adjoining provinces. The Vietnamese emperor in Hue, who had been taken completely by surprise, acceded reluctantly to these developments, signing a treaty with France in 1862.

In 1863, in order to protect the western frontiers of Cochin China, the French imposed a protectorate on the kingdom of Cambodia. They did so with the consent of the Cambodian monarch, Norodom (r. l863–1904), who feared that continuing pressure on his kingdom from Siam would jeopardize his freedom of maneuver. The French were drawn to Cambodia by illusory notions of commercial rewards that might accrue via the unmapped Mekong River. Because King Norodom acquiesced willingly to French protection and accepted what the French called their "civilizing mission" (*mission civilisatrice*), Cambodia soon became one of France's favorite possessions.

Between 1873 and 1885, the French expanded their empire by imposing separate protectorates over Annam (central Vietnam)—a region that included the imperial capital of Hue—and the northern provinces of Tonkin, where the important cities of Hanoi and Haiphong were located. France broke the Vietnamese empire, which had been unified by the Nguyen Emperor Gia Long (r. 1802–1820), into three pieces. Intentionally or not, they destroyed the old, Confucian-based administrative order, and created opportunities for the Vietnamese elite to imagine and devise new ways of governing their country. "Vietnam," in any case, had disappeared and as late as the 1940s the French forbade local people to use the word.

In 1904 three principalities east of the Mekong and north of Cambodia that the French named Laos came under French control, following over twenty years of French pressure and diplomatic maneuvering. The Lao princes were happy to exchange the patronage of the Siamese ruler in Bangkok for open-ended, relatively genteel French protection.

In 1907 France persuaded Siam to relinquish control over two provinces in western Cambodia annexed by Siam in the 1790s. Following the transfer of these provinces, one of which contained the ruins of Cambodia's medieval capital of Angkor, French Indochina assumed

the physical dimensions that it retained (save for a brief hiatus in World War II) until the end of the colonial era.

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDOCHINA

French policies and administrative styles differed over time and from place to place, responding in part to differences among the components of their empire. Cochin China was a colony and was subject to French law. Its French citizens elected a member to the National Assembly in Paris. The regime encouraged the Vietnamese elite to take up French citizenship. France used hundreds of local people in their administration, with a French governor as the supreme authority. The press was relatively free and people were better educated than elsewhere in Indochina. In the "protectorates," where local rulers supposedly retained authority, French citizenship was harder to obtain, educational institutions developed more slowly, and French controls over the press and political activity were more repressive.

The component parts of Indochina also differed demographically: the Red River Delta in Tonkin, bordering China, was one of the most densely populated regions in the world, whereas Annam, Cambodia, and Laos housed relatively few people. The parts differed culturally as well, as the name *Indochina* suggests. The national

languages of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam were mutually unintelligible. The Lao and Cambodians were Theravada Buddhists with cultures influenced indirectly by India, whereas the Vietnamese were nominally Mahayana Buddhists, and had been deeply influenced by Chinese Confucian culture and administration for over two thousand years. Eating habits, writing systems, clothing styles, and domestic architecture differed between Laos and Cambodia on the one hand and Vietnam on the other. Finally, largely because of nineteenth-century events, the Khmer and the Lao were fearful of Vietnamese expansion, whereas the Vietnamese, in general, looked down on their "barbarian" neighbors to the west.

Under the French Governor General Paul Doumer (1897–1902), administrative distinctions in the region blurred as the overarching entity of "Indochina" was imposed onto its component parts. Doumer's reforms brought Indochina's accounts into balance, via the efficient collection of taxes. Government monopolies on the sale of opium, salt, and alcohol provided almost half of the total revenues. Local people (including the Lao, after 1904) were also heavily taxed. They now came under the jurisdiction of a French Governor General, resident in Hanoi. The French maintained the fiction that they governed on behalf of local rulers (except in Cochin China), but gave those rulers no authority.

ECONOMICS AND ADMINISTRATION

To rule over millions of people, the French needed local help. In Vietnam they could count on experienced administrators to collect taxes and to maintain law and order. In Laos and Cambodia, a career civil service was undeveloped but taxes were collected with the help of local elites.

In economic terms, Cochin China was the most prosperous part of Indochina. The benefits of French law, combined with profitable rice and rubber plantations (the latter controlled by French companies) and the entrepreneurial energy of Chinese and Sino-Vietnamese merchants, made Cochin China the liveliest, most prosperous, and most Francophile component of Indochina. Hundreds of wealthy Cochin Chinese were educated in France, and immigrants from southern China poured into the colony, where most of them engaged in commerce and petty manufacturing. Saigon and its Chinese suburb of Cholon were linked by trading networks to the outside world and functioned as powerful engines of free market capitalism.

By the 1920s, rich coal deposits in Tonkin and rubber plantations in Cambodia also produced revenue for French investors and spawned the beginnings of a proletariat, later drawn toward the Indo-China Communist Party (or ICP; founded in 1930). Investments in Indochinese public works such as the Hanoi to Saigon railroad, which carried few passengers and very little freight, reaped large profits for shareholders in France, who constituted the Indochina lobby. At the same time, France was reluctant to encourage any manufacturing in Indochina that would compete with imported French goods. Local merchants grew rich in the import-export business and by buying up agricultural harvests, while local rice growers in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta (after the region had been drained by French engineers) became more prosperous as they expanded their subsistence-oriented holdings to produce crops for export. Marketing was assisted by a new network of roads, market towns, and railways in Vietnam and Cambodia. In the l920s most of Indochina enjoyed an economic boom, spurred by international demands for rubber, rice, and other agricultural products.

THE MONOLOGUE OF COLONIALISM

The French expected to stay indefinitely in Indochina. In what the French scholar Paul Mus has called the "monologue of colonialism," they made no sustained effort to prepare local people for self-sufficiency, higher education, free trade, relations with other countries, political participation, or independence. Unlike the British in India, the French had no exit strategy. The process of domination involved infantilizing their colonial protégés. Quarantined in theory (and by the French police) from politics and drastic change, local people were forbidden to grow up, meaning that the civilizing mission could never be complete. In fact, widespread modernization took place throughout Vietnam, especially among the expanding reading public, after the French introduced a Roman alphabet (*quoc ngu*) for writing Vietnamese, replacing the Chinese ideograms that had been in use for two millennia. Thousands of Vietnamese readers happily absorbed new nonpolitical publications (including women's magazines, self-help manuals, and technical handbooks) as well as new literary forms, such as daily newspapers and the novel. In Laos and Cambodia, where literacy was less widespread and less prestigious, the psychological effects of what Benedict Anderson has called print capitalism, and has linked to nationalism, were much slower. At the same time, roads and railroads, market towns, automobiles, movies and radio, telecommunications, the expansion of education, and the growth of cities—developments in which the French participated but could not control—took place alongside the ongoing political repression that kept local people in check and has preoccupied so many writers.

French administrators—who enjoyed lower status at home than their British counterparts in India, and were more numerous—tried to preserve, as if in amber,

supposedly "traditional" culture, class divisions, and patterns of land ownership. It was pleasing and inexpensive for them to do so. Traditional rulers had similarly sought to control and exploit local people, who had never had a voice in administration. In Cambodia, the French restored the medieval temple complex of Angkor and in effect presented the Khmer with the gift of a history that they had forgotten. The Vietnamese were less happy at being placed in a Confucian time warp, especially after Chinese elements of their culture and traditional government had been so severely undermined. The French made sure, in the meantime, that local people paid the costs of governing Indochina. Until the closing year of World War II, with rare exceptions, the system worked.

RESISTANCE TO THE FRENCH

Resistance to the French in Vietnam began in the 1860s and continued sporadically until the 1930s, reemerging during World War II and reaching a climax in September 1945 when the Vietnamese Communist leader Ho Chi Minh (l890–1969) declared Vietnam's independence. There was much less resistance to France in Cambodia and Laos. Because of the intensity of resistance in Vietnam and the eventual victory of anticolonial forces there, it is tempting to read Vietnamese history in terms of continuous and eventually triumphant resistance to foreign control. Many scholars have chosen to do so. Vietnam's victories over France and the United States, following centuries of resistance to China in precolonial times, provide a pleasing structure for Vietnamese historical writing, from the winners' point of view.

More recently, scholars have argued that multiple readings of the Indochinese past are preferable to unilinear ones. The resistance model, for example, does not clarify the histories of Laos or Cambodia, nor does it explain the thirty-year-long alliance between southern Vietnam and the United States. Scholars have also drawn attention to the complex social history of the region, where developments occurred without reference to the political interplay between the French and the Vietnamese. Print capitalism has been mentioned. Scholars have also singled out the sizeable contributions made by such historical "losers" as nonrevolutionary women, Catholics, Francophiles, members of religious sects, ethnic minorities, and the southern Vietnamese allied with the United States.

Nonetheless, in an article of this length, resistance has to occupy a prominent position. Without it, after all, the French might have stayed on much longer, or might even still be in command.

In the 1880s the "aid the king" (*can vuong*) movement mobilized thousands of patriots who sought fruitlessly but with great courage to restore the *status quo ante*. They were crushed by French military force, but their patriotism inspired many later thinkers, including Ho Chi Minh.

In the early twentieth century, the prospects for turning the clock back dimmed. Vietnamese patriots like Phan Boi Chau (1867–1940) were impressed by developments in China and Japan, while opponents of France in the 1920s and 1930s, most notably Phan Chu Trinh (1871–1926), drew on European examples—including democracy and Communism—for their ideology. After 1900, few Vietnamese intellectuals sought refuge in the precolonial past.

Until the late 1940s, French repressive mechanisms in Indochina were sufficient to keep most resistance in check. When armed resistance broke out in 1930 to 1931 in northern and central Vietnam, partly in response to severe economic conditions, it was ruthlessly repressed. Hundreds of rebels were put to death. The ICP (founded by Ho Chi Minh) had been involved in the uprisings, and soon became the best organized of the clandestine groups opposed to French colonialism. As thousands of Vietnamese were arrested for political "crimes," the prisons became training schools for anti-French political cadre, especially Communists, many of whom were released under France's Popular Front government (l936–1939).

The most substantial resistance to France in Cambodia came in 1884 to 1886, when the French tried to abolish what they called "slavery" in the kingdom. Their move struck at the networks of patronage and clientship that allowed Cambodia to function in a premodern fashion. The revolt forced the French to slow down the pace of reform. Until the l940s, Cambodia was at peace. Historians looking for the roots of Cambodian nationalism have found them in the small Cambodian elite educated in the 1930s, and in the Cambodian language newspaper *Nagara Vatta* (*Angkor Wat*), which flourished between 1936 and 1942. Resistance to the French in Laos was also insignificant because the Lao population was scattered and apolitical, while the relatively benign Lao elite remained in place, supported by the French.

FRENCH INDOCHINA: THE FINAL PHASES

World War II was a turning point in Indochina. When it began in 1939, France was more firmly in control than ever. Six years later, thanks to the Japanese, all the components of Indochina declared their independence, and France had to fight its way back into the region.

France's defeat in Europe led Thailand (formerly known as Siam) to attack Cambodia and Laos so as to regain some of the territory that had been taken from it

Ban Me Thoot, May 1950. *General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny (right), commander of French troops in Indochina, and Bao Dai, the former emperor of Vietnam, visit in Ban Me Thoot with the Vietnamese Mois people, who were fighting the communist-dominated Vietminh forces.* AFP/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

by France. In 1941 Japan reached an agreement with the French in Indochina whereby the Japanese stationed troops in the region while France retained administrative control. The arrangement suited both parties but displeased France's former European allies. Japan launched its invasion of the rest of mainland Southeast Asia from Indochinese bases in December 1941.

In the same year, Ho Chi Minh returned to Vietnam after forty years in exile, and established the Viet Minh ("Free Viet") independence movement as a united front (secretly led by the ICP). He was joined in the mountains by new recruits and by members of the ICP. Nationalists in Cambodia and Laos, drawn from the educated elite, also accelerated their anti-French activities, encouraged by Japan and by the Thai, but armed resistance to France failed to develop before 1945.

On March 9, 1945, fearing an Allied attack, the Japanese moved suddenly to sequester French military and civilian officials throughout Indochina. The French were taken by surprise. The Japanese then urged local rulers, who had been handpicked by the French, to declare independence. For the next few months Cambodia and Laos governed themselves, Vietnam was

briefly reunited, and the Viet Minh descended from their strongholds to take control over much of Tonkin. In September 1945 Bao Dai abdicated in favor of Ho Chi Minh, who proclaimed Vietnam's independence in Hanoi a day after Japan surrendered to the Allies.

After the surrender, under agreements reached at Potsdam in June 1945, British troops were sent to disarm the Japanese in southern Indochina, while Chinese Nationalist troops performed the same task in the north. British support for French colonialism (opposed by the United States) meant that several hundred French troops were able to reenter Cochin China and reassert control there and in Cambodia. They were unable to do so in the north, where they were forced to negotiate with Ho Chi Minh's new national government, known as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (RDVN). In November 1946 fighting broke out between French and RDVN forces, first in northern Vietnam and later throughout the country. By 1950 the Vietnamese Communists had also come to dominate the poorly organized Lao and Cambodian independence movements. After the Communist victory in China in 1949, Chinese aid helped the Viet Minh to defeat the French,

and all of Indochina became independent in 1954. Vietnam, however, was divided at the seventeenth parallel, and an anticommunist regime in southern Vietnam held out against North Vietnamese military pressure with American assistance until l975, when RDVN forces occupied the south and reunited the country, which they renamed the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

A BALANCE SHEET

Half a century after the collapse of the French empire in Indochina, and nearly thirty years after the end of the second Indochina War, we can assess the colonial era more objectively than would have been possible in the 1940s and 1950s, when independence movements throughout Southeast Asia, supported by large sections of global public opinion, swept out their colonial masters. The historian Nicholas Tarling has called colonialism in Southeast Asia a "fleeting, passing phase" and certainly France's brief time in Indochina has to be weighed against the thousands of years that came before and the half-century that has elapsed since France departed from the region. It is tempting to say that the colonial era in Indochina was unimportant. Nonetheless, while it is possible to imagine Vietnam modernizing itself without the intrusion of a colonial power, it is unlikely that Laos and Cambodia would have survived as independent states without French protection against their Southeast Asian neighbors.

A legacy of French town planning, official architecture, and design is still visible in Indochina, especially in the larger towns. Museums in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam were established by the French and flourish today, while in Cambodia the French still play an important role in the restoration and maintenance of Angkor. The major cities, especially Hanoi and Phnom Penh, still have a French "feel" about them, and whereas Vietnam and Laos now have Marxist-Leninist regimes, the government of Cambodia retains many organizational features inherited from the colonial era. Finally, while the many shortcomings of French rule must be firmly kept in mind, it is impossible to blame or praise the French for developments that have occurred in Indochina since the 1970s, after French influence had sharply diminished throughout the region.

SEE ALSO *Mekong River, Exploration of the.*

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David Chandler

FRENCH POLYNESIA

French Polynesia is a group of islands in the South Pacific, including five archipelagos: the Austral Islands, the Gambier Islands, the Marquesas Islands, the Tuamotu Islands, and the Society Islands (Tahiti, Mooréa, Tetiaroa, Raiatea, Tahoa, Huahine, Bora-Bora, and Maupiti).

The first European sailors to reach this part of the world were Spanish (Alvaro Mendaña de Neira [1541–1595] reached the Marquesas in 1595) and Portuguese (Pedro Fernandez de Quirós [1565–1615] reached Tuamotu in 1605), though neither initial ventures led to imperial control in these areas. The rekindling of important shipping expeditions in the Pacific over the eighteenth century (particularly Samuel Wallis [1728–1795] in 1767 and James Cook [1728–1779] between 1769 and 1777 for Britain; Louis-Antoine de Bougainville [1729–1811] in 1768 and Jean-François de La Pérouse [1741–1788] in

1786 for France) sharply increased interest in these areas, while also sharpening Anglo-French colonial rivalries.

Initially, Britain held the advantage, as English Protestant missionary groups gained favor with the Pomaré dynasty (1762–1880), which reigned over Tahiti and the surrounding islands of Mooréa, Tuamotu, Mehetia, Tubai, and Raivave. However, the London Missionary Society was never able to induce London to establish a British protectorate in the region.

In contrast, France's search for ports and prestige led to annexation of the Marquesas and the establishment of a protectorate in 1842. The same occurred in Tahiti at the request of the Queen Pomaré IV (1813–1877). A protectorate agreement by the French recognized the sovereignty of the Marquesas and Tahiti states and the authority of the local chiefs.

Although the British instigated local rebellions, French influence prevailed over the next six decades, leaving a lasting impact in the region. After the abdication of King Pomaré V (1839–1891) on June 29, 1880, France seized the opportunity to annex Tahiti, and then the Gambier Islands the following year, the "Islands-Under-the-Wind" (Raiatea, Tahoa, Huahine, Bora-Bora, and Maupiti) between 1888 and 1897, and the Austral Islands in 1902. These different archipelagos then took the name of "French Settlement of Oceania" until 1957, when they became French Polynesia.

As with many French colonies, inhabitants of these islands have expressed a desire for autonomy since World War II. In 1946, with the new French constitution, the islands became a French overseas territory. Since 2003, they have been an internally autonomous overseas collectivity.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Monique Milia-Marie-Luce

FUR AND SKIN TRADES IN THE AMERICAS

A robust exchange of North American furs for European metal goods combined with imperial ambitions in the sixteenth century to effect dramatic transformations in the lives of Amerindians. It was a harbinger of European colonization from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Annual expeditions by French fishermen trawling for cod off Newfoundland and what was then known as Acadia on the North Atlantic coast (from the Grand Banks to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence) bartered for furs with the indigenous inhabitants. In the 1570s, the fashion for wide-brimmed felt hats created a lucrative market for beaver pelts in Europe, giving momentum to this long-established commerce.

The North American fur trade served as a bridgehead for the pursuit of colonial expansion amid imperial competition between Spain, Portugal, England, France, and Holland. The motives for exploration of the Atlantic coast of North America were the search for an inland sea or a northwest passage to Cathay (China) and to find precious metals or spices.

In 1524 the Italian navigator Giovanni da Verrazano (ca. 1485–1528) explored the areas coterminous with present-day New York Harbor, Narragansett Bay, and the coast of Maine. He observed that a protocol already existed for trade between passing ships and the Amerindians of coastal Maine. In 1534 and 1535 Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), sailing out of Saint-Malo, France, explored the upper reaches of the Saint Lawrence River. He reported the Mi'kmaq (Micmac) Indians as offering furs for trade and saw extensive crops and orchards in the towns at Stadacona (near present-day Quebec) and Hochelaga.

When Samuel de Champlain (ca. 1570–1635) followed Cartier's route in 1603, he found Stadacona deserted, no trace of the orchards, and Mohawk war parties in the vicinity. However, the imperatives of competition required Europeans to align themselves with indigenous trading partners and therefore to become enmeshed in local rivalries. Thus, the Montagnais Indians became the main agents and beneficiaries of the French trade, but their Iroquois enemies were denied access to trade, and therefore subsequently aligned themselves with the Dutch.

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the establishment of permanent settlements, after a series of failed attempts. The English-based Virginia Company founded Jamestown in 1607; Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec in 1608 on behalf of the New France Company; and the Dutch West Indies Company founded Fort Nassau at Albany in 1614 and New Amsterdam (New York) in 1624.

The French controlled the northern route from Quebec, with access to the course of the Saint Lawrence River, which led to the Great Lakes. The Dutch controlled the Hudson River to Albany and the route westward to Lake Ontario until 1644, when they surrendered

European and Indian Fur Traders. *A robust exchange of North American furs for European metal goods combined with imperial ambitions in the sixteenth century to effect dramatic transformations in the lives of Amerindians. This Native American offers beaver pelts to European traders.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

it to the English. French and English traders then began to compete for territorial as well as commercial advantage, drawing Amerindians into competing trading networks. The results were often costly. After 1624, the Iroquois obtained guns from the Dutch, in 1648 they attacked and destroyed Huronia, the Huron homelands which lay between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, and from 1649 to 1651 they inflicted the same fate on the Hurons' dependent neighbors (the Tobacco and Neutral nations), as well as on the Nipissing Indians, the Cat nation, and the Erie Indians during the so-called Beaver Wars.

The advance of the fur trade frontier exacerbated existing rivalries among Amerindians now competing for access to the European trade, and warfare casualties increased with the deployment of European guns and metal weapons. However, the most catastrophic consequence of the fur trade was the introduction of European-borne diseases that devastated Amerindian populations. By 1611 the Abenaki, among the first Native Americans to ally themselves to the French, saw their number reduced from ten thousand to three

thousand after just one decade of sustained contact. Furthermore, the consumption of alcohol became entrenched as part of the trading ritual and caused much harm to the social fabric of Amerindian tribes and many drink-related deaths. Missionaries evangelizing among Amerindians ineffectually railed against the practice.

Mortality among European traders who settled in the region was also high in proportion to their number, due for the most part to scurvy and the rigors of the North American winter. None of these calamities diminished the European determination to pursue trade, nor Amerindian eagerness for European goods, most notably axes, guns, gunpowder, kettles, and knives, which replaced traditional stone, wood, and bone tools. These commodities were acquired in exchange for beaver and otter skins by the northeastern natives, and deerskin by those in the Southeast, where the Cherokee traded the astonishing figure of 1.25 million deerskins between 1739 and 1759.

The establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1668 heralded a new era of expansion of the lucrative North American fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Company

was to change the life of Amerindians heretofore untouched by the fur trade in significant and enduring ways, even though, for its first hundred years of existence, the company was content to erect trading posts at Hudson Bay and James Bay, allowing Indian entrepreneurs to conduct business inland. Access to trade most benefited those tribes acting as middlemen, in this case the Cree and Assiniboine.

French traders and explorers pushed out on to the Great Plains in the eighteenth century. The ensuing competition for trade affected prices, not least because of the French imperative to retain Amerindians as allies. French traders maintained a presence in the fur trade even after France lost Canada to Britain in 1763, at the close of the Seven Years' War (or French and Indian War). The French trading network was now taken over by the North West Company, a Canadian-based concern.

In 1793 Alexander Mackenzie (1764–1820), an explorer for the North West Company, crossed the Rocky Mountains to reach the Pacific Coast. Russians had been trading sea otter pelts along the Pacific coast since the 1740s, and James Cook had visited Nootka Sound in 1778. Exploitation of the Pacific fur trade gained impetus after the amalgamation of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, which strengthened the Canadian position against the inroads of American competitors.

However, the depletion of beaver populations and the decline of the European fur trade in the early nineteenth century—when silk hats superseded beaver—shifted the demand to buffalo (bison) robes. What began as a commercial interest in the buffalo to provide provisions for the Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River Colony, a Highland and Irish colony founded by Lord Selkirk in 1812 on lands to the south of Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg, which developed into a strong market for robes in the 1840s until the demand shifted to hides after 1865.

European settlement accelerated, and the colonization of North America now extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This process was underwritten by violence and land dispossession, and culminated in the Great Plains and prairies with the destruction of the once extensive buffalo herds. By the 1880s, indiscriminate slaughter put an end to the prosperity gained through the fur trade by the indigenous tribes whose very existence depended on the buffalo. This ecological cataclysm was followed by famine and the confinement of native peoples to reservations. The fur trade continued, moving further northwards, and survives to this day, an ambivalent legacy of European colonization of North America.

SEE ALSO *Cacao; Company of New France; Cotton; Sugar Cultivation and Trade.*

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Blanca Tovías

G

GAMA, VASCO DA
1469–1524

The Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route from Europe to India. Continuing the long-term Portuguese project of exploring the African coastline, he rounded the Cape of Good Hope and continued to Calicut, India, during a voyage that lasted from 1497 to 1499, "an open-sea excursion of unprecedented duration for a European navigator...a demonstration of audacity rather than ability" (Fernández-Armesto 2000a, p. 479).

Gama was a violent, ruthless, and ambitious man whose successes in forging a network of Portuguese footholds in Asia became, over the course of his lifetime and subsequent centuries, the stuff of Portuguese national legend. Portugal's national epic, *The Lusíads* (1572) by Luis Vaz de Camões (1524–1580), is based on Gama's activities, transforming a story of seamanship and poor diplomacy into one of endurance, adventure, and heroism in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

Vasco da Gama was a minor Portuguese noble born in the 1460s (probably 1469, argues Sanjay Subrahmanyam [1997] in the most authoritative and scholarly biography of Gama), possibly in the southern Portuguese coastal town of Sines. Much of what we know about Gama's background and life are based on conjecture from notoriously inclusive and fragmentary surviving documents. There are huge gaps in our knowledge and much disagreement among historians over many of the details.

It is far from certain why Gama was chosen as the leader of the expedition that made his name and career.

He was a member of the Order of Santiago, one of the several military orders that played important political and social roles in medieval Portugal. In the 1490s the orders were particularly tied up with contests over court influence and the ends and means of overseas expansion.

Subrahmanyam argues that Manuel I (known as "the Fortunate," r. 1495–1521) gave Gama command of the modest expedition of four ships to the pepper emporium of Calicut in the hope that, should the expedition fail, some of the disrepute would rub off on the political faction with which Gama was associated. This group gathered around Dom Jorge (1481–1550), the illegitimate son of João II (r. 1481–1495), Manuel's predecessor on the throne. Dom Jorge's faction believed that the old enemy Castile, rather than India, should be the object of the state's imperial activity, although Gama himself pragmatically came to see the value of India once his own fortunes became tied to the success of Portugal's expeditions to the region.

Motivations for the "voyage of discovery" were mixed. As Gama acknowledged at the beginning of the narrative of his first voyage (probably written by his crewmember Álvaro Velho), "In the year 1497 King Dom Manuel, the first of that name in Portugal, dispatched four vessels to make discoveries and go in search of spices" (Ravenstein 1898, p. 1). Adventure, colonization, commerce, and religion combined to send Gama in search of the sea route to India.

Once in the Indian Ocean, Gama encountered polycentric networks of great religious and ethnic diversity—not a monolithic Islamic monopoly—a mix into which Gama's aggression and ambition cast a further complicating factor. In East Africa, Gama and his men at first

Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524). *The Portuguese explorer who in the 1490s rounded the Cape of Good Hope and discovered the sea route from Europe to India, in a 1572 woodcut portrait.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

pretended to be Muslims out of fear of the locals. When this ruse was discovered, Gama's party was regarded with distrust and suspicion. Gama aggravated things by frequently taking hostages as part of negotiations. In March 1498, several months before reaching India, he bombarded the shores of Mozambique in order to demonstrate, as an anonymous onlooker recorded, "how much harm we could do them if we wanted." He continued his confrontational strategy in India, which contributed to souring relations with the rulers of Calicut, the main pepper market and the principal destination of his voyage.

Despite his preference for violence and confrontation over compromise and negotiation, Gama was not above taking advantage of local expertise or politics. During his first voyage, Gama used local pilots (although

not, as was thought, the great Ahmad Ibn Majid [1432–1500]) to cross the Indian Ocean, and exploited local political tensions to gain friends in Malindi in Africa and amongst the Saint Thomas Christians in Cochin in India. Yet he did so without compassion: One pilot was whipped after mistaking some islands for the mainland. Gama did not bring conflict single-handedly into the region, but rather intensified it by his ruthless tactics and by introducing new naval technology and a more systematic approach to warfare.

Upon his return to Lisbon in 1499, Gama was not received as the hero he felt himself to be. The Portuguese Crown awarded him a grant of land around Sines, but Gama was infuriated with what he perceived to be the meager nature of this prize. The turn of the century saw deep rivalry between other profoundly ambitious social climbers who sought patronage in Iberia for adventurous schemes of exploration and "discovery."

On the follow-up voyage to Gama's discovery of the sea route, in 1500 Pedro Álvares Cabral (ca. 1467–1520) happened upon the Brazilian littoral. Yet the failure of either Gama's or Cabral's voyages to yield tangible financial profits, considered in the light of news of the discoveries of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) in the Indies to the west, put considerable pressure on Gama's second expedition (1502–1503). On this voyage Gama bore the Columbus-inspired title of Admiral of the Seas of Arabia, Persia, and India. He was just as confrontational in style on this voyage, which included an infamous and terrible incident in which he plundered, burned, and sank a passing ship, the *Mîrî,* thus ensuring the death by drowning of the 240 Muslim pilgrims it was carrying.

Such deeds have not prevented a long Portuguese history of elaborating and promoting Gama's legend. The image of Gama as national hero and icon grew out of his triumphant return to Lisbon from his second voyage in 1503, laden with gold and spices. Nevertheless, it was immediately followed by a lengthy period in the political wilderness from 1504 to 1523 because Gama did not share Manuel I's conception of a universal Portuguese empire in Asia that might link up with the realm of Prester John, a mythical ruler of a Christian empire thought to lie in Central Asia or Africa, and other local Christians to outflank and destroy Islam.

Profits from the spice trade were a secondary consideration. Gama—famously spendthrift and money-grubbing—thought colonial enterprises to be a waste of money that a kingdom with meager resources like Portugal could ill afford. Gama believed it would be better for private merchants to handle the spice trade and for the state to establish and service just a few trading posts in order to facilitate commerce. This allowed others to reap the financial and political rewards of voyages to

India, in particular one of Gama's rivals, Afonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515). The descendents and admirers of the two men perpetuated the two heroes' images and exploits in subsequent centuries, but Gama himself set about manipulating his growing legend during his period out of political favor precisely in order to ensure his own rehabilitation. That he did succeed in returning to a position of power and influence and that he died as a viceroy was testament to his vigorous social climbing and endurance.

Upon the death of Manuel I in 1521 and the arrival on the throne of João III (r. 1521–1557), Vasco da Gama became one of the king's advisors, arguing forcefully that Portugal should limit its position in India to Cochin and Goa. Faced with financial constraints and Dutch and Castilian threats to Portugal's imperial outposts, João sent Gama to India as viceroy and count of Vidigueira in 1524 to carry out a program of administrative and organizational reform and to remove Castilian infiltrators from the Moluccas. In the brief period in India that his poor health allowed him (less than a year), Gama once again revealed his characteristics as a stern disciplinarian, an avid fortune hunter, and an assiduous enemy of Muslims in Malabar. Overworked and unable to overcome the effects of the local climate on his weakened body, Gama died on December 24, 1524. He was buried with full honors in the Franciscan Church of San Antonio in Cochin.

Contemporaries did not all see Gama as a courageous hero. Some saw him as a "xenophobe improbably transplanted to the tropics" (Fernández-Armesto 2000b, p. 13). Certainly he was an arrogant and uncompromising leader who was resolutely focused on his own status and wealth (and that of his clientele). He was a merciless killer of opponents and unfortunates. Yet his legend continued apace, assured most notably by the success of Camões's *Lusíads*. In the late nineteenth century, the Portuguese state sponsored extravagant and drawn-out celebrations surrounding the reinterment in Lisbon of Gama's bones.

The Indian nationalist historian K. M. Panikkar (1959) dubbed the period of European imperialism in Asia from 1500 to 1945 as the "Vasco da Gama era." Gama's discovery of the sea route to India for Portugal was not the forceful heroism of one man but the culmination of decades of advances and incremental accumulation of knowledge. Gama's tactics in assuring the success of his explorative and commercial ventures were hardnosed, confrontational, aggressive, and often violent. His initial cultivation of the legend surrounding his heroism was pursued with equal vigor. Gama was the first to profit from the "actual financial, fiscal and material returns" (Subrahmanyam 1997, p. 361) of this legend, but he was by no means the last.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Portuguese; Goa, Colonial City of.*

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Matthew Brown

GENTLEMEN XVII

SEE *Heeren XVII*

GERMANY AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Germany and the Middle East have experienced a number of significant physical and political transformations in history, and the terms *Germany* and *Middle East* harbor many meanings as a result. In 1830 Germany was a linguistic zone of Central Europe where people spoke primarily German, and it encompassed all of Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, Saxony, Hanover, Württemberg, and Baden, and part of Silesia, Bohemia, Denmark, and France. In 1871 Prussian Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) brought together dozens of German-speaking kingdoms, free cities, duchies, and principalities to form a new sovereign nation-state called Germany, which did not include the German-speaking parts of Austria or Czechoslovakia. The political borders of this Germany changed again after its defeat in World War I (1914–1918), during and after the Nazi Third Reich, and after the reunification of East and West Germany in 1989.

The meaning of the term *Middle East* has been even more fluid. Western European geographers and historians after the Renaissance divided the Orient (the land east of Western Europe) into three regions: Near East (the region nearest Europe and extending from the eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf); Middle East (the region from the Persian Gulf to Southeast Asia); and Far East (the region bordering the Pacific Ocean).

In English the designation of *Middle East* changed during World War II (1939–1945) when the term identified the British military command in Egypt, which consisted of the states or territories of Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Palestine (now Israel), Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, and the Arabian Peninsula. This designation parallels current scholarly convention that identifies the Middle East as a region that includes Turkey in the northwest, Egypt in the southwest, the Arabian Peninsula in the southeast, and Persia (Iran) in the northeast. Greece is sometimes included in definitions of the Middle East because a problem for the European Great Powers called the Eastern question first arose when the Greeks fought for their independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821. This Eastern question provides a natural focus for scholarly discussions of Germany and the Middle East, which concentrate on German relations with the Ottoman Empire in the period from 1880 to 1918 and particularly on German imperial ambitions in the Ottoman sphere of influence during that period—a sphere of influence that corresponds very closely to the current scholarly definition of the Middle East.

PRUSSIA/GERMANY AND THE EASTERN QUESTION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In 1853 the Russian Tsar Nicholas I (1796–1855) described the Ottoman Empire as the "sick man" of Europe, vocalizing the underlying assumption of the Eastern question that a once great and powerful empire was diseased and dying. Indeed, the Eastern question was one of the major geopolitical problems facing Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The slow disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the eastern Mediterranean threatened to upset the equilibrium established at the Congress of Vienna between the European Great Powers after the defeat of Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) in 1815. Most of the Great Powers in this self-styled Concert of Europe constantly probed Ottoman weakness to expand their imperial holdings in the Balkans and Middle East. Austria and Russia coveted Ottoman lands on their borders and the British in India desired control of neighboring Persia in the Ottoman sphere of influence.

The Eastern question attained volatile intensity during the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832), the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Balkan crisis between 1875 and 1878, the Bosnian crisis of 1908, the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, and World War I. France and Britain preemptively intervened on the side of the Greeks against the Turks in the 1820s to foil longstanding Russian designs on controlling the Bosphorus region

leading from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, and they united again in the Crimean War against the Russians when Russia defeated the Ottoman navy and invaded a part of the Ottoman Empire (Moldavia and Wallachia) that is now Romania. In the peace treaty ending the war, all the Great Powers guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the Bosphorus remained closed to warships, and Moldavia and Wallachia remained under Turkish suzerainty. Austria mediated the conflict, whereas Prussia remained aloof.

Prussian aloofness to the Eastern question ended when Prussia fought and won wars against Austria in 1866 and France in 1870 and 1871 to unify Germany as a sovereign nation-state. As the leader of a new but satisfied Power, the Prussian/German Prime Minister Bismarck saw his task as maintaining peace among the Great Powers. Prussian victories had upset the old balance of power in the heart of Europe and had unsettled old alliances. Bismarck identified the Balkans—that hotbed of the Eastern question where the continued disintegration of the Ottoman Empire could easily lead to conflict between Austria and Russia—and France, which desired revenge for its defeat in 1871 and its loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany, as destabilizing forces. Ever wary of the violent potential present in the Eastern question and observing no German economic or political interest in the region per se, Bismarck quipped in 1876 that the solution to the Eastern question was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier (i.e., German soldier). He crafted the Three Emperors' League with Russia and Austria in 1873 to prevent their alliance with France, but it collapsed when rebellion broke out in the Ottomans' Balkan provinces and Russia declared war on the Turks in 1877.

When Russia forced the Ottomans to cede extensive territory in the Treaty of San Stefano, Bismarck called for an international conference to reconsider the treaty. To maintain Great Power balance in regards to the Eastern question, Bismarck brokered a deal whereby the Russians accepted more modest territorial gains in the Balkans at the Congress of Berlin in 1878; Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania gained independence from the Ottomans, and Austria achieved temporary administrative rights to Bosnia-Herzegovina, which were still legally Ottoman territories. Bismarck next negotiated an alliance with Austria in 1879, which he repeatedly used to prevent Austria from going to war with Russia over Ottoman territories. He reluctantly extended Germany's influence to the Middle East in 1882 when he agreed that the German Empire would replace France as the military adviser to the Ottoman army.

Germany's military mission began a more active political and economic engagement with the Ottoman

Empire and the Eastern question. Nicknamed *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East) and promoted by the German ambassador to the Ottomans in the early 1880s, the new policy advocated German cultural and economic penetration of the Ottoman realm to achieve imperial parity with France and Britain there. The Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842–1918), who ruled from 1876 to 1909, turned to the Germans as a counterbalance to the British after the British occupied the Ottoman territories of Cyprus and Egypt and became involved in administering the Ottoman public debt.

After 1885 Germany's military mission was responsible for instituting a network of military preparatory schools, reorganizing the Ottoman officer corps on the Prussian model, creating a market for arms shipments from Germany, and initiating concessions for construction of a railroad. Because the German Empire arrived late as a European overseas imperial power, especially in Africa and the Middle East, the Ottomans regarded the Germans as free from the taint of snatching land from Turkish rule. The same could not be said of the French (who seized Algeria in 1830 and Tunis in 1881) or the British (who occupied Cyprus in 1878 and Egypt in 1882). Also pleasing to the Turks was Bismarck's stated policy of preserving what remained of the Ottoman Empire as a bulwark against Russian expansion into the Balkans and Middle East. Finally, the growing importance of the Middle East to Germany can also be seen in the founding of the Seminar for Oriental Languages in Berlin in 1887 to train Orientalist scholars.

German involvement with the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East quickened after Bismarck's departure in 1890. Kaiser (emperor) Wilhelm II (1859–1941), who ruled from 1888 to 1918, proposed a new course, which he officially proclaimed in 1896 and 1897, that called for expanded German influence overseas. The resulting *Weltpolitik*, or drive for global power, produced the direct competition with the other Great Powers that Bismarck tried to avoid. The construction of a new German high seas battle fleet antagonized Britain, and both Britain and Russia felt threatened by the expanding German military and economic influence in the Ottoman Empire.

GERMANY AND THE MIDDLE EAST, 1896–1907

From 1880 to 1918 German Middle Eastern policy centered on the Ottoman Empire. As part of its new relationship with the Turkish state, Germany supported the Ottomans in the Turkish-Greek War over Crete in 1897, much to the irritation of the British. Especially disturbing to the British was Germany's promotion of pan-Islamic politics. Pan-Islamism was an anti-European Ottoman doctrine that proclaimed that the sultan in his

role as caliph (successor to Muhammad) was the spiritual leader of the world's Muslims. The doctrine called on Muslims everywhere to defend the Ottoman Empire and caliphate against infidels (i.e., European imperialists). In a widely publicized speech during a state visit to the Ottoman Empire in late 1898, the kaiser proclaimed himself the protector of the world's 300 million Muslims allying the German Empire with a Pan-Islamism that he believed would inspire revolts against Britain's global empire by the 96 million Muslims living within it.

Sultan Abdülhamid II and the Turks appreciated Wilhelm's words and in December 1899 awarded Deutsche Bank and German industrial firms the concession to build a railroad from Ankara to Baghdad. The deal was officially signed in 1903. The potential value of the railroad was obvious to the Germans and the British. When completed it would link Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, with Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, and the Germans planned to run the line all the way to Berlin. The intended Berlin-to-Baghdad railroad became a potent and much used symbol of German penetration of the Ottoman realm. The railway would allow Germany easy economic access to Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Gulf region (and British India) and the Germans were granted mineral (oil) rights along the route, a development that alarmed the British.

In 1903 the same German businesses received a concession to construct the Hijaz railway from Damascus to Mecca. German-Turkish financial ties were further strengthened with the founding of the German-Palestine Bank in 1903 in Jerusalem and the German Orient Bank in Cairo in 1906. In 1906 the Hamburg-Amerika line began competing with British ships for Persian Gulf traffic. Germany's ambassadors to Turkey—Marschall von Bieberstein (1842–1912), who held office from 1897 until his death, and Hans von Wangenheim (1859–1915), who took over from 1912 to 1915—worked tirelessly to open markets for German products. By 1914 Germany's share in the Ottoman public debt reached 22 percent (it had been 4.7 percent in 1888), Germans had a 67.5 percent share in Ottoman railway investment, and German banks played an important role in the Turkish economy.

In the two decades before World War I, Germany replaced France and Russia as Britain's main rival in the Middle East, the territory occupied by the Ottoman Empire. Germany rebuffed British overtures for an alliance in 1899 and 1900 and instead engaged in a major naval arms race with Britain that encouraged Britain to settle its colonial differences with France and Russia in the Middle East and create Bismarck's nightmare, a Germany encircled by a hostile Great Power alliance. The British agreement with France in 1904 was a severe

blow to German diplomacy in the Middle East, which had exploited Anglo-French tensions over the British occupation of Egypt to wring colonial concessions from Britain. Britain and Russia solved issues on the eastern edge of the Ottoman Empire by reaching an understanding on Persia and Afghanistan in 1907.

GERMANY, THE EASTERN QUESTION, WORLD WAR I, AND AFTER

In July 1908 an army revolt placed nationalists called Young Turks in key positions of power in the Ottoman Empire. They intended to put an end to the Eastern question by making the Ottoman Empire a modern, parliamentary, centralized, industrial state along European lines. During the chaos caused by the army revolt, however, Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in October 1908 and Bulgaria declared its complete independence, further reducing Ottoman territories and resurrecting the Eastern question in its full force. Official Russian and Serbian reactions to Austria's move were belligerent and the Bosnian crisis nearly led to a European-wide war. The Eastern question was still simmering and four years later the Turks suffered a crushing defeat in the first Balkan War (1912–1913) with Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria, which cost the Ottomans four-fifths of their European territories. A coup in January 1913 gave the pro-German faction of the Young Turks complete power and in November 1913 the Germans dispatched General Otto Liman von Sanders (1855–1929) to become inspector-general of the Turkish Army. His mission was to reorganize and modernize the Turkish army to block Russian designs on the Bosphorus and the Middle East. The glowing embers of the Eastern question sparked a renewed crisis in the Balkans in July 1914 involving Austria, Serbia, and Russia in the wake of the continued diminution of Ottoman power, and they soon ignited a world war.

Just as the Great Powers were declaring war on each other, the pro-German faction of the Turkish government signed a secret alliance with Germany on August 2, 1914, reflecting the strong German influence in the army faction headed by Enver Pasa (1881–1922), the minister of war, as well as centuries-long enmity with Russia. As part of the pact, the Germans promised to protect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire while the war aims memorandum of German Prime Minister Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1856–1921), written in September 1914, called for the establishment of German economic domination of the Balkans and the Turkish Middle East after the war. The Ottomans remained officially neutral until November 1914 when early German victories against the French and the

Russians, and a huge loan from Germany, led to an open alliance with the Germans.

The German Empire assisted the Ottomans militarily in World War I, especially in the defense of Gallipoli (1915–1916) against British and Australian forces, and hoped to incite rebellion among Britain's Muslim subjects in Egypt and India and to inflame anti-British fervor in the Middle East as a whole, thereby weakening the British war effort in Europe. The Germans persuaded the new sultan-caliph Mehmed V (1844–1918) to declare a holy war (jihad) against Britain, France, and Russia in late 1914 as part of a military strategy to defeat the Allies, but the agitation among Arabs fell on deaf ears and the Germans were completely unprepared to organize indigenous revolts. In addition, the Young Turk rulers disliked German involvement in pan-Islamic and Ottoman affairs because it threatened Turkish sovereignty and foreign political interests and they were not interested in granting more political autonomy to the Arabs.

In the end, German leaders did not contest Turkish sensibilities regarding national minorities in the Ottoman Empire because the Germans intended to use the empire as a base for future economic and political expansion in the Middle East. Such a decision prevented any genuine German support of Arab nationalism. Ironically, harsh Ottoman treatment of Arabs and persecution of Arab nationalists led to a British-inspired revolt of the Arabs against Turkish rule in June 1916, which helped end Turkish rule in Arab lands by 1918. Also, German authorities rarely objected, and then only mildly, to the massacre of over a million Armenians beginning in April 1915 because the Germans wanted to maintain good relations with the Turks and accepted Turkish claims that the Armenians were traitors who were subverting Turkish military campaigns against the Russians.

The German-Turkish military alliance failed to prevail, however. Two major Turkish-German attacks on the Suez Canal, February 1915 and August 1916, were unsuccessful but they caused the British to keep large numbers of troops in Egypt. Advancing British and Arab forces from Egypt and Mesopotamia eventually won the desert campaigns against the Turks and Germans, whose problems included insufficient troops, weapons, and food, differences over military priorities, and the diversion of troops and supplies by the Turks to the Caucasus. The war ended in November 1918 and the last German forces left Turkey in January 1919. For the first time since 1835, when Prussia sent a small permanent military mission to Istanbul, there was no German military presence in Turkey. Germany's once formidable position in the Ottoman Empire disappeared. The Treaty of Versailles (June 1919) made German losses permanent and official: Articles 147–155 and 434

liquidated its investments in the former Ottoman Empire and Egypt.

During the 1920s the Middle East was virtually absent in the foreign policy of the German Weimar Republic. With its investments and trade destroyed and no military presence to exert political influence, the area became peripheral to German national interests. Once again those interests focused on the European continent and particularly the revision of the war guilt and reparation clauses of the Versailles treaty. Serious German interest in the Middle East ended with the Wilhelmine Empire. It was not resurrected by the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), who ruled Germany from 1933 to 1945, which had no steady policy toward the Middle East.

Nazis gave early support to the Zionist movement as a way to rid Germany of Jews, but after 1937, when it was recognized that a Jewish sovereign state in the Middle East was possible and it might serve as a base of activity against the Nazi genocidal state, Hitler opposed Jewish emigration to Palestine. The German *Afrikakorps* under General Erwin Rommel (1891–1944) fought an unwanted war (1941–1943) in North Africa to keep the Germans' Italian allies in Libya from being routed by the British and to forestall an Allied invasion of Italy. Germans were not attacking British Egypt in a repeat of the economic and political Drive to the East, which animated the kaiser's imperialism. The focus of Nazi imperialism, expansionist *lebensraum* (living space), was Soviet Russia, not the Middle East, to which Hitler refused to give much thought until the mammoth and time-consuming undertaking of conquering and pacifying Soviet Russia was completed. Haphazard and belated arms shipments by the Nazis to anti-British governments in Iraq, Syria, and Iran in the early 1940s did not forestall British victories in those countries.

From the early 1880s until 1918, the Ottoman Empire was Germany's bridge to the strategic and economic resources of the Middle East and the object of its political and economic expansion in the region. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern question—as far as it concerned the question of which European Great Power or Powers would take the place of the Ottoman Empire and fill the vacuum created by its disappearance—ceased to exist. With it went German ambitions but, in a broader sense, as an international question that dealt with the conflicting interests and rivalries of the Great Powers in the political and economic fields in the Middle East, the Eastern question has by no means been settled. As the German experience in the Middle East revealed, it became a question with global implications.

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Alexander M. Zukas

GERMANY'S AFRICAN COLONIES

The unification of Germany in 1871 constituted a watershed in Germany's imperial agenda of acquiring colonies in Africa. A number of lobbying groups formed after the unification, including the West German Society for Colonization and Export (1881) and the Central Association for Commercial Geography and the Promotion of German Interests Abroad (1878). These groups exerted pressure on the government to acquire colonies abroad, especially in Africa, by arguing that Germany needed the territories to maintain its economic preeminence. The result was the founding of the German Colonial Association in 1882. The expansion of German industry and the growth of German maritime interests facilitated a more aggressive colonial program. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) was initially not a colonial expansionist, but he changed and signed on to the demands of the lobbying groups for a more proactive role in the race for colonies.

Bismarck became convinced that it was imperative for Germany to move quickly if the country was to protect its trade and economic interests because of the emerging protectionist policies that would come with colonialism. This position was best articulated by the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce in 1884 when it asserted that if Germany were not to forever renounce colonial possessions in Africa, especially the Cameroon coast, then it had to act swiftly by acquiring the territory.

Annexation of territory was a significant feature of the emerging protectionist imperial world order of the late nineteenth century. In addition, the prevailing international situation strengthened Bismarck's resolve to acquire territories in Africa. The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and imperial incursions by France into Africa and Asia combined to make the issue of colonies a

national necessity that had to be embraced by Germany because of its preeminent role in continental European diplomacy and politics. Being the skillful politician he was, Bismarck also envisioned the politics of German colonies serving as a stabling force in domestic politics by emphasizing nationalism and the greatness of Germany internationally. Bismarck was a pragmatist and his drive to acquire colonies in Africa was largely a function of economic considerations, both real and potential, in the emerging imperial world order, European diplomacy, and domestic politics as well.

The Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885, hosted by Bismarck, was a turning point because it not only recognized European colonial claims in Africa but also hastened the process of partition. The European powers agreed that those nations claiming parts of Africa had to physically occupy them in order to legitimize those claims. Germany annexed South West Africa (present-day Namibia) in 1884 after negotiations with Great Britain. In the same year Germany annexed a strip of coastline on the Gulf of Guinea, which was later expanded into the territory of German Cameroon. The acquisition of Togo completed German annexation of territory in West Africa. Germany acquired German East Africa (present-day mainland Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi) in 1885, and a formal protectorate was declared in 1890. However, formal boundaries were not concluded until the late 1890s.

Germany used concessionary companies during the infancy stages of establishing a colonial presence in the annexed territories. The companies were granted charters to administer the colonies on behalf of the German government. The concessionary firms were supported on the grounds that they would mobilize private capital for the purpose of investment in the colonies. The argument was that private enterprise would be less costly, both to the government and taxpayers, since the latter two would be spared the burden of financing the empire.

In South West Africa, German imperial interests were advanced by the German South-West Africa Company and in East Africa by the Imperial German East Africa Company. The companies failed to perform as expected because of two main factors. First, the companies lacked a strong capital base to undertake the various governmental functions, including constructing the infrastructure required for colonial control. Second, the companies were ill-equipped to contain uprisings during the initial stages of establishing imperial control. By the end of the 1890s, direct governmental control had supplanted administration by concessionary companies.

Germany developed a reputation for ruthlessness in dealing with uprisings in its colonies. The Herero Uprising of 1904 was ruthlessly suppressed, resulting in the deaths of nearly sixty thousand out of a population of eighty thousand. The Germans not only shot the victims but also poisoned the water holes from which survivors could have drawn water, resulting in the deaths of thousands more. Those who survived were forced into work camps and became the subject of various medical experiments and examinations.

In German East Africa, the Abushiri Revolt was ruthlessly suppressed in 1889. The same fate befell the Hehe community following an uprising in 1893 when their leader, Mkwawa, was arrested and hanged. The 1905 to 1907 Maji Maji Rebellion in southern German East Africa was equally stamped out when Germans resorted to a "scorched earth" policy that resulted in killings, as well as a massive destruction of crops. The Duala resistance in Cameroon was brutally suppressed. In Togo, the Dagomba fiercely resisted German intrusion, but were overwhelmed. The colonization of African territories by Germany was to a large extent achieved through forceful means, which included overt military campaigns, economic coercion, and land seizure and expropriation.

After the colonial wars of pacification, Germany proceeded to institutionalize political and economic control by putting in place an administrative structure. The colony was headed by a governor. The commanders of the armed forces in the colony, although answerable to the governor, retained a lot of power because they were subject to the High Command in Berlin. The military performed the vital function of maintaining power relations in the colony. A number of the officers also doubled as regional administrators. African chiefs were appointed and made subject to the authority of the local German officials, who were invariably few. The chiefs were supposed to undertake such functions as collecting taxes, conscripting labor for colonial projects, and enforcing government policy. The Germans established a colonial administration that embraced both direct and indirect rule that varied from one colony to another, and on occasions even within the same colonial territory.

The administration of justice in the German colonies was anything but impartial. Its function was to maintain the status quo on the erroneous premise that Africans were inferior, which led to the degrading practice of corporal punishment as well as the frequent arbitrary executions in the colonies. The Germans developed public hospitals as well as educational institutions. But even in these two areas, the facilities were inadequate to cope with the large number of people who desired health and educational services.

The German colonial government encouraged the participation of missionary societies in the provision of these services. The situation in the German colonies was hardly dissimilar from that in other European colonies in

German Africa, 1914

Togoland

Cameroon

German East Africa

German Southwest Africa

ATLANTIC OCEAN

INDIAN OCEAN

Mediterranean Sea

N

0   400   800 mi.
0   400   800 km

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

Africa. German colonial rule was still evolving by the time World War I broke out. Africans were conscripted to fight on various warfronts in defense of German imperial interests. However, the end of the war in 1918 proved disastrous for Germany's imperial ambitions in Africa. Germany was defeated and forced to surrender all its colonies, which were subsequently taken over by the other European imperial powers—Britain, France,

Belgium, and in the context of South West Africa, South Africa.

SEE ALSO *Berlin Conference; Maji Maji Revolt, Africa.*

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George O. Ndege

GOA, COLONIAL CITY OF

The colonial port city of Goa corresponds to present-day Velha Goa (Old Goa), located on the left bank of the river Mandovi in the Tiswadi Taluka district of the Indian state known as Goa. Situated about 400 kilometers (249 miles) south of Bombay, the city of Goa was formerly the capital of Portuguese India, whose limits extended from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. Though the fabulous wealth of this city once earned for it the epithet Golden Goa, and its elegant and magnificent ecclesiastical institutions made it worthy of being called Rome of the East, for centuries it has been a city in ruins.

When Afonso d'Albuquerque (ca. 1460–1515) conquered Goa in 1510, the city was known as Ela. Ela's prosperity before the arrival of the Portuguese depended largely upon wealth from trade in horses brought from Arabia to meet the war needs of India's Vijayanagara kingdom. With the increase in trade, diverse merchant groups left Gopakapattanam (present-day Goa Velha), located on the banks of the Zuari River, and settled down in Ela by the mid-fourteenth century, leading to its emergence as an important port city in south Konkan. Eventually the city passed from the domain of the Vijayanagara rulers to the control of Muslim rulers, first into the hands of the Bahmani sultans in 1471 and then into the hands of the Bijapuri ruler Yusuf Adil Shah (d. 1510) in 1498. From this port city

alone the Bijapuri ruler earned one million *pardaos* (a type of Portuguese coin) annually in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Goa was under the control of Yusuf Adil Shah when the Portuguese conquered the city on February 17, 1510. The Portuguese conquerors benefited from the help of many who wanted to reestablish Vijayanagara rule over the territory, including such personalities as the Hindu chief Thimmaya. The conditions prevailing in Goa favored an invasion. Yusuf Adil Shah was busy fighting the king of Vijayanagara, Narasimha (r. 1505-1509) in order to consolidate his recent conquest, and he had entrusted the governance of Goa to Yusuf Gurgi, who with his Turkish soldiers was mistreating the local population. This mistreatment antagonized the locals, who welcomed the invading Portuguese.

THE INITIAL STAGE: 1510–1540

By taking control of Goa, the Portuguese hoped to establish their grip over Asian trade through the implementation and furtherance of their commercial policies. Thimayya was appointed by Afonso d'Albuquerque to the post of chief *thanadar* (captain) of all of Goa's people on the condition that Thimayya would pay 60,000 gold *pardaos* annually to the government. Albuquerque also established a mint and struck new gold, silver, and copper coins worth 480, 40.5, and 2.25 *reals* respectively.

The Portuguese were forced to retreat from Goa when the Bijapuri ruler, Yusuf Adil Shah, laid siege to the city on May 23, 1510. The Portuguese reconquered Goa on November 25, 1510, the feast day of Saint Catherine.

Until 1543, Goa did not have significant hinterlands, with the exception of the chain of islands that surrounds the city. However, Afonso d'Albuquerque favored Goa to Cochin for a Portuguese base in India because the latter was too close to territory controlled by the *zamorin* (ruler) of Calicut, the main enemy of the Portuguese. The Portuguese chose to base their operations in Goa primarily because it remained outside of the range of the *zamorin*'s recurring attacks. Goa was also equidistant from the Indian states of Kerala and Gujarat, a position that enabled the Portuguese to disrupt the trade of both regions. Moreover, Goa provided the Portuguese with an advantageous position from which they could block the flow of commodities to the ports of the Red Sea.

Afonso d'Albuquerque embellished the city with new edifices, including a chapel in honor of Saint Catherine and an adjacent hospital. He transformed Goa's old Palace of the Sabaio into the governor's palace, formed a municipal government on the model of Lisbon, and retained the region's prevailing system of agricultural communities (the *communidade* system). The mint for coining Portuguese money was reestablished, and

marriages between Portuguese men and indigenous women were fostered. In 1517 the first Franciscan monastery was set up in Goa with nine members; in 1583 it became the seat of the Franciscan province of Saint Thomas of the East Indies.

Meanwhile, Goa's population had reached two thousand, and the number of public and private edifices in Goa increased so much that during the tenure of Lope Soares de Albergaria (1515–1519) land for new construction became scarce. As a result, the limits of the city were extended by filling a large trench encircling the city wall, and new buildings were erected.

In 1530 the capital of the Portuguese seaborne empire was transferred from Cochin to Goa. The entire empire, with Goa as the metropolitan capital, was subject to the Portuguese viceroy (or governor), whose residence was in the city of Old Goa till 1696, when it was relocated to Panelim, a suburb of Goa, following epidemics in the city. Under the supervision of the viceroy were five governors, who ruled over Mozambique, Malacca, Ormuz, Muscat, and Ceylon. They were supported by captains of fortresses, with civil and military authority. The viceroy's tenure was generally limited to three years, but his powers were almost absolute and extended to all branches of the administration

In 1534 Goa was elevated to the status of an Episcopal see (the seat of a diocese), and Bishop João d'Albuquerque (1478-1553) took charge of the Goa cathedral and diocese in 1538. Previously, the ecclesiastical administration of Goa was run by the Funchal diocese, from whence vicar generals were sent periodically to attend to the people's spiritual needs. The last vicar general was Father Miguel Vaz, who continued to work in Goa in the 1540s, even after the establishment of the bishopric and the arrival of the first bishop. The jurisdiction of the diocese of Goa extended from the Cape of Good Hope to the extreme east.

EXPANSION OF THE CITY: 1540–1600

In 1543 Viceroy Martim Afonso (ca. 1500–1564) obtained from Adil Shah the perpetual donation of Salcete and Bardez to the Portuguese Crown. Salcete and Bardez were two agriculturally important territories adjacent to Goa. The possession of these provinces gave the Portuguese access to wealth from agricultural production. A portion of this wealth and a sizeable share of the trade surplus accrued from intra-Asian trade carried out by Portuguese *casado* traders were used to beautify the city of Goa and to build churches and civic structures. By 1548, there were fourteen churches and chapels in the city and surrounding area, most of them built after 1540.

The first group of Jesuits reached Goa under the leadership of Francis Xavier (1506–1552) on May 6,

1542. For about ten years, Xavier undertook a long chain of travels preaching the gospel mostly in the peripheral areas of the empire and in places outside of Portuguese control. The initial base of the Jesuits in the city of Goa was the seminary of Santa Fé, which later became the famed College of Saint Paul, where native boys were trained to become priests, interpreters, catechists, and missionaries. The Jesuits were responsible for evangelizing the newly obtained territory of Salcete, while the Franciscans were responsible for Bardez; both orders attempted to erase the remnants of Hinduism in these areas.

These religious institutions also provided the platforms for the introduction of European cultural elements into Goa. In 1553 the Jesuits brought the first printing press to the city, and its first leaflet, the *Conclusões publicas,* and first book, a catechism by Xavier (1557), were printed at the College of Saint Paul. In 1553 the body of Xavier, who had died on the island of Sancian off the coast of China on December 3, 1552, was brought to Goa, where it remains the focus of religious devotion even today.

In 1557 Goa's ecclesiastical status was raised to archdiocese, with Cochin and Malacca as subordinates. With this move, Goa's cathedral, which was the only parochial church in the city until 1542, became the archiepiscopal metropolitan church in India. Church-centered urban growth had already evolved in Goa by this time. The Dominicans started building a monastery in 1550, completed in 1564, at the foot of a hillock named Monte. This structure became the headquarters of the Dominicans in the East. The Augustinians, who came to Goa in 1572, founded their monastery on Holy Hill and erected a Renaissance-style church called Our Lady of Grace. Adjacent to it was the Convent of Santa Monica, built by Dom Alexis de Menezes in 1606 as the only convent for women in the East.

Most of Goa's churches, monasteries, and civic structures were built between 1570 and 1600, a period when trade was liberalized by the Portuguese king Sebastian (1554–1578). The Indo-European trade, which until then was conducted from Goa as a royal monopoly, was handed over on a contract basis to German, Italian, and Portuguese private traders. Gabriel Holzschuher representing Konrad Rott of Augsburg (1579–1585), Ferdinand Cron representing the Fuggers and the Welsers of Germany (1586–1592), Filippo Sassetti representing Giovanni Rovallesca of Milan (1580–1592), and the Ximenes brothers representing the New Christian Portuguese traders of Lisbon (1592–1598) were the principal commercial agents who organized Indo-European trade to and from Goa between 1570 and 1600.

The Convent of Saint Monica. *Goa's Convent of Saint Monica, a three-story laterite structure, was built in the early 1600s by Dom Alexis de Menezes.* © BARNABAS BOSSHART/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Following this development, the intra-Asian trade passed into the hands of *casados*, who established their own commercial networks for commodity movement in the Indian Ocean with a base in Goa. The increase in Goa's private trade is also attested by the dramatic changes in the rate of customs (taxes on imports and exports) in Goa between 1540 and 1600. Collection of duties on spices in the 1540s amounted to 1350 *pardaos*; by the 1590s the duty on spices added up to 7755 Portuguese *xerafins* (a type of coin), suggesting a more than 500 percent increase in the private trade in spices in Goa during this period. Meanwhile, food grains brought in 2,500 *pardaos* in the 1540s, and 11,630 *xerafins* in the 1590s, indicating a more than 450 percent increase in the rice trade of Goa.

During the period of contract trade, when there was a favorable commercial atmosphere for private enterprise, a sizeable number of merchant capitalists from the Portuguese *casados* and the private traders began to emerge. This period also corresponds with increasing attempts by Portuguese private traders to build churches and elegant living quarters. A considerable share of the trade surplus from the *casados* and the wealth of the *fidalgos* (noblemen) was diverted for construction projects in Old Goa. The main structures built with this financing were the monastic houses of the Dominicans and the Augustinians, as well as Bom Jesus Basilica, Se Cathedral, and the College of Saint Paul. New epithets like "Rome of the East" were applied to Goa to give legitimacy to this building process and to mobilize support for it.

The hilly slopes of Old Goa were crowned with elegant edifices, and the ground below was dotted with magnificent palatial buildings and private houses surrounded by gardens and orchards. According to Pedro Barreto de Resende, there were 3,500 Portuguese houses in the city of Goa; 800 of them were made of stone and lime. Goa's Portuguese houses had beautiful windows and balconies, were covered with tiles, and featured alluring frontages that bordered the street with beautiful symmetry. Goa's population at the beginning of the seventeenth century was about 225,000. The most beautiful street in the city was *Rua Direita* (Straight Road), which was lined on both sides by lapidaries, goldsmiths, the homes of the wealthy, and the better merchants and craftsmen. Each class of artisans and traders resided together in Goa's localities.

The city of Goa extended hospitality to such eminent personalities as the Portuguese writer Luis Vaz de Camões (1524–1580), author of *The Lusíads*; Garcia da Orta (ca. 1500–1568), whose book *Colloquios dos simples e drogas da India* was published from Goa in 1563; and the Dutch traveler and historian Jan Huygen van

Linschoten (1563–1611), who as the private secretary of the archbishop of Goa remained in the city from September 1583 to November 1588 and passed on information to the Dutch about the maritime route to the East through his work *Itinerario.*

In 1597 Goa's aldermen hung a portrait of Vasco da Gama in the sessions hall of the Camara de Goa or city council of Goa and later built an arch over the gate through which people entered the city. A large marble statue of Gama was placed on top of the arch. Around 1598 an official archives was established in Goa with the name *Torre do Tombo* (Tower of the Cartulary), and Diogo do Couto was appointed as its chief custodian.

THE CITY IN CRISIS: 1600–1750

The seventeenth century presented a series of problems for Goa, the most serious being recurring Dutch attacks on the navigational lines of Goa's *casado* traders and the frequent epidemics resulting from water contamination. In 1603 the Dutch, having been expelled from Amboina, blockaded Goa for the first time but were compelled to raise the siege a month later. Though the Twelve Years Truce of Antwerp (1609–1621) provided interim relief, Goa was blockaded again by the English and Dutch for two months in 1623. Against this backdrop, in 1629 the new viceroy, Miguel de Noronha (1629–1635), count of Linhares, fortified Goa and Bardez and commenced work across the salt marshes on the long Panjim-Ribandar Bridge, often called the Ponte de Linhares.

To revive the Europe-oriented trade of Goa, the Portuguese authorities established in 1628 the Portuguese India Company with headquarters in Goa and a branch in Cochin on the model of other European commercial companies. However, this company was liquidated in 1634 after a great deal of money was wasted on the duplicated arrangements made for the company. The various ranks and grades of Portuguese officials instituted earlier for looking after trade and political affairs continued to exist, even after the appointment of separate officials for attending to the administrative and routine affairs of the Company, which led to duplication of arrangements. Moreover, the company had to make separate arrangements for transportation of commodities, which meant additional shipping expenses besides the normal ones involved in the routine navigational activities of the crown. The major portion of the extra expenses were to be paid by the crown, who promoted the idea of the company. On realizing this fact the crown liquidated the company.

During this period, new religious structures were also built in Goa, by the Carmelites in 1630, the Theatines in 1640, and the Oratorians in 1683. Joseph Vaz (1651–1711), a priest born near Goa in Sancoale,

joined the Oratorians in 1685 and is now regarded as the patron saint of Sri Lanka because of his evangelization work there.

In 1639 a serious epidemic struck Goa, laying low Viceroy Pedro da Silva himself. Things became worse with the repeated Dutch attacks on the city from 1637 to 1643. Trade to and from Goa declined drastically, and the loss of the Portuguese possessions of Coromandel and Malabar to the Dutch by 1663 deprived Goa of access to aid in times of emergency. This problem became acute when the Marathas from west-central India began attacking Goa in 1668. This attack by Shivaji (1630–1680), a Maratha prince, followed by an attack of Shambaji, the Maratha leader who succeeded Shivaji and controlled the affairs of Konkan and Maratha territory, in 1683, convinced the Portuguese authorities of the weakness of Goa's defense system.

In order to avoid further Maratha invasions and to escape from the frequent outbreak of epidemics, Viceroy Francisco de Tavora (1681–1686) decided to transfer the capital to Mormugao, which only hastened the decline of the city of Goa. Many wealthy families had already moved to the suburbs and to such cities as Batim (Guadalupe), San Lourenco, Naroa, and Chorao. The private edifices that had adorned Goa began to crumble. In 1693 Viceroy Pedro Antonio de Noronha (1661–1731) arrived in India with an order to expedite the Mormugao works and even move the ecclesiastical and civil offices from the city of Goa to the new capital. But he found it difficult to execute the order, and located his own residence in Panelim. The archbishop of Goa and most of the nobility followed his example.

Until the first decade of the eighteenth century, repeated orders were issued from Portugal to demolish the public structures of the old city of Goa and use the material to construct new structures in Mormugao, where the viceroy was directed to move his residence. Under various pretexts, however, the viceroy did not move. At this stage the state set aside 160,000 *xerafins* for the purpose of constructing a new capital in Mormugao. The capture of Bassein by the Marathas in 1739 had a major impact on the many personalities and institutions of the city of Goa, including the Convent of Santa Monica, that had direct and indirect involvement in the trade of Bassein. These developments drained the remaining economic vitality from the city of Goa.

THE PHASE OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGES: 1750–1961

By 1750 the city of Goa had entered a phase of deurbanization due to the mass exodus of people and the decline in trade. The city lost its privileged position as the seat of political and ecclesiastical life in Portuguese India.

Portuguese authorities tried to compensate for the loss incurred by the decline in trade by occupying additional cultivable space, which led to the conquest of new territories.

This effort began with the conquest of Ponda from the Marathas in 1763, followed by the occupation in 1764 of Sanguem, Quepem, and Canacona from the rulers of Sonda, who had sought asylum from the Portuguese at the time of the invasion of the Mysorean ruler Hyder Ali (1722–1782). Pernem, Sattari, and Bicholim were captured from the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi between 1781 and 1788. These newly acquired territories later came to be called the New Conquests, while the earlier possessions (Tiswadi, Bardez, and Salcete) were known as the Old Conquests. The New Conquests were twice the size of the Old Conquests and were chiefly Hindu, whereas the populations of the Old Conquests were predominantly Christian.

In the Old Conquests, the traditional system of *gauncaria* or *communidade*, which implied communitarian ownership of land, was continued with necessary modifications to suit Portuguese colonial designs. *Communidade* formed the principal rural institution around which the society and economy of Goa revolved. According to this system, proprietorship rested with the descendants or representatives of those by whom the village was, at some remote period, conquered or reclaimed from waste. About 12 percent of the land of Goa was under the possession of various *communidades*. Control of the village land, village economy, and village socioreligious life rested with the *communidades*.

The New Conquests, in contrast, maintained a system of *dessaidos*, whereby feudatory chiefs were allowed possession of individual property along with the duty to collect taxes, imposts, and other contributions. This system paved the way for the dilution of the *communidade* system and the emergence of private landownership in the New Conquests. The *dessais,* or feudal chiefs, controlled about 2,650 hectares (about 10.23 square miles) of land in this region. They raised annual revenues of about 110,000 *xerafins* during the nineteenth century. Between 1750 and 1800, a significant portion of the wasteland and low-lying areas of Goa were reclaimed and converted into cultivable land. A department of agriculture was established (1776–1834) to bolster agricultural production. Though the department tried to introduce new cash crops in Goa and bring more areas under cultivation with a view to solving the region's cereal deficit, success was only partial. These efforts in no way helped to infuse vitality into the old city of Goa, which the authorities in Panelim had completely forsaken.

Meanwhile, the Society of Jesus was expelled from Portugal and its colonies, including Goa, in 1759 by the Marquês de Pombal (1699–1782). The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and its colonies as they formed a strong lobby interfering even in the administrative affairs of the State in their capacity as "Confessors"(hearers of Confession) to the ruler. The Jesuit houses in the city of Old Goa were converted into military storehouses and were thereafter little attended to, a development that sped up the process of decay in the city. However, the landed estates of the Jesuits were distributed among private proprietors and enterprising people, which increased the number of private holdings in the Old Conquests. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the practice started of publicly exhibiting the body of Saint Francis Xavier periodically in the city of Old Goa, at first primarily to demonstrate to the Goan people that the Jesuits had not taken the body of the saint out of Goa.

Between 1760 and 1850 Goa's trade was revived by private traders, who developed larger mercantile networks for long-distance commodity movement to Macao, Mozambique, Bahia, and Lisbon. The wealth accumulated from this trade went largely into the making of the city of Panjim, which soon became the new capital of the *Estado da India.* In 1835 the senate chambers were moved to Panjim, and by 1843 the transfer of governmental institutions to the new city was more or less complete.

Meanwhile, the city of Old Goa was neglected and increasingly falling into ruin. The roof of the viceroy's palace collapsed in 1812, and the remainder of the palace was demolished in 1830. The final blow to Goa's remaining urban institutions came in 1835, when all the Portuguese religious orders were suppressed and their property confiscated following the establishment of a constitutional liberal government in Portugal under Queen Maria II (1819–1853). With this move, members of Goa's religious orders were forced into exile and the monasteries, as well as the religious houses of Old Goa, became lifeless buildings. These structures were left unattended for ninety-one years, when some of them were reintroduced in 1926 by António Salazar (1889–1970), who later became prime minister of Portugal.

The gap of ninety-one years without maintenance and care was enough to erase many structures altogether from Old Goa. Both churches and civic structures started collapsing, one after another. Some were even demolished on the orders of the viceroy. In 1829 the building that housed the Jesuit College of Saint Paul was destroyed by the government. The Church of Saint Thomas was demolished in 1831. Similarly, the Dominican monastery in Old Goa was destroyed in 1841 on the order of Governor Lopes de Lima. The vault of the Augustinian monastery and the church attached to it collapsed in 1842. The Augustinian college in the old city of Goa was demolished in 1846.

Another impact of the suppression of religious orders was that the New Conquests, which the Portuguese had obtained in the second half of the eighteenth century, remained primarily Hindu, a development that emerged out of the paucity of missionaries and religious people to do evangelization work there. This situation eventually led to a cultural demarcation on the basis of religion between the Old Conquests (predominantly Christian) and the New Conquests (predominantly Hindu).

The constitutional liberal government established in Portugal under Maria II appointed for the first time a Goan, Bernardo Peres da Silva, to be prefect of Goa, a post equivalent to the office of the governor, in 1834. But soon he had to step down because the Portuguese army officers rebelled, as they did not want to serve under a Goan. The general economic condition of Goa also started to deteriorate, particularly after the 1840s. Trade declined drastically. With outdated technology and antiquated methods of production, a major share of the cultivable land was underutilized and the returns from the agricultural sector dropped sharply. The price of essential commodities, including food, increased three- to fourfold, while wage increases were minimal.

All these problems prompted Goans to emigrate to such places as Mozambique, Karachi, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The railway line constructed by the English to connect Mormugao with Bombay in 1881 as a follow-up action of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 was the major carrier of Goan emigrants to British India. By 1910, more than 63,000 Goans had emigrated to the various cities of British India in search of jobs. The annual value of remittances dispatched by Goan emigrants from around the world from 1905 and 1914 amounted to 1,253,318 reis.

Meanwhile, the exodus of working-class Goans to the cities of British India and East Africa created a dearth of able-bodied people to work on farms and rice fields in Goa. Consequently, there was a rise in wages and a decrease in production, followed by an increase in the importation of food materials. Eventually Goa, which was initially sustained by commerce and later by agriculture, had to rely increasingly on foreign remittances to balance the rising foreign deficit caused by the import of cereals.

Salazar's totalitarian regime, characterized by a reign of terror and poor economic growth, coupled with inspiration from the independence movement in British India, generated among the Goans a strong desire to free Goa from the yoke of foreign dominance. However, Salazar viewed Goa as an integral part of Portugal, as a result of which he refused to hand it over to India, even after the British granted freedom to India. When diplomacy failed to resolve these issues, the Indian army entered Goa and "liberated" it from the Portuguese in 1961, incurring as few causalities as possible.

This incident strained for some time the relationship between Portugal and India. However, Goa benefited from its integration into India, initially as a union territory and later as a state. Its economy got a boost with diversification of production activities and special encouragement to mining and shipping. Infrastructural facilities, including bridges across the Mandovi and Zuari rivers, railway lines, an airport, and roads linking Goa with the rest of India, facilitated movement of commodities and people.

However, the old city of Goa remained in ruins. In 1964 the Archaeological Survey of India came forward to preserve Goa's heritage sites, and many of the old buildings are now maintained by the Archaeological Survey and several Portuguese foundations, including Fundação Oriente and Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon.

SEE ALSO *Albuquerque, Afonso de; Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia; Empire, Portuguese; Malabar, Europeans and the Maritime Trade of.*

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Pius Malekandathil

GOVERNMENT, COLONIAL, IN BRITISH AMERICA

There were three main forms of government tried in the American colonies: government by company; by proprietor(s); and by the Crown. Most of the earliest colonies were settled by companies, groups of powerful

individuals in England who obtained a charter from the king granting them a right to settle. Modelled on the great English trading companies such as the Muscovy Company and the East India Company, the Virginia Company pioneered American colonization by founding Jamestown in 1607. Although the Virginia Company had a disastrous history and eventually lost its royal charter in 1624, the leading English politicians retained their faith in the company model of settlement, chartering, for instance, the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629. But whereas the Virginia Company, based in London, had found it difficult to direct colonization in America from such a distance, the Puritan merchants who founded the Massachusetts Bay Company actually went to America themselves, and took their charter with them.

After 1630 the Crown no longer granted colonization rights in America to companies, preferring to deal with individuals, or groups of individuals, it termed proprietors. Between 1634 and 1681 almost every new English settlement in the Americas was a proprietory colony. Leading English Catholic Lord Baltimore (1605–1675) was made proprietor of Maryland in 1634; a number of English nobles and adventurers became proprietors of Carolina in 1663 and of the Bahamas in 1670; James, duke of York, (1633–1701) became proprietor of New York in 1664; and Quaker William Penn (1644–1718) became proprietor of Pennsylvania in 1681. The proprietors were granted enormous, royal-like, powers over their territories, and all came into conflict with settlers about the role that representative assemblies would play in the government of the colony. Virginia had been granted a House of Burgess by the Virginia Company in 1619, Bermuda by the Somers Isles Company in 1620, and the Massachusetts General Court was formed soon after the first settlement in Boston in 1630. English settlers elsewhere in America agitated for representative assemblies, and most proprietors eventually granted some form of representative democracy in their territories. The proprietory government of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, for instance, permitted the creation of assemblies on most islands between 1639 and 1670. Franchises were often more open than in England because property qualifications were met more easily in land-rich colonies such as Virginia, though in Massachusetts the franchise was limited to full church members and therefore excluded significant numbers not in communion with the Congregational church. All colonies enjoyed a degree of latitude from English control and were able to pass laws that did not conform to English common law, though the Crown was not above intervening when it thought necessary, for instance, to end the persecution of Quakers in Massachusetts in 1660.

Many colonists found common cause with their English cousins following the accession of James II in 1685 (1633–1701). James's reluctance to create an assembly in New York was regarded as typical of his attitude toward representative government by many colonists, and when he instituted whole-scale reforms of the colonial system in the 1680s it triggered a rebellion. The individual charters of the New England colonies were revoked, and the separate territories were merged, together with New York, into the Dominion of New England. James appointed his staunch supporter, Edmund Andros (1637–1714) as governor of the new Dominion, and rode roughshod over the objections of elected assemblies and officials in America. When James's absolutist tendencies led to his overthrow in England and the accession of William of Orange (1650–1702), rebellions quickly followed in Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland. Those seen as pro-Catholic or pro-James were ousted, and popular sovereignty was restored.

While the charters of most individual colonies in New England were returned, they had been altered in one significant respect. William gradually began to abolish the system of proprietory colonies and replace them with royal colonies. Virginia and a number of the West Indian islands had been royal colonies since the 1620s, but now most New England colonies, New York, and Bermuda also came under the direct control of the Crown. Each colony was granted a form of representative government, but with an appointed colonial council and a governor who was ultimately answerable to government officials in London, especially those in the newly created Board of Trade. Only Connecticut and Rhode Island retained the right to choose their own governors.

However, the extension of royal control over the American colonies did not lead to greater interference from London in the day-to-day affairs of colonial government. William was far too distracted with European wars, and the Hanoverians who acceded in 1715 showed little initial interest in America. Apart from the regulation of trade, the American colonial governments were left to develop as they pleased, and this period of "salutory neglect" has often been credited with encouraging an American sense of independent government. Governors were often dependent on their assemblies for their salaries, a situation that tended to make most governors cooperate with, rather than obstruct, the elected chamber. Therefore, although nominal control rested with the governor, in reality colonial government rested with the elected assemblies. Certainly with the North American continent secure following the defeat of France in the French and Indian War (1756–1763) in 1763, the attempt by British ministers to re-exert some form of control over the colonies was fiercely resisted by colonial governments used to making these sorts of

King James II of England (1633–1701). *James administered colonies in Africa and New York before being crowned king in 1685.* LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

decisions alone. Well-established, popularly elected colonial, such as those in Virginia and Massachusetts, felt justified in defending their autonomy. It is noticeable that in the newer colonies such as Georgia, Quebec, and East and West Florida, where representative democracy was in its infancy, or non-existent, opposition to British tactics was much more muted. The position of the West Indian islands is harder to explain. Democratic institutions had been long established on most islands, but the ruling white elite was numerically small and closely modelled on the English aristocracy. Children were educated in British schools and universities and each generation reaffirmed cultural ties to Britain in ways that mainland colonies simply did not. Moreover, elite colonists were well aware of their reliance on the British navy for defense against the French and against possible slave uprisings. For the Caribbean colonies, the advantages of ties to Britain clearly outweighed the disadvantages.

The robust response by several elected governments in mainland America to attempts by successive British administrations to tax them revolved around the historic rights of Englishmen regarding representative government. In America such rights were regarded as inalienable, and indeed had been safeguarded by the Glorious Revolution (1688) and the Bill of Rights; the assemblies in America considered themselves sister institutions to those in England. In Britain many politicians considered that these rights were only applicable against royal or absolutist power, and not against an elected body such as Parliament. The American assemblies were seen as secondary bodies under the control of the supreme imperial assembly in Westminster. These very different conceptions of the relationship between Britain and its colonies were to prove irreconcilable and to end in the American War of Independence (1776–1783).

SEE ALSO *Native Americans and Europeans.*

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Tim Lockley

GOVERNMENT, COLONIAL, IN PORTUGUESE AMERICA

Portuguese colonial government was far less centralized than the Spanish model, but it did not grant the local autonomy of the British North American colonies. Unlike the Spanish or British, the Portuguese did not have a large domestic population with which it could populate colonies; therefore, successive monarchs experimented with several systems, and ultimately instituted a system based on a viceroys and colonial governors.

EARLY TRADING POSTS

The first Portuguese settlements in Brazil were trading posts. These posts were fortified but only had a small number of Portuguese inhabitants, who were supported by indigenous allies. Portuguese merchants sought brazilwood, which was commonly used as a source of dye at the time. Beginning in 1500, the crown offered leases for Brazilian territory to merchant groups, but a lack of interest led the king to place the area under direct royal

João VI of Portugal, circa 1810. In 1815 Brazil was granted the status of a kingdom and a dual monarchy under Dom João, who became João VI. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

control. The king retained title to land, but licenses were granted to individuals and companies to trade specific goods (those items not subject to royal monopolies). In 1511 natives were placed under the protection of the crown, although local officials were granted the authority to differentiate between peaceful natives who could be converted, and those judged irredeemable and therefore allowed to be enslaved.

The first major effort to develop the area occurred in the 1530s in response to French incursions. King João III (1502–1557) tried to encourage interest in the region through a unique system of royal land grants, known as captaincies or *donatarios*. The *donatarios* were about 241 kilometers (150 miles) in length and extended into the interior to the border created by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which divided the world between Portugal and Spain.

João created fifteen *donatarios,* which were distributed to courtiers known as *donees*. Each *donee* was responsible for the costs of settling his territory and attracting settlers. In order to defray the costs of the colony, the *donees* were allowed to issue smaller grants. Few of the *donees* were actually interested in relocation to Brazil, and most of the grants failed. However, two *donatarios*

succeeded very well and led to the establishment of São Vicente and São Paulo. The successful *donatarios* were able to forge alliances with local tribes to obtain labor and allies to fight hostile tribes. They also took advantage of a boom in sugarcane production.

Sugarcane quickly became the chief economic export of the colonies and led to a renewal of royal interest in Brazil when one of the *donatarios*, Pernambuco, came to have greater economic output than Lisbon. In the 1540s the crown decided to reassert royal control over the failed *donatarios*. In 1549 royal authority was further enhanced through the appointment of a governor-general to oversee all of Brazil. The first governor-general, Tomé de Sousa (d. 1573), founded the colonial capital, Salvador, and worked with the Jesuits to establish missions in the interior of the country. The Jesuits eventually developed a series of significant settlements and challenged the authority of local colonial officials (especially when those officials endeavored to enslave natives who were under the protection of the order following their conversion). In 1759 the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil, thereby ending any potential challenge to the colonial establishment.

THE DUAL MONARCHY AND NEW WEALTH

The union of the Portuguese and Spanish thrones (1580–1640) had a dramatic impact on colonial administration. Because of the Dutch insurrection against Spain, the Brazilian colonies were forbidden from trading with Dutch merchants (the Dutch had previously been the primary trade partners with the Brazilian colonies). After being shut off from the lucrative sugar trade, the Dutch launched a series of attacks on the Brazilian colonies and captured the colonial capital of Salvador and the wealthy Pernambuco province.

Many colonists supported Dutch rule, while others opposed the commercial restrictions and heavy economic debts they found themselves under. The Dutch were eventually driven out in 1654 by a coalition of Brazilian planters, Creoles, and merchants. One result of the conflict was a period of significant economic decline that was exacerbated by the emergence of rival sugar plantation economies in the English and French islands in the Caribbean. The decline was only reversed by the discovery of gold in 1693.

The resultant gold rush in the region that became known as Minas Gerais ignited new tensions between established colonial families and the adventurers who arrived to take advantage of the newfound wealth, while also populating a previously neglected area of the interior. In addition, the capital was moved from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro to be closer to the gold mines in 1763. Colonial officials found it difficult to keep control, as gold prospectors moved deeper into the interior and

beyond the ability of authorities to collect taxes or enforce law. Armed conflict broke out between the original settlers and Creoles on one side and the newcomers on the other. In response, the crown enacted new policies to bring the region under control.

By the 1750s gold production began to decline and the colony moved toward development of a more diversified economy that included ranching. This diversification was aided by reforms undertaken by Portugal's prime minister, the marquis de Pombal (José de Carvalho e Melo, 1699–1782), who ended concessions enjoyed by foreign merchants and reformed the sugar and gold trade. Portugal's efforts to exert closer control over its colonial subjects did not go unchallenged, however, and resentment against royal authority resulted in the Minas Conspiracy of 1789, in which the activities of colonial elites and even local officials foreshadowed later independence movements.

THE DUAL KINGDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

The most dramatic shift in colonial government occurred in 1807 when the regent, Dom João (1769–1826), moved the monarchy to Brazil in order to escape the invasion of Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821). In order to support its Portuguese allies, the British transferred some fifteen thousand courtiers and officials from Portugal to Brazil and lent the relocated government some $3 million.

Dom João recreated many of the components of royal government in Brazil, including a supreme military council, a high court, and various boards to oversee trade and commerce. In 1815 Brazil was granted the status of a kingdom and a dual monarchy under Dom João, who became João VI. However, discontent with Portuguese rule led to the Pernambuco Revolution in 1817. The rebellion encouraged army officers in Portugal to rebel, which in turn forced João and the court to return to Lisbon in 1820. João's son, Dom Pedro (1798–1834), remained in Brazil and led a movement for independence in 1822. He was subsequently crowned Emperor Pedro I, inaugurating a new phase in the history of the state in Brazil as an independent constitutional monarchy.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Portuguese; Empire, Portuguese; Minas Gerais, Conspiracy of.*

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GOVERNMENT, COLONIAL, IN SPANISH AMERICA

In the Capitulations of Santa Fe (1492), the Spanish monarchs named Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) as viceroy of the "discovered lands" and granted him extensive powers to govern in the new lands and to benefit from the wealth they created. But it was not long before the crown sought to take back control of the discovery and colonization of America, effectively suspending Columbus's authority. A decade later, the monarchs appointed Nicolás de Ovando (ca. 1451–1511) as governor of Hispaniola (the island that now comprises Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and began to assert their authority over subjects of Spain who went to the New World and the indigenous peoples whom they found there.

As the Spanish Crown became aware of the rich potential of the Indies, it soon started to build institutions for government on both shores of the Atlantic. In 1503 the crown founded the Casa de Contratación (Chamber of Commerce) at Seville to ensure Castille's control of all aspects of trade with America. The Casa de Contratación had multiple functions. It supervised the movement of passengers and the shipments of goods from Spain to America and received products brought back from America (gold, cotton, sugar, silver, cacao, medicinal plants, etc.). It also enforced regulation of all aspects of the transatlantic trade (taxation, security in business and voyages, insurance and contracts, and the maintenance of the state's presence in all operations), and

it compiled information on the trade and trade routes of the Indies.

From 1546 the Casa de Contratación was given certain legal functions. In 1524 the crown further reinforced its command over the Americas by establishing the Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias (Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies), which served to oversee colonial affairs, to advise the king on such matters, and to act as the supreme court for legal issues arising in the Indies. Its influence was far-reaching, since it also compiled and published the laws for America, laws that were collected in 1681 under the title *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de Indias* (Code of Laws of the Kingdoms of the Indies).

Early in the sixteenth century, the monarchy also began to build structures of royal government on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. When Ovando arrived in Hispaniola in 1502, he was accompanied by a number of other officials (a comptroller, a treasurer, an inspector, and others), all of whom were responsible to the crown. To ensure that its command was respected in the lands that conquistadors brought under Spanish sovereignty, the crown created a new system of government that placed a governor in charge of each new province, with administrative, legal, and, at times, military powers.

With the advance of Spanish influence in the new lands, the crown established institutions that directly represented the person and power of the king, and were staffed by high-ranking officials chosen from the nobility. The first such institutions were the *audiencias*—bodies responsible for administering justice—of which ten were established in the course of the sixteenth century, at Santo Domingo (1511), Mexico (1527), Panama (1538), Lima (1543), Guatemala (1543), Guadalajara (1548), Santa Fe de Bogotá (1548), Charcas (1559), Quito (1563), and Chile (1565); others were added in the eighteenth century at Buenos Aires (1776), Caracas (1786), and Cuzco (1787).

During the first half of the sixteenth century, the crown also introduced another, maximum authority into its new territories: the viceroys. Appointed from among members of the nobility or the clergy, the viceroy was the chief representative of the king and held political, military, administrative, and minor legal powers. The first viceroyalties were those of New Spain (1535) and Peru (1543); two new viceroyalties were added in the eighteenth century at New Granada (1717) and Río de la Plata (1776).

In addition to these institutions, the crown created another tier of government for dealing with revenues raised by royal taxes. Treasury officials were appointed to supervise the collection of all kinds of taxation, from the tributes paid by Indians to the sales taxes and customs

duties derived from trade, and the *quintos*, or royal fifth, that was levied on all products of mining.

At the local level, the viceroyalties and *audiencias* were subdivided into smaller units that were in closer contact with the king's subjects. These were the *gobernaciones* (provincial governorships); the *corregimientos* (known as *alcaldías mayores* or mayoralties in New Spain), and the *corregimientos de indios* who, as their name suggests, were responsible for supervising Indian governance outside the Spanish towns. In the towns and cities where the white population was grouped together, the *cabildos* provided municipal government. Their magistrates and councilors enforced law and order, and supervised matters of common interest, such as food distribution, cleanliness, craft statutes, prices and salaries, and the handling of public goods.

This framework of government was largely in place by about 1570, although it continued to expand as new territories were brought under Spanish rule, as the business of government grew, and, with the growth of revenues from mining and trade, as the crown was able to pay an increasing number of salaried officials. One special feature of the system of government was the overlapping jurisdictions of institutions, a system designed to prevent the concentration of power in a single office and to ensure that officials such as the viceroy and the *audiencia* judges acted as a check on the authority of the other. If this structure aimed to prevent institutions distant from Spain from becoming too independent, it also allowed royal officials some space for autonomous action, so that they could ensure that the application of laws was appropriate to local circumstances. Another special feature of the system of colonial government introduced by the Habsburg kings of Spain was the use of special commissioners who undertook investigations into colonial officials through the *residencia* (legal investigation of civil servants) and the *visita* (inspection of bodies or authorities).

Over the course of the seventeenth century, royal power began to be replaced by local power as a consequence of the loosening of relations with the metropolis and of the growing influence of Creoles in the colonial bureaucracy. This situation was brought on by changes in the economy and the administration of the empire. With the fall in transatlantic traffic after about 1620, due to the wars in Europe, piracy, and contraband, many regions became more self-sufficient and depended less on Spain for their economic prosperity. The chronic fiscal problems of the state further contributed to the loss of power for two reasons: (1) because official posts were increasingly acquired through the exercise of personal influence, a situation in which even the viceroys took part,

Building Saint Augustine's Roads. *Colonists in the Spanish settlement of Saint Augustine, founded in 1565 in what is now Florida, work together to construct roads. They take measurements with string and dig with shovels and pickaxes.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

practicing nepotism and clientelism; and (2) because the financial needs of the crown led to the sale of public offices on an increasingly large scale.

Creoles gradually took over the governing posts in their cities and came to dominate the *cabildos*. These posts generated benefits that were both economic (bribes and access to public revenue) and social (honor, influence, and local power). After around 1630, governmental, military, and treasury offices were also sold off, so that Creoles penetrated areas of the royal bureaucracy that had previously been reserved for Spaniards. At the end of the century, the Peruvian viceroyalty was virtually up for sale. The result was that large sectors of administration were placed in the hands of the rich Creole elites, and colonial government had become "Americanized."

The eighteenth century began with the inauguration of a new dynasty—that of the Bourbons—on the Spanish throne, and successive kings sought to reverse the trend toward decentralization that had marked the rule of their Habsburg predecessors. The new dynasty opted for an administrative continuity during the first part of the century, while making some changes aimed at tightening control over the administration of the colonies. By mid-century, however, the need for reform was increasingly

accepted, and, after Spain's humiliating defeat by the British in the Seven Years War (1756–1763), the ministers of King Carlos III (1716–1788) introduced reforms designed to reassert royal authority and harness colonial resources for the benefit of Spain and its monarchy. The reform program started in Cuba in 1764, and was then extended to Mexico by José Gálvez (1720–1787), who acted as inspector-general of New Spain from 1766. Gálvez pursued reform with such vigor that he was promoted to the powerful post of minister of the Indies in 1776.

At the same time, the crown sought to exert its authority over the Catholic Church, ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish territories, including the American colonies, in 1767. As minister of the Indies, Gálvez unleashed a wave of reforms that affected the whole range of political, economic, and military relations between Spain and its colonies. His aim was to ensure that the colonies contributed more to the Spanish treasury and economy, while reducing Creole participation in American government. To these ends, a new viceroyalty was established in the River Plate region in 1776 with its capital at Buenos Aires, and general inspectors were sent to Peru, New Granada, and Chile to overhaul their governments.

Gálvez then introduced the system of *intendancies* throughout America (1782–1790; Cuba in 1764), and thus implanted a new body of government officials, the *intendants*, who were responsible directly to the crown and exercised a wide range of political, military, fiscal, and economic powers. Trade between the Spanish ports and America was also liberalized by the 1778 decree of *comercio libre* (free trade) within the empire, designed to increase colonial commerce with the metropolis.

While these reforms brought the growth of colonial commerce and increases in the yields of taxation, they also provoked colonial antagonism and triggered major rebellions. The most formidable rebellions broke out in Peru and New Granada in 1780 to 1781 in opposition to fiscal and administrative reform. The greatest of these was the rebellion of Túpac Amaru, which spread throughout Southern Peru and Upper Peru as native populations seized the opportunity to protest against the various forms of exploitation to which they were subject. Another major regional revolt broke out in New Granada, where a large rebel force known as the *comuneros* demanded the reversal of fiscal and political reforms. In New Granada, rebellion ended peacefully through negotiation; in Peru, the outcome was considerably more violent and many lives were lost before the crown fully restored its authority.

Although Spain's colonial governments survived these challenges, new threats arose at the end of the century when Creole political adventurers inspired by the American and French revolutions sought to stir uprisings against Spain in the name of freedom and independence. They did not attract any substantial support in the colonies, but changes in the international situation gradually weakened Spain's position in the Americas and were eventually to give Creole revolutionists their chance to break away. Spain sided with France in almost continuous war with Britain from 1796 to 1808, and bonds with America were substantially weakened during this prolonged conflict.

The system of colonial government remained intact, but the foundations of the empire, strained by continuous international war, were finally undermined when in 1808 Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) invaded Spain, seized the throne, and precipitated a crisis of imperial authority. In 1810 the great edifice of colonial government, built by the Habsburgs and renovated by the Bourbons, began to fall apart.

In Spain, meanwhile, an emergency government resisted the French and sought to build a new constitutional monarchy, embodied in the Constitution of Cádiz (1812) created by the Cortes (parliament) set up at Cádiz in 1810. However, pleas for unity and concessions to the colonies were insufficient to save Spanish rule because, in leading cities throughout the Americas, Creoles asserted a right to autonomy and began to set up their own governments, beginning a secession that would eventually lead to the emancipation of most of Spain's American territories by 1824.

SEE ALSO *Conquests and Colonization; Túpac Amaru, Rebellion of.*

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GREAT TREK

Afrikaners left the Cape Colony (in present-day South Africa) in large numbers during the second half of the 1830s, an act that became known as the "Great Trek" and that helped define white South Africans' ethnic, cultural, and political identity. In line with Afrikaners' belief in a separate existence, developing tensions between these settlers, British authorities, and African communities drove the "Boers" to quit the Cape and found their own exclusive republics. It was not unheard of for the Boers to leave the Cape in search of an existence far removed from an administration that they perceived as oppressive. This leave-taking stretched back to the period before Britain's initial arrival in 1795. After its arrival in 1652, the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) had attempted to force its employees and those to whom it had granted landholdings to do business solely with the company. Officials also expected settlers to willingly pay taxes supporting company operations. Many people refused, deciding instead to relocate beyond the VOC's grasp.

British authorities were more efficient at tax collection, thereby appearing more domineering than the VOC. Moreover, when Britain assumed de facto control of the Cape in 1806, administrators replaced the Dutch system with their own. The British also slowly replaced locally known authorities with their officials, thereby severing the Boers' (farmers') link with the administration.

With politics in flux, settlers and Africans were increasingly at odds over territory, as evidenced by the string of Xhosa wars that began in 1779. British administrators had no qualms about supporting African states when appropriate. Although they were not wedded to African rights, officials certainly did not want to encourage free movement across the land that could fuel still more trouble between settlers and the African communities.

Boer anger grew in 1815 when the British hanged five Afrikaner settlers for starting a rebellion. The rebels claimed that the British favored African rights over those of Afrikaners when officials attempted to arrest a man for beating his African servant. The fact that British missionaries had lobbied the government to protect African rights was a cultural insult to the neo-Calvinist Boers and their beliefs in a divinely chosen society built upon racial and religious purity.

When the British government outlawed slavery in the British Empire in 1833, it promised to compensate former owners, but only at one-third the assessed value of the slaves. Claimants had to travel to London in order to petition for compensation. It was the efficient British administration, the clash of cultures, and the division of Europeans over African policies that helped cement Afrikaners' decision once again to move beyond the grasp of the Cape-based government.

Piet Retief (1780–1838) published a manifesto in the *Grahamstown Journal* appealing to those Afrikaners who had suffered long enough in the Cape. Following the Voortrekkers who, in 1835, had left the Cape to scout for ideal territory, families began moving north to the highveld (part of the central South African plateau) in 1836, crossing the Orange River and even the Vaal River still farther to the north. Disagreements over a proper government and the best areas in which to settle led some of the trekkers to push east across the Drakensberg range into modern Natal. In both cases trekkers came into contact with African states, and competition for land ensued. In October 1836, Ndebele led by Mzilikazi (1795?–1868) launched an attack near Vegkop, killing livestock but not overrunning the Boers' defensive *laager* (a protected camp). The Boers countered in 1837, and by the end of the year had driven the Ndebele north over the Limpopo River.

In Natal, Zulu King Dingane (1795–1840) wiped out a party of Boers under Piet Retief. Afrikaner reinforcements arrived from the Cape and the highveld, meeting the Zulu at the Ncome River on December 16, 1838. The river ran with African blood as the Zulu attack withered under the sustained Boer fire. Blood River Day would go on to become a significant holiday on the Afrikaner calendar. With the defeat came civil war among the Zulu, finally enabling the Boers to begin implementing their own administration. They established the Natal Republic, with six thousand people settling in the fertile valleys around the Tugela River.

Although the Boers successfully implanted themselves in the areas that would become the Orange Free State and the Transvaal republics, their good fortune did not last in Natal. Britain would not accept potentially hostile settlers with a market savviness controlling coastal ports. Moreover, the Boers' racial policies had the potential to cause trouble among the rising African population. If the British intended to control trade, they would have to control Natal. In 1843 the British government annexed the territory, thereby driving many of the settlers back over the Drakensberg mountains.

The Great Trek enhanced the developing Afrikaner mythology. By 1854 the Boers had successfully established two republics north of the Cape Colony, thus legitimating efforts to separate themselves from an oppressive higher authority. With its images of a dedicated spiritual people working to establish a society based solely upon their beliefs, it is no wonder that the event was celebrated and recreated a century later.
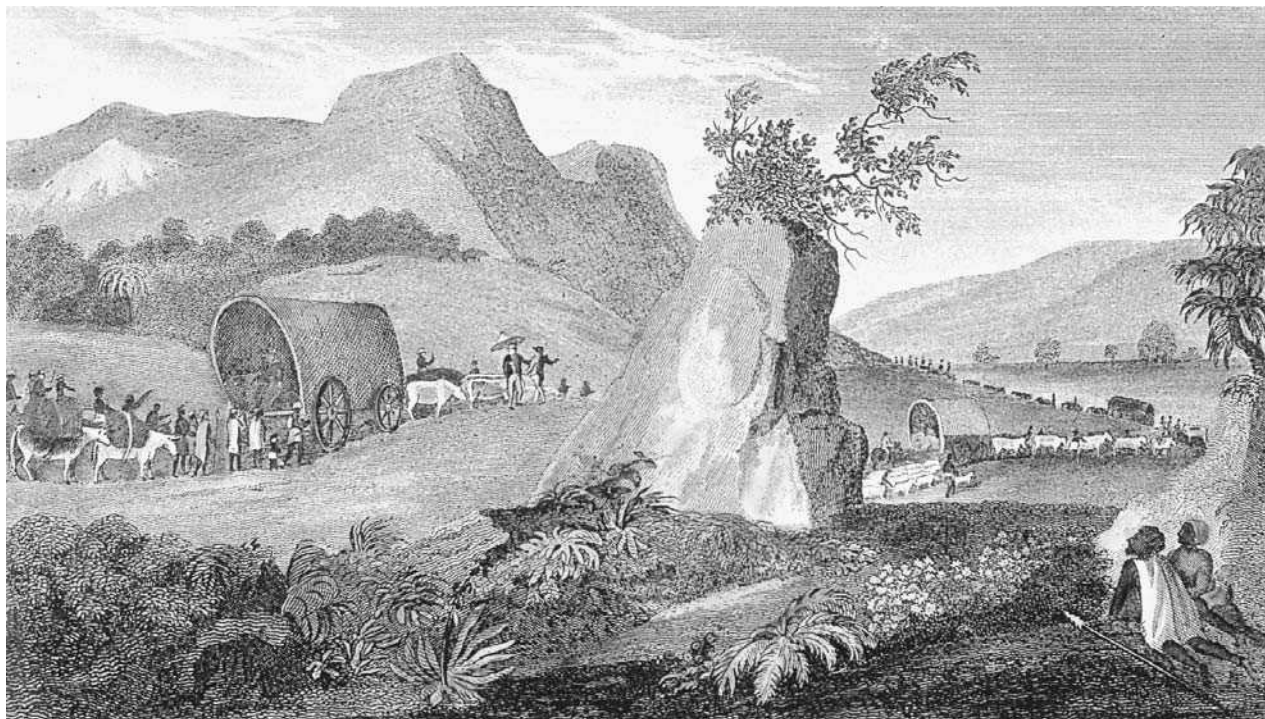
The Great Trek. *Years of chaffing under British rule led Afrikaners in the Cape Colony to begin a mass exodus in the mid-1830s. The trekkers moved north to the highveld, eventually crossing the Orange River and even the Vaal River still farther to the north.* **THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

As in other nations in the 1930s, South Africa suffered from the effects of economic depression. In unstable times, the Afrikaners sought to reaffirm their existence. This was made easier by the centennial celebration of the Great Trek. Families joined in a recreation of the trek and a number of celebrations highlighting Afrikaner culture. The Ossewabrandwag (Ox-Wagon Guard), a cultural organization created in 1939, also exploited the image of a people trekking to their homeland in the struggle to be free.

When apartheid was under threat of collapse in the 1980s, the mythology of the Great Trek resurfaced again with the creation of new commando organizations designed to protect the state against a growing African nationalist insurgency. Groups such as the *Afrikanerweerstandbeweging* (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) also harkened back to the days of racial purity and struggle against an oppressive foe. As the Great Trek symbolized the life of the Afrikaner, it also symbolized the purely idealistic efforts to create a separate neo-Calvinist state. This was impossible in a nation dependent upon African labor and a relationship with the outside world. Especially as colonialism ended, bringing independence to African states, it became painfully obvious that such visions of racial purity and exclusivity were unrealistic.

SEE ALSO *Afrikaner; Apartheid; Boer Wars; Cape Colony and Cape Town; Dutch United East India Company.*

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Jeffrey Lee Meriwether

GUANGZHOU

Guangzhou, known as the city of the rams (*yangcheng*) and the city of flowers (*huacheng*), is the capital city of Guangdong province and one of the foremost metropolises and international ports in China. Guangzhou, approximately 161 kilometers (100 miles) away from the South China Sea, is located in the northern part of
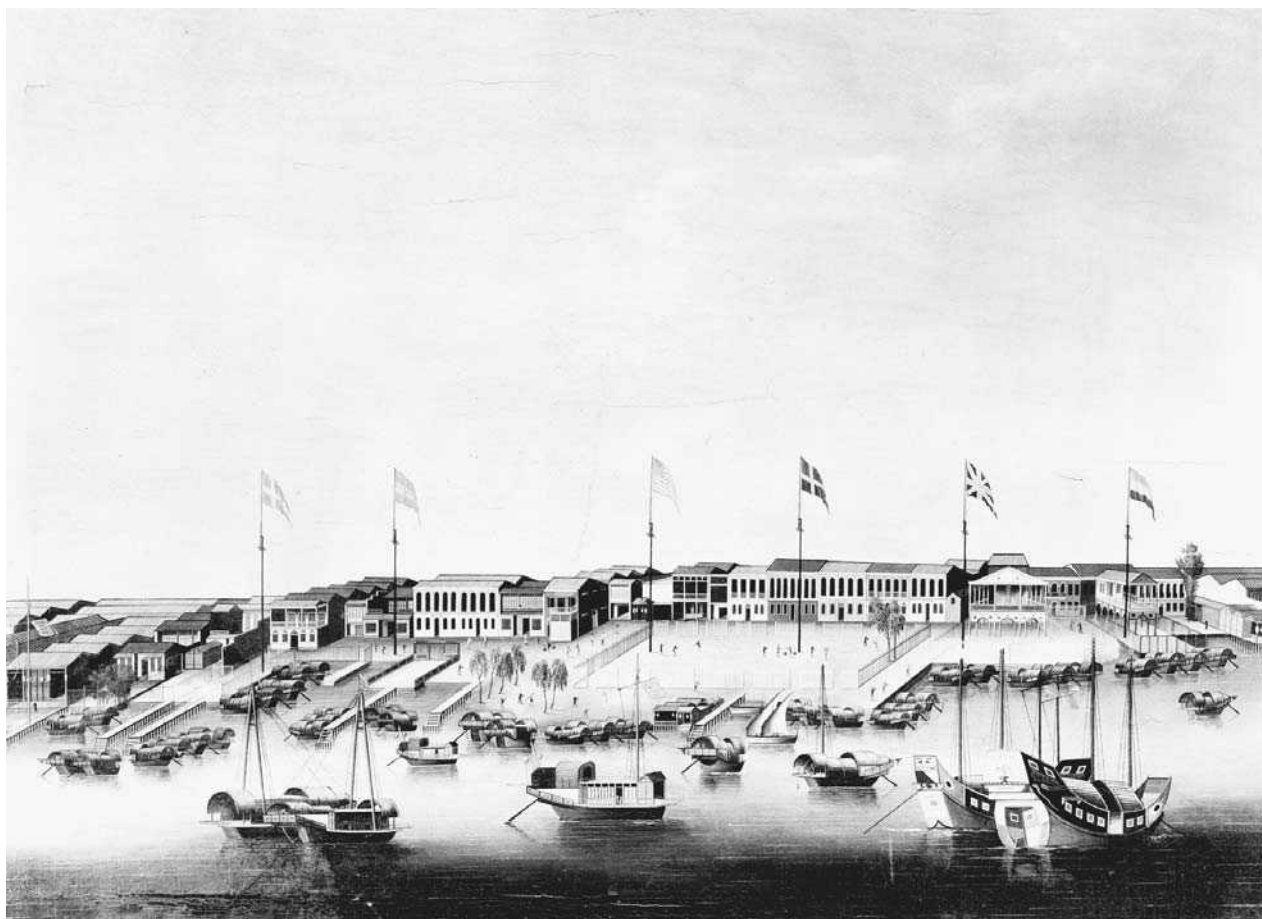
Canton Harbor. *This Chinese painting depicts the harbor of Canton (Guangzhou) as it looked in the early 1800s. Ships from many nations fill the harbor, which is lined with foreign factories and trading stations.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the Pearl River Delta, at the confluence of the West, North, and East Rivers. River channels link Guangzhou to the former British colony of Hong Kong, and to Macau, the former Portuguese colony. Besides Hong Kong and Macau, neighboring areas are the provinces of Hunan, Jiangxi, Fujian, and Hainan, as well as the Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region.

Guangzhou is situated on the plains, backed by mountainous land to the north. Located in the subtropical and monsoon zone, Guangzhou has a year-round average temperature of 20° to 22° C (68°–70° F), with 79 percent average humidity. Guangzhou's annual precipitation is about 2,200 mm (87 inches). Warmth, humidity, and fertile delta soil provides for flowering trees, subtropical flowers, and abundant fruits (such as banana, citrus, lichee, and pineapple).

Since early in its history, Guangzhou has been the key center of the *lingnan* (south of the mountain range) region in progressive South China as well as the hub of

domestic and international trade. A large number of its population has emigrated to Southeast Asia, North and South America, as well as to other parts of the world, and this provides Guangzhou and South China with a significant link to overseas Chinese and the outside world.

Municipal Guangzhou has a population of about 6 million and covers an area of 7,434 square meters (8,891 square yards). The indigenous residents of Guangzhou were the Nanyue who were absorbed by the Han Chinese during the Tang dynasty (618–906). Today, the primary ethnic group living in Guangzhou is Han, with small numbers of Li, Yao, Zhuang, Miao, Hui, and Manchu. Cantonese, one of the major seven dialects in China, is the native tongue of Guangzhou. Cantonese cuisine, Yue opera, folk music, including *bubugao* and *xiyangyang*, are distinctive to the region and influential in China and overseas.

As the starting point of the Silk Road on the sea, Guangzhou had established trade relationship in silk with

Rome already in 116 C.E.. Other trading partners were India, Ceylon, Syria, Persia, and Arabia. In the eighth century, a regular foreign trade market was founded with the *Shibo Si* (Bureau of Sea Trade) to manage foreign trade. Buddhism and Islam were introduced into Guangzhou with the arrival of Indian and Arab merchants.

The coming of the Portuguese to Guangzhou in 1517, followed by the Spaniards in 1575 and English in 1636, ushered in a new era of colonialist penetration of China, in which the Arabs lost their dominant position. In 1685 the Manchu Qing regime lifted the ban on the entry of foreign vessels, thus facilitating foreign trade. The British East India Company, from 1715, then signing a favorable trade agreement with the Guangdong customs, to the first Opium War (1839–1842), was the dominant foreign trading power in Guangzhou. In 1720, the *cohong* system was instituted by the Qing government authorizing certain Cantonese merchants, known as Thirteen Hongs (guilds), to conduct business with the English, Dutch, French, Americans, Swedes, Danes, Spaniards, and other foreigners who maintained their factories in the designated areas of Guangzhou. In 1757 all foreign trade was restricted solely to Guangzhou.

Frictions occurred when the foreigners found the *cohong* system manipulative and inconvenient, whereas the Qing authority did not allow foreigners to trade freely or to establish diplomatic relations with China. Unable to sell well manufactured goods in the China market, British merchants began smuggling Indian opium into China to make up for their trade deficit. In response to the Qing government's crackdown on opium traffic, Britain went to war with China in 1840, and in 1842, they forced the defeated Qing regime to sign the Treaty of Nanjing. This treaty opened up five ports, including Guangzhou, to foreigners, and conceded Hong Kong to Britain.

Guangzhou has played a key role in Chinese revolutions. After the demise of the Qing government in 1912, Guangzhou became the headquarters of the Nationalist Party (Guomindang, GMD) and the base, shared by the GMD and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), of the anti-warlord and anti-imperialist Nationalist Revolution.

Since the opening of China in 1979, Guangzhou has again emerged as a prominent city of commerce and has been at the forefront in China's domestic economic reforms and China's interactions with the outside world. Along with Shanghai, Guangzhou's labor force is one of the most productive in China. Guangzhou's economic, political, and social influence in contemporary China is further reinforced by its geographical closeness to Hong Kong, and to the two special economic zones of Shenzhen and Zhuhai.

SEE ALSO *China, After 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, Foreign Trade; Chinese Revolutions; Empire, British, in Asia and Pacific; Hong Kong, from World War II; Hong Kong, to World War II; Opium; Opium Wars.*

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Dong Wang

H

HACIENDAS IN SPANISH AMERICA

The hacienda, or large estate in Latin America, is traced back to the sixteenth century. The Spaniards who risked life and limb in the invasion, conquest, and exploration of the "New World" expected rewards for their efforts. Those early on the scene received a share of the plunder and *encomiendas*. But the accumulated gold and silver of the native societies did not last long and there were never enough *encomiendas* to meet the demand of people who, sincerely or not, claimed that they had served the crown and deserved one.

As the Spanish population increased, the native population succumbed to disease, overwork, and harsh treatment. Others fled contact with the Europeans. By mid-century, some Spaniards without rewards had become troublesome vagabonds in native communities and Spanish cities alike. Demand was increasing for labor and foodstuffs, especially grapes (for wine), wheat (for bread), and olives (for oil). Vast amounts of land became available as the native population fell or fled. Therefore, the Crown began a policy of founding new Spanish towns or *villas* as farming centers. Individuals with some capital could apply for citizenship in these new cities.

Those selected were rewarded with a house site (*solar*), a garden plot (*huerta*) in the suburbs, and a larger land grant (*merced*) in the surrounding countryside. The size of the land grant varied by the status of the individual grantee and the available resources. The first settlers usually did not have the capital to plant all the land granted to them, but, over time, successful farmers did and even expanded their land holdings through a combination of purchase, donation, marriage into a landed family, or usurpation. The latter usually was at the expense of surrounding native communities.

By the seventeenth century, three types of large estates existed. The first was a ranch. Cattle raising required relatively little capital for equipment and minimal labor. In many areas, native shepherds cared for large flocks of sheep or herds of cattle, which grazed on pastures, officially considered common and open to all, as they were in Spain. In the eighteenth century, these common pasture lands were divided and sold to users by a Spanish government intent on increasing the flow of revenue to the peninsula. It was then that many ranches, like those of Northern Mexico, officially became estates measured in leagues rather than the more common and smaller land units.

The second type of large estate was known as a hacienda or mixed farm. It produced foodstuffs and animals for a regional market. This type required more capital (for equipment and infrastructure), more labor for cultivation, and became the stereotypical estate throughout the Spanish Americas. The third and last type was the specialized farm. Most of these produced cash crops, like sugar or cacao for a distant, sometimes overseas, market. In some areas, sugar estates became known as *trapiches, molinos, ingenios,* or *haciendas y trapiches*. They required the largest infusions of capital for specialized mills and processing facilities. High demand for both skilled and unskilled labor was filled by seasonally-employed laborers and black slaves.

The owners of these estates often became the most powerful group in the area. The owners were entrepreneurs who oversaw operations and marketed their

Hacendados. *The owners of haciendas in Spanish America were entrepreneurs who oversaw operations and marketed their products. In good times, profits allowed them to acquire a lifestyle that was the envy of society.* LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

products. In good times, profits allowed them to acquire a lifestyle that was the envy of society. They purchased seats on the town council, which they passed on to their male heirs for generations, giving them and their families inordinate influence in local politics. They endowed chapels and other pious works and gave their sons access to higher education. They also invested in other activities, serving, for example, as local financiers. Wealthy Spanish immigrants and creoles joined the landed elite by investing in land or marrying into landed families. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the hacendados often had multiple roles—serving simultaneously as landowner, miner, bureaucrat, or merchant—with observable economic and political power and influence in the colonies. The institutional exception was the church, which either became a direct holder of many large estates or indirectly benefitted from mortgages on them.

The hacienda was not a static institution. It tended to become bigger over time. But it was susceptible to more general economic fluctuations. Though profits from these landed estates were usually lower than those from mining and commerce, the wealthy continued to buy because yields tended to be more predictable and stable than those of other investments and landowning brought social prestige that added lasting luster to family names and houses. In sum, the hacienda, or great estate,

became the American counterpart of the Spanish estate, established to meet European and American conditions and the need for creating and holding wealth and power.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Encomienda.*

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Susan Elizabeth Ramírez

HAITIAN REVOLUTION

It is not easy to pinpoint precisely when the Haitian Revolution began. Historians have located its beginnings at different points between 1789 and 1804, the year St. Domingue was transformed, amidst rebellion and war, from a French colony into the independent state of Haiti. However, the roots of the rebellion, which transformed St. Domingue are undoubtedly found in the revolutionary turmoil that convulsed France itself following the fall of the Bastille and the abolition of slavery in 1794. These events had a highly disruptive impact on a slave-based society that was already experiencing serious social tensions after a period of rapid growth.

During the previous decade, St. Domingue had become the most prosperous colony in the Caribbean. In the 1780s, it produced nearly half of all the sugar and coffee consumed in Europe and the Americas, and, as the source of two-fifths of France's colonial trade, two-thirds of its ocean-going shipping tonnage, and a third of its seamen, had become the most valuable of French colonial possessions. This growth had been very rapid and had been achieved through a massive annual importation of African slaves, mostly young males, that averaged about

40,000 per year in the 1780s. By 1789 there were close to half a million slaves in St. Domingue, greatly outnumbering the white population of about 40,000, and the 28,000 free coloreds (blacks and mulattos) who occupied an intermediate position in this slave society. A relatively small percentage of French and free colored owned most of the plantations and slaves. If the presence of large numbers of slaves fresh from Africa made this an unusually volatile society, so too did the aspirations of free coloreds, some of whom had fought in French forces in the American War of Independence and were in the 1780s already aspiring to equality with whites. But it was the great political crisis in France that threw St. Domingue into turmoil, by generating conflicts at all levels of society and undermining French government and sovereignty on the island.

Political upheaval started among the whites, who came into conflict over the great political questions that also divided the French at home. While the rich planters and their allies sought to maintain their command of colonial society, poor whites backed those who attacked the wealthy, privileged elites and overturned the monarchical authorities whose power had been weakened by the overthrow of the old regime in France. The free coloreds, inspired by the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, were also quickly drawn into politics, with the encouragement of the Société des Amis des Noirs (Society of Friends of Blacks), which campaigned for the abolition of the slave trade and for equal rights for free coloreds. When rebuffed, some free coloreds decided on armed rebellion. Vincent Ogé, a mulatto who had been active on behalf of free colored rights in revolutionary Paris, led a revolt of mulattos in favor of civil equality for freed coloreds in 1790. He refused to recruit slaves to his rebellion and was soon defeated, but Ogé's execution triggered a scandal in France and persuaded the National Assembly to legislate legal equality for free coloreds born of free parents. This produced, in turn, a backlash from whites, who although divided over the French Revolution, were generally united in wanting to maintain slavery in the colony, to preserve its plantation society and to defend its racial hierarchy.

Conflict among and between whites, and between whites and free coloreds, had thus come close to civil war and it was in these tense circumstances that political factionalism among the minorities was suddenly overtaken by the greatest slave rebellion yet seen in the Americas. In 1791 fieldworkers in northern St. Domingue rose up, claiming that they had already been emancipated by the French king. Slaves met to coordinate an uprising of slaves in Le Cap and the nearby countryside. The political decision was sanctified in a voodoo ceremony in which two hundred slaves drank the blood of a pig sacrificed by a priestess and swore

***Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Belley* (1797) by Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson.** *Senegalese-born Belley, a leader of the Haitian revolution, became a representative to the French National Assembly from Saint-Domingue. In his portrait, he leans against a bust of Abbé Raynal, an eighteenth-century French critic of slavery.* CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES, FRANCE/ GIRAUDON/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

obedience to Boukman Dutty, leader of the planned revolt. Dutty chose as his lieutenants Georges Biassou, Jeannot Bullet, and François Papillon. They planned to kill the French elite in Le Cap and set about destroying plantations and killing whites over a wide area, sometimes in alliance with free coloreds, sometimes against the joint resistance of whites and free coloreds.

Many historians see the slave rebellions that began in 1791 as the start of the revolution in St. Domingue because they involved the mass mobilization of slaves and forced France to introduce a significant political change. In order to curb violent upheaval that spread to all the main regions of the colony, France conceded full citizenship to free persons in April 1792. This brought a significant change in the position of mulattos. They now held full legal rights and were allowed to hold office and promptly sought to consolidate their gains by entering

into alliances with white planters to defeat the slave rebels, whom they saw as a threat to their property and position. The French Revolution had ended white supremacy but preserved slavery, and when three French civil commissioners charged with preserving order arrived in St. Domingue in September 1792, the free coloreds sided with them. This development promised a return to stability under French revolutionary government, which favored the free coloreds over whites who were often suspected of royalism, but the intervention of foreign powers against the French regime in St. Domingue led to another, more destructive cycle of wars.

War against Britain and Spain changed the position not only of free coloreds but also of blacks. When the French king was overthrown in 1793, the commissioners from France, particularly Léger Félicité Sonthonax and Etienne Polverel, moved against royalists, deported large numbers of whites, and promoted free coloreds in their place. When war broke out, they moved closer to the blacks by recruiting slaves to fight royalist white colonists and the forces of Spain and England, which invaded St. Domingue in 1793. Sonthonax decreed that slaves in St. Domingue's northern province would be free as of August 29, 1793, a date often cited as the beginning of the Haitian Revolution. The commissioners in the two other areas of St. Domingue followed suit. This presented the French National Convention with a *fait accompli*, and on February 4, 1794 (16 *pluviôse*, year II), slavery was abolished by the Convention in all the colonies. St. Domingue's slaves had won emancipation for themselves and (temporarily) for French slaves everywhere. Though the British and Spanish had been attempting to preserve plantations and slavery, they had produced the opposite effect by persuading the French authorities that the only way to save French power in St. Domingue was to abolish slavery and so win the rebellious slaves for France. This had an immediate effect on the balance of power within the colony, as slave leaders emerged to challenge the privileges of both whites and free coloreds.

The Convention's law abolishing slavery attracted the free black General Toussaint L'Ouverture (born François-Dominique Toussaint), who switched from supporting Spanish troops to fighting on the side of the French government in 1794. This is another moment regarded as the beginning of the Haitian Revolution, because the black troops of Toussaint L'Ouverture now were free and looked to a Haitian as their ruler. It was certainly a turning point in that Toussaint L'Ouverture's army and military genius played decisive roles in defeating foreign invaders and slave-owners, forcing the Spanish and British to withdraw, a move that freed slaves in the west in 1798. French rule was saved, but at the cost of promoting the power of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Toussaint L'Ouverture moved to establish his rule over all of St. Domingue, from his position of strength in the North and Port-au-Prince, and sent the French commissioners back to France. He fought a civil and race war against the mulatto André Rigaud, who controlled the southern part of St. Domingue, where many mulattos owned plantations. Known to Haitians as the War of the Knives, this struggle was complicated by the fact that mulatto officers served with Toussaint L'Ouverture, while black troops fought on both sides. By mid-1800, Toussaint L'Ouverture dominated all of St. Domingue. He then moved to occupy Spanish-speaking Santo Domingo even though it was under French rule. An angry Napoleon, who had seized power in France in 1799, decided to invade St. Domingue to restore French rule. Toussaint L'Ouverture's constitution of 1801, promulgated against the wishes of Napoleon Bonaparte, made Toussaint L'Ouverture a governor for life with all power concentrated in his hands. The French could no longer claim to rule St. Domingue, and St. Domingans were no longer colonial subjects. Some historians therefore choose 1801 as the date when St. Domingue became self-governing and the Haitian Revolution began.

Another key phase of the Haitian Revolution is the period from 1802 to 1804 when Napoleon's brother-in-law Victor Emmanuel Leclerc led a French army of invasion into St. Domingue, and sought to reestablish the old slave regime. Toussaint L'Ouverture and his generals fought a guerrilla war against the French, then surrendered and retired to their plantations. Two of Toussaint L'Ouverture's main generals—Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henri Christophe—turned him in for plotting rebellion and a year later, in 1803, he died as a prisoner in France. But the situation on the ground changed dramatically when it was learned in July 1803 that France had reinstated slavery. Mulattos and blacks now united against the French under mulatto officers Dessalines and Alexandre Pétion and the black Christophe. The success of these insurgents, the death of General Leclerc, and the renewed war with the British that starved French forces of supplies and reinforcements, led to French defeat and evacuation of St. Domingue in November 1803. The race war was renewed, this time against the white French, and around 3,000 were massacred on orders of Dessalines in 1804. On January 1, 1804, *de jure* independence was proclaimed by Dessalines and the name "Haïti," from the Indian Arawak language, was substituted for Saint Domingue.

What began as a civil war among the whites who had split into factions (*petits blancs* against *grands blancs*, planters versus merchants, colonists against French administrators, and creoles against absentee planters), thus became a race war (blacks against mulattos, whites

against mulattos, blacks and mulattos against whites), and ended in a revolutionary war when the blacks rose up as an independent group and struck for independence from France, in 1802 to 1804.

There are diverse explanations for why the blacks won: Toussaint L'Ouverture and some of his lieutenants were exceptional leaders, tropical diseases felled European troops, the colonists were divided, the whites and mulattos were outnumbered, and the slaves knew how to fight. John Thornton emphasizes that the majority of slaves in St. Domingue were African-born, and had arrived within ten years of 1791. They came principally from two areas that were sites of warfare: the Lower Guinea coast (comprised of present-day Benin, Togo, and Nigeria) and the Angolan coast. Most of the slaves sold to Europeans were prisoners of war from these engagements and had military experience. Familiar with European muskets, lances, axes, shields, and swords, they also knew African military organization and tactics such as guerrilla warfare by platoons and large engagements in columns. Thornton surmises that mulattos and European deserters used the artillery noted in rebel armies, and that horsemen were largely creoles, mulattos, and Africans from Oyo and Senegal. New armies under creole and mulatto leadership adopted European military tactics and fought alongside African leaders using African tactics. African religious practices fortified the soldiers. All rebel armies relied on African soldiers who were veterans as well as agricultural workers. More than any other factor this could explain why the Haitian slave revolt succeeded.

The significance of the Haitian Revolution extended far beyond the island. It was the first great reversal of slavery in the world of European colonialism, achieved by an extraordinary slave resistance against the French planter class and the armies of the three great colonial powers, France, Spain, and Britain. In addition, it contributed to the end of colonial empire by becoming the second colony in the Americas after the United States to achieve independence. The Haitian Revolution also blocked Britain's ambitions to extend its empire in the Caribbean. As such, it served as a symbol for both abolitionists and proponents of slavery, colonialists and anticolonialists. Alexandre Pétion gave military and financial assistance to the Miranda expedition to free Venezuela from Spain in 1806, and to Simón Bolívar, who sought refuge in Haiti in 1815, on the condition that the latter promise to abolish slavery in the lands he liberated. There is little evidence that Haitians stirred up slave populations elsewhere, however, although slaves and freemen throughout the Americas knew that the Haitians had freed themselves and this served as inspiration, along with many other factors, in slave revolts in Venezuela (1795), Havana (1812), and Charleston, South Carolina (1822). The Haitians invaded neighboring Santo Domingo

under Toussaint L'Ouverture, and again in 1822 when they stamped out slavery, although it was later resumed by the Spanish. Haiti never again prospered, and after the assassination of Dessalines in 1807, it became divided between Pétion's oligarchic republic of small landholders in the south, and Christophe's authoritarian black kingdom of plantations in the north. Toussaint L'Ouverture, and later Dessalines and Christophe, had insisted on plantations and forced labor in order to make coffee and sugar cane profitable. Toussaint L'Ouverture compelled labor on plantations to earn foreign exchange to buy arms, build fortifications, and make preparations for a French invasion. In the long run, the ex-slaves rejected involuntary servitude and plantations, and Haiti became a nation of small farms and free labor.

Rather, the greatest impact of the Haitian Revolution seems to have been its refugees, whites, free blacks, mulattos, and slaves who fled to the United States, France, Jamaica, Cuba, and other Caribbean islands. Their skills and knowledge led to the establishment of businesses, but most of all contributed to the growth of sugarcane plantations and slavery. Cuba became the most prosperous sugarcane island after 1800. Due to Napoleon's occupation of Spain, Haitian refugees were expelled from Cuba in 1808, and many immigrated to Louisiana, where they helped stimulate and maintain the French culture that preceded Anglo settlement. Initially these refugees were welcomed in the United States and given funds by the U.S. Congress, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, and South Carolina, and cities such as Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, and Baltimore. Many private citizens also responded to pleas for charitable contributions. The U.S. Congress exempted St. Domingans from the new 1807 law forbidding the importation of slaves into the United Sates. Many who brought in slaves could hire them out or use them as slaves on their own plantations. Immigrants doubled the free black population of New Orleans. The mulattos came to occupy a special status between whites and free blacks, giving New Orleans a special Creole flavor.

On the other hand, the Haitian Revolution had a negative impact in the South by hardening the attitudes of whites. Beginning in 1792, South Carolina and other states restricted immigration of slaves, freedmen, and mulattos from Haiti to protect their slaves and freedmen from any "contagion." Louisiana, under Spanish rule since 1763, discouraged refugees from seeking asylum in the 1790s. The New Orleans *cabildo* banned slaves and free blacks from landing. France regained control of Louisiana from 1801-1803, but Napoleon's rule remained nominal due to the failure of the French expedition to St. Domingue. After the United States took possession of Louisiana in 1803, the number of refugees

from St. Domingue increased. They arrived primarily from Jamaica and Cuba. The New Orleans *cabildo* prohibited the landing of free blacks. The fear of "another Haiti" moved the U.S. Congress to end the importation of slaves after 1807, but an exception was made for slaves brought to Louisiana by French refugees.

Thomas Jefferson found himself supporting Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti, because the defeat of the British and French armies allowed Americans to trade directly with Haiti. In addition, the defeat of the French motivated Napoleon to sell Louisiana to the United States, a transfer that greatly furthered American attempts to expand to the west. Federalists wanting to discredit the French and open commerce with the West Indies praised Toussaint L'Ouverture. Southerners admired his reimposition of plantations using forced labor and his control over Haitian blacks. They credited him with defeating radical ideology deriving from the French Revolution. Likewise, the British signed a commercial treaty with Toussaint Louverture, and kept the sea-lanes open for trade. But it was not until France recognized Haitian independence in 1825, after Haiti agreed to pay huge reparations to the colonial exiles, that other countries formally recognized Haiti. And it was only when the U.S. Civil War ended slavery that full diplomatic relations were established between the United States and Haiti. By then Haiti was no longer considered a threat.

SEE ALSO *Abolition of Colonial Slavery; Revolutions in the Americas.*

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Virginia W. Leonard

HAKLUYT, RICHARD
1552–1616

Richard Hakluyt (pronounced HACK-loot) was an English geographer, historian, editor, and a leading promoter of English colonial expansion in North America. He was known as "Richard Hakluyt of Oxford" to distinguish him from his older cousin, Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, who was a lawyer and also an advocate of English colonization.

Richard Hakluyt of Oxford was born in London in 1552 and was educated at Christ Church, a college of Oxford University. He later taught at Oxford, was ordained as a priest in the Church of England, and pursued a career as both a scholar and clergyman. He was well connected to many of the leading political figures of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, including Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618).

Hakluyt's earliest writings on English overseas expansion included plans for establishing a colony on the Strait of Magellan at the southern tip of South America. He soon abandoned this plan, however, in favor of English settlement of the Atlantic coast of North America.

In 1584 Hakluyt completed one of his major works, titled *Discourse of Western Planting*, which was presented to Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) in manuscript but was not actually printed until almost three hundred years later. This text established English legal claims to North America (based in part on the writings of John Dee [1527–1608]) and discussed in depth the benefits of English settlement, including the commercial and strategic advantages that England stood to gain from colonizing the region. Although Elizabeth was in agreement with the sentiments of this manuscript, England was engaged in a rivalry with Spain and unable to finance the colonial project that Hakluyt proposed, though Hakluyt's writing probably had an influence on the formation of the unsuccessful colony established in 1585 on Roanoke Island, off the coast of present-day North Carolina.

Hakluyt's next great work, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1589 (with later editions published under a slightly different title), was a compilation of reports and documents

pertaining to English voyages of exploration to America, the Arctic, Russia, Asia, and Africa. Unlike earlier compilations of this kind, Hakluyt's text was based on original documents and explorers' reports, and on his own translations of foreign texts. *The Principal Navigations* narrates the history of English exploration, and also constitutes a kind of prose epic of the heroic exploits of the English. This work was hugely influential in stimulating English interest in establishing colonies in North America, especially because it was published only one year after England's defeat of the invading Spanish Armada in 1588. Spain's defeat gave the English a freer hand in exploring and colonizing North America north of Florida and allowed for the rise of English imperialism more generally.

Hakluyt died in 1616 and was buried in Westminster Abbey in London. Many of the unpublished documents he left at the time of his death were later edited and published by Samuel Purchas (ca. 1577–1626) in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, which continued Hakluyt's project of documenting English exploration. The London-based Hakluyt Society, founded in the nineteenth century and named after him, continues to publish important documents in the history of exploration.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; European Explorations in North America.*

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Michael Pretes

HARKIS

Harkis were indigenous Muslim soldiers in Algeria who, organized into units called *harkas,* served in the French army during the colonial period in Algeria (1830–1962). By extension, all Algerians who favored to some degree the French presence in Algeria—as opposed to the movements for independence whose supporters called for total withdrawal—came to be called *harkis.*

According to a 1962 report presented to the United Nations by Christian de Saint-Salvy, the general controller of the French army, 230,000 indigenous Algerians were engaged on the French side during the Algerian war of independence (1954–1962), including 60,000 active-duty soldiers; 153,000 civilian employees; and 50,000 Francophile public servants. The Algerian National Liberation Front (*Front de libération nationale*, or FLN) called them all *harkis*. The word thus became a pejorative term signifying submission to the colonial power and symmetrical betrayal of the aspiration of nationalist Algerians.

The harkis and their families added up to about one million indigenous Muslim Algerians (of a total population of eight million) sympathetic to France. From the point of view of the independence movements, all these people were guilty of collaboration with the colonial oppressor, hence of treason to the fatherland. At a deeper, cultural level, they were accused of treason to their Algerian identity as they colluded with a European power to impose a Western model on Algeria. This view was reinforced by the French state's attempt to count Algeria as a French province *(département)*, rather than a colony. Both of these interpretations made the harkis subject to the scorn of the FLN and other Algerian nationalist forces.

In spite of their loyalty to France, the Accords of Evian, signed by French president Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) on March 19, 1962, which put an end to the war and recognized the independence of Algeria, left the harkis and their families at the mercy of the FLN. As French armed forces left Algeria and the *pieds noirs* (literally, "black feet," a term used to refer to French citizens who had settled in Algeria) were evacuated, the harkis were disarmed and abandoned.

Although the Accords of Evian paid lip service to national reconciliation and amnesty, the retribution was swift and cruel. A low estimate puts the number of harkis massacred in the immediate aftermath of Algerian independence at tens of thousands. Harkis associations cite much higher figures. The charges of treason brought against them often combined with accusations of violence committed on behalf of France against their fellow Algerians. Harkis were therefore despised and executed both as political offenders (i.e., traitors to the country and to Algerian national identity as defined by the FLN) and as bloodthirsty criminals.

This massive collective punishment was typically executed without trials and without any right to defense. It is therefore difficult to determine if and to what extent the harkis committed crimes. The widespread view of most survivors is that harkis became the victims of revenge killings and also of political settling of scores. The killings were particularly gruesome. Eyewitnesses and official documents catalog a long list of refined forms of torture. The extreme suffering and humiliations had

Harkis Soldiers in Paris. *Soldiers of the special Harkis regiment from Algiers march past the Arc de Triomphe and down the Champs Elysées on July 14, 1957, during the annual Bastille Day parade in Paris.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the pedagogical purpose of convincing the majority of Algerians of the evils of collaboration with the French and of the usefulness of pledging full allegiance to the new authorities.

Some harkis managed to escape Algeria and enter France, where they encountered a chilling welcome. More often than not they were arrested and returned to Algeria to face torture, imprisonment, and death. Many individual French officers tried to help their former allies. In doing so, they disobeyed the orders of the high command, which considered such actions as infractions of the military code, carrying various punishments. A note from the minister of the French army, Louis Joxe (1901–1991), dated May 12, 1962, threatened further sanctions against French military personnel engaged in helping the flight of harkis towards France, and decreed that all harkis caught on French territory would be returned to Algeria.

By the end of 1962, however, 20,000 harkis had been processed in special transit camps which served to facilitate their integration into French society. These camps were organized in former military bases such as Larzac,

Bourg Lastic, and Rivesaltes. 3,200 harkis joined the regular French army. Eventually, 91,000 harkis and their families were permitted to relocate to France. This did not, however, mean that they had been given the opportunity to start new lives. Most harkis spent many years in camps akin to ghettos, during which time their children were not allowed to attend local schools. They were educated in special camp schools, which further perpetuated the stigma of their harkis identity and made their integration into French society even more difficult. Algerian legislation still bars the harkis from visiting their homeland.

Caught between the deadly revenge of fellow Algerians and the sudden abandonment of the French authorities, the harkis who managed to settle in France have long been the object of contempt from all sides. Algerian official discourse continues to present them as criminal collaborators, while anticolonial opinion in France depicts them as traitors to the aspirations of their own people. Until recently, the official position of the French government was assiduous indifference, sometimes combined with the exasperation of having to deal

LAW OF FEBRUARY 23, 2005

The law of February 23, 2005, is a declaration of the gratitude of the French state for the service of the *harkis* in Algeria, up to the independence of Algeria (1962). In addition to official recognition of past service to France, the law establishes monetary compensation to the tune of 2,800 euros a year or a lump sum of 30,000 euros. The law also guarantees protection against insults and defamation and other efforts to deny the tragedy of the *harkis*, although it stops short of admitting the responsibility of the French state.

The law has been the subject of heated debate among historians, especially because the *pieds noirs* (former French colonists in Algeria) were included among the categories of individuals entitled to both recognition and compensation. But the most sustained criticism was provoked by article 4, which calls on history programs and textbooks to give more space to the history of the French presence in Northern Africa, and also recommends that such programs and textbooks underline the "positive role" of the French presence in that part of the world. Furthermore, the law recommends that the sacrifices of North Africans who fought in the French army be taught in schools. In response to the law of February 23, 2005, an open letter signed by dozens of historians was sent to the French parliament, deploring both the tendency to embellish France's colonial past and the attempt of the government to control the teaching of history. A great debate followed in the press over the various ways the colonial period is remembered, over the interface between memory and history, and over the lack of consensus on the way in which this particular facet of French history should be addressed.

with an embarrassing relic from the past at a time when French authorities were looking for a fresh start in the country's relation with former colonies.

Since the end of the Algerian war harkis organizations in France have fought an uphill battle to restore the honor of these former French allies. The second generation of harkis has especially worked for recognition of and respect for the service the harkis performed for France. Much effort has gone towards exposing the opportunistic abandonment of the harkis by the French state, a betrayal akin to criminal neglect, considering that French authorities were fully aware of the fate awaiting their hitherto allies. A number of community associations keep alive the memory of the tragedy of the harkis, and they work towards rehabilitation of the community, both in Algeria and in France.

While the harkis are still outcast in Algeria, in France a number of books have gradually made the public aware of the plight of the harkis, as well as the way the French state treated this segment of the Algerian population. These efforts at rehabilitation culminated with a law passed on February 23, 2005, by the French Parliament. The law expresses France's gratitude towards the harkis and establishes monetary compensation for the sons and daughters of former French allies in Algeria in the form of an *allocation de reconnaissance* (gratitude grant) of 2,800 euros per year or a lump sum of 30,000 euros. The law also guarantees protection against insults and defamation and other efforts of denying the tragedy of the harkis, although the law stops short of admitting the responsibility of the French state in this tragedy.

SEE ALSO *Algeria; French Colonialism, Middle East.*

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HAVANA

In 1514 Diego de Velazquez (1465–1524), the conqueror of Cuba, incorporated *San Cristobal de la Habana* as one of the initial seven villas of the island. Originally sited on the southern coast near the anchorage of Batabano, in 1519 officials moved Havana to its present location on the north coast where the enormous deep water bay and proximity to the Bahamas channel confirmed its strategic importance. French, Dutch, and English incursions prompted construction of elaborate fortifications, the most emblematic being the Morro castle at the harbor mouth. The city became the political

and military capital of the colony in 1553, while the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba habitually resided in Havana until 1789 when an independent see was created.

Until the early nineteenth century Havana possessed a diverse economy. Foodstuffs, with an early emphasis on cattle ranching and leather exports, occupied the hinterlands and confirmed the city as the agricultural service center for the western half of the island. The royal tobacco monopoly was established in 1717. The Havana Company, founded in 1740, promoted the island's produce, especially sugar. The bay constantly hosted the transatlantic treasure fleets, whereas the city furnished maintenance and provisioning. Complementing the expanding shipyard, which constructed the world's largest wooden vessels in the eighteenth century, were a canon and anchor foundry.

Following the British capture and occupation of Havana in 1762, Spain introduced numerous reforms—taxation with consent of the *habaneros*, a monthly transatlantic mail service, and massive new fortification construction with free and prisoner labor. The Free Trade Act of 1765 opened Havana to nine Spanish ports, while an act passed in 1778 opened additional American ports. The creation of white, mulatto, and black militia companies provided new, wider reaching opportunities. Havana ranked as the "key to the New World."

The quickening rise of the sugar oligarchy at the end of the eighteenth century coincided with the destruction of the neighboring island of Saint Domingue (later Haiti), stimulating monoculture. The loss of Spanish colonies in the early nineteenth century diminished Havana's turntable function, but increased free trade, especially in sugar and tobacco, and confirmed a new, prosperous economy.

SEE ALSO *Caribbean.*

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G. Douglas Inglis

HAWAI'I

The geologically recent Hawaiian Island chain is the most remote archipelago in the Pacific Ocean. Native Hawaiians are descendants of long-distance Polynesian ocean voyagers. Population estimates for the late eighteenth century range from 110,000 to 1 million. Although Spanish explorers visited earlier, a British naval expedition led by Captain James Cook (1728–1779) initiated the first sustained European contact in 1778. In 1810 the smaller Hawaiian monarchies were unified by King Kamehameha I (1758–1819), who ruled from 1795 to 1819. The British provided protection until 1816. The United States extended diplomatic recognition to the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1826. The two countries signed five treaties during the next sixty-one years.

In the Kingdom's evolution as a parliamentary monarchy, successive constitutions limited the power of the monarch. In a harbinger of future dependency, sovereignty was interrupted by five months of British rule in 1843. By 1850, foreigners could purchase land legally. And migrations of Protestant missionaries, capitalists from the United States, and farm workers from Asia and elsewhere began transforming Hawai'i into an export-oriented agricultural colonial settler-state. Sugar plantations became central to the economy.

Signed under duress, the Bayonet Constitution of 1887 severely reduced the monarch's dwindling powers. Non-Hawaiians were members of the cabinet. By 1890, the Native Hawaiian population fell to 40,622, or 45 percent of the total population. Fearing the independent spirit of Lili'uokalani (1838–1917), queen of the Hawaiian Islands from 1891 to 1893, sugar plantation owners formed the Annexation Club and a committee of safety. Backed by a contingent of U.S. Marines, they arrested the Queen on January 17, 1893. Having overthrown a weakened constitutional monarchy, they established the rebel Republic of Hawai'i (1893–1898). At the outset of his second nonconsecutive term, U.S. President Grover Cleveland (1893-1897) refused to recognize the Republic. Although Cleveland did not support annexation, he and like-minded political leaders could not convince Congress to endorse restoration of the monarchy.

Native Hawaiians did not acquiesce. Thousands of Hawaiian women were among those resisting nonviolently. In 1897, as the Caucasian oligarchy renewed plans to facilitate annexation, Native Hawaiians signed the *Ku'e* (Resist) petition, organizing a massive campaign to secure signatures. According to Hawaiian-language documents from the National Archives of the United States, a majority of Native Hawaiian adults signed the petition. The extraordinary outpouring of opposition caused the annexation treaty to fail. Colonization stalled, but only for a few years.
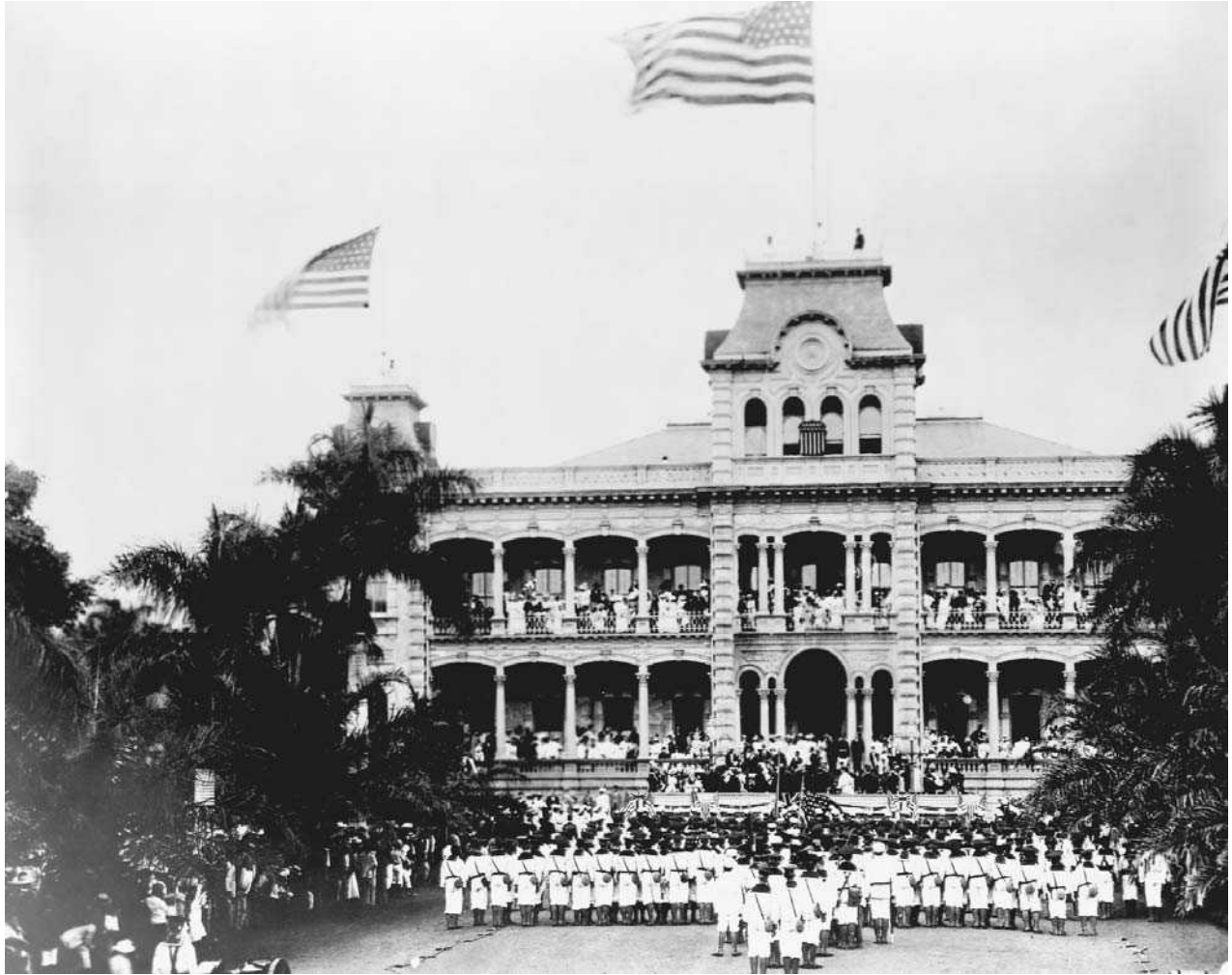
Ceremony Marking the Annexation of Hawaii, August 13, 1898. *American sailors from the* USS Boston *form an honor guard in front of Iolani Palace in Honolulu during ceremonies marking the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands as a U.S. territory.* © **CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Despite misgivings expressed by individual members of Congress, the United States ultimately ignored Hawaiians' protests. During the Spanish-American War (1898), the Congressional Newlands Resolution of July 7, 1898, asserted U.S. administrative control over the islands. Also, Congress promised to enact special laws for the management and disposition of 1.8 million acres of ceded Crown lands. Under the U.S. Constitution, a two-thirds vote by the Senate is required to ratify treaties. Because the Newlands Resolution ostensibly was not an agreement between two sovereign states, it needed a simple majority in both houses of Congress. More curiously, the Newlands Resolution acknowledged "treaties of the Hawaiian Islands with foreign nations." Although the Newlands Resolution was formally not a treaty, unsurprisingly the rebel Republic ratified it.

The Territory of Hawai'i was established in 1900. Ceded lands (Crown lands) were transferred to the Territory and, later, to the state of Hawaii. In the 1930s and especially with the United States entrance into World War II (1941–1945), Hawai'i became increasingly militarized. Fifty years of U.S. bombing of Kaho'olawe Island by the U.S. Navy began under President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), who held office between 1933 and 1945. After World War II (1939–1945), Hawai'i was listed as a non-self-governing territory under Article 73 of the United Nations (UN) Charter. During and after the Cold War (1946–1991), Hawai'i served as a venue for the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps basing areas, live-fire training areas, and storage areas for nuclear and other weapons.

On June 27, 1959, voters in Hawai'i participated in a referendum to determine their future political status. However, the referendum ballot denied voters two options: free association (a form of self-governing autonomy) and independence. With choices limited to continued territorial status, statehood, and abstaining altogether, a majority opted for statehood. Effective August 20, 1959, the U.S. Congress admitted Hawai'i as the fiftieth state. In response, the UN General Assembly removed Hawai'i from the list of "Non Self Governing Trust Territories." In 1960 UN General Assembly Resolution 1541 recommended that plebiscites in "Non Self Governing Trust Territories" let voters choose from all three alternatives to colonialism. However, that decision did not overturn statehood for Hawai'i.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement reopened the decolonization debate. Political protests against the continued bombing of Kaho'olawe included a series of illegal occupations in the late 1970s. The Constitutional Convention of 1978 established an Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). In 1991 naval bombardment of Kaho'olawe ended during President George H. W. Bush's 1989 to 1993 term. Between January 17 and January 21, 1993, a four-day centennial memorial of the overthrow stimulated a large pro-Hawaiian sovereignty protest demonstration in Honolulu. Ten months later, the 103rd Congress passed Joint Resolution 19 (Public Law 103–150). Signed by William J. Clinton (b. 1946), U.S. president from 1993 to 2001, this resolution apologized for the American role in overthrowing the Hawaiian monarchy. Challenged by efforts to classify Hawaiians as a race, the apology's full legal impact remained contentious for more than a decade.

In its *Rice v. Cayetano* decision (2000), the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Hawaiian-only voter eligibility requirements for OHA elections as unconstitutional. That decision catalyzed reflection on goals and tactics by the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. In reaction to the Supreme Court's decision, a succession of bills were introduced in Congress by Senator Daniel J. Akaka (b. 1924) and colleagues. Although Hawaiians are neither a tribe nor Native Americans, the purpose of the proposed legislation was to invest them with political status similar to Native American tribes.

Reflecting continued militarization in 2000, armed forces personnel and families accounted for 16 percent of Hawai'i residents. Continuing another trend, 17.9 percent of Hawai'i residents were born outside the United States. Local births and immigration from Asia, the Pacific, and the continental United States led population increases to 1.2 million. Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians were less than 25 percent of the population. In early 2005 control of Ceded Lands remained in dispute.

SEE ALSO *Empire, United States.*

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Vincent Kelly Pollard

HEEREN XVII

Heeren XVII or Gentlemen Seventeen was the name for the board of directors of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), founded in 1602. This central executive body consisted of representatives from the VOC's six constituent chambers, located in cities where previously separate "pre-companies" had been established: Eight were from Amsterdam, four from Middelburg (Zeeland), and one each from the four smaller chambers—Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen. The seventeenth member was appointed in turn by Zeeland or one of the smaller chambers. In theory, Amsterdam could be outvoted, but in practice the power of this large chamber over the smaller ones was such that it could usually get its way. The Gentlemen Seventeen met two or three times a year in the presiding chamber, either Amsterdam (six years in succession) or Middelburg (two years in succession). The timing of these meetings, which usually lasted four to five weeks, coincided with the rhythms of the shipping traffic between the Dutch Republic and Asia. New directors were to be appointed by the provincial assemblies, the states of Holland and Zeeland, from a short list prepared by the acting directors. This power, however, was soon usurped by the town councils of the respective chambers. Partly as a result of the appointment policy close ties were formed between the ruling oligarchy of regents, members of the town councils, and the company directors.

The founding charter of 1602 permitted the VOC to build forts, appoint governors, maintain soldiers and fleets, wage war, and conclude treaties with foreign

powers in Asia in the name of the States General of the Dutch Republic. Instructions to governors had to be approved by the States General, and the top VOC officials had to swear an oath of allegiance in the presence of the States General. In addition, commanders of homeward-bound fleets had to report on conditions in Asia. From a legal perspective, the VOC can be considered an executive instrument of the States General with a restricted mandate. In practice, however, the States General had little effective control and rules were soon ignored. Close informal contacts existed between the government and the company because the directors came from the same ruling regent class, but official control was minimal until the late eighteenth century. The financial report submitted to a committee from the States General every four years was a mere formality. When the company's charter had to be extended, the occasion was seen primarily as a suitable opportunity to extract money from the directors.

Several committees advised the meetings of the Gentlemen Seventeen or carried out preparatory work. There was a committee for checking the bookkeeping, one for preparing the annual balance, another for attending and supervising the company auctions, a wartime committee dealing with secret routes and signals, and one for dealing with correspondence with the High Government and other company servants in Asia. The latter committee met in the company lodge in The Hague and was therefore called the *Haags Besogne*. It was formed by ten directors: four from Amsterdam, two from Zeeland, and one from each of the smaller chambers.

An important VOC official was the company's advocate, the secretary to the board of directors. He attended both the meetings of the Gentlemen Seventeen and the Haags Besogne and drafted the resolutions of these bodies. In addition, he participated in the deliberations of the Amsterdam chamber, and carried out numerous other tasks for the directors. The advocate was the only permanent official at the highest level and could sometimes exert a great deal of influence on company policy. Pieter van Dam, for example, occupied this post for more than fifty years from 1652 until his death in 1706. Van Dam wrote his multivolume *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* (Description of the East India Company) at the request of the Gentlemen Seventeen. The work, describing the history and organization of the VOC, was intended to act as an internal reference and policy guide for the directors. Today it serves as an invaluable source of information on the Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth century.

Some controversy exists over the alleged inadequacy of company bookkeeping and the declining quality of management in the eighteenth century. Though bookkeeping in the Dutch Republic could be quite problematical and balances reported by the individual chambers did not provide a complete picture, the Gentlemen Seventeen had inside access to the figures from Asia and additional financial details. At crucial points, the process of decision-making was institutionalized and rational. To compare the company with a modern multinational corporation, however, would be to ignore the restricted technological means available and the different mentality of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The slowness and uncertainty of overseas communications inevitably formed a weak link in the system. Patronage and personal preferences played a decisive part in the appointment of directors and other senior officials. It was accepted at all levels that, to a certain extent, one could enrich oneself through and at the cost of the VOC. Finally, management was not always of consistent quality. Against periods characterized by an active, inspiring, and innovative policy on the part of the directors must be set others in which routine, inertia, and lethargy were dominant.

SEE ALSO *Batavia; Empire, Dutch; Moluccas.*

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Markus Vink

HEGEMON AND HEGEMONY

A hegemon is a country with the economic, political, and military power to set and enforce the prevailing rules of the international system. Unlike an empire, the hegemon does not have to exert formal control over other states or powers in the global arena; instead, it exercises a degree of informal control known as hegemony. The power and influence of the United States on world affairs in the twentieth century is often cited as an example of hegemony.

ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE HEGEMON

Hegemons work to maintain the status quo in international affairs because their hegemony is the result of the current global order. Consequently, hegemons serve to discourage major wars, although minor conflicts have been common during periods of hegemonic stability. When states violate the explicit or implicit rules of the international system, the hegemon punishes those transgressions. The hegemon also rewards states for their compliance by ensuring that those states receive a share in the global economic markets or trade.

Individual states usually either join with the hegemon, or seek to displace it. The balance of power politics in the past has often attempted to prevent the rise or triumph of hegemonies as the coalitions against Napoleonic France and Nazi Germany demonstrated. States that align with the hegemon receive protection and access to economic rewards, whereas states that balance against the hegemon face various forms of retaliation, including military attack. A successful, mature hegemony results in a great degree of stability in the international system because the major powers tend to align with it to enjoy the rewards provided by the global leader. A hegemon need not be a global hegemon. A powerful country may be a regional hegemon that dominates a specific area, even though there are more powerful nations elsewhere.

RISE AND FALL OF HEGEMONS

With the rise of the modern nation state and its high levels of military and economic cohesion, it became increasingly unlikely that any single empire could conquer the entire world. Instead, the world witnessed the rise of hegemonic powers that dominated certain historic periods and certain regions without achieving global conquest. Scholars point to the Hapsburg Empire of the fifteenth century, the Dutch in the sixteenth century, and the British Empire in the nineteenth century as examples of past hegemons.

Periods of hegemony are cyclical and can be divided into four distinct phases. The first phase occurs as a rising state endeavors to gain advantage over other international powers. This period is often characterized by major wars and may be accompanied by the decline of an existent hegemon. The second phase begins when a new state gains hegemony and begins to impose its rules and influence on the system. The third phase is marked by stability within the international system and the maturation of hegemonic leadership. The fourth and final phase is the fall of the hegemony because of domestic decline, or the rise of a new hegemony. This period is often marked by system-wide war.

Historians have demonstrated that periods of prolonged hegemony were less common before the Industrial Revolution. The growth of industry and global trade that occurred with the Industrial Revolution allowed certain states to gain material advantages in production and technology and, consequently, use that advantage to drive for hegemony. The British Empire and the United States are examples of this trend. In the case of the British Empire, the competition for markets and access to resources spurred colonialism and the development of global empires in the nineteenth century. The United States, by contrast, sought to dismantle formal colonialism as it gained global hegemony at the end of World War II (1939–1945). It wanted to expand its commercial interaction with the newly independent states and to replace colonial interests with American values and ideals.

U.S. HEGEMONY

During the first half of the twentieth century, the United States rose to replace the British Empire. World War I (1914–1918) marked the ascent of the United States as a hegemon and the decline of British hegemony. At the end of World War II, the United States began to impose its rules and preferences on the world as it gained hegemony. The United States avoided colonization and was instead able to impose its will on other states through less formal means of control, including economic and military incentives. The post–World War II era was characterized by the mature American hegemony. Even though the United States was challenged by the Soviet Union and its bloc during the Cold War, it dominated the world to a degree far greater than past hegemons.

In 1945 the United States had a clear preponderance of economic and military power. Although Soviet military power grew to match that of the United States, the Soviets were unable to match U.S. economic power. Global institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) reflected American preferences for world order and helped promote American interests. Despite a range of small wars, the Cold War era was remarkably stable in terms of economic growth and the absence of system-wide war. The end of the Cold War

Japanese Locals in Okinawa. *Two Japanese young people pose for a photograph on a busy street in Okinawa, Japan, on April 17, 1997. The long-standing presence of the U.S. military in Okinawa was responsible for the gradual Americanization of this Japanese island prefecture.* **ANDRES HERNANDEZ/LIAISON/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

can be seen as the triumph of U.S. hegemony over its rivals. However, the Cold War also witnessed the decline of American economic power in relative terms. The United States produced almost half of the world's economic output in 1945. By the 1970s that figure declined to 25 percent, where it has more or less remained through the early twenty-first century.

The end of the Cold War may also mean the decline of U.S. hegemony. While the United States once again has a clear preponderance of military power, other incentive to align with the country has decreased. Like any hegemon as its economic power declines, more countries are willing to challenge the United States. The willingness of states to refute American leadership during the second Iraq war demonstrated an increased tendency to

balance against, instead of align with, the United States. In addition, regional economic hegemons such as the European Union or China are increasingly willing to challenge American economic leadership.

SEE ALSO *Empire, United States.*

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Tom Lansford

HENRY THE NAVIGATOR
1394–1460

Prince Henry (1394–1460), properly Infante Dom Henrique, was the third surviving son of Portugal's King João I and Philippa of Lancaster. Though labeled "the Navigator" by nineteenth-century Europeans looking approvingly on the roots of Western expansion, he was in fact neither seaman nor shipbuilder, but rather an avid religious crusader and patron of early Atlantic exploration.

Fate and upbringing helped point Henry toward his achievements. At his birth, astrologers saw in his zodiac a destiny to make "great and noble conquests" and uncover "secrets previously hidden from men," and Henry's parents selected as his patron saint the French crusader-king St. Louis. Personal ambition joined these portents to make crusading and exploration—along with acquiring fame and wealth—his life interests.

Henry's efforts need to be viewed in the context of his time and place. Since the expulsion of the Moors from Portugal in 1249, Portuguese seamen had been expanding their commercial range. Once it was apparent that Venice controlled the eastern Mediterranean and Muslims blocked access to products from sub-Saharan Africa, sailors, merchants, and bankers from Genoa and Florence brought their skills to Spain and Portugal,

Prince Henry of Portugal (1394–1460). *Prince Henry, known as "Henry the Navigator," is pictured circa 1440 in battle gear near the port of Ceuta in North Africa.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

hoping to find support for their plan to outflank Venetians and Muslims and thus gain access to Asian spices and African gold. Henry, who had gone crusading in 1415 and had helped capture Ceuta, the Muslim stronghold in Morocco, gained control of funds for "worthy ventures" in 1420 when the pope appointed him administrator of the military Order of Christ. From then on, he would use his own and the order's wealth primarily to organize and sponsor exploration and colonization.

An expedition Henry sent in 1424 to colonize Grand Canary failed, but mariners he sponsored discovered the uninhabited Madeiras, and colonization of these islands paid off in production of wheat, grapes, and sugar. Henry also oversaw colonization of the Azores, due west of Portugal, in the 1440s, but the Atlantic, leading south down Africa's western edge, was the main focus of his attention. He sponsored Gil Eannes to pass Cape Bojador, eight hundred miles south of Portugal and previously a psychological barrier to travel, in 1434, and subsequent mariners he sent reached Cape Verde, Africa's westernmost point, in 1445. At Henry's death in 1460, Portuguese-financed sailors were approaching

Sierra Leone, 2,000 miles from Europe. The move down the Atlantic coast did not end with Henry, of course: in 1497 Vasco da Gama would sail around Africa's southern tip and reach India, opening East Africa and the Indian Ocean to Portuguese imperial designs.

Henry, thus, was not an explorer himself, but the major patron of the early fifteenth-century Atlantic explorers and colonizers who showed how newfound lands could be exploited, and who brought back information to help subsequent European mariners. Henry's greatest importance may be in sponsoring those who answered the age-old question of how to return to Europe after sailing down West Africa's Atlantic coast: by making a long westward tack to pick up prevailing winds. This permitted European sailing into the south Atlantic and, soon, all the seas of the world.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Portuguese.*

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Donald R. Wright

HONG KONG, TO WORLD WAR II

Unlike many other colonies, Hong Kong was annexed by Britain not for the purposes of settlement, acquisition of natural resources, or the spreading of Western civilization, but for trade in the Far East. The first hundred years of colonial rule in Hong Kong were essentially shaped by trade imperatives.

Long before the site was established as a colony, Hong Kong Island and its adjacent peninsula were part of the larger Canton (Guangzhou) delta region in southern China, which had been a center of transnational trade between China, Southeast Asia, and the West. Hong Kong's strategic location, its possession of a natural deep-water harbor, and its easy access from both inland China and the open sea soon caught the attention of Britain when the latter was looking for a trading base on the China coast.

When European trade with China expanded, the balance of trade became more and more unfavorable to Britain as Chinese tea and raw silk were exported to Britain in exchange for silver. In response, Britain exported opium produced in British India to China, thereby reversing the balance of trade. Alarmed by the
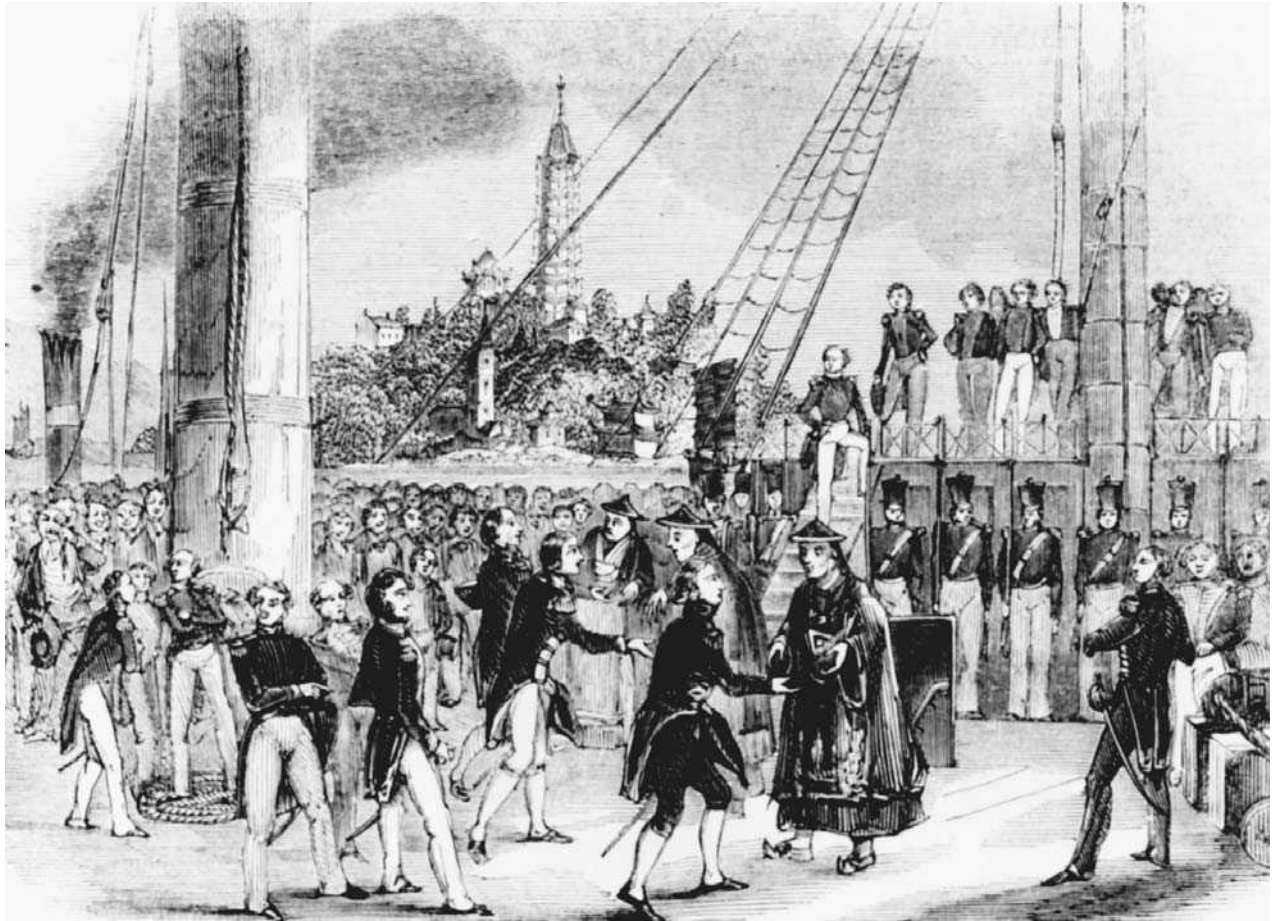
Signing of the Treaty of Nanjing. *Chinese Mandarins met with British representatives onboard the* HMS Cornwallis *on August 29, 1842, to sign the Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the First Opium War. The scene is depicted in this 1842 picture from The Illustrated London News.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

drain of silver from the country and the increasing number of addicts in China, the Qing authorities banned the drug trade and in 1839 confiscated and destroyed opium stocks from British traders. This led to a series of armed conflicts between Britain and China in the so-called First Opium War (1839–1842). During the war, British forces took control of Hong Kong Island in 1841 and threatened to attack other Chinese cities. The Qing government yielded and signed the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, which ceded Hong Kong Island permanently to Britain. Before long, Britain and France attacked a number of ports and cities including Beijing during the Second Opium War (1856-1860), forcing the Qing court to sign the Convention of Peking in 1860, which ceded Kowloon Peninsula and nearby Stonecutters Island to Britain. In 1898 Britain gained possession of the area north of the Kowloon Peninsula on a ninety-nine-year lease from the Qing authorities, due to expire on June 30, 1997. The area was renamed the New Territories. Together with Hong Kong Island and the Kowloon Peninsula, these areas became the British colony of Hong Kong. The colony remained under British control (except for a short period during World War II when Hong Kong fell into Japanese hands) until it was handed over to the People's Republic of China in 1997.

Hong Kong was declared a free port as soon as the colony was officially under British possession. The intention was to turn Hong Kong into a trading post. In fact, the entire colonial administration was designed and set up to facilitate trade. Taking advantage of its strategic position and the extensive Chinese trading networks in East and Southeast Asia, Hong Kong became the regional trade center for British manufactures and traditional Chinese products such as silk, tea, and porcelain. In the early years, the colony also played a key role in the opium and coolie trade. Some Chinese merchants in the colony obtained their first tank of gold after becoming involved in the highly exploitative coolie trade under which tens of thousands of poor peasants were shipped to Southeast Asia and North America as contracted labor.

The primacy given to trade in the colony was reinforced by an imperial policy of discouraging colonial industrialization for fear of competing with British industries. When local industries sprouted in Hong Kong in the 1930s, the colonial government looked at these industries with great skepticism and refused to offer any protection or promotion. In fact, during the first hundred years of British rule, there was little attempt to invest in the colony because of a lack of confidence over the political future of Hong Kong. Economic planning and industrial investment in what the British saw as a borrowed place living on borrowed time were considered politically undesirable. The Communist takeover of China in 1949 and the Communist government's refusal to recognize the three "unequal" treaties reinforced Britain's belief that minimal investment in the colony was the right policy.

However, this policy did not imply that Britain simply adopted a hands-off attitude in its rule. On the contrary, the subsequent development of Hong Kong was crafted out of complex interactions between the colonial rulers, British business interests, indigenous inhabitants, and the Chinese migrants who came to the colony either to take advantage of the economic opportunity or to seek refuge from political turbulence in mainland China.

From the outset, the colony faced both cooperation and resistance from its Chinese inhabitants. On the one hand, Britain's acquisition of Hong Kong depended not only on military strength but also on the indispensable help of Chinese contractors, compradors, and other merchants in providing essential supplies during the Opium War. After the occupation, British businesses relied on preexisting Chinese trading networks to penetrate other Asian markets. In exchange for their collaboration, British authorities rewarded the native Chinese in Hong Kong with social and economic privileges, so that these collaborators became the first generation of Chinese bourgeoisie in the colony.

On the other hand, colonial rule also met with resistance from Hong Kong's indigenous inhabitants, especially those from the New Territories. Such resistance resulted in harsh military suppression from the colonial authorities. And as soon as order was secured, the colonial government implemented measures to pacify potential anticolonial hostilities. The landownership system in rural areas was reformed to limit the power of the pro-China landholding elite. The criminal justice system was established not only to secure law and order, but also to police the Chinese inhabitants and to secure easy convictions of suspected members of the populace.

In subsequent years, the colonial government selectively co-opted business elites (mostly British but also some prominent Chinese merchants) into policy-making bodies. It sponsored urban and rural associations to preempt anticolonial influence. It also backed one local faction against another to create social support. In addition,

Hong Kong's colonial government manipulated ethnic and dialectal differences among the Chinese inhabitants and migrants to exercise divide and rule. In return, different social groups also made use of colonial state power to mediate relations among themselves in the creation of relationships of domination and subordination.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; China, Foreign Trade; Chinese Diaspora; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire, British, in Asia and Pacific; Opium; Opium Wars.*

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Tak-Wing Ngo

HONG KONG, FROM WORLD WAR II

Hong Kong was colonized by the British in three phases. The island of Hong Kong was occupied by the British in 1841 and was later made a British colony under the Nanking Treaty in 1842. Subsequently, its territory was extended by the cession of the Kowloon Peninsula in 1860 and the lease of the New Territories for ninety-nine years dating from July 1, 1898.

The British colonial regime, with an interruption from 1941 to 1945 when the colony was under Japanese occupation, was brought to an end when Hong Kong was returned to China on July 1, 1997. Because of the ninety-nine-year lease of the New Territories, post–World War II Hong Kong was described as a "borrowed place" living on "borrowed time" (Hughes 1976), being a British colony in the neighborhood of Communist China, which had never given up its sovereignty over the region. The status quo of Hong Kong prior to the 1997 handover hinged upon a delicate balance and compromise in terms of interests and power among the governments of China, Britain, and Hong Kong.

Contrary to the expectations of General Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi, 1887–1975), when the Pacific war came to an end in 1945, the British government was determined to accept the Japanese surrender in Hong Kong. After Harry Truman replaced Franklin D. Roosevelt as the president of the United States, Chiang Kai-shek lost his support from Washington. This, along with the

Britain Returns the Sovereignty of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China. *When Hong Kong reverted to Chinese sovereignty on July 1, l997, leaders from both nations attended the flag-raising ceremony. In the foreground (left to right) are Tung Chee-hwa, Zhang Wan Nian, Qian Qichen, Li Peng, Jiang Zemin, Prince Charles, Tony Blair, Robin Cook, Chris Patten, and Brian Dutton.* © REUTERS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

imminent Communist threat in China, forced Chiang to accept the compromise of having Cecil Harcourt (1892–1959), the British commander, receive the surrender from the Japanese. Hong Kong thus resumed its status as a colony of the British Empire after World War II.

For much of its history, colonial Hong Kong was an arena of political struggle that had spilled over from mainland China. During the civil war in China and in the decades after Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government moved to Taiwan in 1949, Hong Kong continued to serve as a stage for the political rivalry between the Communists and the Nationalists.

At the same time, because of the Communist victory in China and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Hong Kong, then regarded as the "Berlin of the East," played its part in the Cold War. The United States perceived Hong Kong as a strategic location in its overall

project of containing Communism. Hong Kong was "a rest and recreation oasis [for the American military] during the Korean and Vietnam wars" (Tucker 1994, p. 211). It was also a "window into the communist heartland" (Tucker 1994, p. 213), and a base for intelligence activity on China.

For China, Hong Kong played a role in the grander political struggle expressed in the Chinese ideological line "Patriotism and Anti-imperialism." The Soviet Union's approach to Hong Kong was inconsistent. Sometimes driven by ideological concerns, the Soviets denied Hong Kong's colonial status. At other times, the Soviet Union was driven by economic interests to try to capitalize, though far from successfully, on Hong Kong's growing economy.

The civil war in China and the subsequent Communist victory in 1949 brought Hong Kong a massive influx of refugees from the mainland. The opening

of economic opportunities driven by the new international division of labor in the 1950s and 1960s, together with the arrival of capitalists (who brought with them both capital and know-how) and refugees (constituting a supply of cheap labor) from the mainland, launched Hong Kong toward export-oriented industrialization in the 1950s, when the city's *entrepôt* trade was brought to an end as a result of the trade embargo, imposed by the United Nations for sanctioning the shipment of arms and war materials in response to China's participation in the Korean War, against the People's Republic of China.

Paradoxically, Hong Kong's economic success was both a source of embarrassment to Communist China (Hong Kong, perceived by many as a place of economic and political freedom, was the destination of illegal migrants coming out of China) and an important "window" that allowed China to maintain limited contact with the outside world. When China launched its "Four Modernization" program (in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology) in 1978, Hong Kong was conceived as an important agent in the facilitation of socialist economic reform.

Economic success did not bring colonial Hong Kong the expected political democratization, despite a rising demand since the 1970s from the people of Hong Kong for accountable governance and political participation. Gradual and cautious steps towards partial democratization were triggered by diplomatic talks between China and Britain about Hong Kong's political future in the 1980s. The process of democratization was, however, compromised when China insisted on an institutional convergence to its design of "One Country, Two Systems."

The idea of "One Country, Two Systems" was a product of political pragmatism. At a time when capitalist Hong Kong was prosperous and Communist China was eager to reform its economy, the Chinese government made a promise to the people of Hong Kong. In order to ease their fear of a Communist takeover, China promised Hong Kong that, as stated in the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, its existing way of life would "remain unchanged for fifty years," from 1997 onwards. That is, Hong Kong would become a "special administrative region," would remain a capitalist system, and would continue to be "stable and prosperous" despite its return to China.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, with China deepening its market reform and experiencing rapid economic growth, along with Hong Kong's massive relocation of its manufacturing activity to the mainland, the tension between capitalism and socialism eased. But the economic recession after the Asian financial crisis and rising social and political discontent since 1997 (dramatically expressed in a major protest with reportedly 500,000 people joining an anti-government demonstration on July 1, 2003, the sixth anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China) did point to one problem—partial democratization had hugely undermined the legitimacy of the government. Problems in Hong Kong after 1997 were not about contradictions between the systems of capitalism and socialism. Rather, they had their roots in politics, particularly in the tension between China's authoritarian approach to Hong Kong and the Hong Kong people's demand for democracy.

SEE ALSO *China After 1945; Chinese Diaspora; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire, British, in Asia and Pacific; Opium; Opium Wars.*

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Tai-lok Lui

HOWLAND ISLAND

HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights abuses and protests against them have been a major issue in European overseas expansion from its inception. The abuses themselves indicate a significant aspect of the nature of colonialism: its tendency to treat non-European peoples as alien "others" and thus subject them to various forms of exploitation and suppression. The protests voiced by both Europeans and colonized populations against such abuses were sometimes used as attacks against the very idea of colonialism. However, these criticisms have also served to justify and inspire many new forms of colonialism as well as their continuation into the postcolonial era.

In tracing the historical links between colonialism and human rights, one must review a rather complicated series of events, motivations, and responses. The abuses that resulted from efforts to extract wealth from Asia, Africa, and the Americas often occurred at the hands of

perpetrators who attempted to rationalize their actions by references to the inhumane practices of the indigenous societies in these regions. However, even the protesters against such European atrocities as the Atlantic slave trade often proposed in their place new colonial regimes devoted to human rights-based "trusteeship" rather than exploitation. Colonialism thus developed, alongside its political economy, a moral economy driven by human rights concerns.

This article examines five major cases of colonial human rights abuse with the resulting protests and the way such protests could produce new forms of colonialism. A more complete catalog of the abuses themselves can be found in the compendium *Le livre noir du colonialisme* (The Black Book of Colonialism, 2002).

In considering claims to associate colonialism with human rights, we first have to consider how this concern for overseas territories may also have served—or even been determined by—more self-interested economic or political motives. However, the moral economy of colonialism had a life of its own. In almost all instances such human rights campaigns were immediately justified as a response to very real social problems in various parts of the world. Often these problems resulted from a prior European colonial presence, although the targets could also be indigenous practices. Within Western society these efforts were further driven by the need to validate Europe's religious heritage, its secular Enlightenment humanitarianism, or the moral consciences of modern individuals.

SPAIN AND AMERICAN INDIANS

The sufferings of Native American populations during the first centuries of Spanish trans-Atlantic expansion are among the best known episodes of colonial human rights abuse. Just in terms of population, Mexico alone lost somewhere between 25 and 50 percent of its population between 1500 and 1600. During the same period almost all of the indigenous inhabitants of the Caribbean islands of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica also disappeared.

The main cause of this demographic catastrophe was not intentional Spanish action but rather the introduction of new diseases, especially smallpox, into a region with no previous exposure to such illnesses. However, the violent attacks upon local peoples by early Spanish explorers and conquistadors, eager to find gold and other sources of quick wealth, also contributed to population decline. Even more significant was the postconquest mistreatment of Indians who were forced to work for the Spaniards under a system known as *encomienda,* which required many natives to pay tribute in money or labor to conquerors or other powerful settlers.

These abuses became known throughout Europe because one of these Spanish colonizers, the missionary friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, wrote about them in a widely circulated work, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1552). Even before his book came out, Las Casas and other Spanish clergy had publicized the plight of Spain's Native American subjects and debated publicly with other priests, who claimed that the Indians deserved punishment for their barbarous customs of human sacrifice and refusal of conversion to Christianity. The defenders of the Indians reformed and tamed the *encomienda* and officially abolished slavery in 1542. It was ultimately in the material and political interest of the Spanish Crown to preserve its newly acquired subjects and maintain some control over European settlers in the New World, whose *encomiendas* at first provided a kind of feudal autonomy. However, such reforms proved difficult to enforce overseas and were challenged many times by colonial interests in Spain.

Las Casas is justifiably recognized as one of history's greatest champions of human rights and his *Brief Account* challenged the basic legitimacy of a colonial regime responsible for such massive atrocities. At the same time he continued to search for a more humane way to continue the colonial project and tried to understand Native American culture as a stage on the way to Christianity. Moreover the moral and ultimately economic crisis of the brutal Spanish attempts to exploit New World Indians produced other forms of colonialism that raised their own human rights issues. The quick translation of Las Casas's book into a number of European languages created the *Leyenda negra* (Black Legend) of Spanish colonialism and thus provided propaganda for rival powers, most notably Britain, France, and the Netherlands, to launch their own initiatives in overseas regions claimed by Spain. In the Caribbean these new settlements completed the near annihilation of the indigenous population. Las Casas at first recognized that if Indians should not be enslaved, Africans could easily replace them. He later recanted this judgment.

SLAVE TRADE AND COLONIALISM IN THE ATLANTIC

The Atlantic slave trade ranks among the greatest atrocities of European colonialism. Over three and one-half centuries (1500–1870) it brought somewhere between 11 and 12 million involuntary migrants from Africa to the New World. Approximately 15 percent of the Africans forced upon slaving ships died under the horrendous conditions of the "Middle Passage" across the Atlantic. Many more lost their lives in wars and raids within Africa and on the often lengthy foot journeys from the interior

to the coast. As workers in the New World, particularly on the Caribbean and Brazilian sugar plantations, which were their most common destination, slaves had low life expectancies, bore few children (two-thirds of those purchased were males), and thus had to be replaced constantly.

Detailed information about the Atlantic slave trade (including a digitalized database) exists because sophisticated European entrepreneurs conducted the entire enterprise as a highly organized business. They purchased the vast majority of slaves under peaceful market conditions from African middlemen who either captured slaves themselves or bought them from other Africans. The high demand for such labor in the New World and competition among various European buyers meant that the prices offered to African suppliers rose steadily throughout the history of the trade. However, most of the profit went to Europeans who controlled the oceanic shipping as well as the production, processing, and sale of valuable plantation goods.

African societies subject to slave trading found various means of resisting or at least evading such horrors, although their efforts appear, at best, to have diverted and extended the routes used by their captors. Historians like John Thornton have argued that, in its earliest stages, when the scale of European demand was still modest, this commerce fit easily into African economic conceptions, which centered upon "wealth in people"; that is, the accumulation of human dependents and supporters rather than control over land. Whether or not one accepts such an explanation, once the slave trade reached the high numbers of its last two centuries (1650 and later) the competition among Africans for European goods (now needed to retain any significant body of supporters) and firearms (required for defense as well as aggression) made it difficult to drop out of this commerce. African oral tradition contains a strong version of what historians understand to be a human rights critique of the slave trade: Those ancestors who delivered people to the overseas servitude are depicted as witches who drew their wealth from killing others or transforming them into zombies.

The termination of the slave trade (and eventually plantation slavery) came about in the nineteenth century as the result of actions in the larger Atlantic world. One important force was resistance by captured Africans themselves. Whether still aboard ships or installed in the New World, slaves frequently fled or revolted against their conditions. However, given the profitability of the plantation system, until the 1790s European authorities were able to mobilize the necessary resources to overcome such threats.

At the end of the eighteenth century two new factors contributed to the demise of the slave trade: the growth of an abolitionist movement within Europe and the 1791 slave revolt in the very rich French colony of St. Domingue (which became, in 1804, the independent Republic of Haiti). These two developments cannot be entirely separated, because the Haitian revolt occurred in the turbulent context of the French Revolution, which embraced abolition along with other radical reforms. Haiti encouraged further revolts among New World slaves but also strengthened the resolve in some places, such as the United States and Cuba, to maintain strict controls of their still highly productive servile laborers. Moreover, post-emancipation society within Haiti proved to be anything but a model of human rights. The initiative in antislavery thus remained with the citizens of those nations that had organized and prospered from the Atlantic plantation complex.

Historians often view the abolitionist movement as the first international human rights campaign. Its secular ideology drew upon the same Enlightenment beliefs as the French Revolution. However, the major base of antislavery was in Britain, where it also found support among new, invigorated Christian churches—first Quakers and evangelical sects but later more established Protestant denominations and eventually Roman Catholics (including churches in continental Europe). During the nineteenth-century heyday of abolitionism Britain was the center of the wealthiest and most extensive empire in the world. Thus British sponsorship of such a crusade has raised a number of questions about the relationship between human rights and colonialism.

For many proponents and opponents, antislavery involved a major sacrifice of colonial interests and for this reason was resisted not only by British planters but also by broader interest groups in France, Portugal, Spain, and the United States. Others saw slavery as economically outdated because of its incompatibility with the free trade and free labor values of a new industrial order, which also had little need of colonies. Finally, in the overseas spaces of slavery and the slave trade, abolition required active intervention by human rights proponents, resulting in strengthened and even expanded colonial responsibilities.

The debate about the costs of colonialism and its compatibility with industrial capitalism has centered around the writings of Eric Williams, both a major historian and leading figure in the decolonization of his native Trinidad. Arguing against a long tradition of extolling British self-sacrifice, Williams asserted that the Atlantic triangle had made critical contributions to British industrialization but was then jettisoned when sugar colonies became unprofitable and industrial

interests saw them as an obstacle to the development of new global markets. While there is still considerable debate among scholars about how important colonial trade was to Britain in the eighteenth century, few historians would support Williams's view that plantation slavery was economically moribund in the first half of the nineteenth century. The booming export of slave produce from Brazil, Cuba, and the southern United States made this clear. Even liberal economists of the time recognized that in regions with low ratios of population to land (including tropical Africa) some kind of constraint over people was necessary in order to provide affordable labor to large agricultural enterprises.

The outlawing of the slave trade (1808) and then slavery itself (1834–38) did, in fact, cost Britain significant sums of money. Plantation production in British colonies was hampered, ex-slave owners received generous compensation payments, domestic consumers were required to pay extra import duties on slave-grown foreign sugar, and the Royal Navy was mobilized to enforce prohibitions against the slave trade, thus also undermining British commercial domination over the rich territory of Brazil. However, Williams was not entirely wrong, since the British could now afford such a price given both their great prosperity as the first industrial power and the much smaller role that the plantations system now played in their economy. The bottom line seems to be that changes in the economic valuation of colonies only permitted, rather than drove, the antislavery movement so that human rights concerns remain a significant force in this change.

It is possible to see an ideological link between the needs of an industrial society and antislavery. Industrialization was accompanied by great displacement and often severe hardship for the working classes of Britain and the image of slaves, still worse off than they were, might have reconciled them to their situation as legally free laborers. Contemporary observers like the novelist Charles Dickens sometimes caricatured antislavery advocates as people more concerned with sufferings in distant "Borrioboola-Gha" than the situations immediately around them. However, to be fair to Victorian reformers, they did intervene in domestic as well as foreign matters. Moreover, the British working class appropriated antislavery rhetoric to emphasize the hardships rather than the freedom of their own conditions.

There are other domestic purposes served by human rights campaigns, particularly in maintaining the relevance of religious institutions that might otherwise be seen as out of touch with the modern world. The stress created from the breaking up of families as the primary evil of slavery (as depicted by Eliza fleeing across the ice with her baby in the global bestseller *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe's) also reinforced the "cult of domesticity," a major mainstay of Victorian middle-class morality. Victorian domesticity meant that women whose husbands could afford to support them should focus their energies upon creating a proper home. However, antislavery was one of the causes that allowed middle-class European and American women to move from their homes out into public life and thus laid the groundwork for women's rights efforts.

In the case of antislavery, colonies were not abandoned but rather given new attention. The same evangelical and dissenting Scots churches that played a leading role in antislavery agitation at home also sent missionaries out into the Caribbean colonies as well as regions of Africa that were not yet colonized. Under the motto of "Christianity, Civilization, and Commerce" such efforts combined evangelization with efforts to promote economic enterprise that might provide a positive alterative to slave trading and slavery.

In the New World plantation colonies, the urge to convert the local working force did not necessarily spring from abolitionist sentiments. In Catholic colonies, slaves had always been made into at least nominal Christians without any thought of freeing them. In the British Caribbean, however, the earliest Methodist and Baptist missionaries arrived only late in the eighteenth century. Although these groups took no public stand against slavery, they had close links to abolitionists at home and were always under suspicion by planters. As a result they found themselves caught between the politics of strengthened colonialism and anticolonialism. To fend off the attacks from local whites, who enjoyed considerable autonomous rule through their own assemblies, the missionaries allied themselves with official colonial authorities. At the same time the teachings of the missionaries encouraged slaves and the small number of free blacks to demand greater rights and even to establish their own churches, which became the organizing centers for revolts in the last decades before emancipation.

After emancipation missionaries played a more overt and direct secular role in helping ex-slaves establish farms and villages independent of their former plantations. But planters again opposed them by blocking access to land, and in 1865 another major revolt broke out in Jamaica, for which missionaries, as before, were blamed. The British government now had the option of loosening its control over this and other islands, as had already been done with white settlement colonies such as Canada. However, this would have meant either leaving whites in charge and inducing further violence or enfranchising a significant part of the black majority, which Britain was then unwilling to do. The choice instead was to take away existing self-government privileges and impose a more authoritarian colonial regime on most of the
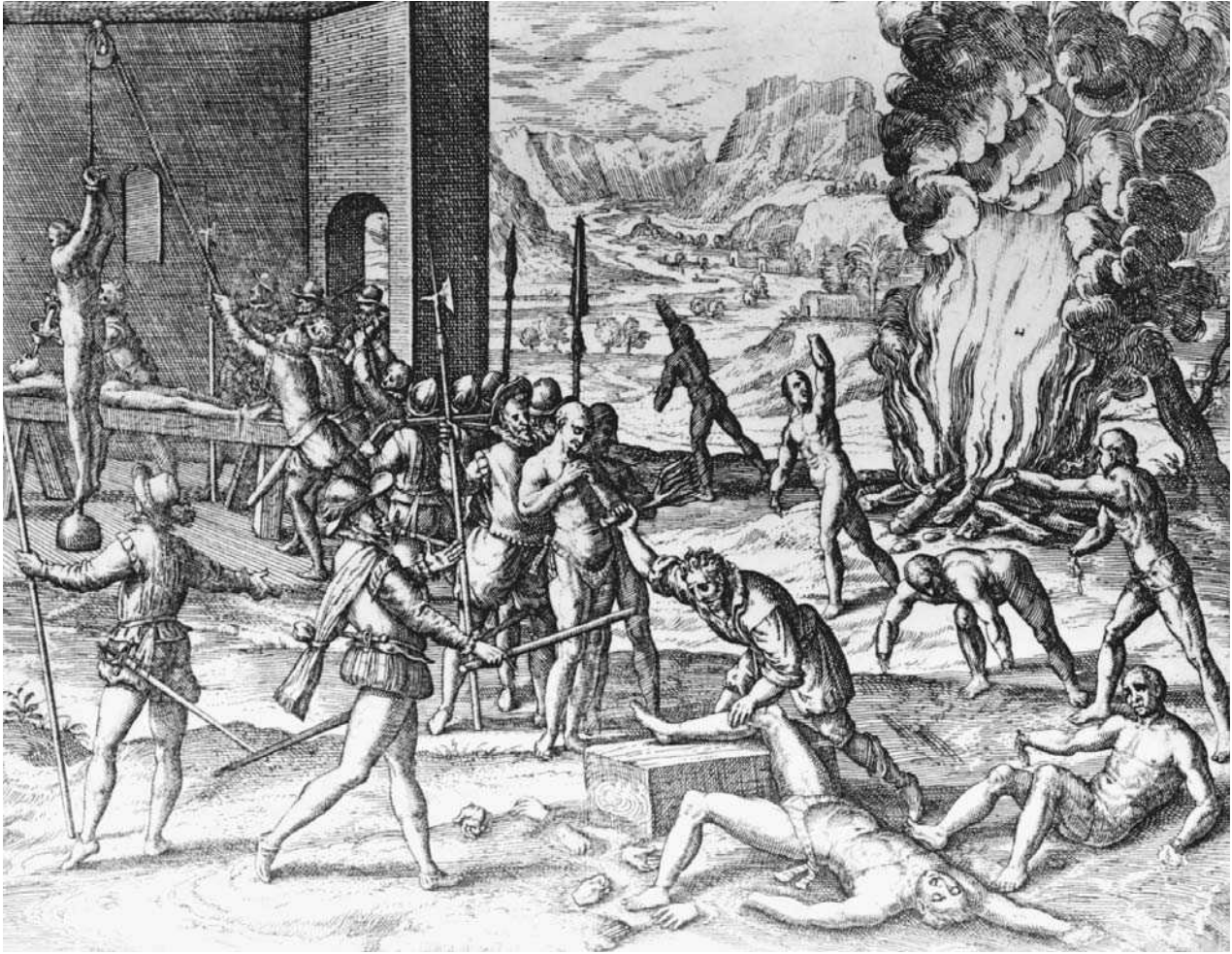
The Torturing of Native Americans by Spanish Explorers. *This mid-sixteenth-century print by Theodor de Bry illustrates reports of the torture of Native Americans in Florida by the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto and his men.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Caribbean islands. Here the cost of human rights (for both local subjects and the British government, which now had little economic interest in the Caribbean) was trusteeship, with decolonization postponed for almost a century.

During the era of the slave trade, tropical Africa had not been colonized beyond a few small territories around European trading posts. During the nineteenth century new exports (mainly vegetable oils) were found to sustain trade with the outside world, but none had the strategic importance of slaves. Some European nations like Holland and Denmark thus abandoned their African holdings. The British, however, not only retained their old positions but found a new naval and diplomatic mission in policing both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans against slave trading. Three new colonies, Sierra Leone (British), Gabon (French), and Liberia (United States),

were founded to accommodate either Africans rescued from illegal slaving vessels or freed slaves from North America.

Meanwhile missionaries and explorers, usually motivated to some degree by antislavery, brought an entirely new European presence to large portions of Africa. The most famous of these figures, David Livingstone, both a missionary and explorer, carried on relentless propaganda against the slave trade whether practiced by yet-unreformed Europeans (Afrikaners in South Africa, the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique) or a new non-European target, Muslim Arabs and Swahilis in East and Central Africa.

In retrospect, all the antislavery efforts of the earlier 1800s appear like a prelude to the abrupt colonial partition of tropical Africa at the end of the century. The immediate reasons for these moves must be sought in the Great Power

political rivalries and domestic European economic and social anxieties. However, antislavery initiatives provided bases for claims to particular territories and an additional justification at home for such heavy commitment to territories of little or no proven commercial worth.

Once colonies were established mission societies greatly expanded their activities in tropical Africa, combining efforts to win converts with social services, especially education and medical care. In this sense they provided a kind of humanitarian justification for colonialism. However, the missions also took responsibility for exposing human rights abuses, sometimes within African societies (such as female genital cutting in Kenya) but more publicly by colonial regimes, most notably the Belgian Congo, the Portuguese territories, and British Kenya. Even more than in the Caribbean, such interventions aimed less at the removal of colonial rule than at shifting power from private European entrepreneurs to government officials, presumed to be more committed to trusteeship than exploitation. The model for such a moral colonial regime first emerged at the same time as the antislavery movement, in British India.

INDIA AS THE "WHITE MAN'S BURDEN"

The end of the 1700s witnessed a kind of "moral turn" throughout the European colonial world. Not only did plantation interests in the Atlantic have to contend with abolitionism, but the administration of the British East India Company (EIC) went through a radical reform. In the case of India, the field for human rights intervention was not an established colonial order but rather one that had sprung up, even more sensationally than in Africa a century later.

The British EIC was one of the most important players in the British economy of the early and mid-eighteenth century but at that time controlled only a few coastal enclaves in India itself. Between 1750 and 1765 it suddenly became the territorial ruler of Bengal, the richest state within India, and engaged in local warfare that would eventually give it dominion over the entire South Asian subcontinent. This transformation at first provided a great boost to the EIC's revenues, but the company soon fell into bankruptcy, due to corruption and high military costs. As a result, its affairs came under the direct supervision of the British Parliament.

In the ensuing British debates about Indian reform, human rights issues played a major role, since the EIC servants had clearly abused both their employer and its Indian subjects in order to amass great personal fortunes. The solution imposed upon the EIC by the Cornwallis Reforms of 1787–93 created a civil service entirely independent of the Company's commercial functions but whose senior ranks were restricted to British, as opposed

to Indian, membership. The new civil servants were required to sign covenants guaranteeing their probity and received sufficiently high salaries and benefits so as to dissuade them from the temptations and risks of corruption. Because of the attention stirred by Indian issues in Britain, many of these officials were recruited from the same Evangelical circles as those of the antislavery movement. Thomas Babington Macaulay, the great British historian, also served in the Indian administration and was the son of the first governor of the Sierra Leone colony. The ethos of the early Indian Civil Services has thus been described by historian Francis Hutchins, in terms very similar to the antislavery movement, as "an atonement for original sin" (Hutchins 1967, p. 5).

In the first stage of their rule in India the British did not attempt to impose their own ideas of human rights upon anyone but British administrators themselves. Instead they tried to understand the indigenous Sanskrit and imported Muslim culture that had been used to govern the subcontinent previously. Although these "Orientalist" researchers provided the basis for modern scholarship on India, contemporary historians claim that they froze tradition in such a way as to make institutions like caste discrimination, communal (Hindu-Muslim) division, and *sati* (widow burning) more abusive than they had been in the past.

From the early 1800s until the uprising of 1857, men from an Evangelical and Utilitarian background, who wanted to propagate British culture and its values more directly, dominated Indian administration. As stated in Macaulay's famous minute on educational reform, the object was to produce "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." In this period *sati* was abolished and a school system was established, both of which eventually created the basis for what Macaulay called "the proudest day in British history" (Stokes, 1959, pp. 45-46) when Indians would be prepared to take over their own governance.

Even for Macaulay, however, such a day was seen as very distant, and it was postponed still further by the great Indian uprising of 1857. On the side of both Indian rebels and British avengers, the rebellion involved horrendous atrocities against civilian populations. Colonial authorities responded to these events by strengthening their political control over India, but did so with less intervention into local culture, which they presumed to be one of the causes of the uprising. The initiative in human rights advocacy thus shifted to Western-educated Indians. The major demand among these elites was self-rule, but under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi both the methods and goals of nationalism came to be associated with nonviolence, concern for the poor, and the building of bridges across divisions of caste and religion.

When Indian independence was finally achieved in 1947, it fell far short of these standards. The partition of the former British Raj, along Hindu-Muslim lines, into India and Pakistan produced massive population displacements accompanied by killings that cost between 500,000 and 1 million lives. Gandhi was assassinated the following year by a Hindu fundamentalist. However, his example continues to inspire human rights activism in India and has been a major influence on efforts against oppression in other parts of the world, most notably the civil rights movement in the United States.

MAX HAVELAAR: OPPRESSION AND REFORM IN DUTCH INDONESIA

Examples of colonial moral economy have concentrated upon the British Empire for two reasons: British overseas possessions far outstripped those of other European countries through most of the modern era and religiously inspired moral reform played a greater role in metropolitan British life during this period than for the other major colonial powers, the Netherlands and France. The Netherlands is a particularly interesting comparison, since the country shared a good deal of the Protestant culture and commercial orientation of Britain and also transformed its East India Company into the ruler of a large Asian territory, in this case the future Indonesia.

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, human rights discourse played little role in Dutch colonial affairs. Slavery was not abolished in the Dutch West Indies until 1863 and the far richer East Indies (Indonesia) was very profitably exploited as a kind of state plantation under the notorious *cultuurstelsel* (cultivation system). Some protests began to emerge in the 1850s against the excessive demands made upon Javanese peasants but it was only in 1860, with the publication of Multatuli's (Eduard Douwes Dekker) novel, *Max Havelaar*, that the issue really drew wide public attention. In a rare case for Dutch literature, *Max Havelaar* was translated into all major European languages and became perhaps the most widely read work on colonialism in the nineteenth century. Like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, to which it is often compared, it uses very romantic and sentimental literary devices to depict the plight of its victims, in this case Javanese peasants.

In the wake of such bad publicity, the cultivation system was abolished in 1870. However, the new economic regime that replaced it still relied upon European-run plantations, as opposed to the more independent peasant farming advocated by most humanitarian critics in the Caribbean and tropical Africa. At the end of the 1890s the Dutch announced their conversion to an "Ethical Policy" in the East Indies, meaning a greater investment in indigenous welfare. However, the colony continued to be seen and operated as a major economic asset of the mother country. The Dutch showed little tolerance for nationalist movements and only departed after the violence of Japanese occupation and a brief but bitter war for independence.

FRANCE AND THE STRUGGLE OVER ALGERIA

France was the center of Enlightenment thought and its revolution produced the first formal Declaration of Human Rights in 1789. However, such ideas were not extended to the colonies under the succeeding Napoleonic regime and the restored monarchies of the nineteenth century. By this time France had few overseas possessions left after losing a long series of world wars to Britain. Moreover, political authorities and the Catholic Church associated abolitionism, the main project of colonial humanitarianism at the time, with the radical excesses of the French Revolution and the continuing British threat. Slavery in the French sugar islands of the Caribbean and Indian Ocean was only abolished in 1848, during the brief Second Republic interlude between the monarchy and the Second Empire of Louis Napoleon.

The monarchy had, however, bequeathed to France a new colonial realm, Algeria, which raised its own set of human rights issues. French colonialism in Algeria followed a pattern similar to that of South Africa: Much of the land and most government resources were devoted to white settlers but the already large indigenous Arab and Berber population did not fade away, as in much of the Americas and Australasia, but instead grew in size and discontentment.

France's most liberal solution to colonial problems was not, as in the British case, to grant local self-government with loose membership in the empire-commonwealth, but rather to assimilate colonies to the mother country. Thus the entire population of the old plantation colonies became French citizens, with representation in the Paris National Assembly. These policies could not be fully applied to tropical Africa or Indochina, regions that thus gained eventual independence; the former mostly peacefully, the latter after a violent but distant war. In Algeria the white settlers (as well as native Jews) were granted full citizenship rights by 1870. However, the majority Muslim population could only attain such privileges by accepting French civil regulations of their personal status; since this amounted to abandoning Islam, only a tiny number undertook it.

The initial imposition of French rule in Algeria, as well as later concessions to settlers, had produced many episodes of violent confrontation with the local population. But these clashes only came to be viewed as a major human rights issue during the 1954–62 war for Algerian independence, which cost somewhere between 350,00

and 1 million lives. Violence took the form of terrorism against civilian settler populations and native collaborators on the part of Algerian nationalists, and counter-terror, including bombing and torture, by the large number of French troops sent to enforce European rule.

The Algerian forces never won a military victory, but the war created a disastrous divide among the French. On one side were metropolitan leftists and liberals, appalled at the moral costs of repression; opposing them were Algerian settlers and right-wing elements within the army, who joined in a rebellion that overthrew the Fourth Republic. The man brought in to establish a new regime in France, Charles de Gaulle, first appeared to represent those monarchical and imperial traditions that favored national interests over human rights. But after assessing the forces at work in Algeria, De Gaulle shifted toward granting independence. This move unleashed a last wave of right-wing terror in both Algeria and the Métropole, but at the end France finally disengaged from its North African colony.

Algeria, like Haiti before it and many other former European colonies, experienced horrendous violations of human rights in the decades after its independence. There is clearly some historical connection between the colonial heritage and abuses of postcolonial regimes against their citizens and various ethnic and religious groups against one another. However, with very few exceptions, most notably Iraq in the 2000s (where human rights was not presented as the main basis for an American-led invasion) Western powers have not returned to impose their own regimes. Instead it is the human rights movement, based in various religious and secular non-governmental organizations (NGOS), that mounts protest and offers various kinds of social and material aid. These bodies are the heirs to the moral mission of Bartolomé Las Casas, the Enlightenment, and the anti-slavery campaign. Whether such efforts are the basis for a more just and egalitarian world order or an ethnocentric continuation of colonialism remains open to debate.

SEE ALSO *Abolition of Colonial Slavery; Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Encomienda; Haitian Revolution; Mandela, Nelson; Slave Trade, Atlantic.*

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Ralph A. Austen

I

IDEOLOGY, POLITICAL, MIDDLE EAST

European colonialism elicited in the Middle East a wide range of ideological reactions, both at the official and unofficial levels. These reactions ranged from outright rejection or defiance to a gradual acceptance of the inevitability of instituting reforms or overhauling entire political and economic systems. In the nineteenth century, these reactions were largely couched in religious terms and suffused with references to indigenous cultural traditions. However, as the century wore on a new ideological vocabulary began to be adopted. Such a vocabulary was soon to develop into an all-encompassing discourse embracing ideologies as disparate as liberalism, nationalism, socialism, and Marxism. Nevertheless, the seeds of such a discourse were first planted in the nineteenth century, despite its dominant religious overtones.

ADMINISTERING CHANGE: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth century witnessed the steady and large-scale intrusion of Western colonial powers in the Middle East. These intrusions took the form of either outright military conquest or repeated attempts to open local markets to Western goods and industrial commodities. These twin movements were also supposed to allow Western powers to obtain inexpensive primary sources and agricultural products for their own markets and industries. The end result of such policies was to create a wide gap between an advanced Western set of institutions and structures and other societies increasingly perceiving themselves to be falling behind in the realms of

nation building, sound economic development, and cultural progress. In other words, the indigenous articulation of new ideas and ideological responses was in large measure conditioned by the inexorable advance of European colonialism as an all-pervading movement. Ottoman officials and bureaucrats, as representatives of the most prominent and powerful Middle Eastern state, put forward one of the earliest ideas designed to halt the decline of the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand, and check the colonial encroachments of European powers, on the other.

The first ideological articulations were initially confined to military and administrative measures. The defeat of Ottoman forces by European armies on numerous occasions could be said to have dictated such an initial diagnosis. It was thus thought that European supremacy resided in the production and acquisition of better armaments and as a result of a coherent set of rules capable of creating efficient systems of organization. What the Ottoman state needed to do was simply acquire such military equipment, and hire Western experts to acquaint local soldiers with their mode of operation and deployment, in addition to mastering the art of administering institutions closely connected with enforcing law, order, and security.

This line of reasoning gained widespread support under Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) and his successor Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839), as well as the autonomous governor of Egypt, Muhammad ʿAli (r. 1805–1848). As these military and administrative reforms did not succeed in halting either the decline of the empire or the increasing presence of European influence, it was now thought that more radical reforms had to be implemented in

order to create viable political structures and revive the old spirit of military efficiency. This meant the introduction of a number of new ideas that broached for the first time the question of nationality, political identity, and the rights of citizens, albeit citizens who were at the same time loyal subjects of their emperor. Hence such a political program, proclaimed toward the end of the 1830s, constituted a revolutionary intellectual rupture, heralding thereby far-reaching repercussions in the development of modern Middle Eastern culture and theoretical debates.

So it was that hitherto purely communal, local, or tribal affiliations were to be transcended and linked to the notion of equality based on the presumption of sharing a common national identity, to be later elaborated as Ottomanism. Moreover, individuals, rather than communities, were henceforth to be equal subjects of one single state, governed by a uniform set of standard rules and laws, irrespective of race, religion, or language. The idea of a common fatherland *(watan)* was consequently highlighted as an essential prerequisite for building a modern state capable of meeting the challenges of Western domination.

Because those who articulated such arguments belonged to the official stratum of state representatives, their reforms were restricted to what became known as the twin concepts of modernization and centralization. Such an attitude excluded the possibility of introducing universal suffrage or the idea of democratic participation as part of the rights and duties of citizenship. More importantly, these reforms were deemed to derive from Islam itself as a religion based on rationalism and the notion of self-renewal. It was in this context that those who wished to widen the scope of these reforms, or render them more coherent practically and theoretically, reached back for the same Islamic traditions to put forth the case for a new vision.

ISLAMIC REFORMISM, 1839–1900

Launched in its systematic formulations by a group dubbed the Young Ottomans, organized in 1865, this trend developed in direct response to the officially inspired movement known as the Tanzimat, or reorganization, which had by now embraced the central Ottoman establishment, Egypt, Tunisia, and Iran to a lesser degree. These Young Ottomans, or their counterparts in various Middle Eastern and North African countries, represented a new intelligentsia whose members were products of modern institutions and networks introduced by the first generation of reformers. Being educated in secular schools and largely familiar with Western ideas, while at the same time deprived of the opportunity to influence the decision-making process of their states, they began to articulate a counter-ideology based on a rigorous theoretical approach. Although the adherents of this approach

represented diverse groups and sometimes divergent political attitudes, they shared a number of common ideas that have been given the label of *Islamic reformism.* Moreover, their ideas roamed far and wide, embracing in their sphere of operation not only religion or politics, but literature, the arts, theatre, poetry, journalism, and translation of foreign works, particularly French and English.

By and large, this new trend accorded Islam a more prominent position as an ideological system, deeming it capable of meeting the demands of modernity and its institutions, while keeping its original message intact. The reformers did so by reinterpreting certain traditions, practices, and Qur'anic injunctions in such a way as to make them in complete harmony with the notions of constitutionalism, parliamentary systems of government, and the rights of nationality.

Although some religious leaders, such as the fiery Persian-born militant and intellectual Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897) and his disciple the Egyptian reformer Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905), came out in favor of such novel interpretations, the *ulema* (the body of Muslim scholars and officials) as a professional group were largely opposed to such innovations for theoretical reasons or as a result of pragmatic calculations. It was during the second half of the nineteenth century that this modern, Western-educated intelligentsia began to replace the religious leaders in various realms and fields relating to education, justice, and the promulgation of new laws, or by simply articulating the grievances of their communities.

As a political force, Islamic reformism scored a number of practical victories when various Ottoman provinces introduced quasiparliamentary institutions in Tunisia (1860) and Egypt (1866), culminating in the promulgation and endorsement of an Ottoman constitution in 1876 that provided for an elected chamber. However, these experiments were short-lived either because of constant colonial interventions, as in Tunisia and Egypt, or as a result of combined internal and external pressures, as in the case of the Ottoman Sultan 'Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) proroguing the Parliament and suspending the constitution until 1908. By this time, new ideas and ideologies were being entertained to counter both internal tyranny and external interference.

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM, 1900–1979

By the turn of the twentieth century the question of national identity came to the fore in ideological debates of the members of the Middle East intelligentsia. In the central Ottoman establishment it was taken up by military officers, college teachers, journalists, and lawyers as an exercise in discovering the best means of balancing purely Turkish interests with those of other nationalities in the

empire, mainly Arabs, Armenians, Kurds, and Albanians. Whereas Ottomanism was the preferred option of a previous generation, the Young Turks, who restored the Ottoman constitution of 1876 in the wake of the 1908 revolution, began to favor a program of tighter central control. This program, while not aiming at relinquishing the idea of the unity of imperial domains, envisaged the Turks as the central community charged with preserving its integrity. The era of constructing national identities had begun.

The other Middle Eastern nationalities were at the same time rediscovering their own identities in a more systematic and persistent fashion. It was now assumed that each ethnic or linguistic community possessed its own distinct history, language, and territory, and was therefore entitled to form its own nation-state. However, Arab intellectuals in particular did not at first argue the case for outright separatism, aiming instead at some form of decentralization whereby both Turks and Arabs would enjoy equal rights. Nevertheless, the outbreak of World War I put an end to such schemes. On the other hand, European Zionist organizations had by this time set their eyes on Palestine as the future site of the dispersed Jews of the world. More importantly, since its inception Zionism sought the backing of major Western powers as a prerequisite condition for its success.

The idea of building a modern nation-state, based on a combination of distinct factors or ingredients, was to a large extent inspired by a number of European or Western examples, ranging from England and France to Italy and Germany. Although the new imperialist fever, which, at this stage, gripped various Western states, did not escape their notice, most Middle Eastern thinkers and writers married their nationalist aspirations to a liberal model of state and government, echoing the general themes of the Enlightenment, as well as those of the American and French revolutions.

More importantly, local political alliances were largely dictated by the disposition of European powers and their particular strategies. Thus the period between 1900 and 1950 was essentially characterized by the struggle for independence from the tutelage or occupation of one European power or another. It was intellectually dominated by ideological options revolving around the best way of constructing national identities and the problem of adopting an appropriate system of governance in the wake of liberation. It was also in this period that the rights of women became a controversial issue, either supported or rejected by various members of the intelligentsia.

Broadly speaking, the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire allowed Turkey to emerge as a fairly homogenous nation-state under the leadership of its nationalist hero, Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938). Adopting a program of sweeping changes, Atatürk discarded all the remaining religious symbols of the old empire and opted for a secular system of government, unabashedly modeled on European lines. However, having experimented with its failed liberal phase earlier than other Middle Eastern states, the new Turkey introduced authoritarianism as the most efficient instrument of development and national renewal. It was only in the second half of the twentieth century that democratic politics or pluralism began to take hold in Turkish public life.

In Iran, a similar pattern of intellectual debates and ideological allegiances emerged from 1900 onwards. Reacting to commercial and financial concessions granted to Western interests and companies, Iranian intellectuals and enlightened religious leaders published tracts, pamphlets, and newspaper articles praising the benefits of constitutional government and parliamentary elections. Iran's 1906 revolution represented the culmination of these ideological debates and ushered in a brief period of liberalism in state institutions. However, the shah, Muhammad Ali (1907–1909), with the aid of Russia, was able to put an end to such an experiment within a few years.

A new generation of Iranian writers, journalists, and historians emerged in the 1920s and 1930s as the advocates of a new type of Iranian nationalism that emphasized the pre-Islamic glories and culture of Persia, thereby rediscovering or resurrecting at the same time its Aryan identity. This tended to marginalize, at least at the state level and its institutions, the religious discourse and its representatives. Such a state of affairs continued to manifest itself under various forms until the Iranian Revolution of 1979, led by Ayatollah Khomeini (1900–1989).

In the Arab world, both liberalism and nationalism were at first embraced as two concomitant concepts, equally validated by religion, reason, and the example of Western states in their positive domestic achievements, as opposed to their negative foreign policies. Liberalism was, for example, enthusiastically acclaimed by large sections of the Egyptian, Moroccan, and Syrian educated elites between 1900 and 1952, before they became disillusioned with its efficacy either in regenerating political participation or achieving national independence. Some Egyptian leaders and writers, such as Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872–1963), introduced to the Arab reading public the ideas of the British philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) and his brand of liberalism, while one of the most popular Egyptian nationalists, Mustafa Kamil (1874–1908), insisted on the twin goals of complete independence and the establishment of a parliamentary system of government.

Moreover, nationalism in the Arab world was both local, centering on a particular Arab state, and general,

embracing all the Arab lands. The first trend was particularly pronounced in North African countries and Lebanon—but tended to lose its local peculiarities by the second half of the twentieth century. It was then that Arab nationalism came into its own as a dominant ideology, particularly under the leadership of the Egyptian president, Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970).

Arab nationalism was represented by three closely related ideological currents: Nasserism, named after the Egyptian president; Baathism, deriving from the pan-Arab political party, the Arab Socialist Baath Party, set up in Damascus in 1947; and the Movement of Arab Nationalists, founded by Palestinian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti former students of the American University of Beirut in 1952. They all called for the liberation of Arab lands from colonialist domination or control, considered Zionism as an alien movement allied to the ultimate aims of colonial powers, and sought to chart an independent socialist path of economic development as the only viable solution to dependency and backwardness.

COMMUNISM AND ISLAMISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

However, prior to the ideological hegemony of Arab, Turkish, and Iranian nationalisms, two other trends made their appearance in the 1920s and 1930s as part of the intellectual and political landscape. The first trend was represented by communism in its Soviet version, while the other was embodied in Islamist organizations seeking to turn Islam into a political system. Communist parties in the Middle East were established, after the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, in Turkey, Iran, Syria/Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt.

By the 1940s there were communist parties in almost every Middle Eastern state. The parties that made the most enduring impact were those of Iran, Syria/Lebanon, Iraq, and the Sudan, particularly after World War II. These parties adopted ideological and political attitudes that were in line with those of the Soviet Communist Party, preaching a message of anti-imperialism and championing the cause of the working classes, broadly interpreted to include peasants and civil servants. Moreover, Marxism, in its Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cuban varieties, enjoyed for a brief moment after 1967 a noticeable ideological ascendancy in Iran, Turkey, and the Arab world, serving in the process to inject its theoretical concepts and units of analysis (such as class struggle and the characteristics of imperialism) into the intellectual discourse of purely nationalistic movements.

On the other hand, Islamist movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (founded in 1928) and its subsequent expansion into other Arab countries, Fedayeen of Islam in Iran (founded in 1942), and other

groups, were initially anti-colonialist organizations opposed to British, French, and Western interests in the region, with particular emphasis on their rejection of the harmful effects of these cultures and their permissible moral values. However, by the mid-1950s and the onset of the Cold War, political Islam became more identified with the struggle against communism rather than imperialism in its American incarnation. Such a state of affairs persisted until 1975 in some countries, and well beyond that in other countries. This was particularly the case in Afghanistan when Islamist fighters from all over the Arab world joined the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan in their efforts to resist the Soviet invasion of 1979. The final split between Islamism, in its Sunni varieties, and American policies in the Middle East did not occur until after the liberation of Kuwait in 1991.

The defeat of the Arab armies by Israel in 1967, the death of Nasser in 1970, the sudden rise in oil revenues after 1973, the growing repression in Iran of the regime of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (r.1941–1979), the intensification of the Soviet–American rivalry, and the demographic explosion in all Middle Eastern countries, coupled with the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union—all these factors combined to herald new ideological configurations across the region. The most noteworthy feature was the fierce assault on radical movements associated with what came to be known as the ideology of secularism. In this sense, secularism was used by its critics to denote and identify a set of ideas associated with Western culture and values. Thus, liberalism, nationalism, and socialism were all condemned and considered to have caused irreparable harm to the inner and authentic dynamics of Arab and Muslim civilizations.

This assault coincided with a new wave of democratization that swept across Eastern Europe, Latin America, and some Afro-Asian countries. It was in this context that the region seemed to be polarized between two currents of thought and practice. One current, initially classified under the controversial rubric of *fundamentalism*, received its most spectacular vindication with the triumph of the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The other current grew amongst circles of writers, intellectuals, and professional groups formerly associated with authoritarian ideologies that favored one-party rule and excluded pluralist democracy as a reactionary ideology linked to the interests of particular social groups and their colonial masters. Such a line of argument was suddenly dropped in favor of a new discourse born out of what came to be known as the necessity of conducting intellectual self-criticism as a prelude to regaining the initiative in the face of new dangers emanating either from within or from Western powers.

Arab authoritarian regimes, facing the twin challenges of fundamentalist politics and democratic arguments, coupled with external pressures and mounting economic problems, responded by introducing reforms of liberalization and privatization. However, these reforms have so far failed to yield concrete and enduring results owing to their haphazard application, or to the reluctance of the leaders of these regimes to accept the full implications of democratic participation. Turkey and Iran have faired better as they both embrace pluralistic politics, with the former approaching a Western-type democracy and the latter restricting participation to a limited number of vetted candidates.

SEE ALSO *Abdülhamid II; Afghänï, Jamal ad-Dïn al-; Empire, Ottoman; Empire, Russian and the Middle East; Islamic Modernism.*

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IGBO WOMEN'S WAR

The 1929 Igbo Women's War, referred to as *Ogu Umunwanyi* in Igbo or the Aba Women's Riot by the British colonial authority in Nigeria, was one of the most significant protest movements in the former British Empire. The protest was organized and led by rural women, and once the war started, it spread like wildfire in southeastern Nigeria among the Igbo and Ibibio of Owerri and Calabar provinces, covering a total area of over 15,550 square kilometers (about 6,000 square miles) and involving a population of two million people.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By the mid-nineteenth century, formal British policy in what later became Nigeria was designed to protect British interests in the expanding trade activity in the Nigerian hinterland. By 1861, British administration was formally established in the colony of Lagos and the Niger Delta region. Through a series of treaties and military expeditions designed to end internal slavery and facilitate trade in such commodities as palm oil and kernel (palm produce), present-day Nigeria came under effective British control by the beginning of the twentieth century.

The women's protest arose in the palm-oil belt of Southern Nigeria. The Igbo and Ibibio lived largely in mini-states where men and women exercised varying degrees of political power. Meetings of the village council involved adult males and were held in the common cultural center and the abode of the community's earth-goddess. Important laws of the village council were ritualized with the earth-goddess and given a sacerdotal sanction. Their violation was seen as an act of sacrilege that needed ritual purification to restore the moral equilibrium of the society and save humans from infertility, famine, and other calamities.

Women had their own sociopolitical organization. They held weekly meetings on the market day of their community, and made and enforced laws that were of common interest to them. But British colonialism brought fundamental changes that eliminated women's political roles in precolonial Igbo and Ibibio societies. Women, however, saw themselves as the moral guardians and defenders of the taboos of the earth-goddess, believing that they naturally embodied its productive forces. The cosmology of the women, and the moral outrage they expressed over the intense economic and social changes that occurred during colonialism, are helpful in understanding not only the roots of the Igbo Women's War, but the unusual solidarity and frenzy the women displayed during the crisis.

The initial protest was sparked off in Oloko in Bende Division of Owerri province, where in 1926 the colonial government had counted the number of men without indicating that the figures would be used in taxing them in 1928. Thus, when on November 18, 1929, the British-appointed Warrant Chief Okugo asked a teacher to count his people in keeping with the directive of the British district officer, women who feared that they would be taxed began to protest against the census.

The women dispatched palm fronds to other women in Bende Division, summoning them to Oloko. The meaning of the palm fronds vary according to circumstances, but in this case palm fronds signified a call to an emergency meeting, and people were forbidden to harm those who bore the fronds. Within a short period, thousands of them had assembled in the compound of Okugo, "sitting on him" (Warrant Chief Okugo), a traditional practice involving chanting war songs and dancing around a man, making life miserable for him until the women's demands were met, and demanding his resignation and imprisonment for allegedly assaulting some of them.

Fearing that the situation might get out of hand, especially as the protests spread to Umuahia, where factories and government offices were located, the British district officer acceded to the women's demands, and jailed Okugo for two years. Generally, the protest in Bende Division ended peacefully, and the district officer effectively used the leaders of the women to contain the protests.

The Women's War, however, took on a more violent form in Aba Division of Owerri province, and it was from there that the protests spread to parts of Owerri, Ikot Ekpene, and Abak divisions. The protest began in Owerrinta after the enumerator (census taker) of Warrant Chief Njoku Alaribe knocked down a pregnant woman during a scuffle, leading to the eventual termination of her pregnancy. The news of her assault shocked local women, who on December 9, 1929, protested against what they regarded as an "act of abomination." The women massed in Njoku's compound, and during an encounter with armed police, two women were killed and many others were wounded. Their leader was whisked off to the city of Aba, where she was detained in prison.

Owerrinta women then summoned a general assembly of all Ngwa women at Eke Akpara on December 11, 1929, to recount their sad experiences. The meeting attracted about ten thousand women, including those from neighboring Igbo areas. They resolved to carry their protests to Aba.

As the women arrived on Factory Road in Aba, a British medical officer driving the same accidentally injured two of the women, who eventually died. The other women, in anger, raided the nearby Barclays Bank and the prison to release their leader. They also destroyed the native court building, European factories, and other establishments. No one knows how many women died in Aba, but according to T. Obinkaram Echewa's compilation of oral accounts of women participating in the war, about one hundred women were killed by soldiers and policemen.

The Women's War then spread to Ikot Ekpene and Abak divisions in Calabar province, taking a violent and deadly turn at Utu-Etim-Ekpo, where government buildings were burned on December 14 and a factory was looted, leaving some eighteen women dead and nineteen wounded. More casualties were recorded at Ikot Abasi near Opobo, also in Calabar province, where on December 16 thirty-one women and one man were reportedly killed, and thirty-one others wounded.

CAUSES

Diverse views have been offered to explain the causes of the Women's War. Some colonial apologists described the war as "riots" carried out by African women who failed to appreciate the "blessings" of British rule. Colonial apologists also forwarded spurious theories of female biopsychology to justify their views, arguing that the "riots" were rooted in "irrational mass hysteria" resulting from "a sudden flow of premenstrual or postpartum hormones"(Echewa 1993, p. 39).

Another school of thought that emerged during the decolonization period of Nigerian history offered a conflicting analysis and blamed the Women's War on the warrant chief system the British imposed on the peoples of southeastern Nigeria. Although the warrant chief system contributed to the Women's War, a more holistic analysis of the war's underlying causes is necessary, and a more fundamental issue must be considered: an economic one.

The imposition of direct taxation and the economic upheaval of the global depression of the 1920s saw a drastic fall in the price of palm produce and a high cost of basic food stuff and imported items. Thus the women's protest was precipitated, in part, by the global depression. The protests occurred when the income women derived from palm produce dropped, while the costs of the imported goods sold in their local markets rose sharply. For example, from December 28, 1928, to December 29, 1929, the prices of palm oil and kernel in Aba fell by 17 percent and 21 percent, respectively, while duties on imported goods like tobacco, cigarettes, and gray baft, a form of cloth used to make dresses, increased 33 percent, 33 percent, and 100 percent, respectively. The deteriorating terms of trade led to the impoverishment of women, and once the rumor spread that they would be taxed, the Women's War started.

Another important cause of the protest was rooted in the political transformation resulting from the British indirect-rule policy. According to some historians, the Women's War stems from the military occupation of the Igbo area by the British in the early 1900s and the "warrant chiefs" they appointed to administer the various communities. The society's traditional authority holders,

who feared that they would be punished for resisting the invaders, did not come forward to receive the "certificates" or "warrants" the British issued to appointed chiefs. As a result, the majority of warrant chiefs were young men who were not the legitimate authority-holders in the indigenous political system. The appointment of warrant chiefs as representatives of the local people was contrary to the political ideology and republican ethos of the Igbo people.

The appointment of warrant chiefs intensified conflicts in the society, as evidenced by the Native Courts Proclamation of 1901, which conferred exclusive judicial functions on the new chiefs in their communities. The village councils were denied their traditional functions, and worse still, cases involving abominations were punished without the ritual propitiations and sacrifices necessary for "cleansing the earth" and restoring moral equilibrium. Women were particularly upset by the desacralization of laws, and during the protests they called for the restoration of the old order.

The British-appointed warrant chiefs also abused their offices to enrich themselves, in part because they were paid meager allowances that could not sustain their newly acquired prestige and lifestyle. Virtually all of them established private courts in their compounds, where they settled disputes. They also used their headman to collect fines and levies, thus alienating members of their community.

Similarly, the executive functions the warrant chiefs performed for the British government, including the recruitment of men for forced labor to build railways, roads, and government guest houses, heightened their unpopularity. During the protests, women complained about forced labor, claiming that it increased their workload by depriving them of the services they received from their husbands in farming and the production of palm produce. Women were also concerned about the emerging urban centers, which had become hubs for those engaged in prostitution and other vices that the women believed polluted the land.

CONSEQUENCES

The British government authorized civil and military officers to suppress the disturbances, and district officers were granted the right to impose fines in the disaffected areas as compensation for damages to property and as a deterrent against future riots. On January 2, 1930, the government also appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the roots of the disturbances in Calabar province.

The commission submitted a short report on January 27, 1930, but due to the report's limited scope, the government appointed a second commission on February 7, 1930, to cover Owerri and Calabar provinces. The commission began its work at Aba on March 10, 1930, and submitted its report on July 21. The report convinced the government to carry out many administrative reforms, including the abolition of the warrant chief system, a reorganization of the native courts to include women members, and the creation of village-group councils whose decisions were enforced by group courts.

The achievements of the Women's War are remarkable, and an analysis of the roots of the protests indicate that the women were concerned about the abuses of the warrant chief system, the rapid pace of social change, and the fear that they would be taxed. Their solidarity was reinforced by their common religious ideas and values and the moral revulsion they expressed over acts of sacrilege.

Although the government suppressed the protests ruthlessly to avoid future disturbances, Igbo women mounted similar protests during the 1930s and 1940s against the introduction of oil mills and the mechanization of palm production, which undermined their economic interests. A discussion of the Igbo Women's War provides a broad picture of British colonialism in Africa, the difficulties involved in imposing a foreign administration on indigenous peoples, and the crucial role women played in a primary resistance movement before the emergence of modern Nigerian nationalism.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; Warrant Chiefs, Africa.*

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IMPERIALISM, CULTURAL

Cultural imperialism is the effort by powerful states to force their culture and societal systems upon subjugated, or less powerful, people. These formal and informal efforts are often based on ethnocentrism and were exemplified by the social Darwinist movement of the late nineteenth century. Cultural imperialism is responsible for the spread of some positive values, including democracy and equal rights, but it also brought about the demise of many indigenous cultures and languages and provided a justification for colonialism. During the early period of Western colonialism, cultural imperialism was marked by efforts to forcibly spread Christianity and European economic values to indigenous societies. The onset of the new imperialism of the nineteenth century saw the maturation of this trend as imperial states sought to replicate their legal, political, and educational systems within their colonies. With the rise of the United States as a global power in the twentieth century, American culture came to dominate the world through an informal and tacit form of cultural imperialism.

THE GOALS OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

Usually two divergent cultures that come into contact tend to influence each other. There is a give-and-take that often results in a new, hybrid culture. Societies have historically adopted and integrated different languages, political or legal systems, religions, and traditions into their own cultural identity. Only rarely are such cultural interactions mainly unidirectional. However, cultural imperialism distorts normal societal exchanges. Instead, the dominant power seeks to suppress and, in some cases, eradicate other cultures. Although a dominant culture may incorporate specific products into its mainstream, as the Europeans did with corn, sugar, and potatoes, through cultural imperialism, there is a range of actions taken to destroy indigenous ways of life. The suppression of native religions and their replacement by outside faiths is one example of this trend. In addition, societal attributes, including language, legal traditions, and family patterns, also are often forcibly changed through new legal codes and colonial policies.

During the initial period of European colonization, the imperial powers sought two things from their overseas territories, and both of these imperatives often led to efforts to completely eradicate native cultures. First, under the prevailing mercantile system of the period, the European states tried to maximize the economic potential of their colonies. They wanted colonies that would be economically profitable and provide resources that were unavailable, or in limited quantities, in Europe. In much of North America, the Caribbean, and Africa, this often meant replacing the existing agrarian and hunting cultures with European economic systems based on resource extraction and large-scale agriculture. Second, the colonial powers endeavored to minimize the costs of their empires. One way to ensure that colonies did not become profitably expensive was to ensure that those territories remained politically subservient to the mother country. Replicating European political culture provided one method of maintaining submissive colonies. This was especially important to the European colonizers in those areas, such as the Aztec Empire in Mexico, in which there was an existent, strong, and stable political system that could provide leadership for anti-colonial insurgencies. In such cases, one immediate goal for the colonial powers was to exterminate, or co-opt in some cases, the indigenous political leadership.

During the late imperial era of the nineteenth century, colonization also increasingly came to be based on strategic considerations. Imperial states no longer only sought colonies simply for profit, they also wanted territory for political and military reasons, including naval bases for refueling and refitting; buffer areas to protect wealthy colonies; and to deny rival empires territory. In addition, public sentiment in many imperial powers, especially Great Britain and France, opposed the wholesale eradication of indigenous cultures and people. This combination of factors resulted in less overtly brutal methods of suppressing native cultures. This imperial period was marked by efforts among several of the leading colonial powers to integrate their possessions into their broader culture and traditions. A common theme was that it was the duty of the imperial power to uplift the people who came under its suzerainty. This idea would later be modified and embraced by the United States and its allies in the twentieth century as America sought to promote its ideals and values in the post–World War II era, but often dismissed local culture and tradition, even if it was compatible with the goals of U.S. policy.

Not all of the negative impacts of cultural imperialism are deliberate. In some cases, actions taken by colonial governments and settlers had disastrous impacts on indigenous lifestyles. Colonialism disrupted societies by elevating some groups, while disenfranchising others from positions of power or status. Colonial powers often removed or eradicated those groups that held political or economic power within a new acquired territory. The colonists then elevated other groups within societies to

elite status as a means to bind those groups to the colonial power, and then exploited them to maintain control. Such actions exacerbated existing ethnic rivalries or initiated long-lasting intra-societal conflicts. In addition, the artificial borders created during the colonial period disrupted societies and broke apart ethnic and religious groups, further contributing to the demise of many cultures.

The economic consequences of colonialism also eroded cultures. The introduction of new agricultural systems by imperial powers led to the demise of hunter-gathering cultures. For instance, the spread of ranching and farming in the American Midwest resulted in the decline of indigenous cultures such as those of the Native Americans of the Plains region. In the later imperial era, the introduction of European manufactured products destroyed local economic systems. In the twentieth century, the spread of American culture through the globalization of the entertainment industry undermined regional literature and arts.

EARLY CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND WESTERN COLONIALISM

Cultural imperialism did not begin with the period of modern European colonization. Ancient empires such as the Greeks and the Romans spread their ideals, values, and language to conquered areas. During the Middle Ages, successive English monarchs attempted to subjugate the Welsh and Scottish cultures, whereas the 1453 fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks resulted in the demise of the Byzantine culture and society, and the policies of imperial Russia resulted in the suppression of non-Russian cultures on the periphery of the empire.

What initially differentiated colonization after 1400 from earlier periods was the effort to justify the acquisition of new territory. Europeans initially asserted that the new areas were unoccupied and claimed possession based on the principle of first discovery. However, as it became clear that the areas had resident populations, European states struggled to develop a legal justification for conquest. Most governments asserted that they had the right to exercise dominion over native people to spread the gospel, uplift them, and improve their barbaric way of life. In an argument advanced initially by Spanish Dominicans, and adopted thereafter by most of the colonial powers, indigenous people were declared barbarians based on a range of criteria that included religion, family and marriage customs, language (especially the lack of a written language), legal systems, and political arrangements. The colonists also would contend that native cultures did not encourage people to make maximum use of land and other resources. The colonial powers argued that they should have dominion over these new

areas to make them more productive. These arguments would be utilized by colonial powers in such diverse settings as the Spanish in America and the British in Ireland. Hence, the theoretical underpinnings of colonialism came to be based on the assumption that the cultures of native people were inferior to those of the Europeans and that the colonial states had a duty to transmit their customs and norms to these populations.

The first Portuguese colonies in Africa were established to extract resources and establish trading posts. As a result there was only minor cultural penetration, mainly in the form of economic interaction. Even as the Spanish and Portuguese conquered the Canary Islands and Sao Tome, there was little effort made to integrate the inhabitants into the European culture. Native people did increasingly learn European languages to facilitate commerce and the slave trade. As long as the trading posts remained on the periphery of Africa and other areas, European culture initially made little impact on indigenous societies.

This changed as the Spanish established colonies in the Americas. To gain ascendancy over the area, the Spanish had to destroy two major indigenous empires (the Aztec and Inca) and replace their cultural influence. This marked the first major step in the spread of cultural imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. The destruction of major native political bodies also would occur in North America with the destruction or subjugation of groups such as the Powhattan Confederacy.

A second major step toward the goal of eradicating native cultures and imposing European norms and values outside of Europe came as efforts to evangelize and spread Christianity became increasingly intertwined with colonialism itself. Following Pope Alexander VI's (1431–1503) 1493 papal bull, which divided the new world between Spain and Portugal, and the subsequent Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which reaffirmed the bull, both states pursued colonies to accumulate wealth, but did so under the justification of the need to spread Christianity. The Protestant Reformation would further accelerate these efforts, as Catholic and Protestant missionaries competed to replace native religions with their denominations of Christianity. For instance, even though the Dutch empire was based almost exclusively on trade, missionaries were dispatched to Dutch colonies to ensure that native peoples were converted to Protestantism as opposed to Catholicism.

Those areas with long-recognized cultures, or with the military might to prevent European incursions, received very different treatment from the colonial states. For instance, in India, the various colonial powers often sought to gain trade and other concessions through treaty instead of conquest. One result was the survival of many
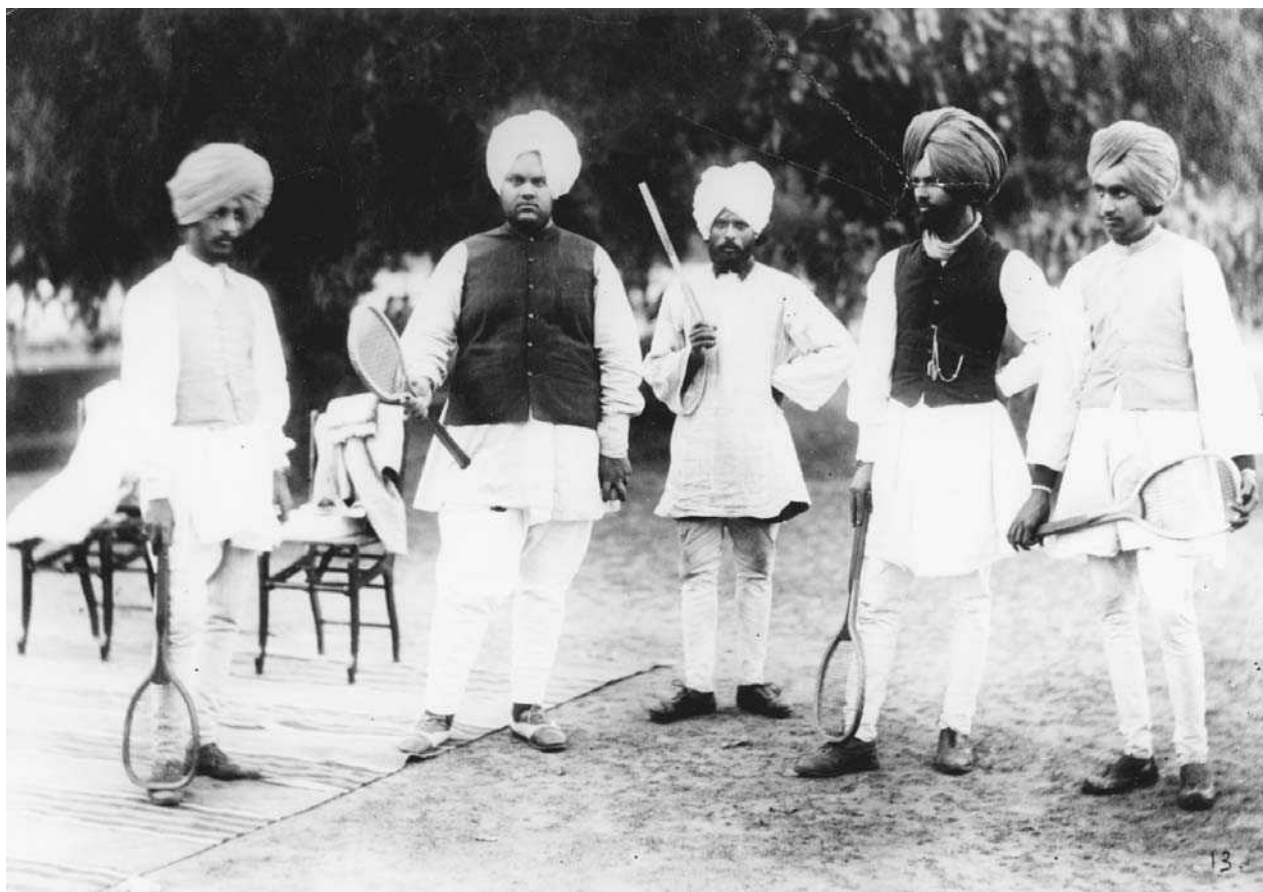
Indian Tennis Party. *A group of Indian men meet to enjoy tennis, a game imported by the British, at Kapurthala during the British colonial period.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cultural traditions on the Indian subcontinent. It would only be in the later imperial period that the British began to seriously erode Indian culture. In contrast, when efforts to spread Christianity, or otherwise suppress native cultures, met with failure, the colonial states often resorted to strategies of displacing native people, or exterminating whole groups of them. For instance, after the 1622 native rebellion in Virginia, the colonists engaged in widespread reprisals and a broad effort to force the native tribes from their land.

THE NEW AGE OF IMPERIALISM

While the initial period of European colonialism after 1400 was characterized by efforts to completely eradicate or suppress native cultures, the new imperial era of the late nineteenth century was usually marked by less brutal efforts to spread dominant, colonial cultures. This period marked the height of European imperialism and the maturation of colonial systems. This era also marked the formalization of the self-perceived civilizing mission

by colonial powers in areas of Africa and Asia and the prevalence of institutionalized racism.

The development of new technologies during the nineteenth century not only accelerated the drive for imperialism, it also further undermined indigenous cultures. The imperial powers actively embraced new technologies, including military weapons, the telegraph, steamboats, and the railroad. These technological advances reinforced the attractiveness of European culture among native people. This included perceptions of superiority among both the colonizers and the people colonized. Many native rulers who were not under the dominance of imperial powers often hired European military and economic advisers to tacitly, or overtly, spread colonial cultures.

In addition, many native leaders sent their children to European schools, a custom that the British in India, and the French in North Africa, particularly encouraged. The imperial powers also developed a series of colonial schools, including universities in some cases, to educate

the native population and the colonial elites. At colonial schools, native students were taught the history, culture, and traditions of the imperial state, while their own culture was denigrated.

As new colonies were added to empires for strategic reasons, there was increasing pressure on colonial governments to lessen the costs of empire. One method to accomplish this goal was to integrate local groups into the colonial hierarchy. In British colonies, such as Canada, Australia, and the Caribbean islands, this was accomplished through colonial settlers who brought with them the main elements of British culture. In other areas, the British and other colonial powers endeavored to use local populations as soldiers, government officials, and bureaucrats to lessen the costs of empire. One result of these methods was the consolidation of areas populated by small, decentralized groups or tribes under colonial powers.

In binding groups to the colonial establishment, there was a range of efforts undertaken to supplant indigenous cultures with colonial or European ones. These efforts included ongoing drives to spread Christianity, European-style education and training, and inter-colonial policies that pitted favored groups against others. One result of these efforts was the emergence of native-colonial elites who adopted the main aspects of the imperial cultures, including the hierarchical class system of the dominant imperial powers. These elites increasingly formed the core of the colonial civil service and military.

Even as new economic imperatives for imperialism emerged, including the discovery of diamonds in South Africa in 1867 or the rise of the ivory trade in the Belgian Congo, colonial tactics remained constant. In pursuing their economic interests, colonial powers often specifically targeted cultures to undermine existing political entities. For instance, the British promoted the use of opium to undermine Chinese culture and gain economic concessions in the 1840s.

The contemporary popular notion of social Darwinism, which argued that different ethnic groups were at different stages of intellectual and physical development, was often used as a justification for imperialism. Pro-imperial politicians and officials would even use social Darwinism to contend that the imperial states had a duty to civilize the less-developed regions of the world by spreading European culture. Such sentiments were presented in contemporary newspapers and literature that reinforced public support for imperialism. Social Darwinism was also used to justify the elevation of some groups and the suppression of others. For example, many British and French colonial officials believed that people from the India subcontinent or Asia were superior to Africans and, therefore, transported people

from these regions to Africa where they often became part of the colonial elite.

POSTCOLONIALISM AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

During the independence movements, the colonial powers sought to bind their possessions through economic, political, military, and cultural ties. Great Britain formed the Commonwealth of Nations and France formed the Francophone Association to perpetuate their influence in the former colonies. However, many colonial powers found that the Western-educated elites formed the core of independence movements. In colonies such as India, Burma, or Indonesia, these native elites endeavored to combine positive aspects of Western culture with their own indigenous traditions. This helped revive native culture in many areas, even as Western-style governments and economic systems remained prevalent.

European culture continued to exert an enormous influence in terms of language, educational systems, and religion; nonetheless, it would be the United States, not the former colonial powers, that would ultimately have the greatest cultural impact in the post–World War II era. The economic preponderance of the United States at the end of World War II (1939–1945) allowed the nation to export a range of products and to gain access to emerging markets as states became independent. Products such as Coca-Cola, Levi's jeans, and General Motors vehicles came to be regarded as synonymous with the United States. This American economic expansion would evolve into cultural imperialism as the world embraced U.S. products. In addition, the rise of the American entertainment industry helped expand the cultural influence of the United States. During the Cold War, the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union limited the global reach of American culture. With the end of the Cold War, these constraints were lifted. The result was a dramatic period of American cultural dominance.

The opening of a McDonald's restaurant in Moscow in 1990 was followed by a round of global expansion that resulted in 24,500 restaurants in 115 nations. In addition, American films, media, and music came to dominant the global entertainment industry. The Cable News Network (CNN) is broadcast in 120 countries while the world's top-selling author is America's Stephen King. In 1992 Disney even opened a theme park near Paris. American cultural expansion has been aided by the revolution in telecommunications and the widespread use of English. For instance, approximately 90 percent of the content on the Internet is in English.

As American products continue to find new markets and cultural icons such as Spiderman or Superman replace local heroes, many local customs will give way

to a global cultural uniformity dominated by the United States. The prominence of U.S. culture has even led foreign companies to utilize American symbols in advertising. A range of foreign corporations use cowboys or American icons to advertise a variety of products such as cigarettes, alcohol, and clothing. Critics of these trends have decried what they perceive to be a second century of American cultural homogeneity.

While many aspects of American culture have positive connotations, including the ideals of gender and racial equality, and political and economic freedom, the violence and materialism that many perceive is inherent in the United States has produced a backlash. States such as France have imposed limitations on American media products, including films and music (the French government briefly tried to prevent the American film *Jurassic Park* from being released in France). On a broader level, opponents of globalization have increasingly targeted American firms such as Starbucks as symbols of what is wrong with the contemporary world market. Finally, radical anti-Western extremist groups have defined themselves by their opposition to the main features of American culture.

SEE ALSO *Anti-Americanism; Assimilation.*

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Tom Lansford

IMPERIALISM, FREE TRADE

Free trade imperialism was a nineteenth-century English political movement that advocated a primary focus on commercial domination, rather than formal colonization and territorial expansion. Over time, the phrase came to refer to the use of military and diplomatic power to force underdeveloped, or militarily weaker, countries to grant access to their markets to more powerful states. The result of this policy was the rise of an informal economic control that stopped short of outright colonization, but significantly curtailed the sovereignty of weaker countries. Free trade imperialism was practiced by many colonial states, but was primarily associated with British policies, especially in Latin America and Asia. As economic expansion became increasingly intertwined with empire, critics of imperialism, including Karl Marx and his later adherents, focused on the economic implications and motivations of imperialism and neocolonialism.

LITTLE ENGLANDERS

The advocates of free trade imperialism, who were initially referred to as "Little Englanders," rejected broader arguments in favor of imperialism that were based on the supposed strategic or cultural advantages associated with the acquisition of new areas. The increasing emphasis on accruing national economic benefits on the part of leading figures such as Richard Cobden resulted in the growth of the "informal" empire, and caused both pro- and anti-colonial factions to support commercial expansion into underdeveloped regions of the world.

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, the older, less formal era of British colonialism came to an end with the loss of North American colonies and the subsequent acquisition of new colonies and territories as a result of the Napoleonic Wars. Concurrently, mercantilism, the dominant economic theory of the early imperial period, also gave way to a greater emphasis on free trade and laissez-faire economics. Adam Smith's concept that markets could regulate themselves through competitive equilibrium, combined with the lessons of the post–American Revolution period, led to a shift in British policy. When England continued to dominate trade with the new United States and to control markets following the loss of the North American colonies, many English supporters of anticolonial free trade pointed out that England continued to reap many of the economic benefits it had previously enjoyed, but without the costs of administering and defending the colonies. Pro–free trade factions also allied themselves with the antislavery Whig faction in Parliament to promote the eradication of slavery and the slave trade. With the abolition of the slave trade within the British Empire in 1807, free traders argued that the ban needed to be applied universally in order to ensure

that other countries did not gain an advantage over British goods because of lower labor costs. Similar arguments were used against the institution of slavery itself (namely that it resulted in unfair labor costs) and in 1834 Britain abolished slavery outright, although various forms of indentured servitude continued.

There was, however, a strategic dimension that linked colonialism and free trade. From the early formation of the empire onward, Britain sought colonies as a means to protect other colonies. For instance, the acquisition of Cape Colony was motivated by a desire to control sea-lanes around the bottom of Africa and thus ensure that goods from India would flow freely. Expansion of the empire within the Indian subcontinent (including conquest of Indian territories and the later expeditions in Afghanistan) was viewed as a means to protect the profitable coastal colonies.

The nexus between free trade and imperialism became highly apparent toward the end of the 1830s. By this time, the British and other European powers had developed commercial interests in China. A particularly profitable trade for British merchants was the importation and sale of opium. The British East India Company cultivated opium in India, shipped the drug to China, and then traded it for highly sought-after goods, such as silk or tea. In 1839 a new Chinese customs official sought to enforce his government's ban on the import of opium (a ban that corrupt officials had previously been bribed to ignore). In response, England used naval power in 1840 to forcefully open Chinese ports. The Chinese eventually bowed to British pressure and in 1842 signed the Treaty of Nanking, which granted England most-favored-nation trade status, opened new ports to British merchants, and granted extraterritoriality to the British, making Britishers accused of crimes in China subject not to Chinese but to British law and courts.

From the 1840s through the 1870s, the so-called Manchester school of free trade advocates held political and economic sway in England. Supported by factory owners, as well as many in the working class, adherents to this style of free trade emphasized the importance of exports and the need for the government to undertake action to remove foreign impediments to British products. Free trade was seen both as a means to enhance the nation and as a mechanism to promote universal values (in this case, British values). However, while the Manchesterites believed it was the government's role to champion free trade, they sought to limit government expenditures on the military or on colonial administration, as they considered such expenditures to be a diversionary use of resources.

One of the early leaders of the free trade movement was Richard Cobden (1804–1865). Cobden earned a fortune early in life through trade and became a staunch advocate of imperial retrenchment and commercial expansion. *Cobdenism* was a strong belief in the market and opposition to state intervention in the economy. Cobden himself believed that free trade would promote peace and provide the best means to improve the social conditions of England's poor. With John Bright (1811–1889), Cobden led the Anti-Corn Law League, an anti-tariff organization that was able to force a repeal of England's strict agricultural protectionist laws in 1846. As British markets were opened to foreign competition, London increasingly pursued policies designed to force other states to adopt reciprocal trade policies. Cobden was also an early campaigner for arms reductions and international arbitration as an alternative to war (Cobden and his supporters believed that war was an unnecessary waste of resources and manpower). Cobden's opposition to armed conflict and his sense of ethics led him to join Bright and other liberals of the time in opposing British military action during the Second Opium War in 1857, and he worked with other parliamentarians to bring down the government of Lord Russell over the conflict. Cobden made several visits to France to argue in favor of free trade and against tariffs and is generally credited with fostering reforms in French economic policy during the period. In 1860 Cobden negotiated a major tariff-reduction treaty with France. Cobden was a vocal supporter of the Union during the American Civil War, but died of bronchitis in 1865 before the war had ended.

By the 1840s the free trade movement could claim credit for several significant accomplishments. The repeal of major protectionist legislation within England spurred the expansion of the popularity of free trade principles. By 1860 some tariffs on around four hundred items had been removed. Income from tariffs fell from 25.3 percent of government revenues in 1846 to 11.5 percent in 1865 and 5.3 percent in 1900. The lower tariffs led to reduced consumer prices for the growing British middle class, as well as for the working class. The result was widespread political support for free trade. Victorian voters embraced Cobdenism and supported the efforts of successive governments to open markets to British goods and products. However, whereas Cobden supported means that would promote international peace, other British politicians believed that free trade could be spread through military and diplomatic coercion. In addition, British governments mainly supported only those free trade policies that benefited England and the empire.

FREE TRADE AND IMPERIALISM

The costs of empire constrained British expansion from the 1840s through the 1860s. Though new territory was added, successive governments sought to exercise control

through informal means rather than outright colonization. Nonetheless, the 1840s saw significant growth in both the formal and informal empires. During the period, the British expanded into, or took some degree of control over, areas such as Hong Kong, the Gold Coast, Natal, New Zealand, the Punjab, and Sierra Leone. The return of Lord Palmerston as foreign secretary in 1846 marked an increasingly assertive British foreign policy in regards to trade issues. Palmerston sent a British fleet to Portugal to pressure the Portuguese government during a trade dispute, and the British used military intervention in Borneo and Africa to open markets. More significantly, in 1848 Palmerston issued a clear endorsement of free trade imperialism when, in a diplomatic note, he declared that Britain would use diplomatic and political pressure to protect "investments" if it deemed that the loss of those investments threatened the stability or security of England. Cobden and his supporters in Parliament sought to limit Palmerston's aggressive policies by reducing the government's military expenditures, but successive bills were rejected in Parliament. Instead, Britain's formal and informal empires began a period of sustained growth.

In 1848 British traders seized a port in Nicaragua and ultimately forced the Nicaraguan government to sign an advantageous commercial treaty. That same year, British troops occupied the Boer area of Natal and seized Natal's main port after British merchants began cultivating cotton on formerly Natalese territory that had been annexed into the Cape Colony in 1847. In 1843 James Brooke created a personal fiefdom in Sarawak in the north of Burma. Meanwhile, throughout Africa and Asia, British merchants began negotiating and signing a series of trade treaties with local leaders. In some cases, charter companies led the commercial expansion. In addition to the well-known British East India Company, a range of smaller, but in many cases just as successful, companies such as the Royal Niger Company or the Royal South Africa Company, were able to expand British commercial hegemony.

In order to protect commercial interests, the British undertook military action to either prevent encroachments from neighboring powers or expand access to resources. Often conflicts were initiated in remote areas, and London responded by sending troops to suppress native populations. On a grand scale, the 1857 Sepoy Revolt and the subsequent dissolution of the East India Company by an imperial administration is demonstrative of this trend in which minor disagreements were used by colonial officials, merchants, and so-called adventurers to expand the formal empire. Indeed, the economist John Galbraith's "man-on-the-spot" thesis asserts that individuals were responsible for much of the expansion of the empire, because they initiated colonial agreements or conflicts that London would have avoided.

NEW MARKETS

From the 1840s through the 1860s, British governments attempted to sign free trade agreements with their European counterparts and to gain most-favored-nation trade status with states on the continent. This effort was initially successful and British merchants increased their market share in a range of European states. However, the depression of 1870 led a number of European countries to reinstate tariffs. This closed markets to the British. Indeed, the British began to develop a trade deficit in the 1870s, but nonetheless continued to vigorously support the principle of free trade throughout the period. One result of the closure of European markets was a rise in support for imperialism. Merchants began to publicly endorse imperialism because they hoped that the acquisition of new territories would provide new markets to offset the loss of revenues caused by the new round of European tariffs. Concurrently, the "scramble" for colonies in Africa and Asia added a new strategic emphasis as imperial governments sought territory in order to protect their commercial interests. By the early 1900s, almost 60 percent of British manufacturing was directed toward the empire or dependent on the colonies for raw materials. The British also benefited from imperialism in general, as 40 percent of the world's products and services were transported by British ships.

Consequently, from the 1870s onward, the expansion of both the formal and informal empires accelerated. Between 1870 and 1914, there was a dramatic increase in the amount of surplus economic capital in Great Britain. By this time, London had firmly established itself as the commercial and financial center of the world and British firms dominated the global shipping, insurance, and manufacturing markets. British promotion of free trade was perceived by both the public and elites as a means to further enhance the nation's wealth. As other European states developed their colonial empires, and often shut British merchants out of trade in the colonized regions, commercial leaders in Britain lobbied various governments to support increased access to new markets and materials. Other states emulated British tactics. For instance, after the first Opium War, the United States and France used the threat of military force to gain concessions from China that were similar to those granted to Great Britain under the Treaty of Nanking.

During these years there was still considerable debate over the cost and benefits of formal colonization. For instance, the financial and manpower costs of the 1879 Afghan War led to the fall of the government of the proexpansionist Benjamin Disraeli. However, his successor,

The Waters of Free Trade. *This cartoon, published in England on August 21, 1852, ridiculed the trepidation of British politicians toward the economist Richard Cobden's philosophy of free trade.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

William Gladstone, also found himself dragged into colonial wars such as the First Anglo-Boer War. One compromise solution was the creation of protectorates that minimized British financial outlays for administration or defense, but secured for the British commercial advantages. British agents had chiefs sign protection treaties in which the local leader surrendered sovereignty in exchange for British diplomatic or military protection. The treaties were inevitably written in London (and in English) and local leaders often did not understand the implications of the agreements. Examples of such treaties include the 1884 Treaty of Protection with the Itsekiri in present-day Benin.

FREE TRADE IMPERIALISM AND THE MARXIST TRADITION

The importance of trade in spurring the drive for new colonies led many scholars and philosophers to assert that trade was the overriding factor in imperialism. At the core of the argument was the assertion that powerful states naturally sought outlets for their investments and products. The role of surplus capital and the drive for

economic expansion influenced several of the most significant scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including Karl Marx (1818–1883). Marx tied imperialism to the rise of a global capitalist economic system. He believed that the capitalist system would lead to a worker's revolution and then a utopian socialist society. In 1902 the British political philosopher J. A. Hobson, a follower of Marx, published *Imperialism: A Study*, in which he argued that the financial sector was the only area of the economy that actually benefited from imperialism. In other areas, the military and administrative costs of empire outweighed any financial gains. Hence, Hobson contended that imperialism only benefited a small group of elites and did not provide long-range economic gains for the lower and working classes.

Hobson significantly influenced Vladimir Lenin, whose 1917 work *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* attempted to explain the causes of World War I by portraying the conflict as a logical outcome of ongoing imperial competition. Lenin asserted that capitalist states had delayed Marx's worker's revolution through imperialism. Through imperialism, capitalist powers were able to establish new markets and to gain access to cheap labor and raw materials. In this fashion, the developed imperial nations managed to create dependencies among their colonies, as these territories were never able to keep more than a small portion of the wealth created by their resources and labor (instead, much of the wealth and resources were transferred to the colonizing state). This led to a pattern of underdevelopment in most colonies.

In many ways, these early Marxist critics were reacting to shifts in the philosophy of imperialism. The heyday of free trade imperialism was the period between 1840 and 1870. During this era, the Little Englanders broadly supported disengagement from the empire as a means to lower public expenditures. However, the new wave of imperialism of the 1880s, combined with increased economic competition from Europe and the United States, led many in the British business class, who had previously been Little Englanders, to reassess their stance toward empire. As a result, there was an increasing degree of support for some level of continued engagement and even expansion of the empire. One method to lower expenditures while retaining imperial ties was home rule through dominion status and varying degrees of self-government. In 1867 Canada was granted dominion status, followed by Australia (1901), New Zealand (1907), and South Africa (1910). Once the period of decolonization began, other means, including the Commonwealth system, were developed to maintain economic, political, and military ties between the former colonies and Great Britain. Other imperial powers used

similar tactics, including the French Francophone system.

Such overt and tacit efforts to maintain economic suzerainty in the former colonies led many Marxist scholars to contend that the decolonization period simply marked a transition to a different form of imperialism: neocolonialism or neoimperialism. For instance, dependency theorists asserted that even after the formal colonial institutions departed, foreign actors were able to maintain control over resources and exploit local populations, with the assistance of pliable local regimes. These regimes, in turn, grew wealthy through bribes or through manipulation of contracts and enjoyed military support from foreign powers. A range of former imperial powers, including Great Britain, France, and Italy, engaged in neoimperialism, as did emerging world economic powers such as the United States, Japan, and Germany.

Neoimperialism, furthermore, was not really even "new"; instead, it was simply a more sophisticated manifestation of free trade imperialism. The tactics and strategies employed by the postcolonial powers mirrored the tactics utilized by the British during the latter half of the nineteenth century in areas such as Latin America. For instance, by 1913 the British had almost one billion pounds invested in Latin America (about one-quarter of total British overseas investments), despite having scarcely any formal colonial presence in the region. The British also used political and military intervention to support client regimes, as happened in Guatemala and Colombia in the 1870s. The British were also able to gain commercial concessions by linking recognition of colonies with trade agreements. Consequently, British recognition of new colonies in Africa resulted in commercial clauses that opened markets to British merchants in such treaties as the Anglo-Congo Arrangement (1885) or the Anglo-German Agreement on East Africa (1886). The informal methods of empire advocated by the free trade imperialists of the mid-1800s continue to be utilized and remain a major component of the ongoing debate over the causes and results of imperialism.

SEE ALSO *Commonwealth System; Neocolonialism.*

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Tom Lansford

IMPERIALISM, GENDER AND

The recovery of women's lives and the analysis of the impact of women in history has been a fruitful exercise that, alongside other categories of postmodern analysis, has led historians and others to critically reexamine not only past lives but also the contemporary world. The result has been a deconstruction of what has too often been understood as "natural" in order to understand how all levels of human relations are both consciously and unconsciously constructed in ways that reinforce power structures, most often in order to protect those in power against resistance from those outside power frameworks.

Beginning in the 1960s, increasing numbers of imperial and colonial historians have used gender as a category of analysis, applying it alongside analysis of race and ethnicity, and class. The resulting scholarship has included a recovery of women's stories—stories of women who up to then had languished on the margins of history, and that exercise has value in itself. However, beyond that, the analysis of women's past contributions, a consideration of ways in which their actions were constrained and why, and an analysis of why women's lives have been underrepresented in imperial historiography has resulted in a fundamental shift in imperial historiography.

As in other areas of historical scholarship, some of the most exciting literature on modern empires is that which has employed a gendered lens. It has honed analysis of accepted historical narratives, and in doing so it has contributed to the reconfiguration of the European "us" and the colonial "other." It is impossible to

properly analyze modern imperial relations without serious consideration of gender.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The earliest accounts of modern European empires were written by and about imperial personnel, both domestically and those posted abroad. Scholarly literature analyzed both types of accounts for an "in the field" understanding of empire, and it analyzed the domestic political and diplomatic machinations behind the creation and maintenance of imperial connections. As has been well documented regarding such episodes as the late nineteenth-century "scramble for Africa," imperial actions and the resultant effect on colonial territories could in fact have more to do with domestic politics and inter-European diplomatic relations than with European relations with the rest of the world, and this is as true in understanding the gender order as with other realities.

In each case—the colonial memoir and the imperial apologia—it tended to be men who dominated both the action and the writing of that action. Because of elaborate gendered religious, social, and legal ideologies and the resulting realities of early modern and modern European society, women's roles in empire tended to be as supportive rather than as active independent agents, and their choices were often prescribed. Furthermore, even though gendered realities were often much more complicated than a simple gendered division of roles, what was often recorded was the ideal rather than the reality.

Thus women tended to be excluded from writing about empires for two stereotypical reasons: either because of their exceptionality they did not "fit," or because of their conformity—as wives, sisters, and daughters of the male administrators; the nurse as opposed to the doctor; the teacher as opposed to the preacher—they were deemed less necessary to remember. This is true both of women from the sending societies, and of women from the cultures with which European nations interacted as part of their imperial ventures. Thus in understanding the role of women and gender in imperialism, it is imperative to understand gender relations in European society, as well as the gendered realities of the societies with which Europeans came into contact, and thus the way in which gendered expectations shaped the interactions between them.

Despite the fact that women were active agents in European imperial ventures from first contact, they did not "count" as equivalent to their male counterparts. Furthermore, when women were written about, accounts either romanticized or vilified the roles they assumed in empire. The writing of women travelers and missionaries tended to present a view of empire in which the "plucky"

European woman successfully made her way in the world. These memoirs spent little time seriously dealing with indigenous reality or the writer's perspective of the imperial encounter; instead, they emphasized the danger and adventure of distant lands, surmountable through a mixture of gendered national characteristics and individual uplift through education. On the other hand, writing about female travelers had much more room for negative stereotypes, such as the "memsahib" wives of colonial administrators who sought to reproduce Britain, the missionary prude seeking to reform life and hearth alongside conversion to a modern Western variant of Christianity, and the teachers and workers for social reform who joined the imperial venture in ever-greater numbers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Women's increasing access to professional education resulted in more and more Western women with the will and ability to join the imperial venture, their aim being the "uplift" of women in cultures deemed inferior to their own, but in these roles they were simultaneously appreciated and pilloried. Nowhere in the literature does yet another "other" women appear—women of the barracks by whose labor as nurses, cooks, and seamstresses the imperial armies functioned, and with whom sometimes a succession of soldiers partnered as they traveled, fought, and died over long tours of duty in a succession of unhealthy climates. Neither these women, nor others, had the privilege to follow a middle-class ideal of womanhood, but the reality of ladies who worked to support themselves—in small street-front businesses selling goods and themselves on the streets—did not appear as subjects themselves in the analyses of modern empires until the 1970s.

Similarly celebrated and censured were the women in indigenous societies. Even when celebrated, women in indigenous societies across the globe had what was their complicated reality romanticized, and more often than not as a negative dressed up as a positive. Foreign women were exotically "other"—either desirable but studiously unavailable due to traditions of class and belief, or too readily available for official or unofficial consumption, but dangerously so.

A well-developed literature now analyzes how women from South Asia to southern Africa to the Americas acted as cultural go-betweens in empire. In these encounters, women were consumed as a valuable commodity: in encounters of a variety of sorts—military, economic, and sociocultural—they served as a medium of barter and exchange. Their worth lay in access to powerful men and in their knowledge of language, culture, and material reality. They also served as companions and provided offspring to European men destined

to spend long periods of time, if not their entire lives, away from "home." Given the length of time it took to travel the globe, this was true in particular during the period of early modern empires; it remained the case well into the modern era of empires, given the length of both civil and military postings due to the expense of travel and the value of continuous service. Despite this, long-term interracial liaisons became less acceptable overall across the nineteenth century both because of the increasing ease of travel and because of the rise of scientific racism. This development is not wholly to be blamed on the increased presence of European women, as has been suggested.

WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO MERCANTILE EMPIRES AND GENDERED CONSTRUCTIONS OF CULTURE

There is a wealth of evidence about these encounters in locales as diverse as South and East Asia, the African continent, the Middle East, and the Americas. Some of the most interesting and telling research regarding gender in imperial relations focuses on the role of women in the North American fur trade. This literature offers examples of the recovery of women's lives and agency, and also extricates the role of gender constructs in culture as societies entered into modern economic and political world systems. It further challenges what has been an accepted narrative of the economic development of North American resources from early European contact. In the case of Canada, it demands a re-creation of what has been posited as a historically calm and unproblematic multicultural national identity.

That a Canadian national identity is firmly entrenched in an amorphous spiritual-historical tie to "the land" is well documented. This is a tendentious claim—in the first place because of the very variety of geography contained in the large landmass that makes up the modern nation-state, and second because the harsh climate necessitated that European newcomers learn a lifestyle of survival. From Charles II's (1630–1685) granting of a trade monopoly to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 to collect and profit from the national resources found in the drainage system of Hudson Bay, "Canadians" came to see themselves as a conglomerate of immigrant peoples that carved a home out of an empty wilderness, husbanding resources of fish, fur, trees, minerals, and water in order to create the capital to build the modern infrastructure necessary to support a commercial economy.

The folk-identity of this historic Canada is strongly gendered, from the male *voyageur* or *coureur de bois* (employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company who paddled canoes through the river systems of the north to trade European manufactured goods in exchange for animal pelts that were processed for European consumption), to the cowboy culture of western Canadian oil companies in the twentieth century. This identity also has a strong ethnoracial element—it is largely northwestern European and is reflected in Canada's political and legal structure, in its economic development, and in its cultural identity.

That this identity as "Canada and Canadian" is problematic began to be argued systematically from the 1960s, both by Canadians concerned about the civil rights of newcomers and aboriginal peoples, and by historians examining these issues. For example, Sylvia Van Kirk (1980) inspired a generation of scholars with her deconstruction of the origins of a strongly male-dominated, resource-based Canadian economy and identity. She argued that the entire fur trade was in fact dependent in large part on the presence, knowledge, and support of female native and mixed-blood partners, and in particular the "country wives" of fur traders who, from the late eighteenth century and for roughly a century thereafter, supplied a knowledge of native society and customs, the know-how to survive in a harsh climate and cross foreign terrain, fit and active labor, and companionship to the European traders who came to work in the fur industry. Evidence from the 1820s suggests that it was these women who prepared the furs for export; made clothing, including footwear and winter gear (moccasins and snowshoes); gardened, fished, and prepared food for long-term storage (as pemmican); and served as language and cultural interpreters. However, they also—despite the myth of the strong and able male teams of *coureurs de bois* leaving civilization for trade between the spring melt and autumn frost, and despite Hudson's Bay Company injunctions against the practice—at times traveled in canoes with their partners and worked with them, work that seems to have included paddling.

Although evidence suggests that traders did not often record the work of these women in their journals, this is because this form of writing was not intended as a record of their doings and thoughts for private reflection, but was instead a corporate document produced for the very company that had forbidden the presence of women in the canoes. There are, however, journals that not only record the presence of women, but also praise native women as being "as useful as men."

Thus it is clear that the labor of these women was of both immediate and indirect use to individual traders, to the companies, and to the fur-supported colonial society as it developed what would become western Canada. These women also contributed to the industrial and commercial growth of western European nations that was necessary for the spread of modern empires.

British Missionary Women in India. *One of the significant areas in which European women could participate in modern empires as active and respectable agents was as Christian missionaries. In this late nineteenth-century photograph, a missionary woman from England poses with teachers and students at a new mission school in India.* © TOPHAM PICTUREPOINT/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Despite this, the role of such women has been long undervalued, as is true of women in similar situations elsewhere in modern empires, and such women could actually be devalued because of their role ''in between'' existing and newcomer societies.

Partnerships between indigenous women and traders resulted in mixed-blood offspring (called *métis* in French fur-trade society) who by the first half of the nineteenth century made up a cadre of workers who were both born into and were educated to become the next generation of workers in the fur trade. Until roughly midcentury, fur trade society contained elements of both its constitutive parts, and indigenous women played an important part in their ''in-between'' role. However, as the century progressed, their position became increasing tenuous for a variety of reasons. Increasing numbers of educated middle-class ''gentlemen'' were hired by the Hudson's Bay Company to work for their operations across the Canadian west. These men arrived with increasingly strict middle-class Victorian attitudes regarding the importance of wife and family in establishing a professionally successful identity and lifestyle that left little room for liaisons with local women. Dating from roughly the 1870s, changes in business practices underscored these attitudes, and from the 1880s quicker and easier travel meant that increasing numbers of European women could functionally replace their indigenous predecessors. At times, this occurred in reality—some British women arrived to find they had literally replaced a previous indigenous ''country'' wife—but overall this turnaround happened gradually.

In either case, by the turn of the century a mixed-blood marriage would have been unacceptable in respectable society. The immediate result was that aboriginal and mixed-blood women were marginalized. The long-term result was that their important role in the early

economic and social development of Canadian society has also been marginalized due to hardening gender and ethnoracial expectations in the modern imperial era. From 1867, the newly created nation of Canada had little room for diversity of cultural expression. Late twentieth-century Canadians struggled to recognize the historic roots of relative privilege and inequity that is the real legacy of Canada's colonial past.

WOMEN IN MISSIONS

One of the significant areas in which women could participate in modern empires as active and respectable agents was as Christian missionaries. Organizations created to promote mission activity were established in most western European nations from the late eighteenth century, and were a product of the evangelical awakening. Evangelicalism was of increasing importance in popularizing and democratizing the Christian message both domestically and abroad as Western Christian missions joined the commercial, military, and administrative arms of colonial and imperial ventures, and as the "civilizing message" that became linked to the evangelical imperative came to influence foreign policy across the nineteenth century.

The mission field serves as a clear example of the way gender functioned elsewhere in modern empire. Women supported missions both at home and abroad as the wives and female relatives of missionary men, and by raising much of the money channeled to foreign missions through the nineteenth century. Their early roles were constrained because the first missionaries were ordained ministers and no church organization would allow women access to either education or ordination. It was not until later in the century that mission societies began to hire lay workers, and it was during the period 1865 to 1910 that the number of women in the mission field grew exponentially, and lay workers, both male and female, came to outnumber the ordained clerics who had dominated missions throughout the nineteenth century.

However, the male workers, and often those who were ordained, continued to dominate mission administration throughout this period, as is demonstrated by their strong presence in mission records. Despite this, women in particular brought specific skills to missions. They expanded the notion of what constituted valid mission labor from primarily exhortation to include the provision of education and primary healthcare and the care of widows and orphans. In so doing, women changed the concept of mission professionalism. Women's very emotive participation in British evangelical revivals, coupled with their successes in communicating with mission supporters, gradually influenced their male colleagues to consider as less marginal and more central to

mission work and church work in general the type of activities women had previously engaged in on a volunteer basis.

One unpublished study of women's professional motivation and opportunity in late nineteenth-century Britain underlines how important it is for historians to keep religious belief in mind when considering why women entered professions and chose an imperial career. Rather than simply providing a romantic portrayal of fulfilled professional freedom, the history of professions emphasizes that women's labor in empire, and in missions in particular, remained undervalued in terms of both remuneration and administrative advancement until well into the twentieth century.

CONCLUSION

The study of gender in missions and of the contribution of aboriginal women to the fur trade adds to the growing body of work that deals with the contribution women made to empire in general. Gendered analysis has focused attention on the personal and professional opportunities afforded to women as European influence spread across the globe. The rhetoric of women's work for women opened opportunities for Western females and highlighted the necessity for women's professional development, but women were also constrained by the very expectations contained in the slogan.

Advocates for women's increased role in missions and empire more broadly argued that it was only distinctly feminine characteristics that could "save the heathen," not only spiritually (evangelism) but also physically (social welfare). Reform campaigners gained public support for women's rights, specifically for widened access to further education and increased public roles, by promoting the idea that it was only Western women who could help their foreign counterparts. These secular campaigners underlined the specific needs of foreign women for their own interests. However, research has also indicated that neither the number of British women working in the empire nor the professional opportunities afforded to them by doing so should be overstated, and it is clear that this rhetoric also emphasized a false rhetoric of sisterhood that in fact hardened ethnoracial tensions that remain in the feminist movement today.

SEE ALSO *Sex and Sexuality.*

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Rhonda A. Semple

IMPERIALISM, LIBERAL THEORIES OF

Liberal philosophy grew out of the Enlightenment's preoccupation with freedom, which led to intense efforts to find the right balance between the social need for order and the individual's natural liberties. Enlightenment philosophers unanimously excoriated all elements of the corporate society, which was ruled by landed elites wedded to the feudal ethos of conquest and the subsequent hoarding of resources.

The foundations of liberalism were laid by the science of political economy, developed in the eighteenth century on the new assumption that reason and enlightened self-interest guided a humanity recently arrived at the Age of Reason, after centuries of blinding prejudices. To the feudal order based on landed wealth, mercantile economics, and aggressive policies of conquest, eighteenth-century liberals opposed trade-generated wealth, free-market economics, and peaceful commercial relations between all nations.

The nineteenth-century disciples of the classical political economists went one step further and theorized that rational self-interest provided the maximum of individual freedom and the best guarantee of social peace at the same time. From here there was only one step, which many liberal theorists took, to concluding that a society based on free-market economics and individual freedoms represented the highest stage in the progress of humanity from darkness to freedom. Accordingly, liberal thinkers reflected on empires, and on the very concept of imperialism, from the perspective of the perceived links between trade-generated wealth, freedom, and progress.

Economic liberalism, built on the key concept of free trade, came mainly as a challenge to the doctrine of mercantilism, the dominant economic thinking of previous centuries, which considered the accumulation of wealth a zero-sum game: the more one nation enriches itself, the more another one would become impoverished. Consequently, mercantile economists advocated protectionism, high levels of exports but low levels of imports, state intervention, and the hoarding of bullion. Conquest and the subsequent exploitation of new land was part of the system, as the new possessions, the colonies, could be included in trade circuits that essentially exchanged the colonies' raw materials for the mother country's

manufactured goods. Mercantilist economists rarely theorized on imperialism; still, a theory of imperialism emerged from their writings. Based on the assumption that, in a world of limited resources, one nation's gains depended generally on the losses of another, they pushed for a favorable balance of trade between the metropolis (mother country) and the colonies. Colonial monopoly was, in this view, a legitimate way of maintaining or improving current national levels of wealth and power, a matter of what in the French political tradition was called "reason of state."

Liberals opposed these views on economic grounds and argued that protectionism and state intervention distorted the market. Any gains to the metropolis depended on the fortunes of conquest, which meant that any change in the military balance of power put economic profits at risk. By contrast, the mutually profitable engagement of commercial partners in the marketplace assured long-term profits, which did not depend on the fortunes of war.

The doctrine of free trade was best expressed by the French phrase "*laissez-faire, laissez-passer*," meaning "let [commerce] follow its course, let [merchandise] pass," coined in France in the mid-1700s by a group of economic theorists called *physiocrats*. The physiocrats still put agriculture at the center of the ideal economic system, but adamantly opposed trade barriers. Freedom of trade, in their view, was bound to increase the wealth of the nation, because capital and goods were allowed to move freely as the state gave up its interventionist habits.

Less openly expressed, but well understood by the audience of enlightened salons and academies who listened to the physiocrats, was the belief that the freedom of individuals would derive naturally from the freedom of the markets. Considering that France was an absolutist monarchy, a highly centralized state with an established mercantile economic system, the physiocrats' call for free trade was subversive on several levels. It challenged an economic system that was supposed to maintain France's supremacy and grandeur; it challenged the complicated web of privileges that maintained the existing social hierarchy along with the corporate sources of influence and power; it challenged the aristocratic ethos by extolling the virtues of commerce, which had no use for the traditional feudal notions of honor and lineage. Finally, free trade also implied the equality of all individuals as participants in the market, regardless of birth.

The notion that commerce had the ability to subvert aristocratic aggressive impulses and replace them with peaceful cooperation was further corroborated by the very respected Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), who regarded "le doux commerce," or peaceable commerce, as an excellent device for converting irrational aggressive passions into rational—and thus peaceful—

interests. The philosopher Voltaire (1694–1778) concurred in "Letters Concerning the English Nation" (1732), where he described approvingly how the desire for profits compelled people of diverse backgrounds to cooperate at the London stock exchange in the belief that they could all win by taking part in trade rather than wasting their time dwelling on ancient hierarchies. Commerce, in conclusion, could turn greed, a negative passion, into a positive force working toward social harmony, an unsentimental, yet optimistic belief that remained central to the liberal philosophy well into the twentieth century.

The explicit link between commerce and freedom explains why commerce was held in high esteem by many French philosophers of the Enlightenment age and became one of the main components of the revolutionary discourse. Expanded to the level of international relations, such beliefs logically led to the repudiation of imperialism on grounds that what was true within a given country was true for relations between nations: each nation had something that another needed, and each could potentially benefit from trade. Hence, free trade made the very rationale for conquest and domination disappear.

An economic liberal argument against colonial monopoly and imperialism, seen as outcomes of mercantilism, emerged in this way. It must be stressed, however, that Montesquieu and Voltaire, as well as the physiocrats, tended to emphasize the subversive capabilities of free trade more than the English economists, who lived in a system with fewer political and economic restrictions. In England, the economic argument against imperialism only marginally addressed the issue of freedom. Individual freedom, for metropolitan and colonial citizens alike, came as a positive consequence of freedom of trade, but was not the main objective of classical political economists. If mercantilism posited the predominance of politics over economics, liberalism strove to make economics an autonomous field, in the belief, however, that economic reason contained an intrinsic moral reason.

LIBERAL ECONOMIC THEORIES OF IMPERIALISM

The landmark work that brought brilliantly together laissez-faire economics and the faith in the liberating potential of commerce was *The Wealth of Nations* (fully, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*) by the Scottish economist Adam Smith (1723–1790), published in 1776. Smith accepted and developed many of the arguments of the physiocrats, including, albeit with qualifications, the high esteem they had for agriculture. In discussing the movements of capital, Smith believed that capital was more profitably invested in domestic commerce than in overseas trade, given the

Adam Smith. *Smith's* Wealth of Nations *(1769) was a landmark work that brought together laissez-faire economics and the faith in the liberating potential of commerce.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

overhead expenses of long-distance trade and the fact that such trade often supported the labor of other nations more than it helped the labor market at home.

Moreover, the cost of supporting the colonies outweighed whatever benefits the metropolis could extract. Smith had little sympathy for the rebellious American colonies, especially when it came to taxation. "It is not contrary to justice," Smith wrote, "that...America should contribute towards the discharge of the public debt of Great Britain.... a government to which several of the colonies of America owe their present charters, and consequently their present constitution; and to which all the colonies of America owe the liberty, security, and property which they have ever since enjoyed" (Smith 1776, bk. 5, chap. 3). That said, Smith believed that the cost of governing the colonies, and putting down the "disturbances," was simply more trouble than it was worth. Empire, in his view, was more of a fanciful ambition, a matter of grandstanding rather than a practical, wealth-producing endeavor:

The rulers of Great Britain have...amused the people with the imagination that they possessed a great empire on the west side of the Atlantic. This empire, however, has hitherto existed in imagination only. It has hitherto been, not an empire, but the project of an empire; not a gold mine, but the project of a gold mine; a project which has cost, which continues to cost, and which, if pursued in the same way as it has been hitherto, is likely to cost, immense expense, without being likely to bring any profit. (Smith 1776, bk. 5, chap. 3)

The reason for this assessment was simple: the colonies were supposed to function as British provinces, integrated into the domestic market; once it was clear that this was not the case, common sense dictated that they should be treated as what they were—foreign markets and trade partners, which is why Smith recommended granting the colonies their independence, the sooner the better.

Observing the enthusiasm for investment in overseas trade and the very advantages that Britain could reap by the opening of new markets, Smith argued for abandoning the imperial system in favor of a vast free market. England would benefit much more from trading with the Americans than wasting time and money trying to keep them into the fold. Remarkably, this argument remained confined to the economic level, with no regard for the soaring rhetoric of freedom coming from the "west side of the Atlantic."

This argument was brought to its logical conclusions by the economist Josiah Tucker (1712–1799), who demonstrated in a work published in 1776 that Britain would profit more from letting the American colonies go and trusting in their need for British products than from maintaining the colonies and thus continuing to be obliged to buy American raw materials instead of cheaper, similar products from other places. However, Tucker confined this argument to the specific situation of the American colonies. In an earlier debate with the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776), Tucker had still argued in favor of tariff protections for poor countries, in order to keep the poor nations from being swallowed by the rich, a phenomenon apt to encourage rich countries to make colonies out of the poor countries and thus render meaningless the very principle of free trade.

THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR

The obligation of buying the products of the colonies, even at a disadvantage, could seem a small price to pay if offset by the opening of secure markets for the metropolis's industrial products. The problem of a glut of capital, production, and even people could easily find its solution

in the large privileged markets the colonies provided, all the more if, as Josiah Tucker demonstrated, colonies were poor countries unable to compete on the free market.

Classical economists suggested alternative solutions that they deemed more reliable in the long term because the solutions were rooted in free-trade mechanisms, independent of unpredictable political changes. In *Commerce Defended* (1806), a reply to an English disciple of the physiocrats (William Spence) who warned against overproduction in an industrial system, the Scottish philosopher and economist James Mill (1773–1836) introduced the theory of the international division of labor.

This theory was further developed by the economist David Ricardo (1772–1823) in *Principles of Economy and Taxation* (1817), a work that pleaded for the mutual benefits of such a system, insisting that free trade did not disadvantage any country, since each had the opportunity to sell its own surplus and buy what it lacked. Ricardo's examples demonstrated the uselessness of maintaining imperial administrative control over the international system of trade. If England, Ricardo argued, manufactured better quality cloth at a cheaper cost than Portugal, while Portugal was able to produce wine with cheaper labor, and hence at a lesser price than England, then England would find it to its advantage to import the wine and export the cloth. This comparative advantage will endure, Ricardo argued, if both countries agreed to maintain their relative dependence on each other, for technical improvements could induce a certain country to produce all the products it consumes, which would in the end lead to rising prices in both countries. Ricardo argued that:

> Under a system of perfectly free commerce, each country naturally devotes its capital and labour to such employments as are most beneficial to each. This pursuit of individual advantage is admirably connected with the universal good of the whole. By stimulating industry, by regarding ingenuity, and by using most efficaciously the peculiar powers bestowed by nature, it distributes labour most effectively and most economically: while, by increasing the general mass of productions, it diffuses general benefit, and binds together by one common tie of interest and intercourse, the universal society of nations throughout the civilized world. It is this principle which determines that wine shall be made in France and Portugal, that corn shall be grown in America and Poland, and that hardware and other goods shall be manufactured in England. (Ricardo 1821, chap. 7, p. 11)

On the subject of colonial trade, Ricardo agreed essentially with Adam Smith that free trade was a better option than colonial monopoly for the "mother country" and for the colonies alike, because trade barriers and regulations inevitably brought about price distortions with far-reaching consequences:

> Foreign trade, then, whether fettered, encouraged, or free, will always continue, whatever may be the comparative difficulty of production in different countries; but it can only be regulated by altering the natural price, not the natural value, at which commodities can be produced in those countries, and that is effected by altering the distribution of the precious metals. This explanation confirms the opinion which I have elsewhere given, that there is not a tax, a bounty, or a prohibition, on the importation or exportation of commodities, which does not occasion a different distribution of the precious metals, and which does not, therefore, every where alter both the natural and the market price of commodities. (Ricardo 1821, chap. 25, p. 12)

Classical economists then opted, more often than not, for free trade against the trade monopoly brought about by imperial commercial requirements, arguing that free trade in the end benefited all parties, poor and rich participants alike, more than any taxes, barriers, and other protections could. While keen on keeping economics autonomous from politics, liberal economists were not oblivious to the political, social, and cultural implications of imperialism.

James Mill offered the most brilliant example of merging economic theory with reflections on the meaning and mission of empire. A proponent of free trade himself, Mill became so interested in British–Indian relations and the activities of the English East India Company that he spent twelve years on the subject. In his massive *History of India*, published in 1817, Mill argued that there was a certain hierarchy between countries according to their greater or lesser degree of adherence to the principles of reason and individual freedom cherished by all members of the Scottish Enlightenment, of which he was a member. India, in his thinking, had to be seen as a nation just emerging out of its barbarian stage, while England, as a more advanced country with respect to freedom and self-government, had a civilizing mission to fulfill. Mill later famously complained that the British Empire had become "a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes," nonetheless what he criticized were the failures of England's mission to civilize less advanced nations, not the principle that some countries have the duty to civilize others.

In an effort to reconcile free trade with the hierarchy of civilizations between nations, Mill criticized the trade monopoly of the East India Company and argued that all companies—British companies, that is—should be able

to compete on the Indian market; yet he defended the rule of a revamped East India Company as a better solution than direct government control over India, a solution that corresponded with his strict noninterventionist beliefs. He did recommend that officials of the East India Company familiarize themselves with the customs and culture of India, and he suggested a number of reforms, but ultimately Mill accepted imperialism. He argued for what he understood to be an enlightened, civilizing imperialism, advantageous to both England and India, with India benefiting especially from the spread of English values via commercial relations.

Mill thus put elements of the theory of free trade, which on the whole weighed against imperialism, in the service of a social and political argument in favor of imperialism. In this respect he followed the method of British utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) of judging all human actions, imperial enterprises included, according to their degree of utility or lack of utility to the nation, but also to humanity in general.

LIBERAL SOCIAL THEORIES OF IMPERIALISM

Social liberals were concerned with the balance of freedoms as much or more than with the balance of trade. International commerce and imperial expansion were to be judged according to their ability, or lack thereof, to expand freedom. The classical economists reasoned that the freedom of the market implied the freedom of the individuals, as free trade implied freedom from the controlling and regulating hand of the state in favor of the "invisible hand" of the market. The argument was often invoked by philosophers who battled feudal social hierarchies and the feudal ethos of conquest and domination, in keeping with Montesquieu's thesis that commercial societies were more conducive to social equity and peaceful coexistence than feudal societies.

Extended to the relations between nations, this thinking led to the conclusion that industrial and commercial nations, where the utilitarian ethos prevailed, should lead the nations that still clung to traditional, that is, in European terms, feudal values. This sort of international tutoring in political progress contributed to global peace and justified a sort of temporary imperialism, even though most liberals remained faithful to Adam Smith's thesis that the colonies failed to bring any long-term advantages to the mother countries.

Jeremy Bentham encouraged both the English and the French to get rid of the colonies and thus spare themselves the manifold danger of wars, corruption, and continuous useless litigation, benefits that came to reinforce the advantages of free trade. However, even Bentham admitted that some colonies were riper than others for independence; in his view the American

colonies, the West Indies included, were ready, which is why he advised France to grant them independence, while India was not.

Similarly, in his *History of India* James Mill stipulated that the Indians would be happier under British rule than under their own despotic kings, because they would be able to profit from the freedom and progress the British imparted to them. The universality of the principles of Enlightenment and the malleability of human nature made the civilizing of India possible and desirable. Moreover, once the Indians became civilized, that is, once notions such as practical reason, individual freedom, and constitutional government became the organizing principles of the Indian society, India would be in a position to lead the rest of Asia on the same road.

Far from making gains, the British economy was bound to lose in the process, on account of the high cost of running an empire, as Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham had so clearly proved. However, the benefits to the Indians, whose path toward progress was sped up, outweighed those losses. Most importantly, ancient reasons for war were eliminated, as peaceful interactions based on trade replaced relations based on conquest and domination. The utility of imperialism, in Mill's and Bentham's view, derived from its contribution to the formation of a peaceful liberal global order.

It must be stressed that Mill makes it clear that what makes Britain more advanced than India are its ideas, freedoms, and spirit of enterprise, not a racial superiority of any kind. In principle, it was just as desirable that India rule Britain if by chance the Indians became more advanced in terms of freedoms and government. As the situation stood in his time, Mill believed that it was desirable and useful to both sides for Britain to rule, that is, to guide India, on the condition that Britain would let go as soon as India reached the desired stage of political maturity.

French liberals who admired the British system approved of British imperialism on the grounds that it spread liberty. Thus French author Madame de Staël (1766–1817) defended British imperialism, although she, along with her friend and fellow liberal Benjamin Constant (1767–1830) reproved French imperialism as practiced by Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821). "England," wrote Madame de Staël, "has adopted the principle of governing the inhabitants of the country according to their own laws. It may be hoped that the example of the English will sufficiently form these people so that they may one day claim independence. All enlightened men in England would approve the loss of India through the very benefits the government has bestowed there" (Staël 1964, p. 358). And, taking a leaf from Adam Smith's book, she continued:

This Oriental empire is virtually a luxury; it contributes more to splendor than to real strength. England has lost its American colony and trade has been increased by it. If the colonies still remaining to them declared themselves independent, it would still maintain its naval and commercial superiority, because it has within itself a source of action, progress, and endurance that always puts it above circumstances. (Staël 1964, p. 358)

By contrast, Napoleonic imperialism was inhibiting the emancipation of the conquered peoples, which is why Madame de Staël and her circle opposed it forcefully.

In conclusion, classic liberals theorized that free trade was the preferred option for international relations, rather then imperialism, with its built-in governmental controls and trade monopolies. They also believed that trade rather than imperial domination would bring about global peace. However, they agreed that in order to spread the vision of a global liberal world, functioning according to the virtues of liberty, autonomous individualism, property, and peaceful commerce, empire was the best available tool for making these values accepted around the world. In ideal terms, then, classical liberal theory sees empire as a short-term economic anomaly, the utility of which is to be measured by the spread of liberal values around the world and the subsequent formation of a global liberal order.

While, in this view, there was no doubt that European, and especially British, political and social norms were superior to those of the colonies, there was no hint of racial superiority in the writings of the classic liberals. Later, during the nineteenth century, however, as European racial superiority became part of the discourse on empire, the goal of spreading liberal values became the British author Rudyard Kipling's (1865–1936) famed "white man's burden," which, resting on the illiberal hypothesis of racial superiority, entirely changed the substance of the discussion.

Assumptions of ethnic or racial superiority/inferiority subsequently gave cover to aggressive policies of brutal conquest and all manner of ill-treatment of the native populations. The focus on superior/inferior races made even luminaries of liberalism lapse into illiberal calls for domination. Thus the French historian and philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), while decrying the dismal record of the French administration in Algeria, still concluded that power should remain in French hands, by force if necessary, on account of the inferior capabilities of the Algerians to rule themselves properly.

Awareness of the exploitative and oppressive imperial policies of the British government led the philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) to restate the terms of liberal theory on imperialism. Spencer continued to advocate the fundamentally beneficial role of laissez-faire trade and individual competition, in the belief that the free market was the best organizer of social life, because it demanded and then rewarded with the greatest precision services and contributions to the general good. On the subject of imperialism, Spencer abhorred state-sponsored, militaristic imperialism, which resulted in oppression, injustice, and brutality, all topped by market distortions, a system that could not but push both the colonized and the colonizers into barbarism. However, he considered that individual groups settling in far-off lands, on the model of the Puritans settling in America, ran none of the risks of state colonization.

Spencer's work, continued by economist J. A. Hobson (1858–1940), saw in the nineteenth-century imperialism that merged high finance and military might a form of neomercantilism, with all its ills, economic, social, and moral. The more this new imperialism departed from the liberal ethos, the more vicious, militaristic, and unjust it became, in addition to benefiting nobody other than the upper classes, who were the only ones to benefit from the trade protections and interventionist policies of imperial governments.

The liberal theories of imperialism encountered opposition from several corners soon after they were elaborated. National economists emphasized the need for trade protections and exploitation of colonies as the interests of the mother country dictated. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Marxist theorists pointed to the exploitation of the colonies and deemed liberal ideals a fig leaf barely hiding naked domination and pillaging of weaker countries by the powerful ones. The supposedly good intention of advancing freedom was in fact bringing nothing but despoliation and inequality, with the result of making indigenous populations into a vast global proletarian class. This view of imperialism, already sketched out by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), became the major and most fertile critique of liberal theories of imperialism. These arguments articulate, to this day, the dominant critical discourse on imperialism.

Finally, with the rise of cultural anthropology in the second half of the twentieth century, the very goal of spreading a certain set of political values, be they admirable in themselves, fell into disrepute among historians and other observers of imperialism. Liberal views on imperialism are currently criticized for advocating the adoption of particular political and social values over the cultural codes and system of values of the colonized peoples, in short for pursuing a racist agenda under the guise of spreading progress, itself viewed as a questionable endeavor.

THE PHYSIOCRATS

During the mid-1700s, a group of French economic theorists known as the physiocrats played an instrumental role in the growth of economic science. Also known as "the sect" or "the economists," the physiocrats coined the phrase "laissez-faire, laissez-passer," which means, "let [commerce] follow its course, let [merchandise] pass." They put agriculture at the center of the ideal economic system, believed that land was the root of all wealth, advocated a single land tax, and adamantly opposed trade barriers. Freedom of trade, in their view, was bound to increase the wealth of the nation, because capital and goods were allowed to move freely as the state gave up its interventionist habits.

François Quesnay (1694–1774) was the founder and leader of physiocracy, which means "rule of nature." It was he who argued that land and agriculture served as the basis of all wealth. While he did not condemn industry, Quesnay argued that only agriculture could produce a surplus, which he called *produit net* (net product), and that a nation could not prosper economically if it did not completely support agriculture. This axiom was the very

nucleus of physiocracy. Victor Riqueti, Marquis de Mirabeau (1715–1789), a French soldier and devoted follower of Quesnay's, was the main author of the physiocratic doctrine calling for a single land tax. According to some, his 1763 work *La philosophie rurale* is among the best statements of early physiocracy.

Expanding upon the contributions of both Quesnay and Mirabeau were Paul Pierre le Mercier de la Rivière (1720–1794) and Pierre-Samuel du Pont de Nemours (1739–1817). It was le Mercier de la Rivière who promoted the concept of "nature's plan" in relation to the state. A businessman and adventurer, du Pont de Nemours founded and published *Journal de l'Agriculture, des Arts et des Finances* until 1766. He also coedited the journal *Ephémèrides du Citoyen* with fellow physiocrat Abbé Nicholas Baudeau (1730–1792).

Other physiocrats included the French economist Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781), who modified physiocratic theories and had a major impact on Scottish economist Adam Smith, author of *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776).

The classical liberal vision on imperialism was intimately connected to Enlightenment notions of freedom, utility, and progress. It certainly sinned by overoptimism in the possibility and, indeed, the need to create a global free market as a prerequisite for global peace. It also postulated the universality of liberal values and counted on the malleability of human nature, with no regard for the strength and endurance of local customs and cultural practices. Liberals also often failed to properly recognize the scale of dismal pillage and inhumane exploitation that imperial policies carried out, frequently hiding behind an ossified liberal discourse.

Liberal theories on imperialism are nowadays relegated to the history of ideas, and rarely, if ever, invoked for any lessons individuals in the twenty-first century might be able to learn or emulate. However, the continuous drive toward globalization and global markets under free-trade agreements, the oft-repeated belief that trade and not aid is what will help poor countries develop, and trade arrangements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) all echo the basic assumptions of classic liberalism. Finally, the great success of Niall

Ferguson's six-part television series *Empire* on the British Empire airing on the BBC in 2003, which integrates many points of the classical social liberal theories, demonstrates a certain renewed interest in liberal views on empire.

SEE ALSO *Enlightenment Thought; Imperialism, Free Trade; Imperialism, Marxist Theories of; Neocolonialism.*

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Doina Pasca Harsanyi

IMPERIALISM, MARXIST THEORIES OF

In the spring of 1845, a young German philosopher and journalist scribbled eleven epigrams on the back of a piece of paper. They were published some forty years later by the executor of his estate. The last of these pithy comments has become one of the world's best known one-liners: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point, however, is to change it." With uncharacteristic clarity, Karl Marx (1818–1883) had set the agenda for thousands of his contemporaries and hundreds of millions of people in subsequent generations.

Changing the world is what Marxism is all about, and yet neither Karl Marx nor his life-long colleague and executor Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) ever developed a theory of imperialism. Instead, their theoretical work focused on explaining how capitalism's complex development creates the necessary preconditions for socialism. As young revolutionaries they were committed to the radical wing of a largely liberal-nationalist reform movement that would rise up to challenge the legitimacy of governments from London to Vienna in the spring and summer of 1848. In this context, Marx and Engels considered the most urgent question to be the struggle of the emerging working class against the industrial bourgeoisie. In contrast, imperialism, by then centuries old, appeared outmoded and in decline. After all, just in their short lifetimes, all the mainland Spanish colonies in America achieved independence, while the only new empire had resulted from the French conquest of Algeria.

In the wake of the defeat of the revolutions of 1848, Marx and Engels emigrated to England, where from 1852 to 1863 they regularly wrote articles on world affairs for the *New York Daily Tribune*. These commentaries on current events cover a remarkably wide range of topics and include their only published work that directly relates to imperialism. These articles are critical syntheses of European press coverage of the major issues of the day, supplemented by their own background reading and research. The main imperial topics treated include Ireland, the renewal of the Honourable East India Company's charter in 1853, the "Eastern Question" as

it degenerated into the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Anglo-Persian War of 1856, the Second Opium War (1856–1860), the Indian "Mutiny" of 1857 to 1858, and the Spanish invasion of Morocco (1858–1860).

At best, these articles offer occasional theoretical insights scattered amidst denunciations of "Oriental despotism" fueled by an abidingly Eurocentric humanist questioning: "Can mankind fulfill its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia?" (Marx 1853/1979, vol. 12, p. 132). On the whole, the image conveyed is how the destructive creativity of capitalism forces needed change, but for the wrong reasons. The historical significance of this for their primary concern of revolutionary action in Europe was summarized in a letter that Engels sent Marx in October 1858: "the English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that the ultimate aim of this most bourgeois of all nations would appear to be the possession, *alongside* the bourgeoisie, of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat. In the case of a nation which exploits the entire world this is, of course, justified to some extent" (Engels 1958/1983, vol. 40, p. 344).

A century later, out of this eclectic body of journalism, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would compile collections on topical questions of theory: *On Wars of Independence, On India, On Colonialism, On the Irish Question,* and so on. These collections posit an ahistorical theoretical coherency that neither author would have recognized, and that the articles cannot support. When Marxist theories of imperialism did develop, it would not be through journalism, but by direct engagements in anti-imperialist struggles. Despite their serious flaws, the *Daily Tribune* articles remain historically interesting. Nuanced, contextualized, yet differing, critical analyses of them have been written by the historian V. G. Kiernan (1974) and the literary critic Aijaz Ahmad (1992).

The absence of a sustained theoretical engagement with imperialism by the cofounders of Marxism does not mean that their work offers little of interest. Indeed, some of the most important theoretical work on imperialism is in the Marxist tradition, precisely because it can build on concepts and processes first articulated by Marx and Engels. Four of their ideas have proven to be of particular relevance to subsequent theoretical debates on imperialism.

The first relevant idea is their recognition of the primacy of town–country relations: "the whole economic history of society is summed up in the movement of this antithesis" (Marx 1867/1967, vol. 1, p. 352). The second relevant idea is also spatial. Marx argued that in the transition to capitalism, capital reaches out to reinforce

or even introduce older forms of labor mobilization and discipline. From the seventeenth-century imposition of serfdom upon eastern European peasants, as the estates they worked became supply regions for western grain markets, to the rapid expansion of slave plantations in the American South producing cotton for the textile industry in Manchester, England, capitalist expansion was the enemy of freedom.

Third, Marx drew a distinction between *merchant capital* and *industrial capital*. Merchants accumulate capital by exploiting differences in the sale price that are temporal, usually seasonal, or spatial, usually between markets. Industrialists accumulate capital through the appropriation of surplus value—the value created by labor but not paid out in wages. So merchant capital is in the realm of circulation, while industrial capital is in production. As long as the commodity being bought or sold by the merchant is not an industrial product, and in the early history of capitalism it rarely was, merchant capital is engaged in what Marx called *primitive accumulation.*

The systematic transfer of wealth generated by the trades in precious metals, slaves, and opium were examples of primitive accumulation. Merchants are accumulating at the expense of noncapitalist societies. When, however, the merchant sells an industrial commodity, this fuels a systemic contradiction within capitalist society itself, because the merchant is appropriating some of the surplus value created in industry. In the nineteenth century, these tensions often took the form of industrial producers criticizing "unproductive" merchants and the banks they controlled.

The fourth relevant Marxist concept builds on the analytical primacy accorded to the capital goods sector within industrial society. For Marx, the simple application of machine tools to the production of consumer goods did not mean that a society had entered the era of modern industry. He defined a mature capitalist economy as one where machine tools were used to produce machines. Marx argued that in mature capitalism the capital goods sector appropriates from the consumer goods sector a substantial part of the value added in the manufacture of commodities. This transfer occurs through the high prices charged for capital goods. This systemic constraint leaves the consumer goods sector only two options: either cut costs or reduce competition and raise prices.

With the rapid growth of colonial empires following the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) that sanctioned a European division of Africa, imperialism became for many Marxists a question of colonial policy. Should socialists support colonial expansion as a necessary step in historical evolution? Generally, Marxists considered that social revolution in Europe was the necessary precondition for socialism elsewhere. This assumption

followed logically from the revolutionary primacy Marxism accords to the industrial working class, but it also reflected contemporary racial and cultural prejudices. As Engels put it in 1894 when discussing whether the communal basis of Russian peasant agriculture might permit Russia to bypass capitalism:

> Only when the capitalist economy has been relegated to the history books in its homeland and in the countries were it flourished, only when the backward countries see from this example "how it's done," how the productive forces of modern industry are placed in the service of all as social property—only then can they tackle this shortened process of development. (Engels 1894/1990, vol. 27, p. 426)

In this context, two divergent intellectual contributions stand out. The first is the struggle by the German social democratic leader Karl Kautsky (1854–1938) to convince his comrades that the rise of corporate concentration in the form of cartels and trusts, militarism, and the export of capital to colonial and semicolonial regions of the world, which was the hallmark of the new colonialism, were all the result of the low wages paid to European and American workers. In *Socialism and Colonial Policy* (1907), Kautsky argued that the limited market for consumer goods caused by these low wages meant that continued growth under capitalism required the imposition of monopolistic pricing policies, unproductive investments in a suicidal arms race, and new forms of superexploitation in the colonial world. Thus, opposing colonialism was an integral part of the struggle for socialism and against war.

The second highly original contribution was *Accumulation of Capital* (1913) by Rosa Luxemburg (1870–1919), who was born and educated in Polish Russia but was politically active in Germany. Luxemburg was caustically critical of the underconsumption theory used by Kautsky. She argued that the central problem lay elsewhere. The question that needed answering for her was why capitalist societies continue to grow despite the internal contradictions between sectors and types of capital. She concluded that Marx's analysis of capital was fundamentally flawed. The accumulation of capital and so the continued growth of the system rested on the continual subordination of new areas of the world to capitalist domination. Thus, capitalist growth requires intensified globalization. Militant internationalism was, therefore, the only correct revolutionary strategy, while the mass strike was its most effective tactic.

As influential as these theorists were, they were soon overshadowed by the publication of a slim volume by Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known as Lenin (1870–1924): *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*

(1917). Although this work is a significant contribution to Marxism, there can be little doubt that its impact was as great as it was because its author would within the year lead the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

Lenin's characterization of this new stage of capitalism incorporated numerous elements of earlier work. Key ideas had already been developed by Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938) in his *Imperialism and World Economy*, for which Lenin wrote an introduction in 1915. Lenin's *Imperialism* represented nonetheless a significant break with the treatment of imperialism as simply a question of colonial policy. Indeed, Lenin's theory of imperialism does not require there to be colonies at all. His theory deals primarily with changes in the socioeconomic structures of the leading capitalist powers.

For Lenin, imperialism had a number of characteristic features. Taking a term from a major analysis of Austrian banking published in 1910 by the social democrat Rudolf Hilferding (1877–1941), Lenin argued that imperialism meant the dominance of *finance capital*. Unlike Hilferding, for whom this meant banks controlling industry, Lenin argued that finance capital represented a synthesis of merchant and industrial capital. This was only possible, he argued, because of the rise of monopolies in industry, utilities, and transportation. These firms required not only privileged access to capital markets, but were large enough to create cartels to fix prices and divvy up the world economy amongst themselves. Consolidating control of the world meant that the export of capital, rather than the export of industrially produced commodities, increasingly characterized international trade.

These fundamental changes in the economic relations that had characterized capitalism in its competitive stage meant new social groups emerged. In the centers of finance capital, new bourgeois oligarchies developed that controlled the commanding heights of their respective economies, while an aristocracy of labor emerged within the working class that supported imperial policies. Lenin considered the social democratic leaders, like Kautsky, who supported their respective government's efforts in World War I (1914–1918), to have their social and political basis amongst this strata of the working class. This historic "betrayal" of proletarian class interests made them the particular target of Bolshevik attacks both during and after the war.

In colonial and semicolonial countries, Lenin argued that capital exports created a division within the bourgeoisie between those who were beholden to imperial interests and those who favored a more autonomous economic development and so were opposed to finance capital. This distinction between a comprador bourgeoisie and a national bourgeoisie, and the relationships that

revolutionary forces should maintain with these differing factions, was at the heart of Marxist strategic debates in the 1920s.

At the Second Congress of the Third International (Communist International, or Comintern) in Moscow in July 1920, Lenin advanced the position that in colonial and semicolonial countries the revolutionary struggle had first to carry out a bourgeois democratic revolution before moving to social revolution. This position was challenged by Manabendra Nath Roy (1887–1954), founder of both the Mexican and Indian Communist parties. Roy defended a Luxemburgist antinationalist line, arguing that the toiling masses of workers and peasants were the only consequential revolutionary force in Asia and had no need to align themselves with bourgeois nationalist movements. Although his position was adopted as a supplementary thesis to Lenin's own position paper and Roy would occupy prominent positions in the Communist International until being purged in 1929, the main thrust of Comintern policy stressed the importance of a two-stage revolution and considered, in the counterrevolutionary climate of the 1920s, the struggle against British and French imperial interests to be primary. This was clearest in the debates over revolutionary strategy in China.

Under the leadership of the Kuomintang (KMT, also known as the Guomindong or Nationalist Party), a bourgeois nationalist alliance led first by Sun Yat-Sen (Sun Zhongshan, 1866–1925) and then Chiang Kai-Shek (Jiang Jieshi, 1887–1975), a strong anti-imperialist mass movement had developed in southern China. The fledgling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was directed by the Comintern to enter into a strategic alliance with the KMT. This subordination of the class struggle to anti-imperialism was facilitated by a theory of Li Dazhao (1888–1927), cofounder of the CCP and a historian and librarian at Beijing University, that imperialism had "proletarianized" China. The implication of this analysis, which strongly influenced Mao Zedong's (1893–1976) thinking, was that a multiclass alliance might seamlessly pass from a bourgeois democratic, anti-imperialist stage to one of social revolution. In April 1927 this alliance collapsed when the KMT massacred an estimated six thousand Communists in the streets of Shanghai.

Speaking to the First Latin American Communist Conference in June 1929, José Carlos Mariátegui (1894–1930), the leading Peruvian revolutionary of his generation, observed: "The betrayal by the Chinese bourgeoisie and the failure of the Kuomintang have not yet been understood in their full magnitude. Their capitalist style of nationalism (one not related to social justice or theory) demonstrates how little we can trust the revolutionary

nationalist sentiments of the bourgeoisie, even in countries like China" (Mariátegui 1929/1996).

Mariátegui went on to argue that this experience highlights the importance of concretely examining the history and politics of each specific country, so that what was an appropriate strategy in Central America, where patriotic feelings were shaped by the numerous American invasions, was not at all appropriate for a country like Argentina, with its large landholders and extensive bourgeoisie. In the case of Peru, specifically, and the Andean countries more generally, Mariátegui argued in his *Seven Essays of Interpretation of Peruvian Reality* (1928) that a revolutionary movement that does not recognize the rights of indigenous peoples is doomed to failure. Furthermore, he argued that communal institutions within indigenous societies offered a template for the development of socialism. There was no suggestion here of the need to wait for the Europeans to show "how it's done."

But old attitudes died hard. In 1936, at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow, there was a chance encounter between Maurice Thorez (1900–1964), the leader of the French Communist Party, and Nguyen Ai Quoc, better known as Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969), the Vietnamese revolutionary. Thorez assured Ho that after the revolution in France, everything would be so much better in the Indo-Chinese colonies. Ho responded: "I hope you don't mind if we don't wait."

Long years in a fascist prison allowed Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), cofounder and early leader of the Italian Communist Party, to deepen his understanding of why one of the most militant workers' movements in Europe had failed to stop fascism. Gramsci argued that the most advanced form of capitalism was not finance capitalism, but *Fordism*, named after the type of mass production pioneered by American automobile manufacturer Henry Ford (1863–1947). This phenomenon, then uniquely American, combined assembly lines and mass consumerism and was based on a cultural dominance that made modern, individualist, bourgeois values appear to be common sense. According to Gramsci, this universalizing and invasive Western cultural hegemony, with its related political economy, contrasted sharply with the nature of finance capital in France, where it rested on an alliance with small proprietors, and in Italy, where it relied on extensive parasitical classes "with no essential function in the world of production" (Gramsci 1971, p. 281).

This remarkable contribution to contemporary Marxism went largely unheeded at the time. Instead, at their 1936 Congress, the Comintern formally defined fascism as the "open dictatorship of finance capital." This effectively denied any qualitative difference between bourgeois democracies and fascist regimes, so when war broke out in September 1939 it was classified as an "imperialist" war. Only when Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June of 1941 did defense of the "socialist motherland" justify a Communist reengagement in the antifascist struggle.

Such was not the case, however, in China, where a more voluntarist form of Marxism was developing in the isolated Communist bastion of Yenan. In the 1930s and 1940s, Mao considered there to be "two big mountains lying like dead weight on the Chinese people: imperialism and feudalism" (Mao Zedong 1956, vol. 4, p. 317). They were to be removed through a national front that resisted the Japanese invasion, while simultaneously carrying out land reform. Thus, the social dimensions of this anti-imperialist struggle were not conceived as part of a struggle against capitalism, but rather as part of a necessary first stage that would build a people's democracy. Indeed, the CCP would not formally enter into the second stage, that of the building of socialism, until the Great Leap Forward in 1958.

Ironically, in the increasingly polarized world of the Cold War, it was this Chinese rearticulation of Lenin's two stages that provided the basis for a third way, when in April 1955, in the words of the American author Richard Wright (1908–1960), "the despised, the insulted, the hurt, the dispossessed—in short, the underdogs of the human race" met in Bandung, Indonesia (Wright 1956, p. 12). Although the nonaligned movement would not formally be created until 1961, this early meeting of Asian and African leaders consecrated the idea of a "third world" where a national democratic struggle against imperialism and indigenous forces of reaction was the principal revolutionary task.

This rejection of the primacy of class struggle against the bourgeoisie had a direct impact on revolutionary movements in Asia's most populous countries. In India, where the world's first democratically elected Communist government took office in Kerala in 1957, it contributed to the extraordinarily divisive nature of Marxist politics. In Indonesia, which had the third largest Communist Party in the world, support for President Sukarno (1901–1970) ended brutally in April 1967 with the slaughter of an estimated one million Communists by the military led by General Suharto (b. 1921), operating in close cooperation with the American government.

Despite these failures, the extreme bitterness of the Sino-Soviet dispute led the CCP to equate the Soviet Union with the United States as a hegemonic superpower. In the foreign policy of the "three worlds," first articulated by Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997), who went on to become China's "paramount leader," anti-imperialism came to mean opposing any Soviet-supported movement in a third world country. The effects of this policy were

disastrous, nowhere more so than in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, where it fuelled protracted civil wars that claimed the lives of millions.

Since the 1960s, Marxist theories of imperialism have developed primarily outside organized movements for social change. Academics, in particular historians, economists, and sociologists, have been prominent in this new theoretical work. This is a historically significant change, for as Marxist theories of imperialism have gained in precision, focus, and historical complexity, they have lost in political influence and indeed relevance. Three intellectual clusters will serve to illustrate the richness and diversity of this neo-Marxist literature: the development of underdevelopment and world-systems approaches; the *Monthly Review*; and the work on *Unequal Exchange*.

Influenced by Paul Baran's *The Political Economy of Growth* (1957), in the mid-1960s André Gunder Frank (1929–2005) pioneered the concept of the development of *underdevelopment* to critique prevailing economic aid policies to Latin America. Those policies distinguished between developed and undeveloped economies and largely argued that by following the development path taken by wealthy countries the undeveloped could catch up. Frank said there are no undeveloped economies, there are only developed and underdeveloped ones. Both are intimately related through century-old processes whereby the developed economies expanded by actively underdeveloping the rest of the world. His analysis stressed the importance of trade and challenged the legitimacy of a specifically national focus to deal with what he argued was clearly an international process of global restructuring. Walter Rodney (1942–1980) significantly expanded the analysis with his 1972 book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.*

This much more historical understanding of imperialism was consistent with the theoretical framework of the *longue durée* (long duration) developed by Fernand Braudel (1902–1985), editor of the most influential European history journal, *Les Annales* (The Annals). Braudel stressed the significance of the very long geographic time and the multiple generations of social time over the fleeting moments of individuals' lives or events. Immanuel Wallerstein (b. 1930), a historical sociologist, in his three-volume *Modern World-System* (1974–1988) developed Braudel's concepts and adapted the Marxist distinction between town and country, to his explanation of how differing, internally coherent, parts of the world interacted. He argued between 1500 and 1800 a spatial hierarchy of core economies emerged that controlled resource-producing peripheral areas.

Since the 1970s, there has been a sustained and active debate within the social sciences and humanities

of advanced capitalist academe on the merits of this world-systems approach. Suffice it to say here that most participants in this debate do not draw any clear distinction between capitalism and imperialism, which they think of as largely coterminous, while only a minority would consider their work a contribution to Marxism.

Such is certainly not the case for the group of scholars and activists associated with *Monthly Review*. Since its founding by the noted economist Paul Sweezy (1910–2004) and popular historian Leo Huberman (1903–1968) in 1949, the *Monthly Review* collective has set itself the task of analyzing in accessible prose anti-imperialist struggles around the world. For as Sweezy and Baran explained in their *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (1966), which was dedicated to the Latin American revolutionary leader Che Guevara (1928–1967), the primary struggle has shifted from the class struggle within advanced capitalism to the third world's struggle against imperialism.

This third worldism soon became the most widely shared position among nonaligned Marxists in the advanced capitalist world. In their analysis of imperialism, Sweezy and his colleagues stressed the significance of transnational corporations. Their analysis of the systemic need for unproductive military investments and planned obsolescence in consumer goods, although evocative of older theories of underconsumption, has permitted the development of an innovative and articulate environmental critique.

The failure of so many newly independent countries to redress the economic disparities with their former colonial powers led in the 1960s and 1970s to a profound critical reassessment of the nature of international trade and the difference between growth and development. Central to this work was Arghiri Emmanuel's (1911–2001) study of the imperialism of trade, *L'échange inégal* (Unequal Exchange, 1969), which showed how contemporary capitalism inverts the assumptions underlying David Ricardo's (1772-1823) law of comparative advantage. As a result, increased trade simultaneously creates poverty and generates wealth, but in differing parts of the world.

The African economist Samir Amin (b. 1931) has structurally analyzed this unequal development (*Le développement inégal,* 1973) of peripheral societies. According to Amin, subsequent globalization has done nothing to reduce this core-peripheral divide. Indeed, it has permitted its consolidation, through the emergence of monopolies over technology, military hardware, communications and culture, finance, and institutions of international governance. These monopolies systemically favor advanced capitalist countries.

Since 1999, the ecological and human cost of neo-liberal globalization has given rise to an opposition movement around the world. This challenge to a particularly virulent form of imperialism is the first in more than a century not to draw explicitly on the Marxist tradition. This disjuncture speaks eloquently to the ethical and political failure of Marxist attempts to build socialist societies in the twentieth century. One can well understand why a new generation who believes a better world is possible would want to distance themselves from such a tragic legacy. Yet to achieve a better world requires a critical understanding of how power relationships work in this world and so this new struggle will require many of the analytical tools first developed as Marxist theories of imperialism.

SEE ALSO *Imperialism, Liberal Theories of; Modern World-System Analysis.*

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INCA EMPIRE

The origins of the Inca civilization lie in the Cuzco region of modern-day Peru, though some archaeologists maintain that its beginnings are also to be found in the region previously dominated by the Huari and in Tiahuanaco. In any case, among the various groups who constituted small kingdoms in the region of Cuzco during the thirteenth century, only the Incas managed to establish cultural hegemony. The Incas gradually consolidated a kingdom thanks to the military conquest of neighboring populations and by around 1400 had created a state. The most powerful rival they had to overcome were the Chancas, who occupied the Pampas River valley and formed a powerful coalition with other groups in order to stop the Incas' economic and military onslaught. After the victorious battle of 1440 against the Chancas, the Sapa Inca Pachacuti, considered by most historians to be a key figure in Inca expansionism, changed his name to *Pachacútec Inca Yupanqui,* meaning "reformer of the world" or "savior of the Earth."

By around 1450 the Inca army dominated the territory of the Colla people; following this, they reached Arequipa on the southern coast. In the north, they

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

arrived at the city of Cajamarca, after which the Chimú capital was defeated and the march toward the north was completed with the conquest of Quito, which was annexed along with the lands of other tribes from present-day Ecuador. In 1471, after Inca troops had returned to Cuzco, Pachacútec Inca Yupanqui was succeeded by his son, Túpac Yupanqui, who extended Inca conquests in the southern Andes into regions encompassing present-day Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina. Túpac's son, Huayna Cápac, sent numerous expeditions to the north, to put an end to the uprisings of various tribes reluctant to accept Inca authority. Such revolts were nearly continuous and highlight the difficulty of controlling and administrating a far-flung empire made up of populations with so many different languages and ethnic origins.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INCA EMPIRE

Politically, the Inca Empire was a mixture of absolute monarchy, theocratic power, and agrarian collectivism, organized around a centralized bureaucratic state at the service of the ruling class. The Inca king (the *Sapa Inca* or "Unique Inca") was treated as a divine being whose authority was above any law. The Incas themselves called their empire *Tahuantinsuyu* or "The four parts together."

Each part of the Tahuantinsuyu was governed by an *apo*, a close relative of the Sapa Inca, who served as a viceroy, while also being a member of the council of state and an advisor on imperial affairs. The organization of the Inca Empire rested on certain key elements: a theocratic concept of power; the organization of tribute from subject peoples, taken in labor services; and the tripartite division of land into the lands of the Sapa Inca, the lands of the Sun (the priests' lands), and the lands of subject peoples collectively called the *ayllu*.

The *ayllu* formed the base of Andean and Inca social organization. It was a clan based on ties of kinship, and a community bonded by shared landholding and religious beliefs, under leaders whose power varied with the size and number of *ayllus* under their authority. For the Incas, the *ayllu* was a vital building block of social organization, because it served as the entity that could satisfy the work tribute required by the Sapa Inca, which it delivered through the *mita*, or work draft.

Andean societies were territorially integrated units but often took the form of what have been called *vertical archipelagos*, a term referring to the practice of establishing settlements at high altitudes in the mountainous environment. These vertical archipelagos comprised the *ayllus*' ancestral homeland—the core of tribal identity—and also served as outlying agrarian settlements where farmers specialized in raising various types of produce for distribution and exchange among the dispersed branches of the tribe. The Incas took their tribute from the lands of the *ayllus*, which they set aside for this purpose, and then "gave back" to the community in return for the goods its labor produced on these lands. In this way, the Incas used a notion of redistribution common in the Andean world, where the organization of production and exchange was based on the cooperation of kinship groups. This enabled the Incas to represent their exploitation of others as simply an extension of the family obligations on which Andean peasant communities were built. The bulk of tribute goods collected from the peasants went toward provisioning the army, the bureaucracy, and other branches of the imperial state, but a portion was kept back in storehouses and released in times of famine.

The Incas were able to dominate their neighbors thanks to their organizing capabilities and their ability to assimilate different cultures. One example of this would be the integration of the *curacas* or tribal lords through the establishment of personal relationships with the Sapa Inca, symbolized in the exchange of presents. Many of the treaties that linked ethnic groups with the government in Cuzco were not the fruit of conquests but of offers of special prerogatives for joining the Empire, combined with the threat of force. Should any group

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Atahualpa as the Prisoner of the Spaniards. *Francisco Pizarro's forces captured the Inca leader Atahualpa in 1532 and held him for ransom. Although the Incas paid the ransom in gold and silver, Pizarro had Atahualpa executed.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/ ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM LIMA/DAGLI ORTI. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

refuse, they would be attacked by the Inca army. Hence, it is clear that the Inca Empire had a fragile equilibrium, constantly threatened by the possibility of a refusal that would require military intervention.

One of the main strategies for maintaining the cohesion of such a vast territory was the imposition of a common language—Quechua, the language of the political and administrative elite—which subject populations were obliged to use alongside their own local languages. Another strategy was the *mitmaq* or forced migration, through which whole communities, sometimes numbering thousands of families, were sent to distant and already colonized regions so that they could be assimilated into the dominant culture and become less resistant to Inca power. The census of subject populations was another potent tool for controlling conquered peoples, as was the very efficient network of roadways used by the *chasquis* or imperial messengers to link all major urban

centers and provinces. In the absence of the wheel, transportation depended on manpower, though Andean societies found in the llama, a cameloid, an animal well suited to carrying light cargoes, as well as supplying meat and wool. The Incas also sought to use religious practice as a force for binding the empire. The conquered populations were obliged to convert to the official cult, devoted to Inti, the Sun. But this could coexist with the continuation of cults based around local divinities. All conquered populations had to convert to the main religion of the empire, that is, the adoration of Inti. But this could coexist with preexisting cults based around local divinities. Similarly, the conquered populations had to learn and use the Inca language, Quechua, but they were also allowed to preserve their local dialects. The Incas thereby gained the conquered populations' gratitude and attachment while ultimately controlling them. But the Incas insisted on veneration of the Sapa Inca, the highest religious and political authority.

The Inca nobles shared in the Sapa Inca's power and in the legitimacy conferred by religion because their lineages were connected by blood ties to the royal dynasty. The business of government was turned into a dynastic monopoly based on privileged knowledge, as the absence of a system of writing restricted important information to a close oligarchy, who had access to the records kept on knotted cords or *quipus*. So long as the belief in the divine origin of the Inca dynasty and in its right to extensive privileges could be upheld, the edifice of the state would remain in place.

DEFEAT BY THE SPANISH

The arrival of the Spanish was preceded by the diffusion of smallpox, which had spread from areas of Spanish settlement in the Caribbean region and weakened the population, even killing the Sapa Inca Huayna Cápac in 1525. His death, and that of his immediate heir, led to a political crisis within the empire, in the form of a fratricidal fight for succession between the two descendants of the deceased Inca: Huáscar and Atahualpa. To strike a balance, Huáscar was offered the throne in Cuzco and Atahualpa was offered Quito, the second city of the empire. But this division of power did not prevent conflict and a concomitant weakening of Inca power at a time when a new and unimagined threat had arrived from outside the empire.

In 1532 Francisco Pizarro arrived in Peru with around 170 soldiers and sought to make contact with the Incas. To do so, he and his men headed toward the Inca town at Cajamarca where Atahualpa's army was resting during their march southward to take control of Cuzco. Pizarro took advantage of Atahualpa's misplaced confidence in Inca superiority to capture him, and then

exploited divisions among the Incas and subject peoples to overthrow the Inca kingdom. The Spanish entered Cajamarca without resistance because they were small in number and were expected to pose no danger. Once there, they captured Atahualpa, after killing most of the population of the city, and accepted his offer of a fabulous treasure in exchange for his life. This did not prevent his assassination, however, and having executed Atahualpa, the Spaniards then turned to his relatives for allies, placing them on the Inca throne as puppet kings, while making alliances with ethnic leaders who saw Spanish rule as preferable to that of the Incas. The conquest of the Inca Empire was, therefore, a multilateral war, between and among the Incas, their subject populations, and the European invaders. The war effectively ended the Tahuantinsuyu, though for some years the Spaniards sought to maintain a façade of Inca leadership in order to strengthen their own authority.

SEE ALSO *Peru Under Spanish Rule; Pizarro, Francisco.*

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Cristina Blanco Sío-López

INDEPENDENCE AND DECOLONIZATION, MIDDLE EAST

In the decades immediately following the conclusion of World War II, European formal empires in the Middle East began to unravel. France retreated from Syria and Lebanon in 1946 after numerous catastrophic engagements with local peoples. The British withdrew from Palestine in 1948, leaving behind the new state of Israel, which was carved out of a large portion of Palestine; from most of the rest was created Jordan. A series of treaties and agreements led to British withdrawal from Egypt and Iraq; as a result of one of these agreements, Sudan also gained independence. While the formal empires of European countries seemingly disintegrated in the 1950s, the former colonial powers, now joined by the United States, continued to maintain a presence in the region. Britain and the United States focused on controlling the production of oil. Such interests now had the added dimension of being pursued within the larger framework of geopolitical tensions created by the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. Indeed, the independence process has been very complex in the Middle East. According to historian Albert Hourani, "It would be better . . . to see the history of this period as that of a complex interaction: of the will of ancient and stable societies to reconstitute themselves, preserving what they had of their own while making the necessary changes in order to survive in the modern world increasingly organized on other principles, and where the centers of world power have lain for long, and still lie, outside the Middle East" (Hourani, Khoury, and Wilson 2004, p. 4).

To understand the form the processes of independence and decolonization took in the Middle East, one has to begin in the nineteenth century. The British, the French, and the Ottomans had varying degrees of control in different parts of the region; throughout the region, a strong nationalist sentiment opposed this foreign control. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the ideal of autonomy was disseminated by such organizations as the National Party in Egypt, the Young Ottomans and then the Young Turks in the Ottoman Empire, secret Arab societies in Beirut and Damascus, and the Young Tunisians. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such groups began to organize nationalist demonstrations; some directly challenged the imperial rule of the British, the French, and even the Ottoman Turks. The organizations' ideological leadership gave direction to these direct challenges to imperial presence. Arab nationalism became popular among intellectuals in Greater Syria; Turkish nationalism also grew, with its own ideas about how national communities ought to be formed. In Iran, different currents of nationalism imagined different futures for the country.

Throughout the region, the relationship between colony and metropole (the colonizing power) deeply affected the intellectual, ideological, and material development of both. For example, the more the French sought to gain materially from Algeria, the more

resistance developed among the Algerians. Over time, this resistance coalesced into a sense of nationalism that was completely at odds with the political reality of being colonized, that is, existing only for the betterment of the colonizer. Feelings of political identity, economic identity, geographic identity, and religious identity coalesced into a powerful force. This force, on the one hand, forged powerful bonds, and on the other hand, made Middle Easterners see themselves as distinctly different from Europeans.

Some of the earliest attempts to achieve independence, or at least self-determination, occurred in the context of World War I. In 1916 the British promised independence to Hussein ibn Ali, the emir of Mecca and sharif of the Hashemite family, if he would help them against the Ottomans. In the same year Britain also signed the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement with France, which called for an independent Arab State or a confederation of states, although it was calculatedly ambiguous on the question of how much of a role each of these powers would play in this "independent" state. According to the agreement, postwar Middle East was to be divided among the allies, with France and Britain "prepared to recognize and protect an independent Arab state or a confederation of states . . . under the suzerainty of an Arab chief." Portions of present-day Turkey, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, and Iraq were to constitute this so-called independent state. At the conclusion of the war, Britain and France divided various portions of the Middle East into new territories called mandates, with the ostensible rationale of mentoring these mandates as they progressed toward independence. In reality, they used their powerful position as a way to advance their own interests, thus earning the resentment of Arabs. For much of the nineteenth century the various nationalist groups mentioned above, and others like them, organized and in some cases fought against imperial rule—not only against the British and the French, but also against the Ottoman Turks. In the Arab countries, nationalism, which originated among educated elites, spread increasingly to all sectors of society as the promised self-determination failed to appear and occupation and colonial control continued. In Turkey and Iran, nationalist movements began gaining strength in the late nineteenth century and modern states began to emerge in the 1910s. Over the course of the twentieth century, decolonization took varying forms in these disparate areas, as did the new states and societies that emerged.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARAB NATIONALISM

Arab nationalism continues to be a powerful force in today's world. The term *Arab* is fraught with historical difficulties; today it usually refers to a person whose language is Arabic. Equally difficult is the phrase *Arab nationalism*; this can be used both as an equivalent to *Pan-Arabism* and more specifically to refer to independence struggles in Arabic-speaking countries. The 1850s and 1860s witnessed a growing sense of Arab identity. This was manifest in the renewed study of the 'Abbasīd period (ca. 750 to ca. 1258), and, in turn, accounts of 'Abbasīd grandeur, wealth, and intellectual pursuits served to inspire Arab pride and solidarity. By the close of the nineteenth century and into the early part of the twentieth century, in Baghdad, Cairo, and Damascus, a new literate class developed that began advocating the notion of Arab "nations." This growing intelligentsia advocated not only a sense of national solidarity, but also a method of societal organization and plans for independent development. Arabs had to at once break loose from the Ottoman Empire's historical control and keep the European nation-states at bay. World War I led to a decrease in the power of the Ottomans, but there was a simultaneous, if short-lived, increase of British and French domination of the Arab world's socioeconomic development.

In 1913, the Arab National Congress demanded governmental autonomy for the Arab provinces of the ailing and loosely consolidated Ottoman Empire. Calls for greater autonomy were also directed at the British and French, whose influence and control were well established, but deeply resented by the Arabs. With the advent of World War I in 1914, Arab demands began to threaten Britain's position in the region, particularly as the Germans took advantage of the situation to promote anti-British sentiment. The Germans made contact with Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca, who had considerable influence on regional Muslim populations. Hussein continued to assist the Germans until June 1915. Another valuable contact for the Germans was Ibn Saud, who was quite powerful in the Arabian Peninsula, and exercised considerable influence in the region up to the Persian Gulf to the east; all of this land was exclusively under British authority. In the latter part of 1915, Hussein resumed friendly relations with the British, whose assistance he sought in negotiations aimed at winning Arab freedom from Ottoman control. In 1916, despite offering their assistance and support for an "Arab Confederation," the British signed the Sykes-Picot agreement with the French, the details of which were to be kept a secret from the Arabs. These details were nonetheless made public by Bolshevik Russia; as news spread, the various Arab nationalist organizations became alarmed, as sovereignty appeared to be slipping away rather than coming closer.

The year 1917 was witness to an event that has had a lasting impact on the geopolitics of the Middle East. The Balfour Declaration, made in November of that year, left

a legacy that the Middle East and the rest of the world continue to confront into the twenty-first century. In a published letter to Lord Rothschild, a prominent leader of the British Jewish community, the British secretary of foreign affairs, Arthur James Balfour, stated that Britain favored the establishment of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. Balfour added that such a homeland was to be established with the understanding that nothing would be done to compromise the civil and religious rights of the other inhabitants of Palestine. That Palestine continues to be occupied and the state of Israel continues to contest its borders belies the initial intent of creating a Jewish homeland there.

The Arab Revolt against the Ottomans that started in 1916 came to an end in 1918 with Palestine and Syria free of Ottoman control. However, in place of the older empire came British control; it was an unforeseen consequence of seeking British help in ousting the Ottomans. Arabs expected the British to grant them independence at the end of World War I. Instead they got the 1919 arrangements between the French and British to divide the Middle East between themselves—Britain gained control of Mesopotamia (Iraq), Palestine, and present-day Jordan, and the French were to control Syria and Lebanon. Only the remote desert areas were free of British-French control. As mentioned above, these new territories were officially considered mandates, and were registered as such with the recently formed League of Nations. From the 1920s to about the 1960s, Arab nationalism matured into a force that was ever more difficult to contend with for the British and French. The most powerful example of this maturation was the formation of the League of Arab States, which was set up by Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, Transjordan, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia; it demonstrated Arab unity and cooperation in creating a future for Middle Eastern peoples. As one after another nation-state was formed, each with a distinct identity, a new era emerged in the western and southwestern reaches of Asia.

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN NATION-STATES

The section that follows will consist of a country-by-country consideration of decolonization and modernization in the Middle East; because the region comprises so many nation-states, the attention paid to individual countries will necessarily be brief. Turkey and Iran have been included here because they fall within some definitions of the Middle East and are clearly part of the regional geopolitical mix; barring Egypt, North African states are not discussed. A notable factor affecting all countries in the region was the discovery of oil in the 1920s and 1930s. Oil production had a tremendous impact on Middle Eastern economies, of course, but by

the 1950s it also was affecting the entire global economy. This inevitably led to a shift in the geopolitical processes at work in the region.

BAHRAIN

Located on the Persian Gulf, and comprised of thirty-three islands, Bahrain historically has had contact with several other peoples and nations, mostly through trade. Additionally, it has been occupied by several of them, namely the Persians, the Omanis, the Portuguese, and the British. Between 1861 and 1971 Bahrain was a British protectorate. The ruling family of Bahrain, the Al Khalifa family, arrived in the area in the mid-eighteenth century, and had to contend with successive occupiers. It was one of the Al Khalifas, 'Isā ibn Salmān Al Khalifā, who effected the transfer of Bahrain from the British to its own people in 1971. Termination of British control was not necessarily the result of pressure from the local people. Perceptions of Britain's changed position in the world were largely responsible for its receding from the Gulf regions. Britain's withdrawal of troops from the Gulf region in 1968 led to Emir al Khalifa declaring independent in 1971. Bahrain signed a treaty of friendship with Britain, thus concluding Britain's status as a protectorate. Eventually Bahrain joined the United Nations and the Arab League. Bahrain is a constitutional monarchy, and the reins of government are passed by the emir to his eldest son. Bahrain was one of the first Gulf states to reap oil profits following the discovery of oil in 1932. Its citizens enjoy these benefits today in the form of high-quality education and health care; however, unemployment continues to be a problem. Tensions between Bahrain's rulers and the country's poor Shi'ites also give cause for concern. Bahrain has cordial relations with its Gulf neighbors, other Arab nations, and several Western nations, including Britain and the United States. Because its economy is well diversified, the economic future of this small kingdom is bright.

EGYPT

France and Britain had equal interest in managing Egypt's future; this sharing of power was called *caise de la dette* (dual control). Their dual partnership of commercial and then eventually political interests started at the turn of the nineteenth century and continued until 1882. 'Urābī Pasha Al-Misrī, an officer in the Egyptian army and a nationalist, resented the presence of Turkish ad Circassion officers. He led a revolt against them in 1881 and became a national hero with his slogan, "*Misr li'l Misriyīn*" (Egypt for Egyptians). The ruler of Egypt, concerned about 'Urābī's increasing popularity, asked for British and French assistance in curbing it. Eager to oblige, Britain and France orchestrated a naval

demonstration at Alexandria. Riots followed in the city, which the British then bombarded. ʿUrābī led the Egyptian army against the foreigners; he was defeated, which cleared the way for Britain's domination over Egypt.

Egypt, which was acquired by Britain as a protectorate in 1914, formally became an independent state in 1936, though it remained a monarchy until 1953. Arab nationalism and anti-imperialism, which were at times militant, were strong in Egypt as long as British rule, direct and indirect, continued to emanate from Cairo.

Egyptian nationalism was evident throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. Britain declared war against the Ottomans in November 1914 and a month later pronounced Egypt its protectorate. At this point nationalism was a response to local concerns; the masses suffered due to the demands of World War I on Egypt. British occupation, with the declaration of martial law, damaged nationalist expressions of the intellectuals. In 1917 Ahmad Fuʿād became the sultan. In the days following the conclusion of the Great War, three Egyptian politicians led by Saʿd Zaghlūl demanded autonomy for Egypt; they decided to take a delegation (in Arabic, *Wafd*) to England.

The British government took two actions that accelerated the spread of the nationalist movement. First it refused the delegation, and then it arrested Zaghlūl. Egypt erupted in revolt. The representatives in Britain negotiated a calm with the nationalists; Zaghlūl was released and the *Wafd* began to dominate Egyptian politics. It pressured the British to negotiate an "independence," which ended Egypt's protectorate status, but the British government reserved authority in matters of defense, foreign interests, imperial communications, and the Sudan.

Fuʿād became the king of Egypt in 1922, heading a constitutional monarchy. The *Wafd*, the most popular nationalist party led by Zaghlūl, continued its demands for true national independence. In the 1930s King Farouk (who succeeded Fuʿād) was considerably popular, but the *Wafd* rapidly lost its place as the beacon of Egyptian nationalism when its leadership elected to assist the British in the war effort.

At the end of World War II, Egyptian politics were in complete disarray. The *Wafd* almost disappeared from the scene; the torch of nationalism passed to the Muslim brotherhood, a militant organization that had mass appeal. Through the 1940s, Cairo witnessed demonstrations that at times were violent. During the same decade, when Egypt played a crucial role in the formation of the Arab League and when Israel was created, Egypt's nationalism reached new heights. Political instability became the order of the day until 1952, when waves of nationalism changed the course of Egypt's destiny.

On January 26, 1952, anti-British demonstrations that proved pivotal to the Egyptian nationalist movement broke out, leading to extensive damage to symbols of British presence in Cairo, such as hotels, a travel agency, and the airline offices. Seventeen Britons were also killed in what has since been named the Black Saturday riots.

On July 23, 1952, a coup d'état overthrew King Farouk, who was by now widely considered a puppet of the British. Planned by a group of military officers called the Free Officers' Executive Committee, the coup was almost bloodless and Farouk went into exile. The president of the Free Officers' Executive Committee, Gamal Abdul Nasser, became Egypt's new leader. About a year later, Egypt was proclaimed a republic. Nasser quickly introduced social and land reforms, ultimately developing a reform program that came to be called *Arab Socialism*. Even with Nasser in power, Egypt continued to have ties—albeit uneasy ones—with the British and the Americans. Egypt became a leader among other Arab nations, and Nasser an Arab hero. Nasser demanded international recognition of Arab dignity and the right of Arab nations to cooperate in building their own futures. However, there were several roadblocks along Egypt's path to decolonization. Western countries were not willing to offer loans without attaching unreasonable terms, leading Nasser to dub such loans "imperialism without soldiers." By 1961, however, Nasser had developed a better relationship with Britain and the United States; both nations established full diplomatic ties with Egypt. A powerful challenge to Egypt's future stability was the unresolved issue of the Occupied Territories of Palestine, also known as the state of Israel. Another challenge to Nasser's government from within Egypt's borders came from the Islamist lobby known as the Muslim Brotherhood. Nasser and his successor, Anwar Sadat, began a modernization process in Egypt that was met with resistance from Islamic conservatives, many of whom were jailed. Sadat paid with his life in 1981 when he was assassinated by Islamist extremists.

In the last years of the twentieth century there were several difficulties confronting Egypt, particularly economic ones. While oil and cotton continued to be the country's primary exports, most Egyptians—who constituted the fastest growing population in the Arab world—did not benefit from these exports. This led to increasing disaffection among some segments of the population, which turned increasingly to fundamentalist Islamist groups. The country's leader, Hosni Mubarak, attempted to improve Egypt's image in the Arab world—in recent decades Egypt had been perceived by many Arabs as being too close to the United States and Israel—while maintaining cordial relations with Western powers and Israel.

Habib Bourguiba, March 23, 1956. *Triumphant Tunisians carry nationalist leader Habib Bourguiba upon his return from Paris after the signing of the Franco-Tunisian Protocol proclaiming the independence of the protectorate. Bourguiba was elected president of independent Tunisia in 1957.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

IRAN

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, this Middle Eastern nation, currently known as the Islamic Republic of Iran, has undergone revolutionary political and ideological changes. The Qājār dynasty had ruled Iran from 1796 to 1925, but in 1925 Reza Khan established himself as Reza Shah of the Pahlavi dynasty; his heirs had the right of succession to the throne. European presence and influence had grown throughout the nineteenth century, and by the end of the century there was considerable popular and religious antipathy because of the lavish lifestyle of the shahs and the resources expended to keep the Europeans pleased. In the popular unrest against the shah, merchants and Shī'ite clergy (*ūlāma*) combined their efforts. During the early part of the twentieth century they were joined by the landlords as well. A simultaneous movement started that was grounded in the ideologies learned through contact with the West, one that called for democratic reforms.

With World War I the Russians withdrew from northern Iran, leaving the British as the sole European presence. Bowing to international pressures, Britain withdrew in 1921. In the same year an Iranian army officer, Reza Khan, staged a coup, taking over control of all the armed forces. As the war minister for the last Qājār ruler, Reza Khan built a strong army and brought political stability to a land that was in administrative upheaval. In 1925 he deposed the ruler, and with the approval of the ūlamā he was crowned as the shah.

Reza Shah's central government began to assert its authority in every aspect of the people's lives. In 1935 the name of the country was changed from Persia to Iran. In the 1960s and 1970s the Shah of Iran began a concerted effort to turn Iran into a modernized and westernized state, utilizing the wealth gained from oil for this purpose. The Shah launched the "White Revolution," by which suffrage was extended to women, and limited land reforms were made. However, the wealth from the massive reserves of oil and natural gas was unequally distributed, causing internal strife and dissent on a rather large scale; opposition came most prominently from Islamic officials, particularly Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. In

an effort to control the dissent from within and maintain good relations with Western nations, the Shah became more repressive. At the same time, to silence his critics at home he promised that his government would observe Islamic tenets, extend support to Palestinians, and stop the export of oil to Israel and South Africa. He did not make good on those promises, and for this and a host of other reasons he was unable to prevent a revolution. In January 1979, after his own army refused to continue firing on the people, the Shah was forced to leave Iran.

Weeks after, Ayatollah Khomeini flew in from Paris and set off an Islamic revolution that led to the creation of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Republic is a theocratic state, with an elected president and a unicameral Islamic Consultative Assembly. From 1980 to 1988 Iran and Iraq fought a bitter war after Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein sent his troops to invade Iran. Despite the vast amounts of oil production from its nationalized oilfields, Iran continues to have economic problems as it has not diversified its economy or encouraged foreign investment. Iran remains a loner among the nations of the Middle East, as it does not have cordial relations with most of its Arab neighbors and also has not maintained congenial contacts with Western nations.

IRAQ

As mentioned earlier, Iraq became a formal mandate of Britain in 1919. British presence in the region predated the formal assignation of mandate status, however, and was already a source of resentment; the mandate system only made matters worse. The system was reworked when Iraqi revolts against the British started in the 1920s; in its place was formed a provisional government controlled by the British. Arab resistance to being colonized grew apace. In June 1930 an Anglo-Iraqi treaty formally conferred independence to Iraq, with the caveat that Iraq would have "full and frank consultations with Great Britain on all matters of foreign policy." In this manner, Britain retained control over Iraq's future relations with its neighbors (of which the most important for Britain was Iran). Furthermore, with the Hashemite monarchy in power, pro-British civilians governed Iraq well into the 1950s. A military coup d'état in 1958 displaced the Hashemites, after which Iraq aligned with Egypt. As the process of decolonization took a more militant turn, Iraq suffered much unrest, until 1963 when a new socialist government formed by a coalition of nationalist army officers and members of the Ba'ath Party took power. After 1968 the Ba'athists were the sole ruling authority of Iraq. Saddam Hussein, who had played a powerful role from the wings, became the president of Iraq in 1979 and stayed in power until 2003, when he was ousted by the coalition forces of the United States and United Kingdom. While the exports of this oil-rich country could have made for a modern state, the benefits of oil wealth did not accrue to Iraq's people. This resulted in deteriorating infrastructure, periodic rebellions on the part of Kurdish and Shi'ite populations, economic sanctions from the United Nations, and involvement in wars with Iran, Kuwait, and the United States. These problems led in turn to a depletion of Iraq's national resources, financial bankruptcy, and a dramatic drop in standards of living. In March of 2003 the United States invaded Iraq, which as of 2006 it continues to occupy, with no end to the occupation in sight, despite a violent and protracted insurgency aimed at driving it from the country.

JORDAN

Like most nations of the Arab world, Jordan seeks to preserve its ancient history alongside modern developments. Because Jordan (formerly known as Transjordan) is surrounded by numerous other, arguably more powerful, Arab states (and Israel), it has had to delicately balance its affairs and relations with other countries.

The territory that is now Jordan was formerly part of Syria and under Ottoman control. After World War I the Ottoman Empire collapsed and in 1922 the League of Nations split up the former Syria into modern-day Syria, which became a French mandate, and Palestine and Transjordan, which became British mandates. Transjordan's independence was achieved in two stages. First, in December 1922 the British, while retaining the country's mandate status, recognized its constitutional independence under Emir Abdullah, son of Sherif Hussein. It was not until March 1946 that full independence was granted; Transjordan became a constitutional monarchy and Emir Abdullah was proclaimed king. In 1949 the country was renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, an entity Abdullah hoped would eventually include Palestine. Other Arab nations, particularly Egypt, objected to the idea of incorporating Palestine, and in 1951 Abdullah was assassinated in Jerusalem's al-Aqsā Mosque by a Palestinian youth who opposed his expansionist ideas. The throne passed to his son, who was quickly deposed because of his problems with mental illness. In 1952 British-educated Prince Hussein, then only seventeen, became the ruler. King Hussein is perhaps the best known of Jordan's rulers, because of his untiring efforts to achieve a stable balance of power in the Middle East. He was assisted in his efforts by the United States, which, in pursuance of the Eisenhower Doctrine, sought to replace Britain as the primary Western power in the region. King Hussein maintained good relations with several Arab nations as well, notably Egypt and Saudi Arabia. As a small country with limited resources,

Jordan has had to contend with chronic debt, poverty, unemployment, and water shortages. Following the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967, Jordan lost almost half of its arable land, causing further economic hardship. Arab refugees from Palestine make up about a third of the population of Jordan and have been given citizenship; however, they remain largely unintegrated and discontent. Despite these problems, Jordan's educational and medical systems are among the best in the Middle East. Since 1999 the country has been led by King Abdullah II.

KUWAIT

Much like other Gulf regions, Kuwait was initially a British protectorate, in its case from 1899 until 1961. Another small country on the Persian Gulf, Kuwait derives its wealth from oil production; like Jordan, it has to carefully balance its relations with neighboring states. Sheikh Abdullāh al-Salem al-Sabāh was the first emir of independent Kuwait. It was on Kuwait's instigation that the relationship with Britain was terminated in 1961, even though the British maintained an influential presence for another decade. Kuwait had been established by members of the Bāni Utūb clan in the middle of the eighteenth century after they moved to the region from the central part of the Arabian peninsula. Almost immediately, Kuwait's independence was threatened by the military rulers of Iraq. Iraq's expansionist aims in 1961 were thwarted first by British military assistance, then firmly denied when an Arab League force from Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and the United Arab Republic pushed Iraq's army back to its borders. In 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait yet again, which led to an expensive war to liberate Kuwait, the Persian Gulf War, led by the United States. Today, Iraq and Kuwait continue to observe an uneasy truce. In order to rebuild its infrastructure after the war, Kuwait spent more than $160 billion.

Kuwait is an oil-rich nation nominally governed by a constitutional monarchy; in reality, the parliament is essentially an advisory body and the emirs, who come from the Al-Sabāh family, exercise exclusive authority. Like most Gulf states, Kuwait has a multicultural society as a result of its large number of expatriate workers, who in fact outnumber native Kuwaitis. The citizens of Kuwait enjoy a very high standard of living, as Kuwait's rulers spend a large percent of oil profits on public services, healthcare, education, and municipal services. Kuwait is a member of the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC), a loose six-state alliance devoted to ensuring regional stability and promoting economic development. Kuwait's allies include Western nations as well as its Arab neighbors.

LEBANON

Lebanon is perhaps the most cosmopolitan of Middle Eastern states. As a territory mandated to the French, it had a difficult relationship with its European ruler, at best. At the onset of World War II, Lebanon demanded the end of French domination and suzerainty. In 1943, putting aside their differences, both Christian and Muslim political groups signed the National Pact, a clear declaration of Lebanon's intent to establish autonomous self-rule. Lebanese nationalists then drew up a constitution that recognized and promoted Lebanon's religious diversity. It divided up political responsibilities in the following way: a Maronite would hold the presidency, a Sunni Muslim the premiership, parliament's speaker of the house was to be a Shi'ite Muslim, the chief of staff of armed forces was to be a Druze, and the parliament's seats would be divided in a six-to-five ratio between Christians and Muslims. In a bold statement of autonomy, the new constitution eliminated all existing statutes and provisions that could potentially compromise Lebanon's independence. The French, unhappy with these actions, arrested the president and suspended the constitution. But the tide had already turned. The United States, Britain, and other Arab states came to Lebanon's support, leaving the French no option but to recognize Lebanon's sovereignty, which they did in December 1943. In the next few decades, Lebanon's stability created an environment conducive to economic growth and social progress. This initial phase, so full of promise, came to an end in 1975, however. A civil war, followed by Syrian occupation, and continued violence and attacks lasting until 1991 took their toll on Lebanon. The country's infrastructure is seriously damaged, relationships between Christians and Muslims are tense, and there has been uncontrolled growth of debt. However, Syria has since withdrawn from Lebanon.

OMAN

Of all the Middle Eastern states, Oman has the singular distinction of having achieved independence prior to the twentieth century. It was in the mid-seventeenth century that Omani tribes expelled the Portuguese from the region. Because of its favorable location, Oman grew to be a valuable trading partner with various European countries. This commerce brought Oman considerable wealth even prior to the discovery of oil. However, it is important to note that the British did exercise considerable influence in the region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The British became allies of the Omani rulers in disputes over land ownership—for example, British forces assisted in reestablishing Oman's sovereignty over the Būraimī area, which Saudi Arabia also claimed—and this led to a quid-pro-quo relationship

The Signing of the Pact of the League of Arab States, March 1945. *Saudi Arabian sheikh Youssek Yassin (center), the acting minister for foreign affairs, signs the League of Arab States charter in Cairo, Egypt.* © **HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

between the two. Oman is ruled, as it has been for centuries, by a sultan who acts simultaneously as the head of state, prime minister, and minister of foreign affairs, finance, and defense. A consultative body called the *majlis al-shūra* assists him in making all decisions and policies. Oman has only recently decided to embark on a path of modernization. Indeed, the sultan's refusal to modernize and liberalize the country had previously been so unbending that in 1964 it prompted an uprising on the part of the Jibali hill tribespeople. The economy of the country is entirely government-controlled, and public utilities, education, trade, commerce, and employment have all been closely regulated. Sultan Qaboos bin Said Al bū Said, however, has introduced new modernizing policies and promises an open and bright future for this strategically situated nation-state.

QATAR

A tiny state whose ruler is a member of the ath-Thānī family, Qatar is currently home to the popular television station Al-Jazeera. The history of this little country is similar to that of the other countries that were British mandates, that is, from the mid-1800s to the twentieth century, Qatar was a British protectorate. In 1971 Qatar became an independent state. In 1968 Britain had announced its intention to withdraw from the Gulf region. The ath-Thānī family negotiated with the sheikhs of neighboring areas (which were soon to become the United Arab Emirates). Qatar declared independence from the British, though it continued relations with them through the formal signature of the Treaty of Friendship. In 1971 Qatar joined the Arab League and the United Nations. Qatar's economy is heavily dependent on oil and natural gas. It has been more liberal than many of its Arab neighbors, and has a close relationship with the United States even though its identity is strongly Arab. Qatar plays a small but vital role in the deliberations of the GCC countries.

SAUDI ARABIA

Saudi Arabia is arguably the leading kingdom in the Middle East. It fought for and regained its autonomy

first from the Ottomans in 1902 and then from Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca, in 1924 when Ibn Saud and his Wahhābi tribesmen warriors invaded the Hejāz and captured Mecca. Prior to 1924, the British had made some unsuccessful attempts to reconcile Ibn Saud with the Hashemite Hussein. In 1933 the Ibn Saud family became the uncontested rulers of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; today, the country is still a hereditary monarchy and the Ibn Saud family is still in power. King Fahd bin Abd al-Az al-Saud (r. 1982–2005) transformed Saudi Arabia into the greatest economic power in the Middle East. Following Fahd's death in 2005, his half-brother Abdallah became king.

Western powers have had varying degrees of influence and presence in Saudi Arabia, but throughout the twentieth century the country was, largely, an independent, powerful, sovereign kingdom. Saudi Arabia's leading role in the Middle East, and indeed globally, is guaranteed by its reserves of oil, which are the largest in the world, its leadership in OPEC, and its spiritual and religious importance as the keeper of Mecca and Medina, the two holy cities of Islam.

SYRIA

As mentioned above, Syria was originally a part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1920 the independent Arab Kingdom of Syria was established, under Feisal, the commander of the Arab forces and the third son of the Sherif of Mecca. Feisal only ruled for a few months, however, before Syria was attacked and then occupied by French forces. In 1922 Syria became a French mandate. The French faced a series of uprisings from 1925 to 1927. Syria declared its independence in 1941 and achieved recognition as an independent republic in 1944, but didn't win real independence until 1946, when France pulled its troops out of the country. The newly independent country adopted a republican form of government; its constitution required that the president be a Muslim. Since 1963 Syria has been ruled by a succession of Ba'ath Party military governments, who have been suspicious of Western nations, leading to some tensions. Syria is a heterogeneous society with Muslims, Christians, Druze, Alawites, and a small minority of Jews. The economy of Syria is dependent on textiles and handicrafts; the infrastructure of this new country in an ancient land needs immediate improvement if the economy is to grow and provide sustainable livelihoods for Syria's many inhabitants.

TURKEY

The Republic of Turkey was proclaimed in 1923, after a War of Independence in which Turkey ousted the Greeks, who had occupied the formerly Ottoman territory between 1918 and 1922. During World War I there were a number of wartime agreements made between the European powers intended to carve up the Ottoman Empire into their spheres of influence; some of these included the Istanbul Agreements; Sykes-Picot Agreement, London Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration. Postwar conditions reopened negotiations on territorial claims. A tripartite agreement between Britain, France, and Italy would have defined Turkey as a French and Italian area of control. However, it was abrogated by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, as a result of resolute resistance of Mustafa Kemal whose singular aim was total independence for Turkey. In October 1923, Turkey was declared a republic, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was its first president. The Ottoman caliphate was abolished the following year; all members of the family were banished from the country. A republican constitution was adopted in 1924, which retained Islam as the state religion. But in 1928 the state religion clause was dropped, converting Turkey into a secular republic.

Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkey underwent a sweeping program of modernization based on progressive and secular ideas. Turkey is a republican parliamentary democracy and its constitution is founded on six basic principles: republicanism, Turkish nationalism, populism, secularism, statism (close state control of the economy), and revolutionism. The growth of the Turkish economy has been erratic, as the country has been disrupted by political scandals, internal strife, and conflicts with other nations. The long-range picture for Turkey's economy is, perhaps, relatively positive, however. Turkey is currently seeking alliances and trading partnerships with European nations; it hopes to become a member of the European Union (EU) on the basis that Turkey already has considerable economic trade with the EU. However, Islamist resistance at home and questions about Turkey's human rights record from abroad have stalled all EU membership discussions.

THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

One of the more unusual nations of the Persian Gulf, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) was under the control of the British from 1853 until 1971, when it declared its independence. During the years of the British mandate, the region was known as the Trucial States. The Trucial States were essentially sheikhdoms, that is, they each were ruled by a family whose leader was the emir (ruler).

The trucial state system was itself an emendation of an earlier arrangement. In 1820 the emirates Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Ras al-Khaimah, Umm al-Quwain, and Fujairah were forced to sign agreements with Britain, which sought to protect its naval and merchant carriers

in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. However, even after the treaty signing, various uprisings continued to cause the British some concern. In 1853, after a truce was brokered between Britain and the emirates, the trucial state system—a relationship that allowed Britain to exert influence in the emirates' foreign affairs—was established. This arrangement was maintained until 1971, when Sheikh Zāyed bin al-Nahyān and Sheikh Rāshid bin al-Maktoum created the present independent federation. This federation has a federal government, but each of the emirates also has some of its own powers. A president, currently Sheikh Khalīfa bin Zāyed al-Nahyān since Sheikh Zāyed's death in November 2004, is elected head of the federation by the Supreme Council of Rulers, which is the highest body in the country. The cabinet's posts are divided among members of different emirates; the current minister for economy is a woman, Sheikhā Lubnā al Qasimi.

The UAE is a progressive and modern Islamic nation. Its remarkable features include a high standard of living, modern infrastructure and housing, a diversified economy, a stress on education, good healthcare, public utilities, and amicable relationships with both Western nations and the UAE's Arab neighbors. The UAE is perhaps the most multicultural society in the Middle East, which has led to its nickname, "the crossroads of continents."

CONCLUSION

The various peoples and nations of the Middle East have all experienced different decolonization and independence processes. While Islam is a common factor that binds together these peoples and nations, there are many regional cultural differences as well. Each of these nations follows different paths toward development, modernization, social change, and economic growth. The issue of Occupied Palestine remains a contentious and unresolved matter that has made lasting peace in the region impossible. Arab nations are bound together by the politics of Arab identity, but this can be a nebulous connection at times. For their part, Iran and Turkey have national identities that are remarkably different from those of Arab nations. As far as relations between the Middle East and the rest of the world are concerned, the countries and peoples of the region see themselves as part of a larger whole, yet wish to remain independent and to develop at their own pace and in their own way.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism, Middle East and North Africa; British Colonialism, Middle East; French Colonialism, Middle East; Secular Nationalisms, Middle East.*

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INDIA, IMPERIAL

British influence in India came to a head with the transfer of power from the English East India Company (EIC) into the hands of the British government in 1773 as the British Government extended political, social, and economic influence in the region. Thus began the period referred to as the "British Raj" when the government created a British state on the Indian subcontinent by subjugating the princes of smaller states around the region.

India was known as "the jewel in the crown" of the British Empire because of its rich natural resources and long-established trading posts. Although Queen Victoria (1819–1901) promised equality to India according to British law, the circumstances leading up to the Indian Revolt of 1857 (the Sepoy Rebellion) brought to the foreground a distrust of the British in the Indian consciousness.

Prior to the end of EIC rule, Indian industrialists were required to pay extremely high taxes and to sell their goods only to the EIC at low fixed prices. British manufacturers, beneficiaries of the Industrial Revolution, began to produce and export textiles for the vast Indian market. Indian manufacturers, excessively taxed and regulated, were unable to compete with the new industries in Manchester and Birmingham and were squeezed out of business. By 1867 India imported £21 million (British pounds) of goods from Britain (by comparison, Australia imported £8 million that same year). The collapse of the Indian middle class and the increasing unemployment of skilled artisans and textile workers spread discontent among more and more Indians. New British institutions for administration and planning were met with suspicion by many Indians as further means of controlling and subverting the native social order. The

James Andrew Broun Ramsay, the Marquis of Dalhousie.
The British statesman and governor-general of India from 1847 to 1856, in an engraving after a painting (ca. 1847) by J. W. Gordon. **LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**

isolation of peasants in their already isolated rural communities, in addition to the British ignoring the concerns of Indian soldiers who served them, fostered an environment conducive to mass resistance.

The 1857 revolt of Indian soldiers known as *sepoys* is referred to as the First War of Indian Independence in South Asia because it marked the solidification of resentment against British socioeconomic policies. The rebellion was sparked when the Indian soldiers, who were vegetarians by religion, objected to the use of animal fat to grease the shells of gun cartridges. The issues surrounding the gun cartridges were one example of how *sepoys* felt the British were ignoring Muslim or Hindu custom. This, in addition to poor pay and the rise of British presence against local princes, increased the tension between the two groups. Through a series of political maneuverings in which the British obtained the territories of princes who did not have male heirs, the British Crown solidified its power and presence in the subcontinent. The harsh policies of Governor-General James Ramsay Dalhousie (1812–1860) would prove symptomatic of many of the viceroys and British authorities intervening in India. Their heavy-handed tactics

resulted in violence, which would spark a nationalist consciousness among Indians and lead to the promotion of self-governance.

Native states and territories were quickly overcome by the British strategies to divide and rule. In the case of the Mughal Empire, the British strategically pitted local interests against one another, and ensured that princes were focused on their particular provinces rather than larger regional influences. In the state of Mysore, for example, the British capitalized on internal civil strife to gain complete control. The reduction of provinces into British territories rankled Indian nationalists, who felt that many European practices, including Christianity, were eroding traditional Indian culture. The British wrote laws to counter cultural practices that were seen as Westernizing movements against Indian culture. Child marriage, sati, and female infanticide were all practices with which the British became intrusive social reformers, which in turn increased the resentment against imperial presence and fears of cultural erosion.

The introduction of the Indian Civil Service (1886) was a strategy by the British to ensure domination through control of those serving in political and professional positions in India. The ICS was also a means of managing the vast empire. The government in Calcutta housed the viceroy and governor-generals, who supervised local officials. The most coveted positions, salaries, and opportunities were reserved for British-born officials, causing many to view India as a place to establish and further their careers. Ironically, it was a former member of the Indian civil service, the Scotsman Allan Octavian Hume (1829–1912), who in 1885 established the Indian National Congress, a political party that led the movement for independence.

By 1861, small measures ensured that Indians gained a presence in the electoral process, as well as access to the viceroy. These changes would prove significant when the question of independence was addressed directly. However, in 1877 Queen Victoria was named empress of India, underscoring British reluctance to entirely relinquish control of India. The Morley-Minto Reforms, also known as the Government of India Act of 1909, granted Indians the right to fill elected positions in government. Although few Indians were elected, the opportunity to be voted into office and the ability to influence the legislative process helped the Indian population establish a level of comfort with parliamentary action.

Education also proved to be a key element in preparing a class of bureaucrats and officials to govern the country. Government-established colleges and universities allowed the upper-middle class access to European thought and culture. Through the education and promotion of a native class of bureaucrats, the impression that

The Viceroy of India with Officials. *Thomas George Baring, Earl of Northbrook (center front) and viceroy of India, poses with British and Indian officials at Simla, circa 1875.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

sovereignty would eventually be granted became commonplace among Indians, even though most British rejected this notion. Increasingly at the local level the number of Indians interested in politics exceeded that of the officially selected representatives, but without an eye for the interplay between the elite upper-class elected officials and the much larger number of constituents, the British Raj was not interested in representation in Indian politics. Decisions continued to be made in the London-based Parliament and through British-appointed viceroys in order to ensure the interests of the Crown over that of the population.

The partition of Bengal, which lasted from 1905 to 1911, established two important precedents that would become central in India's struggle for freedom. First, the establishment of East Bengal was opposed by much of the population and helped arouse a collective national consciousness. Second, the Muslim majority that was created in East Bengal would later mimic the division within the independence movement, eventually causing many to advocate the creation of a separate Muslim state.

Britain granted more concessions when India proved to be a valuable contributor to Britain's effort during World War I (1914–1918). As the war continued, nationalist sentiment within India grew. Indian soldiers, specifically Sikhs and Gurkhas, distinguished themselves in service during the war, and they expected the

furtherance of their requests for autonomy after the war ended. Assurances were given with the Montagu Declaration (1917) and later in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918) that Indian self-rule was a possibility.

With the Government of India Act of 1919, Indians were legally incorporated into every aspect of government at the provincial level. These partial concessions continued to encourage confidence among Indians in their ability to rule themselves. Yet their aspirations remained unfulfilled because the viceroy and other British officials were still beholden only to London, a situation that would continue to rankle until the fight for freedom began in earnest.

The passing of the Rowlett Act in 1919 ensured that the British could deal with freedom fighters as they saw fit, a development that proved pivotal in generating nationalist sentiment. In April 1919, 379 people were killed and 1,200 injured when police fired 1,650 rounds of ammunition into an unarmed crowd of approximately ten thousand people who had gathered in Amritsar, a park in Jalianwala Bagh, to peaceably protest the Rowlett Act. The event became a symbol for the nation of British willingness to abuse power and of the injustice of colonial rule.

The 1930s saw much debate in England in both the houses of Parliament over the status of India and its

potential liberation; formal meetings were held from 1930 to 1932 to discuss the issue of Indian self-rule. These meetings comprised the three roundtables called by the British government to examine the formation of an Indian constitution. The first, which began in 1930, had 73 representatives from all states and parties but for the Indian National Congress party, which was in the midst of the civil disobedience movement. The second roundtable had Ghandi as the representative of the Congress party but no consensus was reached on any of the issues. The third roundtable in 1932 was the least successful and shortest; neither the British Labour party nor the Indian National Congress attended. The outcome of the three conferences, however, resulted in the Government of India Act of 1935. This act legalized creation of provincial governments where locals created policies. Additionally Indians were allowed to be elected to national legislative offices in Delhi. This was the last pre-independence act of the British government. With its passing India was being prepared for dominion rule, which was thought to satisfy Indians as well as the conservatives in Britain.

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) emerged as the first elected leaders in 1937. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948), who would later provide leadership for the Muslim minority in the pursuit of a sovereign Muslim state, also emerged at this time. The rise of nationalism and the road to independence occurred as the British attempted to exert more power and influence over the subcontinent, while increasingly depending upon Indians for commerce, trade, and the army.

SEE ALSO *Indian Revolt of 1857; Sepoy.*

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Mohanalakshmi Rajakumar

INDIAN ARMY

The British Indian Army was one of the strongest armed forces in nineteenth-century Asia. Its origins lay in the consolidation of three forces—the Bengal, Bombay, and Madras Armies—created in the eighteenth century, when the English East India Company recruited soldiers to fight wars against local powers. The Bengal Army was among the first to coalesce into an impressive unit, with recruits coming mostly from Awadh (present-day Uttar Pradesh), the great nursery for the armies of British India. The concentration of Hindu upper-caste recruits from this area invested the Bengal Native Army with a sense of fraternity and it was not entirely coincidental that the Bengal Army played such a key role in the Revolt of 1857.

The Indian troops in the English East India Company's service were almost entirely infantrymen and were commanded almost exclusively by European officers. Each presidency, or territorial unit corresponding to each of the English East India Company's headquarters, had a number of European units—infantry and gunners who represented the core of its military strength. Between 1763 and 1805, the increase in the number of troops was substantial—the Bengal army grew from 6,680 to 64,000 men, the Madras army from 9,000 to 64,000, and the Bombay army from 2,550 to 26,500. Each presidency army had a commanding officer, and the officer who commanded the Bengal army was the commander in chief.

In terms of the command structure, what distinguished the Indian army throughout the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was that the officer corps remained exclusively European. In 1895, the three armies were amalgamated and reorganized. The basic chain of command started with the European captain at the top, followed by subaltern sergeant majors (also European), under whom were *subedars, jamedars,* and *havildar-naiks (recruiting agents).* The sepoys (native soldiers) in each battalion were divided into ten companies that comprised one *subedar,* three *jamedars,* four *naiks,* two drummers, one trumpeter, and seventy sepoys. The formation of sepoys into regular battalions represented the first serious attempt to introduce a European-style organization in the sepoy army. The formation of sepoy battalions diluted the authority of the sepoy leaders, for the *subedar* was now subject to the command structure of the battalion. Whereas earlier the *subedar* had commanded an independent company, now his company became one among nine or ten that made up a battalion.

The British army for the greater part of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century fought against indigenous powers—Awadh, Mysore, Marthas, and subsequently the Sikhs of the Punjab. In all of these encounters, the sepoys bore the brunt of casualties and their performance was by the end of the eighteenth century above reproach, as they learned to handle formidable opposition. Subsequently, however, the army was geared to launch expeditions along the frontiers against the Afghans as well as the Burmese,

leading to the Burmese wars of 1825 to 1826 and the British Afghan Wars of 1838 to 1842. In the course of the Burmese campaigns, Indian troops suffered more than 15,000 fatalities and it was only their sheer superiority in numbers that enabled the British to sustain the campaign through two successive rainy seasons. The Afghan wars, on the other hand, were disastrous, forcing the British to stage tactical retreats.

It was the combination of these distant expeditions with the defective organization of the army that produced deep-seated resentment among its ranks long before the great revolt of 1857. The poor quality of the army's regimental subalterns, and the incompetence and senility of its senior officers, coupled with the constant poaching from regiments of talented officers for general staff and political posts, severely impaired its leadership. Added to this was the discontent and indiscipline among its native ranks, as a result of the system of promotion by seniority and of the pressures of distant and hazardous expeditions without adequate compensation in the form of increased pay or prestigious rank.

The rebellion of 1857 began within the sepoys of the British Army. By this time, the widespread resentment, largely concentrated in Awadh, interfaced with larger rural dissatisfaction that British expansion and rule engendered. The modernizing imperatives of British rule produced social fears of losing caste and religion. Consequently, many of the new institutions associated with the modernizing imperatives of empire-law courts, government offices, and Christian missionaries were targeted for attack.

The core area of the mutiny was the area surrounded by Delhi in the west and Ghazipur in the east, with the Jamuna acting as the southern boundary, where native regiments were stationed in Kanpur, Meerut, and Delhi. Other areas where native regiments mutinied were clustered around this core in central India. The mutinies started in Meerat on May 10, 1857, and thereafter spread within a couple of months to Delhi, Aligrah, Etawah, and Lucknow, where they interfaced with rural insurrection. Groups whose interests had been adversely affected by the New British Revenue Settlements joined the revolt providing leadership to the sepoys.

The Revolt of 1857 failed, but not without threatening the foundations of British rule in India. The British Empire faced its first formidable challenge, in that the authorities had to consider army reorganization in a manner that would ensure loyal and active service to the British Empire. Broadly speaking, three perspectives emerged. The first advocated a heterogeneous pattern of recruitment that would cut across all sections of society. The second position stressed the need to eliminate certain castes and classes altogether and to even consider

recruiting Christians from Southeast Asia and Latin America. A third intermediate position argued that no class on principle should be excluded and that an attempt should be made to balance different ethnic groups. The third position seems to have prevailed and British recruitment policy in the 1860s was to divide the Indian army into four main elements, which were recruited from different areas. The army was composed of mixed groups and castes but not so consciously as to prevent the development of pan-Indian nationalism. The military commissions more than anything else, evaded the task of specifying in detail the composition of the army and concentrated more on organizational details.

Until the Burma War of 1887 to 1889, the Indian Army was seen primarily as an instrument of internal security. As a result, official policy following the recommendations of the Peel Commission of 1859, and subsequently of the Eden Commission of 1879, was informed by the sole consideration of making the army reliable. This meant that distinctive regiments were to be created and that recruitment was to be restricted to a specific territory. It was only after the Burmese wars and with the growing possibility of external conflicts that new notions of military security took precedence over considerations of balance and of the social composition of the military.

In 1895 the Army was thoroughly reorganized. In line with contemporary military thinking, four regional commands were created, each under a Lieutenant General: these were Punjab, west of the Yamuna River, commanding the Frontier Force as well; a truncated Bengal command; Madras (with Burma); and Bombay with Sind, Quetta, and an extension in Aden.

In 1902 to 1903 Lord Kitchener streamlined the system, making changes that finally resulted in the reforms of 1908 to 1909. He eliminated the military member of council interposed between the commander in chief and the political executive. What emerged from this decade-long turmoil was an expanded army headquarters, with a general staff branch and a director-general ordnance branch being added to the existing adjutant general and quartermaster general branches. Two territorial commands were created—the Northern and Southern—and the field army was subdivided into a field force and a group of internal security troops, totaling 152,000 (nine divisions and eight cavalry brigades) and 82,000, respectively.

Alongside this reorganization, there were major changes in recruitment patterns. Caste once more became an organizing principle in recruitment; the distinction between class regiments and class company regiments became a factor. Class regiments were composed entirely of the same ethnic or caste group, while class company

regiments were mixed. Promotion of Indians to commissioned posts varied in the two types of regiments; in class regiments, promotion was based on a general seniority list encompassing all companies, but in class company regiments, promotion was made from the rolls of the particular class in which a vacancy occurred. No Indian officer of one class was allowed to command troops of another; this guaranteed that the link between a sepoy and his British commander would be an Indian commissioned officer of the same class as the sepoy was.

The second feature was the growing presence in the army of recruits from the Punjab. From 1892 to 1914, Punjabi troops increased rapidly in number, edging out other groups like Mahars, Brahmins, Gujars, and Ahirs. The emphasis was on homogeneity; particular units not only recruited, for example, solely Punjabi Muslims or Rajputs, but also recruited them only from a particular clan. This shift in recruitment is generally explained in terms of the resurgent *martial race* ideology—the belief that Indians from certain regions were more inherently militaristic—that held sway over certain sections of the policy-making class.

The British Indian Army, while possessing a highly competent officer corps, was adequate only for brief probing expeditions and as a line of defense for internal security. Its vulnerability was tied up with British recruiting procedures and with the fact that the high command was exclusively British, which meant that troops under their command were often more loyal to regional elites than to them. Further, the system was not receptive to technological innovations.

The Indian Army's combat strength at the commencement of World War I was 155,423, and swelled to 573,484 by the time the war neared its completion. During World War I the weakness of the Indian army came to the surface. The war effort exposed the obsolete state of technology and equipment as well as the narrowness of the recruitment base, and forced the authorities to try new classes as recruits. This new policy entered the debates that followed in nationalist circles about the need to Indianize the army. In 1919 to 1920, ten vacancies were reserved for "suitable" Indians at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. Indian political demands also impelled the British to set up the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun on October 1, 1932. World War II exposed the weakness of the army even more acutely; not a single unit of the Indian Army was mechanized to respectable standards. Motorization was selective, and the availability of standard and updated weapons was far from satisfactory. The Indian Army's contribution to the war effort came in the form of personnel, and the number of men that India gave to the Allied cause was impressive. The Army had 189,000 soldiers in its ranks in 1939, a number that rose to 2,644,323 in 1945, when the army was at peak strength.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; India, Imperial; Indian Revolt of 1857.*

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Lakshmi Subramanian

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

India's movement toward independence occurred in stages prompted by the inflexibility of the British and, in many instances, their violent responses to peaceful protests. Many attribute the Indian Revolt of 1857 (known by the British as the Sepoy Mutiny) as the first battle in the struggle for Indian independence.

The 1857 Indian Revolt revealed the miscalculations of the British in understanding the social and cultural issues important to Indians. Indian soldiers called *sepoys* (from the Hindi *sipahi*) grew increasingly uncomfortable with the British encroachment on India's states and provinces as the English East India Company expanded its influence in the region. In addition, poor wages and harsh policies made nationals increasingly tired of the British presence in India.

Moreover, many of army's regulations were perceived by Indians as attempts to Christianize the Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim sepoys. Tensions came to a head when the British began using animal fat (from pigs and cows) to coat cartridge shells. Although steps were taken to correct the situation, distrust grew between the sepoys, who were vegetarians by religion, and the British, culminating in 1857 in the sepoy revolt.

In 1885, the Indian National Union was formed, which became the Indian National Congress and had as its goal the moderate position of seeing more locals in political representation. The Indian National Congress (INC) was created to help ease the tensions in the British relationship with Indians after the Sepoy Mutiny. In the beginning, the INC did not contradict British rule, but

Indian National Congress Meeting, 1922. *Mohandas Gandhi (center, with white hat) meets with members of the Indian National Congress in 1922, shortly before Gandhi was taken into custody by the British.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in the face of increasingly egregious acts by the government, the INC came to identify with the independence movement. The INC would dominate Indian politics and house many of the early leaders of the independence movement including Gopal Krishna Gokhale, leading those in favor of dominion status and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, leading those who saw self rule as the only option. Throughout the impendence movement leaders emerged from among the Congress' membership including Mahatma Ghandi, the leader of the non-violence movement, as well as Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of the new nation.

The INC is the oldest political party in India. Originally the organization was made up of upper middle-class, often Western-educated men, who represented a political class of Indian civil servants invested in the interests of India. Although the first female prime minister of India, Indira Ghandi (1917–1984), came from the Congress party, women's participation in the independence movement was not in formal party membership but rather by support of campaigns led by the party such as the move to make and wear homespun cloth rather than buying imported fabric. The Indian National Congress began to clamor against British economic

policies and demand independence in exchange for support of the British during both World Wars. Prior to entering World War II (1939–1945), the Congress attempted to negotiate postwar independence as precursor to Indian involvement. They were denied, the party outlawed, and its members jailed. After World War II the demand for self rule became especially strong because the prospect of dominion status no longer appealed to those who thought India had earned the right to self rule by troop support in both international wars.

Two factions developed within the INC that were defined by their stance on British rule in India: a moderate one that hoped to attain rights through negotiation and talks, and a revolutionary one in favor of agitating for rights through physical, and if necessary, armed resistance. The split deepened over time as the revolutionary faction led by Subhash Chandra Bose (1897–1945), one of the leaders of the leftist wing of the Congress party and president of the Congress from 1938–1939, argued that military action was the only way to ensure freedom. The other faction, led by future Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), felt that socialism was a necessary element in the forward movement of a national identity. Bose wanted the INC to push for immediate

Women's Protest in Bombay, 1930. *Independence-minded Indian women argue with police during a protest over the right to hold a meeting of the Indian National Congress on the Esplanade Maidan in Bombay.* © **HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.** **REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

British withdrawal from India, an idea opposed by moderates within the organization. His insistence on extreme measures resulted in his stepping down from office and a ban on his further election. Bose later organized a countermovement in the Indian army when, without consulting Indian leaders, the British declared India to be a warring state during World War II.

The INC served as a clearinghouse for all who supported independence from Britain before various splinter groups and factions formed. Although the INC was founded to include all Indians, the organization came to be seen as representative of Hindu rights, and Muslim Indians broke away to establish a new political organization, the All India Muslim League, in 1906. In later independence discussions, the fears of underrepresentation by Muslims led to pleas to protect Muslim rights, and eventually to create the nation of Pakistan.

The split in the INC was eased under the influence of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) in 1920 when he became party leader. Gandhi, a lawyer by training, had been educated in London and had worked in South Africa, where he used nonviolence and noncooperation strategies to resist British rule. The British refusal to acknowledge him as a full citizen in South Africa contributed to the development of an anticolonial identity in Gandhi before his return to India in 1914. In a climate steeped in tradition, spirituality, and symbolism, Gandhi was an ideal figure around whom the political drive toward independence could congeal.

In the Indian National Congress, Gandhi turned to his previous experience in South Africa to establish the ground rules for the movement toward Indian independence. Other important INC figures included Jawaharlal Nehru, who became India's first prime minister in 1947 and served in that office for eighteen years. Nehru's father, Motilal Nehru (1861–1931), also became a leader in the INC and the independence movement after he was educated in England and returned to India to practice law.

The push for independence occurred in three interconnected stages: the noncooperative movement, the civil disobedience movement, and finally the "Quit India"

movement. None of these stages were rigidly defined; they naturally flowed into one another as a result of contemporary events. The foundational principles of the noncooperative movement included resisting the British by not buying imported goods, refusing to pay taxes, and not working for the British, rather than violence as a means of gaining independence.

A major turning point occurred in March 1930 with the Dandi March, which sparked the civil disobedience movement. In what many consider a stroke of political savvy, Gandhi chose the British taxes and regulations on salt as the issue around which to stage a protest. Every Indian, whether aristocrat or peasant, knew the value of salt, which was used as a preservative. Gandhi's highlighting of the British monopoly on salt production helped showcase the issue of native choice in daily life. In a strategic move, Gandhi and seventy-eight supporters undertook a twenty-three-day journey by foot to Dandi, a coastal region where salt was abundant. Upon their arrival, Gandhi made natural salt, thus violating the British law that only imported salt could be used or purchased. Illegal salt was being made all over the country, and many Indians, including Gandhi, were being imprisoned for doing so. Salt thus became a symbol for the injustice and oppression of the British Empire. After the Dandi March, the entire nation became more aware of the fight for sovereignty from British rule.

In 1942 Gandhi announced the "Quit India" campaign. Backed by the INC, all thoughts turned toward eliminating the British presence in India and establishing self-governance. The issuance of the declaration resulted in the British government outlawing the Indian National Congress and in the subsequent arrests of INC leaders, including Gandhi. The public fray between the INC and the British brought the Quit India campaign into prominence across the country, and resistance grew.

When the British conceded independence to India, it came with such swiftness that many of the unresolved tensions were swept aside, only to come bursting forth later. Lord Louis Mountbatten (1900–1979), the last viceroy of British India, who was in good standing with Nehru, granted the demands of the Muslim League to create a separate state, Pakistan, for Muslims. Increasingly uncomfortable in Hindu-dominated India, many in the Muslim League had agitated for the formation of a separate Muslim state. At the time of his assassination in 1948, Gandhi opposed the partitioning of India, but the speed of independence overshadowed such concerns. Violence ensued as Hindus attempted to cross newly created borders into India, while Muslims fled to Pakistan, resulting in many deaths and clouding India's long-awaited freedom from the British Raj.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; India, Imperial; Indian Army; Indian Revolt of 1857; Sepoy.*

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INDIAN OCEAN TRADE

Trade in the Indian Ocean dates back to the time of classical antiquity, if not earlier. Though there are archaeological records attesting to the fact that Indian Ocean societies had merchants shuttling between them before the time of Christ, one of the first reliable written records is the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, a geographic primer written by a Greek in Egypt in the first century C.E. Arab geographers wrote copiously about trade movements in the precolonial age, and Ibn Battuta, a Moroccan jurist, left a detailed record of his own Indian Ocean wanderings on the wings of regional commerce in the early fourteenth century. By the early fifteenth century, a Chinese traveler, Zheng He, was also traversing this ocean, only at the head of a huge treasure fleet sent by a curious Ming emperor, Zheng. He brought a giraffe from East Africa back to China on one of his ships; this augured the more concerted and rigorous economic exchanges that would commence with the dawn of the colonial age in the following century.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Southeast Asian littoral of the Indian Ocean underwent a wide variety of transitions during and after the sixteenth century that were directly caused by the collision of European and indigenous worlds. The ongoing results of this interface, however, were gradual in nature: hegemony did not arrive with the first Portuguese ships at Melaka in 1511, nor did European political and commercial power begin to truly build in much of the region until nearly 350 years later. Set against this mosaic of intrusion were local patterns of action, agency, and response. Heightened royal absolutism in the early years of contact, marked by indigenous territorial expansion, administrative centralization, and the commercial monopolies of ruling classes, gradually gave way to subsumation and finally incorporation as the European presence

The First English Trading Station in India. *This illustration from the 1727 edition of* The Voyages of Mandelslo *by Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo shows the first English trading station in India, established at Surat in 1613.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

solidified. Yet what remains to be explained in the unfolding of these processes is the actual place of Western trade as a stimulus for systemic historical change. What were the long-term results of contact, from economic, political, and modes-of-production vantages?

In the early modern age, Southeast Asia's population of 20 million traded heavily amongst themselves, mostly in the larger bulk items of commerce such as rice, dried fish, and salt. Foreign goods that entered the nexus of trade in the early European contact period fit into local systems of culture and exchange, with alcohol circulating alongside native *arrack,* tobacco alongside betel, and with Chinese porcelain being incorporated into existing dowry and burial rituals throughout much of Southeast Asia. The arrival of European ships accelerated the incorporation of a range of other goods into the region, however, such as textiles and metals.

Most pre–industrial age households in Southeast Asia aimed to be at least partially self-sufficient in cloth production, but with increased shipments of textiles from the Coromandel coasts of Southeastern India (via East India Company and country-trade ships) and still higher exports later from British India, foreign cloth became the largest item of luxury expenditure in the region. This was generally true from Sumatra to what is now Malaysia, from Siam up into Burma. Extensive cloth imports had enormous repercussions on Southeast Asian textile industries, which on the much smaller village-scale could produce only on commissioned orders as hedges against inadequate food supply.

The increased importation of metals also brought about widespread change, as substances like iron and bronze—used first for war, and second for agriculture—penetrated local communities in large quantities for the first time. Such a trade, however, was also a double-edged sword for Europeans: fantastic in its potential for profit, but also deadly if turned against Westerners themselves. This indeed eventually happened throughout Southeast

Asia's Indian Ocean rim: in Burma (in the 1820s, 1850s, and 1880s), on the Malay Peninsula throughout the nineteenth century, and particularly in Sumatra, as the Dutch began their slow crawl up that enormous island culminating in the Aceh War of 1873. Commerce could phase into resistance in this way, and this certainly happened in parts of Southeast Asia throughout the nineteenth century.

THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

In South Asia, many of these patterns were echoed and were also different at the same time. The sixteenth century, which older historiographical literature has portrayed as a cataclysmic epoch of Portuguese arrival (with the consequent fire and sword), is in modern times interpreted by scholars to have been much less than that. Though the Iberians were certainly aggressive after appearing off the coasts of Western India in 1498, overall patterns of India's trade and the mechanisms therein did not universally change during this century. While the Portuguese erected their *cartaz* (pass) system the cost to local traders was sometimes minimal. While many Indians did pay the passage fees, those in areas under weaker Portuguese surveillance and policing simply avoided it altogether. The Zamorins of Calicut and the Rajas of Cochin, Cannanore, and Quilon (all on the Malabar coast), for example, continued to trade effectively, incorporating themselves under the umbrella of Portuguese protection when they had to, but they also ignored the Portuguese at other times and in other places.

It was only with the arrival of the seventeenth century, and the far more organized Dutch and British concerns, that the balance of Indian commerce began to change. Yet even here such change often benefited Indian trade instead of crippling it, as *banians* and other brokers took advantage of new opportunities. Though historians need to be mindful of the available sources, the records actually seem to indicate that the arrival of Northern Europeans initially served as a boon for indigenous commerce, providing new capital, shipping, navigational technology, and marketing, all for Indians to use. Thus Gujarati trade extended across the Indian Ocean as far away as Manila in the 1660s, using British ships and navigation routes while Gujarati capital funded the voyages. The diversity of trade and its actors stood out in this period—by region, religion, and linguistic group—as well as by occupation, as when English pilots sailed Tamil and Bengali ships.

The eighteenth century pushed change in a new direction, which from the standpoint of Indian choices was a negative one. Although European trade did not initially hurt most Indian merchants, Indian shippers suffered a different fate: as more and more of the carrying trade was monopolized by foreign vessels, India's fleets dwindled, shrinking in competition with the new so-called "country traders." It was this special-interest bloc, diverse in its own right, that pushed the once grand Gujarati fleets off the international trade routes, and into the more minor, subsidiary role of small coastal carriers. Yet it was also these Anglo/Indian country traders—some of whom worked for the East India Company, others of whom were free agents—who began to radically alter what the great Indian historian Ashin Das Gupta has called the "strange Mughal mix of despotism, traditional rights, and equally-traditional freedoms" that was the prevailing system of trade and production in the rural Indian countryside. This involved a system of relationships that transited from port merchants to brokers, from subbrokers to headmen, and from weavers to growers throughout rural South Asia. The Industrial Revolution, with its Dickensian factories and the new importance of steam-powered engines, brought the Indian Ocean closer to Europe than it had ever been before. The numbers and carrying capacities of European ships heading south to this arena to trade rose year after year. By the nineteenth century, this entire system was under stress by the tectonic pressures of Immanel Wallerstein's burgeoning world system.

THE EAST AFRICAN LITTORAL

East Africa's coast was an important site of growing Western influence on Indian Ocean trade and production during the colonial age. Here, the salient issues were analogous to patterns elsewhere along the Indian Ocean Rim: change in the coastal population centers such as Kilwa, Mombasa, Malindi, and Mogadishu; the incorporation of increasingly important hinterlands; and the movements of local peoples, whether these were merchants, *banians,* or slaves.

Several major trends can be identified as being of primary importance among these phenomena for the East African case, however. Perhaps first and foremost was the rise of Zanzibar, which became an Omani outpost at the end of the seventeenth century and gradually developed into a commercial empire on its own accord. This vault to prominence was achieved by mercantilist means, but the Zanzibari "empire," once established, underwent fundamental structural changes over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This process, as related both by indigenous accounts such as the Ancient History of Dar es-Salaam, and period English documents, was inherently linked to Zanzibar's relations with British India. In greater perspective, these developments were also tied to the evolving world of global capitalism in general, and to the changing institution of slavery in particular.

FORT JESUS

In 1593 the Portuguese began construction of Fort Jesus to guard the Old Port of Mombasa, Kenya, a critical outpost securing their trade route to India and their territories in East Africa. Built on the Island of Mombasa, Fort Jesus was designed by the Italian architect Jao Batisto Cairato and, when viewed from the air, resembles the shape of a man. Now housing a museum, the fort is considered one of the finest remaining examples of Portuguese colonial fortifications. Prior to Fort Jesus, the Portuguese based their East African coastal operations at Malindi, north of Mombasa. Following several attacks by the Turks, however, the Portuguese decided to move their primary coastal trading center south to Mombasa Island, which provided a better natural defense. While the site proved ideal for a fortress, control of Fort Jesus nonetheless changed hands nine times between 1631 and 1875, with the Portuguese and various Arab sultans vying for control. In 1875 the British took control of the fort; they kept possession of the outpost, which they used as a prison, until Kenyan independence in 1963.

The long, extended coastline of East Africa was an arena of constant warfare and turmoil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More than elsewhere along the rim of the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese presence here proved to be not only fundamentally destabilizing, but part of a century-long pattern of violence and reprisal as different actors warred for the riches of coastal trade. Omani Arabs were involved in this contest, as were the Portuguese themselves and African communities on the coast. Initially, Fort Jesus at Mombasa was the focal point of these struggles, and good contemporary records (both eyewitness accounts and archaeological remains) attest to the ferocity of assaults on this structure from all parties. Yet by 1698–1699, it was the unobtrusive Omani station at Zanzibar that was emerging as an important new factor in regional trade and diplomacy. The small port town's influence steadily grew as the seventeenth folded into the eighteenth century only a year later.

As Zanzibar became more economically and politically incorporated into Indian Ocean circuits of exchange, its basic productive and social relations changed to accommodate new international realities. Instead of trading on its own behalf, the Zanzibari polity became a "conveyor belt" between African goods and markets and the industrializing West. Dhows and caravans that had once been utilized for predominantly mercantilist purposes were now directed toward different ends: the purchase of slaves, for instance, to populate clove and food-production plantations under Zanzibari rule, and the transit of ivory, which fetched high prices in Europe and America.

Such changes in the nature of the empire, of course, also had their reverberations on the peoples of the mainland, as weaker polities were depopulated and stronger ones were reoriented to provide desired primary materials, such as ivory and gum copal. Yet even in the metropole itself (which in this case was Zanzibar) vis-à-vis its own East African hinterland, changes rearranged the existing social fabric such that new hierarchies developed. Indians, for example, who were important traders under the old mercantilist state, were given vast new advantages by their British associations, clearly to the detriment of ethnically Arab merchants.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Omani rulers of Zanzibar were so dependent on the British military to maintain tribal stability in Oman itself, as well as on the capital that British Indians brought from the Raj, that they could do little to preclude these changes from happening. In 1862 Oman and Zanzibar were formally split in order that Britain might better control both, and in 1890 Zanzibar was named a British Protectorate.

Trade in the Indian Ocean in the early twentieth century, the twilight of European rule, evinced certain continuities and cleavages with this *longue duree* past. Commodities and the merchants who moved them continued to circulate around the rim of the ocean, often in far greater quantities (for cloves and ivory, for example) than in the past. Other lines of commerce, such as the slave trade, were discontinued in the previous century but continued in altered forms with the movement of huge numbers of indentured laborers, often from India to East Africa and Southeast Asia. The rise of independent nation-states all along the shores of the Indian Ocean, after two World Wars and a great depression, gave impetus to age-old patterns of trade to be continued, only now under the auspices of indigenous rule. In some ways, this brought the history of commerce in this great maritime space, centuries if not millennia old, full circle after the passing of the colonial age.

SEE ALSO *Bullion Trade, South and Southeast Asia; Cities and Towns in the Americas; India, Imperial; Malaysia, British, 1874–1957.*

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Eric Tagliacozzo

INDIAN REVOLT OF 1857

The Indian revolt of 1857 was a widespread Indian rebellion against British rule. The mutiny-rebellion has been the topic of fierce historical controversy. Whereas some see it as being caused by the insensitivity of the British military to the religion of its high-caste Hindu sepoys, others see it as an inevitable reaction to the British policy of annexation of heirless native states, the annexation of the province of Awadh in 1856, and the introduction of a revenue policy that disadvantaged India's landed classes. It began in Meerut city as a mutiny in the army of the English East India Company. In that year the Indian soldiers (sepoys) of the Bengal Army recruited by the English East India Company mutinied. The Company ruled India as a sovereign power until 1857. The Indian component of its army was the mainstay of its power. Thus it felt threatened as the mutinous sepoys spread the fire of protest to civilian areas. As rural India rallied around the sepoys a civil rebellion engulfed British India. The British crushed the rebellion in 1858. The Parliament did not renew the charter of the English East India Company as a result of its failure to prevent the rebellion. The Company lost its sovereign status in India. A fresh Act of parliament passed in August 1858 made the British Queen Victoria the sovereign of British India. Indians thus came directly under the rule of the British crown.

Social histories of the mutinous Bengal Army argue that the military and civil causes cannot be separated because the English East India Company had assiduously built a military culture that sustained a range of Indian traditions in its regiments. The Bengal Army included, for example, high-caste regiments, the cavalry regiments of Rohilla-Afghan freebooters, and the Gurkha regiments. This was in sharp contrast to the Madras and Bengal Armies also maintained by the English Company. These did not have such a wide-ranging cultural mix. This variety ensured a careful balancing between the army, polity, and society, and it stabilized East India Company rule in northern India.

From the 1820s, the status that sepoys and their families derived from this heterogeneous military culture began to be threatened. This was an age of financial strain for the English East India Company. Because most parts of north India were in its control, the company began to reduce its military establishment. This caused disaffection in military ranks. The already disgruntled sepoys were outraged when rumors spread that the new greased cartridges used in the Enfield rifle were made of cow and pig fat. This hurt the religious sentiments of Hindu and Muslim Sepoys. Their religion forbade them to kill and eat these animals, respectively. The introduction of greased cartridges in 1857 was merely the spark that ignited these larger resentments. The disgruntled soldiers made common cause with the Indian landed magnates and princes of the regions from which the soldiers had came.

It was the soldiers of Meerut that set the ball of mutiny rolling. On May 10, 1857, three infantry regiments of the city killed British officers and other Europeans. They burnt their bungalows and set off towards Delhi. Mutinies followed in eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar, which were the major recruiting sites of the Bengal Army. In the Bundelkhand region, rebels in Jhansi took the lead. Rebelling soldiers from Jhansi then marched to Kanpur and Delhi, which became the center of much action.

In each of these regions the most striking change preceding the revolt was the sudden displacement of the English East India Company as the chief employer by the patrons of the rebel leaders, who began to offer the sepoys the material, political, and ritual inducements that the company had hitherto monopolized. In this context, the actions of rebel leaders like Kunwar Singh in the Shahbad district of Bihar, the *rani* (princess) of Jhansi in Bundelkhand, and Nana Sahib of Bithoor were reminiscent of the East India Company's efforts to project a Hindu image for the army so as to garner sepoy support.

The Battle of Lucknow. *Indian sepoys engage British troops in 1857 at Lucknow, where some of the most intense fighting of the Indian Revolt occurred.* KEAN COLLECTION/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Whereas, in Delhi, very much like the promises of Mughal status that the company offered to its cavalry regiments recruited from this area, leaders like Bakht Khan furthered their military ambition by their promise to restore the Mughal emperor to the throne of Delhi.

The British suppressed the mutiny by use of force. The British sack of Delhi that followed was retribution for British casualties. Many mutiny leaders were killed in encounters with the British. The mutinous soldiers were subjected to court martial and publicly executed after being charged guilty. A transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown followed the revolt. The East India Company ceased to be the sovereign of India as a result of an act of parliament enacted on August 2, 1858. The new sovereign of British India was Queen Victoria. The inauguration of a new era of British rule had begun.

Nationalist historians see the 1857 rebellion as a full-blown nationalist movement that united all classes in India, but the historiography of 1857 does not substantiate this view. The consensus now is that the motivations of the rebels were both general and local, and riveted by class, caste, and family politics.

SEE ALSO *English East India Company (EIC); Indian Army; Sepoy.*

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Seema Alavi

INDIGENOUS ECONOMIES, MIDDLE EAST

The spread of the Islamic state out of Arabia in the seventh century C.E. led within just a few decades to a large empire that covered the Fertile Crescent, North

Africa, Spain, Persia, and parts of India and Central Asia. The new state afforded its newly acquired domains a centralized administration, a unified territory, and secure conditions, all of which were highly conducive to the development of agriculture, industry, and trade. Some of the institutions that structured this economic expansion were continued from earlier times and adapted to the injunctions of Islamic law, while others were developed by Muslim jurists to accommodate the needs of business and production.

The discussion below first considers the major institutions that structured the economy of the Middle East—land tenure, guilds and markets, financial and production structures, and taxation—and then briefly surveys the historical development of Middle Eastern economies.

LAND TENURE

Land tenure and land taxation in the Middle East varied according to time and place as their form depended on both Islamic and state law, but a few overarching principles can be identified. Islamic law considers that land belongs to the Creator and is gifted by Him to His creatures. Thus land ultimately belongs to the community, a principle that in turn allows a community's members to hold land privately, and also grants the rights of usufruct, sale, and inheritance. The state, then, as the representative of the community, has the right to tax land (as it is rented from the community at large), as well as to confiscate it if left unproductive. Productive land then may be acquired through purchase or inheritance or by reclaiming wasteland, after which the normal rules of private property and taxation apply to it; agricultural land may be held and worked individually (or through hired labor) or collectively by villages that then divide the produce into individual shares. Two categories of land fall outside this general scheme: *mulk*, that is, inalienable and nontaxable property that is used for private dwellings (mainly houses and small orchards) and to which all the principles of private ownership apply; and *waqf*, that is, any property (*mulk* or otherwise) deeded by its owner to serve as a foundation or endowment for a segment of the community—such as students or jurists—or an institution with a public purpose, such as a mosque, school, or hospital. A *waqf* is inalienable; it cannot be sold or purchased, nor can its original purpose be changed. Whatever income it generates can be spent only on the specified purpose and any related administrative costs.

In practice, though the broad lines of Islamic law were followed, the state could and did implement its own rules regardless of the jurists' views. From the second half of the eighth century, during the early Abbassid period, the state arrogated to itself the right to grant large estates from its vast holdings to powerful figures whom the caliph wanted to reward or reconcile with, though Islamic rules of inheritance provided for their eventual subdivision. Under the Ottomans (1450–1921), land that was neither *mulk* nor *waqf* was categorized as state land (*miri*); new regulations were introduced, establishing the principle that cultivators owned only the usufruct, so that the land could not be sold or parceled out among heirs (who would have to own it collectively). Though village agricultural land was often held in this way, traditional patterns of landholding remained generally in force throughout the Middle East.

GUILDS AND MARKETS

By the nineteenth century, craftsmen and artisans throughout the Middle East were organized in guilds, which were patterned after the *waqf* structure found in Islamic law schools. A master craftsman headed the guild, flanked by associate artisans who supervised the apprentices. The guilds regulated the prices of finished products as well as the wages and employment of artisans; the system was strictly controlled in order to maintain income protection and product quality. Traders were similarly organized, though it was often the case that merchants also owned factories and controlled part of the production process. Crafts and industry developed mainly in the cities, which were the primary markets for the adjoining countryside. A *muhtasib* was in charge of ensuring that the city was properly supplied; he also supervised the market, ensuring honesty in the calculation of weights and measurements and watching for hoarding or abusive monopoly practices that would cause price instability.

FINANCIAL AND PRODUCTION STRUCTURES

Throughout the Middle East, taxes on land often consisted of a percentage of the harvest, but most transactions, and especially trade, used currency, which was minted and controlled by the state from the very beginning of the Umayyad dynasty (661–750). Indeed, for several centuries gold and silver coins minted in the Middle East were international instruments of payment (except in China, which for a while required the use of its paper currency). To facilitate international trade, money was deposited with banks that issued local orders of payment (*hawāla*), as well as bills of exchange (*suftāja*), throughout the trade routes. The letters of credit on which trade agents drew could be issued by their employers or the employer's bank.

Islamic law provided for a number of instruments intended to promote production and trade. Land partnerships (*muzāra'a* and *musāqāt*) allowed for the maximization of production by bringing together land, capital, and labor. Business partnership could be of two

kinds: proprietary (*sharikat al mulk*) or commercial (i.e., contractual) (*sharikat al 'aqd*). The first implied joint ownership of capital, whereas the second covered labor, capital (*mudāraba*), and credit (*wujūh*) partnerships. Although some jurists allowed some forms of unlimited partnerships (under stringent rules), most partnerships were of the limited kind (*'inān*). The latter category included labor partnerships that were used in agriculture and crafts; capital partnership (which would eventually be introduced into Europe through Italian traders as the *commenda*) could also be used in those fields, though it was mostly used in trade. The terms of partnerships and the distribution of profits and losses according to specified shares were strictly governed by the law to ensure that contracts would not become usurious. Contracts required witnesses to be valid but were not always recorded in writing.

TAXATION

Taxes were levied on the basis of Islamic law, but the state could and did add as many new taxes as it wished (despite occasional objections from the jurists). Besides the *zakāt* (levied upon Muslims) and the *jizya* (levied upon non-Muslims), state land was subject to either the *kharāj* (which could consist of up to 50 percent of the produce) or the *'ushr* (10 percent of the produce). Crafts and industries were generally taxed around 10 percent of their production and various taxes and customs regulated trade profit. Taxes and methods of collection varied widely according to time and locale. Whereas early on the central government received taxes directly through its governors, the eventual weakening of the state forced it to delegate the right to collect taxes to the semi-independent emirates that divided the empire and gave only formal allegiance to the Abbassid caliph in Baghdad.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Agriculture, the basis of the economy in the pre-Islamic Middle East, flourished with the Islamic expansion. A large variety of cereals, vegetables, and fruits became available as traders brought back new species to their native land. Revolutionary changes in irrigation techniques and soil management, helped by new advances in physics and chemistry and the blossoming of sciences in general, brought much more land under cultivation and made land more productive than previously possible. This, in turn, led to a sizable population increase and the development of two primary industries, textiles and sugar refining, which in turn led to expanded agricultural production of cotton, flax, and sugarcane. This expansion and experimentation with new plants also led to the development of various new medicines, cosmetics,

perfumes, and so on. A variety of other new products and techniques were developed or introduced as well, including types of pottery, glass, bookbinding, leather goods, paper (brought back from China), ships, armaments, tools, and so on. Three main trade routes (the Silk Road through Persia and Central Asia, the Persian Gulf route, and the Red Sea route) linked the Middle East to the Far East, which remained its most important trade partner for several centuries. Textiles, sugar, glass, medicine, and agricultural products were exported and silk, spices, precious stones, and paper (at first) were imported.

Political developments were to somewhat hamper these achievements, however. The flourishing economy of the early centuries, though maintained at first despite the fragmentation of the empire into small emirates, could not sustain the blows dealt by successive foreign invasions that were facilitated by the emirates' intense political and sectarian infighting. The disruptive effect of the Crusades, which started in 1095 and lasted for almost two centuries, was compounded by the Mongol attacks that culminated in the sack of Baghdad in 1258. Indeed, these attacks would have devastated the Muslim world had the Crusaders and a faction of Isma'īlīs (a small sect whose members governed Fatimid Egypt and parts of Syria) been successful in their attempts to establish an alliance with the Mongols. It was not until the region was united again under the control of the Sunnī rulers Nūr al Dīn (d. 1174) and Saladin (d. 1193) that both Crusaders and Mongols were repulsed and the economy could grow again.

The descendants of Saladin did not rule for long, however, as Syria and Egypt were soon overtaken by the powerful Mamluk military dynasty (1250–1517). But the return of security, the unification of Central Asia under the Golden Horde, and the subsequent Mongol conversion to Islam (starting with the Il-Khans who controlled Iraq and Persia) paved the way for another great expansion in industry and trade, which lasted throughout the thirteenth century. The state, whose tax revenues increased when trade flourished, provided protection to merchants by taxing their competitors, ensuring the security of their ships, and jealously guarding access to the trade routes. The great expansion in trade gave rise to an oligarchy of powerful merchants in Egypt, known as the Karīmī merchants, many of whom were also factory and ship owners. However, while the Mamluks encouraged industry and trade, they also formed a ruling class that to some extent interfered in the production process. They provided their own dynastic members the right to collect taxes from agricultural districts while not paying any on their own factories, and to impose the *corvée* (forced labor) on their estates. The

state became an economic agent with monopolistic tendencies that slowed down competition and production.

DECLINE AND STAGNATION

The main cause of the economy's decline arose from natural factors, however. The expansion of the thirteenth century came to an abrupt halt with the spread from the East of the Black Death (1347–1350); Syria and Egypt were ravaged and lost almost half of their population. In Egypt, local industries were taken over by the state and became state monopolies. The weakened rulers found themselves bereft of revenue and vulnerable to the incursions of Tamerlane (d. 1405) throughout the fourteenth century. As a result, exploitative taxes that made economic conditions even worse were imposed on the peasants. Bad administration and lack of competition lowered the level and quality of the state-owned monopolized industries. In addition, the circumnavigation of Africa allowed European traders to bypass the Middle East and break its monopoly over trade routes.

The resulting political and economic weakness of the region allowed the rising Ottoman state, which had already spread throughout Anatolia, to expand southward in the fifteenth century and to incorporate Syria and Egypt under its rule. The return of security and of a centralized government that provided protection along trade routes, repaired irrigation systems, organized taxation, and removed trade barriers, allowed for an economic renewal in Syria and Egypt during the sixteenth century (though most of Iraq remained a battleground between the Safavids of Persia and the Ottomans until it finally fell to the latter in 1638). Villages that had been abandoned were occupied again and the population seems to have increased by as much as 40 percent. Despite increased competition from Europe, industry and crafts found local markets and niches in the international market; thus, when the Portuguese monopolized the spice trade, merchants shifted to another highly sought commodity, coffee, which originated from Yemen.

But the sixteenth-century expansion did not generate the steadily accelerating growth that was occurring in Europe. While local production did not decline over the next two centuries (as evidenced by the sustained tax receipts collected by the Ottomans), it did not grow either. A number of factors contributed to this stagnancy. One of the main problems was the renewed onset of the plague, which struck several times in Cairo and Syria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, leading to a stagnant or even declining population (in contrast with European population growth). Competition from cheaper European finished goods, a slow recovery from plague epidemics, the need for immediate income, and

the increasing European demand for raw materials drew the peasants into a reliance on cash crops and led to a corresponding stagnation in crafts and industry. The guilds were unprepared to meet this challenge, as their structure did not encourage competition: guilds restricted and controlled entry into given professions, prohibited the merging of different crafts, and supervised finished products and their prices. The situation was made worse by a devaluation of the currency due to the import of cheap silver from America.

However, the main reason for the stagnation of the economy resides in the taxation system, which varied according to political conditions. In Anatolia and Syria, the Ottomans had instituted the *timar* system, which guaranteed to the state a certain part of the taxes collected by the *sipahis* (Ottoman cavalrymen), with the rest going to fund local administration as well as a local army that could be enlisted when needed. In Egypt, an Ottoman governor was appointed to collect taxes directly and there was no attempt at creating a local army. However, continued warfare and the need to keep up with European military advances and innovations forced the Ottoman state to create a standing army and to increase its military expenditures. The *timar* and *ziamet* systems were discontinued in favor of a system based on the sale of "tax farms" (*iltizām*), in which the tax farmer collected taxes over specific agricultural areas or urban crafts and industries. These tax farms were then auctioned off to local elites. Such sales raised immediate funds—and in effect resulted in deficit financing. The assigning of lucrative *iltizāms* led to social reorganization: the Mamluk upper class that had been shunted aside reasserted itself in Egypt and a class of *a'yān* (notables) arose in Syria. It also led to conflict and sometimes bitter feuding; in Syria, local military men, Ottoman Janissaries, merchants, *'ulamā'* (Muslim scholars), and owners of large estates all competed with each other to acquire *iltizāms*, while in Egypt the competition was between the great Mamluk houses. The assignment of *iltizāms* was initially temporary, but as this led to abusive taxation of the peasants, the tax farm was eventually given for life and then on a hereditary basis (*malikane*), with the hope that the tax farmer would seek to protect his source of income by refraining from unduly disrupting peasant farming. But the *multazims* (holders of *iltizām*) did often disrupt the production process: by cultivating large estates, by first providing credit to farmers who could not keep up with taxes, and then eventually seizing their property, or by purchasing the entire crop of a region and hoarding it in order to manipulate prices. There was as a result a considerable increase in *waqf ahlī*, private property that could not be bought or sold and was set up solely for the use of the descendants of the owner, who avoided in this way seizure of the land by creditors.

Thus the attempt at creating a new economic system faltered mainly because of the formation of an elite class that could not rule and whose only interest was to maximize its revenues. Whereas in the past, the state used part of its tax revenues for reinvestment in the agricultural system and provided security, public repairs, and legal protection, the new class now used their revenues only for consumption and power consolidation, and extorted and imposed illegal taxes on the peasants. And while it was true that customary law, which protected the individual, did not allow actual enserfment of the peasants, who resisted the extortions by fleeing, revolting, or seeking the protection of nomadic tribes, the political conditions were such that the peasants could be abused. The result was that more than two thirds of their produce was taken away from them, and agricultural production could not develop and be maximized.

REVIVAL

During the nineteenth century, the economy expanded again as the plague disappeared and the population increased at a very high rate. In turn, this growth led to more agricultural production, exports of raw materials, and expansion in the local industries. However, the political conditions did not allow for industrial growth. In Egypt, the extortions of the elite led to social instability, urban revolts, and the flight of peasants from their villages. This chaotic situation allowed Muhammad ʿAlī, who had been sent by the Ottomans with a garrison in the wake of the French invasion of 1798, to seize power and become governor of Egypt. Suppressing the old Mamluk elite, ʿAlī embarked on an ambitious program of economic reform, Westernization of the educational system, and cadre formation. Land was expropriated and administered directly by the state, as was trade. Agriculture improved, irrigation was expanded, and new crops (especially a new breed of cotton that proved very successful) led to some trade growth. But the economy had become primarily a state venture and all entrepreneurial possibilities were eliminated. Furthermore, Muhammad ʿAlī's relative success in forming a new army led him to challenge the Ottoman state and invade Syria, prompting intervention by France and Great Britain to stop him.

Following this European intervention, Syria reverted to Ottoman rule, but the Ottoman state, overwhelmed with internal problems, was not able to maintain effective control. The old system of *iltizām* was restored and the struggle between the tax farmers and the peasantry resumed. Further penetration by Western goods, aided by Western governments who obtained low tariffs on their merchandise and imposed high customs on imports, made industrial production sluggish. And though trade (mostly, the importing of finished goods and the exporting of raw materials) improved generally, the Capitulations, agreements the Ottoman state was forced to make with Western powers, provided special privileges for Western traders and their protégés, Christian and Jewish minorities. The latter found themselves prospering and attracting popular anger and resentment.

In Egypt, the downside of Muhammad ʿAlī's creation of a state economy came to a head when prices for cotton fell worldwide. Centralized and inefficient administration and lack of an entrepreneurial class prevented industry from adjusting to these circumstances. The state resorted to hoarding, which in turn pushed its trading partners into bankruptcy; the resulting lack of revenues and the high cost of administration forced Muhammad ʿAlī to redistribute large tracts of land to family members and associates in return for upfront tax payment. His descendants made things worse by taking on public works projects financed with foreign loans, often made at terms unfavorable to the state. This led to further borrowing from European powers, paving the way for ultimate bankruptcy and, as a result of the ensuing popular unrest, colonization by Great Britain. As for the Ottoman state, the same policy of borrowing, pursued in order to finance the military it needed to defend itself, led to its eventual financial and military demise and allowed Western colonial powers to seize Syria and Iraq at the conclusion of World War I.

SEE ALSO *Capitulations, Middle East; International Trade in the Pre-Modern Period, Middle East.*

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Maysam J. al Faruqi

INDIGENOUS RESPONSES, EAST ASIA

To analyze the historical experience of East Asia and its interaction with the West, including the United States, it is necessary to recognize that such indigenous responses were initiated by major trends radiating out of Western Europe. These trends include the expansion of European industrial-capitalist modernization because of inter-European rivalry, Protestant as well as Catholic

Christian evangelization, and the rise of imperialistic colonialism across the world in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. When the United States initially interacted with East Asian civilizations in the early 1800s, it did so as a third-tier Western power, often piggybacking on the much more extensive and intrusive activities of Europeans. East Asian nations did not clearly distinguish between European and American culture until the United States rose in the twentieth century to world-power status.

In the long historical period prior to the arrival of Westerners in East Asia, the region was influenced primarily by the ancient Chinese civilization and secondarily by subcontinental Indian religion and culture. Asians were accustomed to political and cultural influences, negative and positive, coming to them over land from the west via the Silk Road (an ancient trade route), by ship on the Indian Ocean, or on horseback from the northern steppes. The arrival of Western Europeans in south Chinese seaports in the 1500s on trading ships— later followed by military flotillas—was a new phenomenon that was not viewed as a major threat by the great and small peoples of East Asia. However, in the 1800s the superior firepower held by the Western traders enabled the East Asian region and peoples to be systematically absorbed into a colonial empire system with radically different religious, technological, political, commercial, and social elements from the indigenous Asian societies. The resulting psychological shock followed by backlash strongly contributed to the rise of modern nationalism in East Asia in the twentieth century.

Imperial China during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, an empire of different cultures and peoples, thought of itself as the natural leader of Asia. It was ill-equipped to deal with the arrival of Westerners, especially the British, whose own industrialization depended upon the opening up of new markets and the search for more raw materials. When China was reluctant to, and even hostile toward, trade for Western goods, European merchants blamed local Chinese bureaucrats and regulations. The British in two Opium Wars (1839–1842 and 1856–1860) humbled the Chinese military and forced China to permit westerners to establish zones for trade and residence in major Chinese coastal cities. Such Western European economic imperialism was explained away by the West as bringing civilization and modernization to the barbaric Asian world.

For the Chinese to be thought of and treated by Westerners as unequal inferiors, particularly as codified in the unequal treaties, was unbearable. It was considered shameful for the Manchu Chinese officials in Peking (modern Beijing) and in the treaty ports to be revealed as powerless to stop foreign encroachment. This identity crisis intensified as the Western foreign powers (Britain, Russia, Germany, France, and Belgium) moved north into China, carving out large territories in which Chinese people were barred and local laws were not Chinese but Western.

In response to such treatment and feelings of both inferiority and anger, local antiforeigner movements mushroomed. The two most famous violent responses were the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) and the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901). Also, there was an intellectual self-strengthening movement within the Chinese government and intelligentsia after the 1840s to study "Western learning." Despite some success, this movement ultimately failed because Chinese officials could not abandon their old Confucian bureaucratic mentality. The United States, which did not have any concessions, in 1899 declared an "open-door" policy to protect China from total dismemberment, and this action made a strong favorable impression on the Chinese people.

With the fading of Chinese influence in Asia in the 1800s, the Western powers took over the peripheral Southeast Asian states that had acknowledged Chinese suzerainty. France colonized Vietnam and established a protectorate over Cambodia. Britain moved into Burma (Myanmar) from subcontinental India and built up the colony of Hong Kong. The Dutch took over the Muslim island chain of Indonesia. The United States, feeling locked out of China, turned its attention to Japan, which had an isolationist Tokugawa government that only permitted one Western trading ship a year to land at its southern city of Nagasaki.

In 1853 U.S. Admiral Matthew Perry (1794–1858) led a small flotilla, known as the Black Ships, into today's Tokyo Bay to force the Japanese to abandon their isolationist policies. The Japanese response to the shock of the arrival of American and other Western armed trading vessels was seen twelve years later in the Meiji Restoration (1868). For the next thirty years, Japan embraced Western technology and successfully modernized the military and domestic industrial sector. The success of this modernization was revealed clearly in the early 1900s when Japan defeated both the Czarist Russian and the Chinese navies, and became a colonial power in China, Taiwan, and Korea. The May Fourth Movement of 1919 was a Chinese backlash to this Japanese militarism, but imperial Japanese aggression continued to expand throughout Asia until open conflict with the United States and Britain broke out during World War II (1939–1945).

Despite the loss of the Russo-Japanese War, Russia's centuries-long push into Asia continued across Siberia to the Pacific and then down into Mongolia. The Mongols,

who had been allies of the Manchus during the Qing period, lost much territory during the dynasty to the Chinese in southern Inner Mongolia, and were in danger of total incorporation. When in 1911 the Qing dynasty was overthrown and the Chinese Republic was founded, Mongolia found support for its independence from the Bolshevik Russian government newly installed in Moscow. Mongolia became a communist republic in 1924 and remained a Soviet satellite—independent but strongly influenced by the Russians—until there was a peaceful democratic revolution in 1990.

Asian indigenous reactions toward the United States as distinct from the European West generally did not become pronounced throughout the region until after World War II. After the United States defeated and occupied Japan, it attained superpower status and vied with the Soviet Union for influence in East Asia in conflicts in Korea and Vietnam. Japan was drawn into the American orbit, while other Asian nations achieved independence by rejecting their Western occupiers. Often nationalist movements among the indigenous peoples became mixed with communist peasant movements, particularly in China, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

With the end of the Cold War period in the 1990s and the new economic global integration, the triumph of liberal democratic market systems is now labeled (or criticized) as "American" rather than "Western." Yet such East Asian reactions are intertwined intimately with nationalistic responses to the forced economic, social, cultural, and military changes inflicted by Western nations over centuries in successive waves upon historic, indigenous East Asian societies.

SEE ALSO *Assimilation, East Asia and Pacific; Boxer Uprising; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, to the First Opium War; Chinese Revolutions; Empire, Japanese; Korea, from World War II; Korea, to World War II; Self-Strengthening Movements, East Asia and the Pacific; Taiping Rebellion; Treaties, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Alicia Campi

INDIGENOUS RESPONSES, THE PACIFIC

Some three millennia ago, the ancestors of the indigenous people of Oceania began migrating from Asia across the vast stretches of ocean between the island groups that today constitute Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. What prompted this migration has been a matter of great conjecture, but at some point the migrations out of Asia became inconsequential and Oceania entered into a long period of isolation from the rest of the world. Although there were significant movements of populations across the region that periodically reshaped the cultures of particular islands or island groups, cultural influences from outside the region remained negligible.

So, when European explorers first began crossing the Pacific in the sixteenth century, the indigenous people of the region were truly dismayed at the sudden appearance of a very different race of men with strange customs and very dangerous armaments. Although the explorers were sometimes keen to demonstrate the firepower of their vessels and crews, they generally attempted to establish amicable relations with the indigenous people. Unfortunately, the early seamen's tales of tropical paradises populated by hospitable, handsome, and sexually uninhibited natives attracted equally large numbers of unscrupulous adventurers and zealous missionaries. Both groups undermined the customs and traditions that had for millennia governed the behavior of the indigenous people. The adventurers disregarded the codes of responsibility that governed the seemingly unconstrained behavior of natives, and the missionaries condemned the indigenous culture as degenerate and wished to eradicate it, to replace native beliefs and mores with Christian doctrines and principles.

Ironically, because representatives of European governments, religions, and commercial enterprises all wished to enter into favorable and uncomplicated agreements with the indigenous people, they essentially superimposed authoritarian indigenous regimes on societies that had traditionally stressed local autonomy, systems of shared authority, and complex customs governing relations between communities. Thus, at the point where

European culture was poised to overwhelm the indigenous cultures, the resistance of the indigenous people was undermined by tensions between the supporters of the new authoritarian regimes and those natives who resisted such regimes in the name of indigenous traditions.

Like indigenous people in other regions of the world, the Pacific islanders had no resistance to many communicable diseases introduced by Europeans, and as their social institutions were undermined, they seemed especially susceptible to such consequences of personal degradation and communal decline as alcoholism and venereal disease. Furthermore, as Europeans sought to exploit the natural resources of the islands, they attempted alternately to recruit or to conscript indigenous laborers. Unused to such heavy, regimented work and weakened further by the effects of poor arrangements for accommodating large concentrations of workers, the indigenous population suffered additional dramatic declines. As a result, European colonials began to import large numbers of Indian and Chinese laborers, in much the same way as enslaved Africans were brought to the West Indies to offset the devastation of Native American populations. Although most groups of Pacific islanders never disappeared as completely as the Ciboney, Arawak, and Carib, they sometimes became minority populations in their own homelands.

In the nineteenth century, the European powers formally defined their spheres of influence across the Pacific, much as they did in Africa and Asia. Despite the relative brevity of the formal colonial rule, the British and French, in particular, left an enduring cultural legacy. In many places across Oceania, British or French influence continues to define the local culture more pointedly than indigenous practices and traditions. The American victory in the Spanish-American War (1898) and the German defeat in World War I (1914–1918) combined to make the United States and the Japanese Empire the emergent powers in the region during the interwar period. The awesome scale of the military operations in the Pacific during World War II brought many of the trends during the colonial period to a terrible climax. The indigenous populations experienced extensive and extended dislocations. The tremendous numbers of men and amounts of material introduced into the region permanently changed the face and pace of life in the islands. What had previously been imported only at great cost was now available in surplus—as war surplus.

After the surrender of Japan, the Pacific region did not experience the same convulsive movement toward independence as many of the other former territories within the European colonial empires. The indigenous populations were simply not concentrated or cohesive

enough for revolution. In fact, as American influence spread throughout the region, the islands increasingly became welfare states, dependent on U.S. foreign aid for their very survival. It was not until the 1970s that some of the island groups became autonomous territories and then, politically, fully independent states. Still, most remained economically dependent states. The increasing economic reliance on tourism and the increasing emphasis on material culture has created environmental issues that threaten to become a crisis. Most pointedly, there is simply not enough space to dispose of burgeoning amounts of waste in conventional ways. The very coral reefs that have for millennia protected many of the islands from storms have, in the space of several decades, created toxic lagoons in which industrial and human waste have ruined the colonies of fish that once sustained the islanders by providing their primary source of protein.

SEE ALSO *China, After 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, to the First Opium War; Chinese Revolutions; Compradorial System; Empire, Japanese; Korea, from World War II; Korea, to World War II; Self-Strengthening Movements, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Martin Kich

INDIRECT RULE, AFRICA

Although the historiography of indirect rule in Africa is abundant, the subject is still generally misunderstood, misunderstood in its origins, meaning, operation, and significance.

Historically, imperialist regimes generally controlled conquered peoples through the agency of the local ruling elite. They did so for practical reasons. While the elite

were allowed to reign according to their local laws, customs, and political institutions, they were required to acknowledge the overlordship of the conqueror and to respect it. Failure to do so resulted in their deposition and replacement with those willing to accept the new dispensation. This is *indirect rule* broadly defined.

There was a degree of cooperation between the colonizer and the colonized, and it exhibited various manifestations to suit prevailing circumstances. Indirect rule was not, therefore, a concept invented by the British colonial administrator Frederick Lugard (1858–1945) as the proper system for governing the Islamic emirates of northern Nigeria. Even in Nigeria, such a system was already in place in the south before Lugard conquered the emirates. In addition, a "warrant chief" system, which was devised for societies where no centrally recognized authority existed, was in operation in southern Nigeria by 1891.

Nevertheless, it was Lugard who modified and popularized indirect rule, elevating it to the status of a doctrine. A passage in his *Political Memoranda* (1906), a set of official instructions to his colonial administrative officers in northern Nigeria, states: "There are not two sets of rulers—British and Native—working either separately or in cooperation, but a single Government in which native Chiefs have well-defined duties and an acknowledged status equally with the British Officers. Their duties should never conflict and should overlap as little as possible" (Bello 1962, p.73). The chiefs, in short, were not subordinates or inferiors to the officers but were agents who cooperated with them in the great civilizing mission.

Later, Donald Cameron, former colonial governor of Tanganyika and Nigeria, respectively (1872–1948), and a "Lugardian," explained that it was vital that African institutions, which the chiefs "have inherited, molded or modified as they may do on the advice of British officers," should "develop in a constitutional manner" (Karugire 1980, p. 116). The contradictions inherent in both passages are clear and need no further explanation. The bottom line is that native chiefs were not independent actors but rather junior partners in the colonial enterprise who could be dispensed with at will by the senior partner. Lugardian indirect rule, whether of the emirate or warrant chief variety, was a paternalist concept, replete with irreconcilable contradictions, and indeed, a convenient fiction necessary for the justification of colonialism. It did not take long to realize that Lugardism could not be applied in practice without undermining colonialism.

In 1922 Lugard published his famous *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, ostensibly a reiteration and elaboration, but actually a rationalization of a doctrine that was clearly in trouble. Curiously, the book made Lugard an international celebrity in the interwar years. Indirect rule became a sort of occult science, the quintessential bible for governing colonial peoples. The British government adopted it for most of its African colonies, except in those colonies where the existence of prefabricated white colonial collaborators made it superfluous. The League of Nations also appointed Lugard as its advisor regarding the proper governance of colonial peoples. France, Portugal, and Belgium joined the bandwagon, perhaps against their better judgment, and adopted modified forms of indirect rule.

Indirect rule was considered necessary for practical, economic, and climatic reasons. It functioned within "Native Councils" and minor courts, which were responsible for local administration. The councils, which comprised traditional rulers, made bylaws, regulated matters of local interest, tried minor cases, enforced the construction of community access roads and buildings with no monetary compensation for the workers, and performed other functions dictated by the colonial officials.

For the most part, this flawed system functioned better in societies where, prior to colonization, government was centralized; in the noncentralized societies it was less successful. In either case, the chiefs generally were unaware of their powers, obligations, and rights; their place was not properly defined; they were under the thumb of colonial officers; and the exclusion of the Western-educated elite from participation in local administration caused the system to come under sustained attack by the emerging nationalists in the post-1930 period, primarily because the system was an impediment to the rise of nationalism, the establishment of democracy, and the regaining of independence.

SEE ALSO *Indirect Rule, Africa; Lugard, Frederick John Dealtry.*

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G. N. Uzoigwe

INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE, STRUGGLE FOR

The Indonesian Revolution took place immediately after the Japanese surrender in World War II on August 15, 1945, lasted until the end of that year, and was in part political and in part social. The revolution had been in the making for years. Before the war the expanding colonial state not only educated a modern Indonesian elite that started to strive for a more democratic colonial government, it also modernized Indonesian society, which undermined the power and influence of traditional aristocratic rulers who used to be the most important allies of the colonial state. However, in response to the wishes of the modern Indonesian elite, the Dutch colonial government only halfheartedly introduced a few semidemocratic institutions and stuck to its traditional allies. The leaders of the Indonesian nationalist movement were, with a few exceptions, imprisoned or banned to a small number of peripheral places in the archipelago.

World War II shook the already weakened foundations of the Dutch colonial state. The ease with which the Japanese army defeated Dutch colonial forces and occupied the Dutch East Indies fundamentally altered the way Indonesians perceived Dutch power in the archipelago. The prestige upon which colonial rule rested had disappeared. Second, during the Japanese occupation, Dutch officials and civilians were interned in prison camps and virtually disappeared in Indonesian society. Third, and most importantly, Japanese authorities mobilized the Indonesian population on Java. The most influential nationalist leader, Soekarno (1901–1970), was brought out of internment to Java and was allowed to address the Javanese people. Javanese youth were trained in a semimilitary fashion and organized in paramilitary organizations.

As the war progressed, the Javanese *pemuda* (youth) increasingly took a radical and independent position toward the Japanese and also toward the issue of Indonesian independence. In response, Japanese authorities promised Indonesia a degree of independence. They created the Badan Penjelidik Oesaha-Oesaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan (Committee to Investigate Independence),

Achmed Sukarno (1902–1970). *The Indonesian nationalist leader, statesman, and president, photographed on January 4, 1949.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

which came together for the first time in Jakarta in May 1945. During the meetings of this committee, Sukarno formulated his doctrine of *Pancasila* (Five Principles), the state ideology of independent Indonesia: nationalism, humaneness, democracy, social justice, and belief in one God. However, it took until August 7, 1945, before the Japanese authorities allowed the establishment of the Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, the committee to prepare actual Indonesian independence.

This meant that on the day of Japan's surrender in 1945, nothing was arranged with regard to a possible independence of Indonesia. The main nationalist leaders, Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta (1902–1980), were very much surprised by the sudden collapse of the Japanese Empire and had no clear ideas on how to proceed further. However, for many Indonesian *pemuda* it was obvious that the time had come for Indonesia to declare itself fully independent on its own terms. When Sukarno and Hatta reacted with hesitancy, they were kidnapped

by angry *pemuda* and brought to army barracks east of Jakarta. The *pemuda* expected an uprising by the population of the capital, but when this uprising did not materialize, they returned Sukarno and Hatta to the city. There, the Japanese admiral Tadashi Maeda promised not to interfere when Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the independence of Indonesia.

Under pressure from the *pemuda* and with the assurances of the Japanese authorities in Jakarta, Sukarno and Hatta wrote a short declaration of independence, which on August 17, 1945, Sukarno read in front of his house at the Jalan Pegangsaan Timur: "We, the people of Indonesia, declare the independence of Indonesia. All matters regarding the transition of power will be dealt with in an orderly fashion and as soon as possible." A day later, a makeshift parliament adopted a constitution and elected Sukarno to be the first president of the Republic of Indonesia and Hatta to be the first vice president. However, at that moment, the Republic of Indonesia existed only on paper, without an effective bureaucracy or powerful police and security forces.

In the meantime, the old colonial power, the Netherlands, had no means to respond to the events in Indonesia. The Dutch not only lacked military forces in the region, formal power on Sumatra and Java was in the hands of the British supreme commander in Southeast Asia, Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten (1900–1979). Mountbatten was convinced that Asian nationalism was a force to be reckoned with. Therefore, he left the countryside to the Republic of Indonesia and deployed his forces only in a few important cities along the coast, with the aim of transporting Japanese forces out of the country and of helping imprisoned and interned European military and civilians. As August progressed, this project became more and more difficult due to a rising revolutionary fever among the Indonesian people. When Dutch Lieutenant Governor-general H. J. van Mook (1894–1965) returned to Batavia—as he knew Jakarta—on October 2, 1945, he had to conclude that the situation for the Dutch was much worse than he had expected.

From the start of October onward, the Indonesian Revolution became a chaotic and bloody affair. The disappearance of the Japanese, the arrival of Allied forces, and the return of some of the Dutch from imprisonment or internment to their houses, resulted in attacks on Dutch civilians and property. Dutch houses were searched, and Dutch and Indo-European citizens were executed under the cry *siaaap!* (be prepared). The period became known as the Bersiap period.

The situation for the Dutch became even more difficult when Indonesians started an economic boycott against them on October 13. However, most frightening for the Dutch were the radical *pemuda*, who roamed the streets, raped women, and killed as they pleased. They not only targeted the Dutch, but also Chinese citizens who did not join the anti-Dutch economic boycott. In addition, Indonesians who cooperated with the Dutch, such as Ambonese and Menadonese members of the Dutch colonial army, were also attacked, resulting in bloody revenge from their side. It is not known how many people died during the Bersiap period. An estimated 3,500 Dutch were killed, but many others went missing.

In the Javanese countryside, the rage of the *pemuda* was directed against the members of the aristocratic elite who before the war had cooperated with the Dutch colonial rulers. In western Java, a revolutionary council took power and jailed the old elite. In central Java, in particular in the regency of Pekalongan, the same happened during the so-called Tiga Daerah Affair—or "Three Regencies Affair". Village chiefs, districts leaders, police officers, Chinese, and Indo-Europeans were attacked, kidnapped, imprisoned, or murdered. Elsewhere on Java and Sumatra, similar events occurred. It all resulted in chaos and the weakening of the position of the traditional indigenous elite.

The revolution made a return to colonial rule more and more unlikely because it undermined directly the foundations of the old colonial state. But the disorder also made the position of the government of the Republic of Indonesia more difficult. In order to counter the chaos on Java and Sumatra, Sukarno and Hatta founded on October 5, 1945, a national army, the Tentara Keamenan Rakjat (TKR), and named the thirty-year-old Sudirman (1915–1950) *panglima besar*, or supreme commander. However, the new government only slowly managed to establish order in the revolutionary chaos. To protect Dutch and Indo-European civilians, it established approximately 220 "protection camps" on Java, where more than 35,000 persons found refuge.

One of the worst episodes of the Indonesian Revolution took place in Surabaya. In the middle of October, approximately six thousand British soldiers entered the town, only to be welcomed by hostile revolutionary gangs that were supported by the Scottish-born American artist Muriel Pearson (1899–1997)—nicknamed Surabaya Sue, but better known as K'tut Tantri. The Indonesian government barely managed to keep order. The fragile order collapsed when British Brigadier General A. W. S. Mallaby was killed on October 30. The British decided to attack Surabaya; the "Battle of Surabaya" started on November 10 (a date later commemorated as Hari Pahlawan—or "National Heroes Day" in Indonesia) and lasted until November 26, after which the British controlled the city.

The Netherlands Recognizes Indonesia's Independence. *On December 27, 1949, Queen Juliana of the Netherlands met in Amsterdam with Indonesian prime minister Mohammed Hatta (left of the queen), Dutch prime minister Willem Drees (right), and others to sign the agreement formally recognizing Indonesia's independence.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

After the Battle of Surabaya, the government of Indonesia slowly took full control of the countryside. The independence of Indonesia had come in a revolutionary way. *Pemuda* had forced the nationalist leaders Sukarno and Hatta to proclaim the independence of Indonesia, while revolutionary gangs made clear that there was no future for Dutch or Indo-European citizens in the new Indonesia. The Indonesian Revolution also aimed at the traditional aristocratic elites who had cooperated with the Dutch. Their position in society was undermined, which made a return to colonial rule even more unlikely. However, a full social revolution never materialized, since it was in the interest of the government of the Republic of Indonesia to restore stability in order to win international support.

In the years that followed, the Republic of Indonesia combined the strategy of *diplomasi* (diplomacy) and *perjuangan* (struggle) against the Dutch. Through *diplomasi,* Indonesia became more and more acceptable to the

Western powers, thereby slowly isolating the Dutch, who demonstrated their failure to come to terms with Indonesian independence when the Dutch Parliament rejected the original 1946 Linggadjati Agreement, in which the government of the Republic of Indonesia and a commission representing the Dutch government agreed to establish a sovereign federal Indonesian state connected with the Netherlands through a "Dutch-Indonesian Union". However, the majority of the Dutch parliament and the Dutch government wanted to establish a Dutch-dominated sovereign "Dutch-Indonesian Union" in which the Republic of Indonesia would play only a minor role. While the Republic of Indonesia was prepared to compromise as long as a sovereign Indonesian state would be established, the Dutch sought a continuation of their dominating role in the archipelago. These fundamentally different visions of the future inevitably led to military conflict. In the end, the Dutch tried to defeat the Republic of Indonesia in two military actions, to which the Indonesian army responded

by waging guerrilla warfare, which kept Dutch forces too thinly spread over the country to gain control of Indonesia. The military actions also led to intervention by the United Nations, which sent a special United States–led committee to Indonesia to facilitate negotiations between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia.

In 1948 in Madiun, a communist-led attempt to initiate a full social revolution within the Republic of Indonesia occurred. The Indonesian government was quick to suppress this revolt. Before the revolt the United States had remained more or less neutral, but having seen the Indonesian government acting with force against communism, the American government pressured the Dutch to give up their fight against the Republic of Indonesia. Finally, the Dutch accepted the independence of Indonesia on December 27, 1949. In order to appease conservative members of the Dutch parliament—which had to agree with the transfer of sovereignty with a two-thirds majority—Irian Jaya was not included in the agreement, but remained a Dutch colony until 1962. The Indonesian revolution brought Indonesia independence, but without a social revolution more radical nationalists had envisioned. In the early years of the Cold War, it was better to avoid such a revolution in order to achieve revolutionary results.

SEE ALSO *Dutch-Indonesian Wars.*

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Wim van den Doel

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN THE PRE-MODERN PERIOD, MIDDLE EAST

Before the discovery of the Americas at the end of the fifteenth century, the Middle East (the area between Egypt and Iran) played an important role in world trade, especially in the high-value west–east and east–west trade. Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the main west–east axis, the Silk Road, ran across the region from Aleppo to Baghdad, Rayy, Nishapur, Marv, and Samarkand, and through Kashgar to the T'ang capital, Chang'an (Xi'an). In the Indian Ocean, fleets traded from East Africa to the Red Sea, the Gulf, and the Indian subcontinent, and Muslim emporia in India traded with the southern Arabian Peninsula and with ports in Malaya and Indonesia, where Islam had arrived at the end of the thirteenth century. In Africa, trade routes followed the northern coasts, while there was a lively trans-Saharan trade, both north–south, from Fez and Sijilmassa to Timbuktu and Gao, and south–west and north–east, from the latter two towns and Kumbi Saleh and Walata across the desert to Alexandria and Cairo through Ghat, Zawila, Ajila, and Siwa. Mediterranean trade between the Middle East and North Africa and Europe in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries was conducted largely by the Italian maritime republics: Venice and its dependencies Zara, Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Salonika, and Crete; Pisa and Amalfi; and Genoa and its dependencies Palermo, Alméria, and Malaga.

The major components of the east to west exchanges were silk, porcelain, and spices, with dates, textiles, and horses going in the opposite direction. Slaves and gold from sub-Saharan Africa were brought across the desert in exchange for textiles and salt, and slaves were brought from East Africa to Egypt and to the Indian subcontinent in return for spices and textiles. Grain and salt were imported into Anatolia and further east from northern Europe; dates formed a major export to Europe from the Arab world, as did ivory and gold from sub-Saharan Africa. In general, therefore, there was a lively and continuous series of exchanges both around the Mediterranean and between the worlds of the Mediterranean and of the Indian Ocean. This was promoted, to an imported extent, by the continuous vibrancy of the urban life of the Islamic world, in cities such as Seville, Fez, Mahdiyya, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad Basra, Hamadan, Shiraz, Marv, and Samarkand.

From the fourteenth century onward, close commercial relations existed between the Ottoman Empire and many western states, even in times of war. The sultan granted guarantees for residence, travel, and trade to

"nations" or individuals trading with the Levant, in return for a kind of pledge of allegiance or friendship from those involved. These capitulations or *'ahdnames* were supposed to function reciprocally, and from the fifteenth century onward there were Ottoman merchant colonies in Ancona, Lvov, and Venice. To some extent, these agreements functioned as treaties of alliance, so that, for example, the terms of Ottoman-Venetian capitulatory agreements generally included clauses preventing the Venetians from hiring out their navy to the Papacy to enable it to fight against the Ottomans.

Capitulatory agreements were enacted with France in 1569—after which France took over from Venice as the leading trading nation in the Levant—and later with England and the Netherlands. Especially after the foundation of the Levant Company in 1581, which followed the capitulatory agreement of 1580, England came to dominate trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, typically sending goods overland to Turkey via Poland, Hungary, and Rumania—bringing gunpowder, tin, lead, woolen cloth, and probably most importantly, gold and silver coins. These commodities could be exchanged for raw silk (originally from Iran), which could then itself be traded for wine, currants, or olive oil from the Venetian-ruled Greek islands, or for cotton, carpets, and gallnuts (used in dyeing) from Anatolia, or for spices, drugs, and dyes from India or Indonesia. The Dutch Republic, which was favored because of its hostility to the Ottomans' enemies the Habsburgs, had long traded with the Ottomans, and formalized the relationship in 1612.

Similar arrangements existed in Iran, although Shah Ismāʿīl, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, was not strong enough to resist the establishment in 1507 of a Portuguese trading post that remained on Hormuz Island for more than a century. Under Shah ʿAbbās (1587–1629) the Portuguese were eclipsed both by the English East India Company (founded in 1600) and by the Dutch East India Company (founded in 1602), the latter of which established a trading counter at Bandar Abbas in 1622. Both states had capitulatory agreements with the Safavids, and both trading companies were substantially financed by the bankers of Surat.

Unfortunately, very little is known about Ottoman merchants, both Muslim and non-Muslim, before the nineteenth century, particularly whether individuals were regularly involved in large-scale trading operations in the same way as they were in India. We know that a fairly small number of Egyptian merchants controlled the coffee trade from Yemen to Europe via Egypt in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Evidently, there were also substantial entrepreneurs in the Balkans, notably the Gümüşgerdan family of Plovdiv, whose members were engaged in woolen cloth manufacture, later

branching out into banking and money lending, and the Panayoti-Politi family from the Peloponnese, who were major ship-owners in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In general terms, the capitulations continued in some form until the rise of the Turkish Republic (they were formally abolished under the Treaty of Montreux in 1936), but the position of the Ottoman Empire in international trade changed very greatly in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the first place, the British navy's defeat of the French in Egypt in 1798 began a period of virtual British monopoly of Ottoman trade, and in 1838 the first of a series of highly unequal international trade treaties was concluded between Britain and the Ottoman Empire (the Treaty of Balta Liman). This treaty and its successors with other European states initiated a commercial regime under which the Europeans paid virtually no customs dues on the goods they or their local protégés imported into the Empire, while these privileges were not reciprocated for Ottoman subjects trading with Europe, unless, of course, they had acquired European nationality or protection. Amongst other important consequences, the treaties initiated a period of constantly unfavorable trade balances for the Empire, which were a major factor in bringing about the bankruptcy of the Ottoman state in 1875.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; Dutch West India Company; Empire, Ottoman.*

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Peter Sluglett

IRAN

While it is convenient to organize Iranian political history in dynastic terms, this does an injustice to the complexity of forces that have shaped modern Iran. Alongside this dynastic history it is important to note that changes in Iran's economy and political culture did not always coincide with this neat organization but influenced it decisively. When Reza Shah seized power from the Qajar Dynasty, he had to appeal to tradition but also a new constitutional order. The traditions he appropriated—Twelver Shi'ism, the very sense of Iran's territorial extent—stretched not back to ancient past, but to a political and religious order established by the Safavid Dynasty in the sixteenth century.

THE SAFAVID DYNASTY (1501–1722)

The Safavid dynasty is mainly important for two reasons. First, as the Ottoman Empire did elsewhere in the Middle East, Iran's Safavid dynasty consolidated and defined traditional forms of administration and high culture. Second, the Safavid dynasty gave shape to two ideas that have endured as part of modern Iranian society: the dominance of Twelver Shi'ism in Iran and the very concept of where the territory of Iran is "naturally" or historically located. The boundaries of the Safavid Empire—from southern Iraq to the borders of Herat in modern Afghanistan, from Baku in present-day Azerbaijan to Kandahar in Afghanistan, and from the Caspian Sea to Bahrain—have come to define where Iran is (or ought to be) in the contemporary Iranian national imagination.

The Safavids began as a Sunni Muslim mystical order founded by Sheikh Safi al-Din of Ardabil (1252–1334) and evolved into a radical Shiite mystical order even as the Safavid family intermarried with the Sunni Aq-qoyyunlu dynasty. When Turkish tribal supporters of the Safavids, known collectively as the *qizilbash* ("redheads," for the color of their headgear), helped Esma'il I (d. 1524) defeat his Aq-qoyyunlu rivals for supremacy in northwestern Iran in 1501, a new chapter in both Iranian and Safavid history was inaugurated.

Shah Esma'il suppressed his own mystical order in favor of orthodox Twelver Shi'ism and forcibly converted the majority Sunni population of his expanding empire to Twelver Shi'ism. Twelver Shi'ites follow the example of twelve Imams whom, in contrast to Sunni Muslims, they view as the only legitimate leaders of the Islamic community since the death of the prophet Muhammad in 632 C.E. They await the return of the Twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, who went into a state of occultation in the Tenth Century until the return of the hidden Imam, Twelver Shi'ites invest religious leadership in the persons of ranking members of the clerical establishment,

recongnized as Marja' al-taqlid ("sources of imitation"). Suppression of the mystical order, paired with a policy of establishing a slave military with its paramount loyalty to the shah (or at least his money) created an enduring tension with the old *qizilbash* tribes, who remained the indispensable core of Safavid military power until the reign of Shah 'Abbas I ("the Great," r. 1587–1629). It was under 'Abbas I that the Safavid Empire reached its greatest extent, successfully engaging the growing European hegemony over world trade and achieving a fairly durable peace with its chief regional rival, the Ottoman Empire.

The social and institutional strength of Si'ism in the Safavid Empire was achieved through state-sponsored popular preaching, patronage of schools and shrines, and the development of a government-supervised clerical hierarchy, the apex of which was the office of *mollah-bashi* (head mullah). The office was created in the reign of the last Safavid shah, Soltan Hosayn (r. 1694–1722), and occupied by Mohammad Baqer Majlesi (d. 1698). Majlesi worked to extend clerical influence over court policy and supervised the *Bihar al-Anwar* ("Oceans of Light") collection of Twelver Shi'ite hadith (accounts of the sayings and actions of the prophet Muhammad and, in this case, the Imams).

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE AFSHARS, ZANDS, AND QAJARS, 1722–1997

It was the heavy-handed rule of Soltan Hosayn's governors in Qandahar that eventually provoked a rebellion among Afghan Sunni tribes in Kandahar, which resulted, ultimately, in an Afghan invasion of Iran. Much of the Safavid royal family was captured after the battle of Golanabad in 1722 and subsequently massacred in the capital, Isfahan. This set the stage for the rivalry of three *qizilbash* tribes, the members of which had more or less stood by as mercenary troops failed the Safavids at Golanabad, to attempt a restoration of the Safavid Empire.

These three tribes—the Afshars, the Zands, and the Qajars—each championed a different Safavid pretender to the throne as the Afghan tribes were pushed out of Iran. The chief of the Afshars, Nader (d. 1747), was the most successful initially. His restoration of many former territories of the Safavid Empire emboldened him to depose his puppet Safavid leader, Tahmasp II (r. 1722–1732), in favor of the young 'Abbas III in 1732. Nader claimed the Iranian throne for himself as Nader Shah in 1736 when 'Abbas III died. Nader later had Tahmasp II and his remaining sons executed.

Nader fueled his military ambitions with the wealth of the Mughal court when he invaded India in 1738 and sacked Delhi in 1739. He negotiated with the Ottomans for a marriage alliance and a reconciliation of Sunni and

Twelver Shi'ism, but these efforts collapsed when Nader Shah was assassinated in 1747. The contest among Afsharid tribal factions to claim Nader Shah's throne provided an opening for Karim Khan Zand (d. 1779) to assert his control over central Iran by 1760 in the name of yet another Safavid pretender, Esma 'il III (d. 1773).

Karim Khan never styled himself as shah, selecting the title *vakil al-ra'eya* (representative of the [king's] subjects). His death caused similar factional fighting among the Zands, and this provided an opportunity for the Qajar tribe, with whom the Zand tribe had been vying for control of Iran since the collapse of the Afsharids.

The Qajars had managed to survive the previous decades as masters of Gilan and Mazandaran provinces;

their own factional strife was quashed by the brutal chieftain, Agha Mohammad Khan. After destroying the remnants of the Zand tribe (in 1794) and Afsharid power, Agha Mohammad was crowned shah in 1796. His assassination in 1797 might have spelled a quick end to the Qajar Empire because Agha Mohammad Shah, castrated as a young man while in the captivity of an Afghan warlord, had no heirs. However, Agha Mohammad had consolidated his power over the Qajar tribe, in part by arranging for his younger brother's son, crowned Fath 'Ali Shah (1797–1834), to succeed him.

Another important consequence of the interregnum that preceded the hegemony of the Qajars was a wave of Iranian Shi'ite clerics that emigrated to Najaf and

Karbala in Iraq. The surplus of clerical talent aggravated the ideological dispute between "traditionalist" *(akhbari)* clerics and "fundamentalist" *(osuli)* clerics, with the latter coming to dominate the shrine and religious school economies in southern Iraq. As Iranian clerics continued to train in Iraq and return to Iran once the relative stability of the Qajar period was established, the *osuli* dominance of Shi'ism in Iran was assured as well.

THE QAJAR PERIOD, 1797–1925

The Qajars had the daunting task of establishing their own legitimacy without disavowing certain crucial and useful aspects of the Safavid legacy: Twelver Shi'ism and Safavid administrative practices. The Qajar kings and aristocrats sponsored the renovation of Shiite shrines in Iran and Iraq and encouraged the production of *ta'ziyeh* (passion play) performances commemorating the martyrdom of Imam Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, at Karbala in 680. But in maintaining their political and religious legitimacy, the Qajars faced two challenges. From the outside, the pace of European "balance-of-power" politics would bring semicolonial domination of Iran by Great Britain and Russia, making the preservation of the Qajar Empire's borders a difficult challenge, to say nothing of expanding them (though the Qajars tried throughout the nineteenth century to do so). Internally, the Qajars would be rocked by a religious rebellion: the Babi/Baha'i movement. These combined pressures forced questions of reform and modernization on the Qajars as it had on the neighboring Ottoman Empire.

Fath 'Ali Shah was successful in consolidating Qajar control over the Iranian plateau, but he failed to reestablish Iranian control over the Caucasus and lost control of Azerbaijan north of the Aras River in two disastrous wars with the Russian Empire (1804–1812 and 1826–1828). The treaties that concluded these wars (Golestan, 1813, and Turcomanchai, 1828) formalized the unequal relationship between the Qajars and their northern neighbors.

Russian gains in Iran gave further impetus for Great Britain to strengthen its presence there also. As various princes vied to succeed the present king or sought to secure their positions in Iran's provincial capitals, the aid of Russia and Great Britain was sought by all. From 1828 onward, no Qajar king or politician could simply ignore the wishes of Moscow or London, with the best strategy often being to play the two "Great Game" rivals off of one another.

Another strategy, which did not bear much fruit, was the cultivation of better relations with other Western countries (France, Prussia, Austria, and, ironically, the United States). The relationship with the United States, in fact, produced another challenge to the religious legitimacy of the Qajars in that American Christian missionaries had an expanding presence in Iran over the course of the nineteenth century. At the same time, Russia became Iran's main trading partner, insisting on the sort of favorable trade terms it had exacted from the Ottoman Empire. Other European countries (or their colonies, such as British India) also secured terms of trade akin to that of Russia. These limits on import taxes and accompanying privileges of legal "extraterritoriality" for European subjects and their clients further eroded Iranian sovereignty.

The Qajars inherited an administrative system that was largely a Safavid creation—a military patronage state in which the Qajar tribe was only first among tribal equals. The unreliability of tribal levies in times of war or internal crisis was the primary spur to reform. Indeed, the inadequacy of its military, its bureaucracy, and its education system was brought home to the Qajars by the difficult encounters with Russia and Great Britain. As early as 1815, Iranians were being sent abroad to receive training in military and medical arts. The Ottoman Empire also served as a model for Qajar modernization.

The first Qajar military and administrative reforms under Crown Prince 'Abbas Mirza (d. 1833) were called *nezam-e jadid* (new order). Under Naser al-Din Shah (1831–1896), several top-down reforms were initiated. Before he fell out of favor with Naser al-Din Shah, the prime minister, Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Kabir (d. 1852), had created a state technical school (the Dar al-Fonun) and the beginnings of a state media. Subsequent modernization efforts sought to expand the effective administrative control of the government and to fund the education of modern military officers and bureaucrats for the state.

Later modernization efforts, with Ottoman-inspired names such as *tanzimat-e hasaneh* (the good reordering), advanced in fits and starts. These efforts generally languished due to lack of funding. No matter how forward-looking the planning, the Qajar state presided over a medieval, agricultural economy. Money could not be raised to support the modernization of Iran's transportation and communication infrastructure, let alone the industrialization of the agricultural or manufacturing sectors of the Iranian economy.

The Qajars resorted to development concessions (such as the aborted De Reuter concession of 1872 and the much narrower tobacco concession of 1890) to attract foreign capital for Iran's development schemes. Owing to a mix of local opposition and rivalry between Great Britain and Russia for winning such concessions, the more ambitious concession schemes failed. The Iranian government under Naser al-Din Shah began to

go into debt and to hand over key government functions, such as the collection of customs and the creation of a reliable unit of the military (the Persian Cossack Brigade), to foreign companies or foreign governments.

The Anglo–Russian rivalry in Iran had complex effects on the modernization of Iran's infrastructure. British concern over imperial communication with India undoubtedly helped the development of telegraph communications in Iran. On the other hand, the Iranian government was forced to postpone the development of rail transportation throughout the nineteenth century because the British and Russians could not come to an accord about how such development contracts would be shared between them.

In 1896 Naser al-Din Shah was assassinated near the Shah 'Abd al-'Azim cemetery by Reza Khan Kermani (d. 1897). In Kermani's desperate act can be found strands of two important movements: the religious movement of Baha'ism and the more amorphous cultural movement known, mainly in retrospect, as the *tajaddod* (renewal) movement. Baha'ism began as the Shi'ite heresy of Babism when its founder, Mohammad 'Ali Shirazi (d. 1850), proclaimed himself to be the Bab, or "gate," facilitating the arrival of the *mahdi* ("The Guided One") and later serving as the gateway to new divine revelation. It was mainly during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah that the Qajars examined and finally condemned Shirazi as a heretic and engaged in a civil war to suppress the movement, driving its leaders underground or overseas.

In exile in the Ottoman Empire in 1866, one of the followers of the Bab, Hosayn 'Ali Nuri Baha'ollah (d. 1892), declared himself to be the true heir of the Bab for leadership of the Babi community. This led to a split between the majority Baha'is, who accepted the teachings of Baha'ollah, and the Azali Babis, who considered themselves to be correct followers of the teaching of the Bab under the leadership of Baha'ollah's younger half-brother, Mirza Yahya Nuri (Sobh-e Azal, d. 1912).

Many Iranian followers of Babism and Baha'ism proved receptive to the ideals of renewalism. These ideals were advanced in the writings of Mirza Fath 'Ali Akhundzadeh (d. 1878, an atheist), Mirza Malkam Khan (d. 1908, an Armenian convert to Islam and disgruntled member of the Qajar bureaucracy), and Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani. These writers expressed a desire to restore a pristine Iranian national character through the modernization of education, social reforms, and the democratization of politics.

Renewalist writings also expressed a resentment of Western hegemony and suspicion of religious tradition. Nonetheless, Iranian renewalists forged relationships with other activists, such as the pan-Islamist Jalal al-Din Asadabadi ("Al-Afghani," 1838–1897). The Qajar court had also flirted with Al-Afghani, but Naser al-Din Shah fell out with him over the tobacco concession of 1890, expelling him from Iran in 1891. Once outside Iran, Al-Afghani was quoted in Mirza Malkom Khan's London-based newspaper *Qanun* (The Law) on many issues, including opposition to the tobacco concession. In the end, renewalist intellectuals, the traditional clergy, and elite merchants forged an alliance and sustained a nationwide protest (facilitated, ironically, by the British-built telegraph network and the inviolate nature of the diplomatic post, which allowed *Qanun* and other expatriate Iranian newspapers to be smuggled past Qajar censors) that forced the cancellation of the tobacco concession in 1892.

The consequences of all these connections were visited upon Naser al-Din Shah in 1896. His assassin was a disciple of Al-Afghani and implicated Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani as well. Both men were in the Ottoman Empire at the time of the assassination. Al-Afghani was under house arrest, dying of cancer, but Kermani was extradited and ultimately executed along with Mirza Reza Khan Kermani in 1896. The reign of Mozaffar al-Din Shah (1896–1907) continued the trend of political suppression, top-down reforms, and development concessions (most notably, the d'Arcy concession of 1901 that led to the formation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in 1909, the first oil company in the Middle East) that simultaneously deepened Iran's financial problems and trained a westernized elite increasingly drawn to the democratic strands of renewalism. Economic disruptions caused by the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and resentment over heavy-handed government tactics to prevent hoarding by merchants sparked a new alliance of intellectuals, merchants, and ranking clergy against the monarchy.

Politicians with renewalist sympathies channeled the protest toward the creation of a Parliament (Majles) and a constitution over the course of 1906 to 1907. But no sooner was constitutional order established than disputes broke out over the nature of democracy in Iran. Some religious clerics felt that Islamic law was being flouted by the constitution and efforts to draft supplementary articles to the constitution failed to win the conservatives back. When Mohammad 'Ali Shah (1872–1925) ascended the throne in 1907, it was with a mind toward using this conservative reaction (and Russian support) to restore the autocratic rule his father lost.

In 1908 the Parliament was bombarded by the Persian Cossack Brigade, and civil war broke out throughout the country. Constitutionalist forces gained the upper hand in 1909, and Mohammad 'Ali Shah was deposed in favor his young son, Soltan Ahmad (r. 1909–1925). Parliamentary leaders quickly moved to bolster

their positions with the creation of the Swedish-officered gendarmes as a counterweight to the Persian Cossack Brigade.

In 1911 Russia invaded Iran again over the employment of American Morgan C. Shuster as a financial adviser. Much to the chagrin of some British intellectuals and politicians who formed the Persia Committee to lobby against the British foreign policy (led by Cambridge Persianist and chronicler of the constitutional revolution E. G. Browne [1862–1926]), Great Britain offered no effective support for Iran's fledgling democracy, choosing to remain bound instead by a 1907 agreement with Russia to divide Iran into "spheres of influence."

The British attitude toward Russian involvement in Iran changed over the course of World War I (1914–1918) and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Russian, British, German, and Ottoman agents and forces all violated Iran's official neutrality during the war, leaving both the central government and the promise of parliamentary rule in tatters. In addition to consolidating its colonial gains in the Middle East, the fiercely anti-Bolshevik policy of Great Britain led it to attempt the creation of an Anglo-Persian protectorate in 1919. This was foiled by parliamentary opposition. The British then tried another tactic. They cultivated Colonel Reza Khan (1878–1944) of the Persian Cossack Brigade, and in February 1921 Reza Khan and the pro-British journalist Sayyed Ziya' al-Din Tabataba'i (d. 1969) organized a coup. The coup supporters were ostensibly loyal to the Qajar court, but many prominent Qajar aristocrats found themselves in jail for a time.

Initially securing the portfolio of the minister of war and the title *sardar sepah* (commander of the army), Reza Khan moved quickly to displace Tabataba'i, and by 1923 had secured the position of prime minister. Reza Khan combined a ruthless military campaign against an array of separatist movements (e.g., Kurds under Isma'il Simko and the Jangali movement of Mirza Kuchek Khan of Gilan) and autonomous provincial and tribal leaders with the shrewd cultivation of parliamentary politicians.

Early political factions, such as the Social Democrats and others, had developed into more ideologically coherent parties by the end of World War I in 1918. Despite the passage of universal male suffrage in 1913, these parties did not represent large organized constituencies and still depended on the personalities and patronage networks of their leaders. The Socialist Party, for example, was led by a Qajar prince. Reza Khan developed especially close relations with the nationalist Tajaddod (Renewal) Party, which had influential press organs both inside and outside Iran and appealed to frustrated supporters of the constitution, who were increasingly interested in strong central leadership of the state to force through modernization programs.

Nonetheless, Reza Khan's first attempt to remove the Qajars backfired badly when a proposal to turn Iran into a Turkish-style republic was met with clerical, popular, and parliamentary opposition in 1924. He quickly regrouped and pressured the Parliament into deposing Ahmad Shah (1898–1930), who hardly helped himself by refusing to return to Iran from an extended European holiday, and into proclaiming Reza Khan's Pahlavi family as the new dynasty of constitutional monarchs on December 15, 1925. The parliamentary vote to end the Qajar dynasty prolonged the institution of the monarchy, but also cemented the role of an elected legislature in Iranian politics.

Even the Islamic Republic of Iran could not completely dispense with the institution of parliament, as it did with the monarchy in 1979. The Qajar-era constitution (1906–1907) had guaranteed clerical oversight of the legislative process, but neither parliamentary politicians nor the Pahlavis enforced that guarantee. Such religious oversight became a central principle of the constitution of the Islamic Republic in 1980.

SEE ALSO *Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah; Tobacco Protest, Iran.*

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IRAQ

Iraq's entry into the colonial period is closely connected to its entry into statehood. Iraq as a separate territory with state borders is a product of World War I (1914–1918), officially a creation of the League of Nations, but in fact a result of the expansion of Great Britain's influence in the Middle East. This does not mean, however, that Iraq was merely a Western design, assuming that the population was unprepared for statehood. In fact, the territory of Iraq had long been part of the Ottoman Empire and, to different degrees during different periods of history, its formidable system of state administration.

OTTOMAN IRAQ BEFORE 1914

Iraq was formed out of three former Ottoman provinces with Basra as a capital in the South, Baghdad in the center, and Mosul in the North. The provinces were first submitted under Ottoman rule in the sixteenth century, but remained a frontier land between the Ottomans and the Iranian Safavid Empire. Mesopotamia was of strategic and symbolic importance for both. The Euphrates and Tigris were important waterways and Basra, controlling the access to the Persian Gulf, was an important hub of Indian Ocean trade. Moreover, the country hosted the most important shrines of Shia Islam in the towns of Najaf, Kerbala, and others. The struggle between the Sunni Ottomans and the Shiite Safavids over Mesopotamia lasted until 1639 when the provinces fell, finally, into Ottoman hands. Iraq, however, remained a frontier region. The complex Ottoman system of central control and local autonomy was bound to give way to local forces. In the eighteenth century, the Ottoman provinces of Iraq became virtually independent under the rule of local dynasties, the most important being Georgian Mamluks, a military elite of slaves that managed to take over governorship in Baghdad and Basra. They officially acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty, but coexisted with local elites in a complex system of checks and balances that guaranteed mutual interests.

In the early nineteenth century, the growing threat of European imperialism prompted reform efforts in the Ottoman Empire that would strengthen the state apparatus. In 1831 Ottoman troops started to reassert Istanbul's control over the Mesopotamian provinces ousting the Mamluk pashas. Efforts to integrate Iraq into a reformed and more centralized Ottoman state system were only partially successful against local resistance, though. The elite of Ottoman bureaucrats, therefore, had to enter arrangements with urban notable families and the tribal leaders. Increasing numbers of influential people in the provinces started to accept a state-centered system of power sharing and running political and economic affairs within a patronage system overseen by state authorities.

During this period colonial penetration affected Mesopotamia in the framework of the empire as a whole. In the nineteenth century, British merchants became a serious competition for local tradesmen. In 1861 the Ottoman government gave out a license to a British steamship company on the Tigris. It supported British interests in neighboring Iran in competition with tsarist Russia, and created a link to the British strongholds in the Persian Gulf. In the so-called Baghdad-Bahn project the German Empire convinced Istanbul in 1902 to grant a license for building a railway line that would link Berlin and the European railway network with Baghdad. This project was part of a wider German strategy to enter an alliance with the Ottoman Empire. Even though it was never fully realized, it stirred a lot of British anxiety about competition in the Middle Eastern region. This is the background of the decision to send British Indian troops to Basra almost immediately after the outbreak of World War I in August 1914.

FROM MILITARY RULE TO THE MANDATE: 1914–1921

Basra was already under British control in November 1914. After a severe setback in 1916 at Kut, a town southeast of Baghdad where an entire British army surrendered to the Ottomans, the British captured Baghdad in 1917. Kirkuk in Northern Iraq fell in 1918, and British troops occupied Mosul after the armistice of Mudros in October 1918. After the war, both U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's (1856–1924) plans for the provinces of the Ottoman Empire and the secretly negotiated Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 between Great Britain and France envisaged a partition of the territory into smaller nation-states. The mandate system designed at the Paris peace conferences was, however, a means to reconcile colonial interest with the Wilsonian idea of self-determination. Iraq was already under British military rule when Great Britain was assigned the mandate over it. Now, it was responsible for preparing the country to become independent with viable institutions.

The creation of Iraq as a separate entity was not compelling, though. The Mesopotamian provinces of Basra and Baghdad constituted a separate geographical entity oriented toward the Persian Gulf, but Mosul had traditionally closer links with Syria than with Baghdad and Basra. Turkey put a claim on Northern Iraq, too, which promised the future discovery of oil fields. It took until 1926 and the mediation of the League of Nations until Turkey acknowledged Mosul and Kirkuk as part of Iraq.

IRAQ

0	50	100 Miles
0	50	100 Kilometers

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British-controlled territories in the Middle East did not follow one stringent line of policy. Palestine had been occupied by the British command in Cairo, which was in close touch with the government in London, whereas the Iraqi occupation had been in the hands of British India. Delhi was less attuned to the new anticolonial atmosphere in international politics. The first years of British rule in Iraq therefore saw a competition between British Indian promoters of direct colonial rule and those who favored indirect rule more in accordance with the rules of the mandate. At the same time this would help to uphold British interests with minimal expenses, because it was nearly impossible to justify a costly commitment in Mesopotamia to the parliament in London. After a large

countrywide revolt in 1920 had absorbed a large number of troops and financial resources until it was suppressed, the option of indirect rule prevailed.

Other than usual, the British efforts in Mesopotamia had not been sufficiently prepared by intelligence work. Information about social circumstances and power structures were therefore scarce and rested to some extent on prejudices. British administrators believed that there was a clear-cut division between the urban and the rural spheres. The real Arabs were the tribes controlling the countryside, whereas the city dwellers, they assumed, were corrupt, unreliable, and under the influence of centuries of Ottoman Oriental Despotism. The rise of mostly Shiite tribes during the revolt of 1920 proved that the actions of Iraqis were less predictable. The Cairo Conference of 1921 therefore drafted a plan for the constitutional future of a self-administered Iraqi monarchy under British supervision.

THE MANDATE SYSTEM: 1921–1932

There was as little dynastic tradition in Iraq as there was a cohesive national territory and identity. London put Prince Faisal (1885–1933) on the throne, who was the son of Sherif Husayn ibn 'Ali (1854–1931) of Mecca and military leader of the Arab revolt of World War I. After his troops had captured Damascus in 1918, Faisal had ruled Syria. When the French removed him in 1920, it was a matter of disappointment for all Arab nationalists that British arrangements with Paris from the Sykes-Picot agreement weighed heavier than their commitment to support Faisal as an Arab leader. The throne of Iraq was meant to make up for this. Moreover, London believed that Faisal's family origin as a descendant of the Prophet would give him authority among the diverse groups of the country. Faisal, however, was aware that he was entirely dependent on British support, and while the urban notability acquiesced to the new state structures soon, the tribal realm of Iraq did not comply. Other than the constitutional structures imposed on the state suggested, the new government needed British military force necessarily to coerce the tribes into obedience. Aid troops recruited among Assyrian Christians that had fled from Eastern Anatolia into Iraq, and the British Royal Air Force took on this task. Tribes were bombed into paying taxes, whereas London was reluctant to give in to demands of the Iraqi government to form an Iraqi conscript army. Conscription would have aroused even more opposition from the tribes.

London wanted to get rid of the mandate duties as quickly as possible in order to reduce the burden on the British treasury. In order to do this they had to fulfill contradictory tasks: convince the League of Nations that Iraq was fit to govern itself democratically, and at the same time bind the existing power elites—tribes, notables, Ottoman administrative elites—to a state that was dominated by a foreign king together with a military elite that had no stake in the traditional patronage networks of the country. These so-called Sherifian Officers of Iraqi origin had fought under Faisal's command during the Arab revolt and formed his entourage in Syria. Later they joined him in Iraq and entered high government posts. In order to make Iraq presentable to the League of Nations, the British tried to strengthen the state by a mixture of coercive power and support of the state elite. Effectively, the old and new elites of the country joined interests as one landholding class. The Sherifian Officers dominated this process through the legislative processes in the new state, creating possibilities to acquire large portions of former Ottoman state domain land, for example. The organic law of 1924 gave the overwhelming power to the executive, and in a society that lacked a developed public sphere, elections to the parliament could be easily manipulated. An abstract institutional power of constitutional structures therefore never emerged.

The treaty of independence between Iraq and Great Britain was signed in 1930 and became effective with Iraq's entry into the League of Nations in 1932. The treaty remained contentious, though, because it provided for a continued British military presence in the country. Two air bases were maintained, and Britain had the right to use Iraqi communication and transport lines in the case of war. Furthermore, Great Britain remained the exclusive supplier of military hardware and took responsibility for military training. On top of that, a large number of British advisers stayed in Iraqi ministries. The British ambassador remained highly influential, and Britain virtually controlled the Iraqi economy.

IRAQ IN THE 1930s

Nevertheless, Iraqi politicians had a wide leeway after 1932, even in foreign policy, which became the most contentious issue of the British–Iraqi relationship in the 1930s. The treaty remained a major concern of the Iraqi opposition, which ranged from pan-Arab nationalists and moderate socialists to the nascent communist movement. Ideological concerns were overshadowed by personal competition inside the existing patronage system. The Sherifian Officers and members of the old elites had all built their own power bases. After the unexpected death of King Faisal in 1933, the rivalries broke open and initiated a period of political turmoil and violence. Members of the opposition instigated tribal uprisings in order to put pressure on the frequently changing governments. The contradiction between the official statements of politicians and their pragmatic reliance on British support when they were in power led to growing

frustration and political extremism among a younger generation of graduates from high schools, universities, and military academies.

The most important challenge to the authority of the pro-British Sherifian regime was the Iraqi army. It adopted British military tactics of coercion against tribal disobedience and applied them with brutal force against the Assyrian Levies and their families, who were stripped of their task in independent Iraq. In 1932 many were massacred by Iraqi military units after they had unsuccessfully pledged for autonomy. This created an international outcry, but no action followed. General Bakr Sidqi (1890–1937), a former Ottoman officer of Kurdish origin, gained a lot of authority in the army from his vital role in this and other internal military campaigns against rebellious tribes. In 1936 he staged the first military coup of Iraq, but in 1937 he was assassinated and his anti-Arab nationalist and moderately socialist government removed in a further military coup. During the following years, a clique of younger military officers with a strong Arab nationalist commitment dominated Iraqi affairs in a series of putsches. They represented a section of the younger generation that was highly critical of Iraq's close association with Great Britain

WORLD WAR II AND THE NATIONALIST CHALLENGE

The British did not interfere directly during these tumultuous years. Even during the period of military coups, the civilian governments would not put into question the Anglo-Iraqi treaty. Only with rising tension in Europe toward the outbreak of World War II (1939–1945) did London perceive political and ideological conflicts in Iraq differently. The young intelligentsia of Iraq used the nascent public sphere in newspapers and political clubs to challenge the Iraqi alliance with Great Britain. Many still supported a close relationship with London, but British officials reported with growing frenzy about a potential alignment of Iraq with Nazi Germany. This anxiety grew when German armies defeated France and pushed into the Mediterranean during 1940.

The new situation with a British Empire on the defense created two camps in Iraq: The throne and Nuri as-Said (1888–1958), a Sherifian officer and leader of the pro-British faction, demanded unconditional support for Britain, whereas a second camp in the officer corps, especially a group of four younger officers, the so-called Golden Square, demanded that Iraq should at least remain neutral, if not take sides with a victorious Germany. In April 1941 the Golden Square organized a military coup that ousted the pro-British regent Abdullah (1882–1951)who ruled on behalf of the minor Faisal II

(1935–1958), and Nuri as-Said. Rashid Ali al-Gaylani (1892–1965) became prime minister of a government of national defense. In London, Winston Churchill (1874–1965) decided that it was time to act. Insisting on the provisions of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, he demanded rights of passage for large British Indian military contingents. Hostilities broke out on May 2. The British forces defeated the Iraqi army within one month. German and Italian air support arrived too late and had no impact. On May 31, Baghdad surrendered and submitted the country to the second British occupation.

THE DEMISE OF THE SEMICOLONIAL STATE: 1941–1958

The British occupation prompted a restoration of the monarchical state, its patronage system, and the dominance of the Sherifian paradigm. Nuri became the guarantor of the status quo and a close alliance with Britain. Iraq after World War II was a different country, however. Expanding state education, the military service established in 1934, beginning industrialization, and urbanization had turned the state from a closed elite affair into a daily reality for even the remotest places of the country. The growth of an urban proletariat accompanied the emergence of a mass society. Young men of underprivileged communities, such as the Shiites, demanded access to the state resources. It became more and more difficult to uphold a patronage system and legitimize the Sunni dominance in the inner government circles. Illegal parties such as the Iraqi Communists and later the Baath Party gained in influence among the masses. In this context, Iraq's economic and military dependence on Great Britain became the dominant symbol for the corruption of the old regime. Mass protests made the government revoke the Portsmouth treaty in 1948, which would have ended the British military presence in Iraq, but would have bound military planning, training, and expenditures to Great Britain for another twenty-five years.

During the period, semicolonial dependence became increasingly intertwined with Cold War issues. After the Egyptian revolution in 1952, the people of the Arab world had won an idol in Egypt's President Gamal 'Abd an-Nasir (1918–1970). His nonalignment policy and inclination toward the communist camp challenged Nuri as-Said's clear pro-British and pro-Western commitment. Nuri presented himself as an Arab nationalist, but under the condition of the regional dominance of the Iraqi monarchy and the internal status quo. The Baghdad Pact of regional cooperation between Great Britain, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan signed in 1955 was a clear sign of alienation between Iraq and revolutionary Arab nationalist regimes such as the ones in Syria and Egypt.

By joining the pact, the Iraqi regime underlined its self-perception as more of a regional player than as a forerunner of an Arab unification. Furthermore, the pact underlined Britain's role in Iraq's foreign policy.

The Iraqi monarchy fell in 1958, when important sections of the Iraqi officer corps had lost confidence in the regime. It was outdated, a product of the colonial past that had given way to the new Cold War world order. In that, a conspiratorial group of Free Officers, inspired by the Egyptian revolution of 1952 and the creation of the United Arab Republic between Egypt and Syria early in 1958, staged a coup on July 14. Many of the officers had a vivid memory of the 1941 war against Great Britain and the following suppression of pan-Arab tendencies in the Iraqi army, which they considered a humiliation. Politically, however, the officers entered the center stage unprepared and without a clear ideological commitment. The revolution of 1958, therefore, brought an end to Iraq's close association with Great Britain, but it also started a period of turmoil, dictatorship, and unprecedented violence that has still not come to an end even with the demise of Saddam Hussein in 2003 (b. 1937).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRAQI OIL

Even after the 1958 revolution, the Iraqi oil industry remained largely under international control until it was nationalized in 1972. The dictatorial regimes of the following decades depended on the regular revenue guaranteed by state licenses given to the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC).

Already prior to World War I, the Ottoman government had granted the first licenses to explore Iraqi oil fields to the Turkish Petroleum Company (TPC), an international consortium. After the Ottoman defeat, British companies dominated the consortium, and the British government held a substantial part of the shares. The precarious financial situation of the Iraqi state made it easy for the TPC, from 1929 named IPC, to exert pressure. Oil was discovered in 1927 only, and exporting did not start until 1934. After independence, the Iraqi government began to issue limited concessions for further exploration to other companies, such as the British Oil Development Company (BOD), with a major Italian interest.

After 1936 the German government wanted to combine an investment in the BOD with a concession over a large railway construction project to be shared with France. It would have linked the northern oil fields via Mosul to the railway network of French Syria and its Mediterranean ports. However, the British convinced Italy to cede the majority of BOD shares to the IPC in exchange for oil supply during the Second Italo-

Abyssinian War (1935–1936). The Iraqi government chose a southern railway option, which should link Iraq to Palestinian ports; therefore, British control over Iraqi oil remained unchallenged. After the war, oil royalties became the most important component of Iraqi state revenues, but IPC control over oil production underlined the public impression that Iraq remained dependent on the former mandate power.

IRAQI JEWS AND ZIONISM

When Iraq was founded as a state in 1921, Jews entered many state offices because they were better prepared than others to serve in the new administration. The Iraqi Jewish community had been one of the most intellectually and economically successful Jewish communities in the Arab world. Jewish schools were the first to offer modern education starting from the 1860s.

After World War I, Iraqi Jews were very skeptical about Zionism that struck roots in Palestine. They considered themselves Iraqi patriots, faithful to the Iraqi state. During the late 1920s and the 1930s, however, Arab nationalist rhetoric identified the Zionist project more and more with British imperialist policy in the Arab lands and no longer made a clear distinction between Jews and Zionists. After the downfall of the Gaylani government in 1941, between 100 and 200 Jews fell victim to a pogrom mostly committed by youth bands in Baghdad. The situation of Jews in Iraq improved slightly under the restored old regime, but it became increasingly unbearable after the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948, when the Arab–Israeli conflict became a propagandistic device of Arab governments in general. The majority of Iraqi Jews left for Israel in 1951.

SEE ALSO *Mandate Rule; Mandate System; Oil.*

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Peter Wien

IRELAND, ENGLISH COLONIZATION

The histories of the islands and communities of the British Isles have always been closely intertwined. However, the arrival from England into Ireland of the Normans in 1167 marked the commencement of a new incursion and settlement that, although piecemeal, localized, and with a fluctuating frontier between Gaelic Irish and Norman areas, created the basis for a more comprehensive conquest of Ireland and a reconfiguration of its settlement in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The English presence in Ireland at the end of the fifteenth century was centered in a small number of areas, focused upon the eastern and southern seaboards and parts of the southwest and southeast. These areas, governed from Dublin at the heart of the Pale in the east, bore allegiance to the reigning English monarch as lord of Ireland. This English lordship did not extend to the majority of the country, which remained under the control of the Gaelic lordships. Political instability in England during the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses ensured that a coherent policy toward Ireland had to await the advent of the Tudor Dynasty under Henry VII in 1485. A more focused and sustained policy began to emerge in response to support given in Ireland to a number of pretenders to the English throne in the 1490s. The appointment of an Englishman, Sir Edward Poynings, as chief governor in Ireland in 1494 represented the first Tudor attempt at establishing a more permanent English presence in Ireland by means of military conquest and constitutional reform. Poynings's endeavors failed militarily, though the enactment in the Irish Parliament in 1494 to 1495 of an Act known as Poynings's Law, which defined the relationship between the Irish legislature and the Irish and English executive arms of government, was to serve as the cornerstone of the Irish constitutional framework until the late eighteenth century.

In the reign of Henry VIII (1509–1547), fitful engagement with reform gave way to purposeful action under the guidance of Thomas Cromwell. Although early endeavors were interrupted in 1534 by the Kildare rebellion, that uprising's successful suppression created the opportunity for further reform, first within the areas of the English lordship, and then eventually throughout the country. However, the lack of a single, coherent policy for this undertaking resulted in the pursuit at different

times of contrasting strategies of coercion and conciliation. Thus haphazard punitive raids into Gaelic areas were followed by systematic diplomatic missions aimed at a gradual establishment of English government through peaceful methods. Two key aspects of this latter strategy were the Act for the Kingly Title of 1541 and the concurrent program of Surrender and Re-Grant. The Act for the Kingly Title made all inhabitants of Ireland subjects of the English monarch, though as a sovereign entity distinct from that of the kingdom of England. Surrender and Re-Grant required that the leaders of these new Gaelic Irish subjects agree to participate in this new polity and to recognize the supremacy of the English monarch in church and state, in return for receiving English titles and re-grants of their lands under English law.

Concurrent with the creation of the kingdom of Ireland, a new church came into being following the Henrician break with Rome. The resultant confiscations of religious lands facilitated a further incursion from England and new settlements. However, the Protestant Reformation failed to take hold in Ireland, and this led in time to the creation of a new divide within Ireland between Catholics and Protestants. The pre-Reformation settlers who remained Catholic became known as the Old English, while the newer Protestant arrivals became known as the New English. Thus, the latter stages of the establishment of English rule throughout Ireland became entangled with the religious divisions and power struggles of the New and Old English, while the majority of the Gaelic Irish, who also continued to adhere to Catholicism, became marginalized and alienated.

Central to this next phase was a policy of plantation aimed at introducing English settlements into Gaelic areas as a means of establishing English law and control. The first substantive attempt at plantation was undertaken in the eastern province of Leinster in the 1550s in Counties Laois and Offaly. By the 1580s the policy had been extended into the southern province of Munster following the suppression of the Desmond rebellion. The first attempts at plantation in Ulster in the early 1590s helped to provoke a violent backlash that resulted in the Nine Years' War, which eventually spread throughout Ireland. However, the end of the war in 1603 marked the successful conclusion of the Tudor conquest of Ireland and the establishment of English rule throughout the country.

The "flight of the earls" in 1607 and the revolt of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty in 1608 facilitated the undertaking of the most comprehensive plantation yet, implemented in six of the nine counties of Ulster. Thereafter, the unresolved power struggle between the Old and New English was played out in a series of crises that were defined

"English Soldier Raised for Service in Ireland." *This satirical drawing, published circa 1540, depicts the typical English soldier in Ireland as an unabashed plunderer.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ultimately by religious allegiance, with the rewards to the victors being signified in political power and a monopoly on landownership. A lengthy battle was fought and lost by the Old English and the Gaelic Irish, with the Cromwellian land confiscation and transplantation of the 1650s and the Williamite confiscation of the 1690s completing the transference of land on confessional lines. By the early eighteenth century, Ireland was both a sister kingdom of England populated by a Protestant elite and a colonized country populated by a predominantly landless and powerless Catholic majority.

The English incursion, settlement, and conquest in Ireland had created a hybrid polity, which bore the trappings of both a kingdom and a colony. This hybrid polity has led to ongoing debate and controversy, exemplified by the arguments put forward in 1698 by the Protestant MP for Trinity College, William Molyneux, in *The Case*

Tyrone's False Submission. *In 1603 the Irish national hero and rebel leader Hugh O'Neill (ca. 1540–1616), the Earl of Tyrone, was forced to surrender to the English after the suppression of his Irish rebellion, an event pictured in this seventeenth-century engraving.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, stated. Debate has revolved around issues such as whether the spread of English government and law throughout Ireland was achieved primarily through coercion or conciliation; the importance of institutional forms and patterns of government; the interaction of communities and their sense of identity and separateness; the extent to which religious divisions distorted or altered the nature of incursion, settlement, and conquest; and the place and role of Ireland in the British Empire.

Debate also continues with regard to the extent to which English colonization and plantation in Ireland influenced English activity in North America and the West Indies. Though there was clearly some degree of transfer of ideas and practices from one arena of colonization to the next, it is also the case that English and, in particular, Scottish involvement in Ireland retarded aspects of British colonial activity in America. Likewise, while the Irish plantations of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries evidently provided Englishmen with at least a term—that of plantation instead of

colony—that they initially used to describe their settlements in North America and the West Indies, the original models for English colonial expansion in Ireland and beyond were ultimately the classical and medieval colonies within Europe, including those established in England itself.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, British.*

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IRISH NATIONALIST MOVEMENT SINCE 1800

During the nineteenth century, Ireland evolved to take a unique position in the colonial world. Ireland was an integral part of the United Kingdom, but unlike England, Scotland, and Wales, it had a colonial administration that answered to Britain's Colonial Office well after Ireland had achieved Catholic emancipation, that is, after the Catholic Relief Act of 1829, which permitted Catholics to sit in the British Parliament. Thus, politically, Ireland largely ceased to be a colony, while it simultaneously retained a colonial economic structure and the culture and symbols of a colonial people.

This hybrid of political, economic, and cultural structures engendered two corresponding Irish nationalist traditions. Parliamentary representation produced a constitutional tradition that became state-conscious and largely defined Irish independence as self-government, a goal that advocates held could be achieved through parliamentary or constitutional means. The continuation of a colonial economic structure, on the other hand, combined with Irish cultural nationalism to sustain a revolutionary, or republican, tradition throughout the twentieth century. This tradition sought an independent Irish republic, which supporters believed could only be achieved through physical force.

In the wake of the 1798 rebellion, in which the United Irishmen attempted to establish an independent Irish republic, Britain responded with the Act of Union (1800), placing Ireland within the United Kingdom but without the promised Catholic emancipation. In 1823 Daniel O'Connell's (1775–1847) Catholic Association began political agitation for emancipation. In doing so, the Catholic Association created Ireland's first mass movement and initiated a constitutional nationalism that served as an alternative to physical-force republicanism. Achieving emancipation in 1829, O'Connell, who was known as "the Liberator," shifted his agitation toward repealing the Act of Union and returning self-government to Ireland.

O'Connell's National Repeal Association organized "Monster Meetings," which were attended by hundreds of thousands of people and were to culminate in a national rally at Clontarf, near Dublin, in 1843. The government, however, proscribed the Clontarf rally, and O'Connell, the constitutionalist, complied. His retreat from Clontarf and the Great Irish Famine of the 1840s destroyed O'Connell's movement. With the limits of constitutional nationalism exposed, some of O'Connell's followers organized into the Young Ireland movement, which rejected constitutionalism and launched a futile uprising in 1848.

The Great Famine killed one million Irish and forced another million to emigrate. Many of the emigrants viewed themselves as exiles, adding a transatlantic dimension to Irish nationalism. In 1858 revolutionary nationalists established the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) simultaneously in New York and Dublin. The IRB, or the Fenian movement, committed itself to a democratic Irish republic through force of arms. By the time the Fenians rebelled in 1867, the government had fully infiltrated their ranks and their insurrection was little more than a gesture. The IRB, however, survived the Fenian uprising and continued to influence the nationalist movement, principally through Irish-American organizations and their financial contributions.

Until 1879, neither constitutional nor revolutionary nationalists had attached their nationalism to the land question, that is, addressed the central Irish socioeconomic issue that a small minority of protestant and Anglo-Irish landlords owned the overwhelming majority of land in Ireland and leased the land to the Irish Catholic majority. This changed when Fenian Michael Davitt (1846–1906) established the Land League, which physically resisted the practice of landlords evicting their tenants and agitated for peasant proprietorship. Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891), an Irish member of Parliament dedicated to home rule (i.e., Irish self-government by means of an act of Parliament), became the Land League's president. The IRB, in a "New Departure," agreed to join the campaign, producing an alliance between revolutionary and constitutional nationalists. The league's agitation, known as the Land War (1879–1882), centered on ostracizing those who broke its code of conduct, as happened to Captain Charles Boycott (1832–1897), whose name became synonymous with the tactic. Britain responded to the agitation, which often included underground violence, with a Land Act (1881) that granted tenants' rights but fell short of the league's objectives.

Parnell moved away from agrarian agitation and directed the league's mass movement toward home rule, building a party that soon held the balance of power in the House of Commons. Parnell threw his nationalist
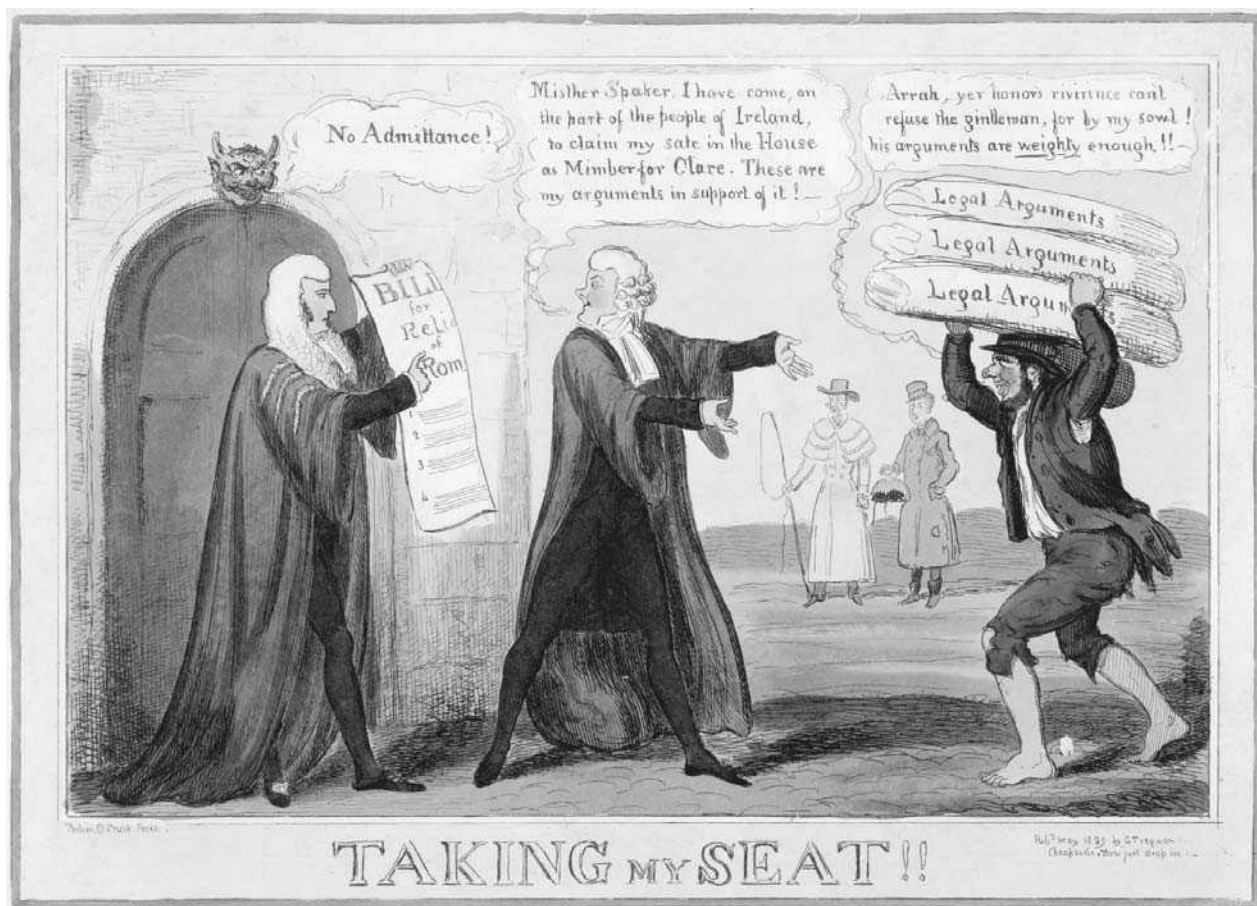
O'Connell Arrives at Parliament. *This cartoon, printed in 1829, shows the Irish politician Daniel O'Connell (center) arriving to take his seat in the British Parliament after the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act in April 1829.* HULTON ARCHIVE/ GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

party's support to the Liberal Party, led by William Gladstone (1809–1898), which introduced a Home Rule Bill (1886), only to have the Conservative Party and Liberal defectors defeat it. The Conservatives, now in power, attempted to "kill Home Rule with kindness," by enacting a series of land acts that bought out landlords and created a peasant proprietorship.

Gladstone eventually passed a Home Rule Bill (1893) in the House of Commons but Britain's House of Lords rejected it. Parnell, however, did not live to see this happen. He was destroyed politically and his party split when an 1890 divorce case revealed that he had committed adultery; he died the following year.

After the fall of Parnell, "Ireland's uncrowned king," nationalist aspirations were increasingly expressed through cultural nationalism. In 1893 the Gaelic League was established to revive the Irish language and culture, and although its founders saw the league as nonpolitical, it eventually came under IRB control. The Gaelic Athletic Association was formed in 1884 to prevent the spread of English games in Ireland. Fenians dominated the Gaelic Athletic Association from its inception, as was evident by its rules, which excluded those who were members of the police or military. In addition, a number of nationalist literary groups emerged whose members based their work on Gaelic literature and folklore, a movement that culminated in 1904 with the establishment of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin.

In 1905 the Sinn Féin ("ourselves") Party, founded by Arthur Griffith (1872–1922), emerged as a political alterative to Home Rule nationalism. Sinn Féin advocated a dual monarchy under the English Crown through a passive resistance in which Irish members of Parliament would withdraw from the British Parliament and form an Irish assembly.

When the Liberals passed the third Home Rule Bill (1912), the reformed House of Lords could only delay it for two years. Facing such a reality, the Protestant minority in Ireland, who were known as Unionists, formed the Ulster Volunteers and threatened armed resistance if the government implemented home rule. Nationalists

Anti–Home Rule Demonstration in Derry City, September 1912. *Unionist leaders (left to right: Hugh Barrie, Edward Carson, and Frederick Smith) are greeted by supporters at a demonstration against home rule in Londonderry.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

responded by forming the Irish Volunteers to safeguard home rule. Elements within the British Army asserted that they would not impose home rule (i.e., as an act of Parliament), and as such, Britain confronted a major constitutional crisis and the prospect of civil war. This did not happen; World War I permitted Britain to suspend home rule for duration of the war.

Britain's inconsistency, however, was not lost on Irish nationalists. When nationalists had sought independence though physical force, Britain crushed their efforts and encouraged them to proceed with constitutional means. When they achieved home rule through constitutional means, the government permitted it to be blocked by threats of physical force.

Most of the Irish Volunteers went off to fight in World War I, but a minority remained in Ireland, ostensibly to defend the achieved home rule. Unknown to most Irish volunteers, the secret oath bound by IRB had infiltrated the organization's leadership and was now

preparing it for a rebellion. In 1916 Patrick Pearse (1879–1916) led the Irish Volunteers in a rebellion that began on Easter Monday. The smaller Irish Citizens Army, led by revolutionary socialist James Connolly (1868–1916), joined them. Pearse and Connolly proclaimed an Irish Republic and seized the Dublin city center. It took the British Army a week to crush the Easter Rising. Britain later executed its leaders.

Although Griffith had nothing to do with the Easter Rising, the British termed it "the Sinn Féin Rebellion," as Sinn Féin had become a pejorative term to describe all nationalists who rejected home rule. In 1917 a new "Republican Sinn Féin" emerged, led by Eamon de Valera (1882–1975), the highest-ranking Irish Volunteer to survive the Easter Rising and the subsequent executions. Although the party was republican dominated, Sinn Féin developed into a coalition that included constitutional nationalists, such as Griffith. Nonetheless, Sinn Féin contested the 1918 election on the proclaimed

Irish Republic of Easter 1916 and won seventy-three out of seventy-nine nationalist seats in the British Parliament.

In 1919 the elected Sinn Féin members of Parliament abstained from Westminster, that is, boycotted the British Parliament and formed themselves as Dáil Éireann (assembly of Ireland). Simultaneously, the Irish Volunteers, now calling themselves the Irish Republican Army (IRA), launched a sustained guerrilla war against British forces in Ireland. Britain responded with a counterinsurgency against the IRA, while working to separate the constitutional nationalists from the revolutionary republicans within Sinn Féin and the Dáil.

In 1921 a ceasefire led to negotiations that produced the Anglo-Irish Treaty. The treaty partitioned Ireland into two states: Twenty-six counties were given some powers of self-government as a dominion within the British empire, while six counties in Ulster (Northern Ireland) remained part of the United Kingdom—much more than home rule, far less than an Irish republic. The Dáil accepted the treaty by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-seven, and its supporters, led by Griffith and Michael Collins (1890–1922), the IRA's director of intelligence, formed the Irish Free State. Three-quarters of the IRA, however, rejected the treaty, leading to the Irish Civil War (1922–1923). The Free State Army, supported by Britain, defeated the IRA, but the IRA leadership ordered its units to place their weapons in secret arms depots and to disperse without surrender.

The defeated republicans, embodied in the self-described "semiconstitutional" political party Fianna Fáil ("soldiers of destiny") and with IRA electoral support, gained control of the Irish Free State in the 1932 election. Led by de Valera, however, Fianna Fáil did not declare an independent republic; their opponents, a five-party coalition government led by fine Gael ("kindred of the Irish"), did that in 1948 when they briefly won power.

Britain responded by reasserting its sovereignty over Northern Ireland, where in the late 1960s revolutionary nationalism returned. In the thirty-year conflict that followed, both the IRA and Sinn Féin reemerged. The most recent phase of "the troubles" ended with the IRA ceasefire in 1994 and the 1998 Good Friday Agreement that committed Sinn Féin to constitutional politics. To further the peace process in Northern Ireland, the IRA announced an end to its armed campaign in 2005. It reasserted its commitment "to building the republic outlined in the 1916 proclamation," but to do so through peaceful means.

Although often cited as England's first colony, scholars continue to debate the extent to which Ireland was a colony. Revisionist historians have challenged nationalist histories, arguing that the British–Irish connection was far more complex than a simple colonial relationship and that partition reflected that there were always two nations within Ireland. Given that such revisionism emerged

during the resumption of physical-force nationalism in Northern Ireland, its opponents argue that it is a conservative, perhaps even Unionist, ideology designed to confront change in Ireland and that it serves as little more than an apology for British colonialism. More recently, literary and cultural studies have developed postcolonial theories that locate Ireland firmly within the third world experience, essentially viewing Ireland's colonial past and resistance to British imperialism within the same framework as, for example, India or Ghana.

SEE ALSO *Ireland, English Colonization.*

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Timothy M. O'Neil

ISLAM, COLONIAL RULE, SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The story of Islam under the colonial canopy in sub-Saharan Africa is complex because of the various types of Islam, directions of infiltration, varieties of local appropriation, and differing colonial, pragmatic policies driven by exigencies. Prominent is the interplay between local, Islamic, and Western cultures as patterns of African responses conditioned the religious landscape that emerged.

West African Islam originated from the Maghrib during the trans-Saharan trade in salt, gold, and slaves. Islam relied on the patronage of the older African indigenous traditions, acclimatized, acquired local coloring, and meshed into the indigenous cultural fabric naturally and unhurriedly; traders and scholars moved from a quarantine process of maintaining Muslim space, through mixing or crossing boundaries patronized by rulers, before

jihadists reasserted orthodoxy or created Islamic states. Coincidentally, the colonial forces emerged at the tail end of the nine jihads in West Africa, hindered some, and left the wrong impression that many jihads were anticolonialist. The French colonized two-thirds of West Africa, but the British colonies had a larger population while the Germans held a few until World War I (1914–1918). Portugal was confined to Portuguese Guinea and some islands.

The Islam of eastern and central Africa came from Persian adventurers and Omani Arabs from the southern Arabian peninsula who established hegemony over Swahili Muslim communities on the coast. In the crusade spirit, the Portuguese brutalized Muslims and collected tributes. Fort Jesus, built in 1593, represents Iberian coastal imperialism; its loss in 1698 to Ottoman Turks reestablished Muslim power in the zone north of Cape Delgado. From 1840 the Omani Arabs established a cultural imperialism that forayed inland from Zanzibar while the Portuguese secured Mozambique for Portuguese East Africa. The eastern African coast was also known as *Estado da India* because of trading relationships with Indians whose Muslim population remained visible and were resented because of their exclusiveness and conspicuous prosperity. The partition of Africa heralded a territorial imperialism as rival Portuguese, French, Italians, Belgians, Germans, and British consolidated territories that absorbed Islamic communities at the expense of Ottoman Turks.

COLONIAL POLICIES

Colonial policies differed, shared many similarities, and changed through time. Prominent was a combination of evolutionary and positivist ideas that profiled Islam as midway between paganism and higher civilizations; therefore, suitable for Africans, and preferable to paganism. Yet suspicion survived based on a clash of civilizations, secularist ideology, the separation of church and state, and enlightenment worldview that bred an antireligious diatribe. Missionaries exacerbated the alarm that Islam would dominate Africa. Colonialism feeds on monopoly, control, order, and cultural domination to sustain capitalism. These traits determined policy. European-Muslim encounters in Maghrib confirmed that Islam is a competing religion and civilization, posing as a superior, universal, comprehensive way of life, endowed with an inherent power of resistance, and now capable of indigenizing into a variety dubbed as "Black Islam."

Colonial policies gyrated between hostility and accommodation based on the political realities, the intellectual fad at home, and caprices of a governor. All except Britain shared a policy of direct rule; Portugal and France assimilated colonies as parts of the metropolis. In practice, racism redefined citizenship and denied full rights to the *indigenat* or "native" (in Portuguese, *nao indigenas*) except when acculturated through education. Colonial incursion coincided with some jihads and compelled hostile responses.

Western instruments against Islam included superior technology, administrative and legal structures, education, economic transformations, and charitable and welfare institutions. Military power and negotiated agreements pacified rulers and secured colonial regimes that remained insecure until the end. But the administrative structure removed the powers from local competing nodes after the jihads had disintegrated many communities; a few chiefs were pensioned off. The new *chefs de canton* became the new power elite. When the Moro Naba of Mossi accepted French control, he was allowed to retain symbolical, moral, social, and religious authority without political power.

Local exigencies confounded colonial policies: sometimes the government aided pilgrimage, constructed mosques, and patronized Islamic education. But it would restrain contact with Maghrib Muslims and compromise Muslim education by insisting on communicating through European language and culture because of the need for an indigenous workforce. Marabouts frightened the colonialists, sufi brotherhoods were profiled as dangerous secret societies, while the ubiquitous Dyula traders (the strongest evangelists) appeared harmless.

Vibrant Western influence in the coastal and urban areas created *evolues* who would challenge traditional rulers, Islamic values, and ironically spearhead the nationalist movement. The *umma* would split among supporters for tradition, advocates of adaptation to modernity (Islam with democracy) and secularist attack on medieval Islamic structures. Colonial rule delinked political from religious power and caused an internal debate about appropriate responses: *hijra* withdrawal could not suffice; military *jihad* was countered; *taqiyya*, jihad of the mind that feigned accommodation while waiting for a more appropriate opportunity appeared as the only option based on *mulawat*, accommodation in the name of overriding interest (*maslaha*). This required the consolidation of Muslim space, piety, and learning, to ensure protection and freedom of religion.

Colonialism disrupted the social structures built on Islamic values. Posing as liberators of slaves, the abolition of serfdom (*captifs de case*) created the clientele system in many places or estate system in northern Nigeria. Colonialism catalyzed social mobility, and created new class structures and ethnicity. Cash crop economy and new commerce created new wealth, and consumption habits; old towns decayed as railways, roads, and motor and sea transports changed trade routes. Rural-urban
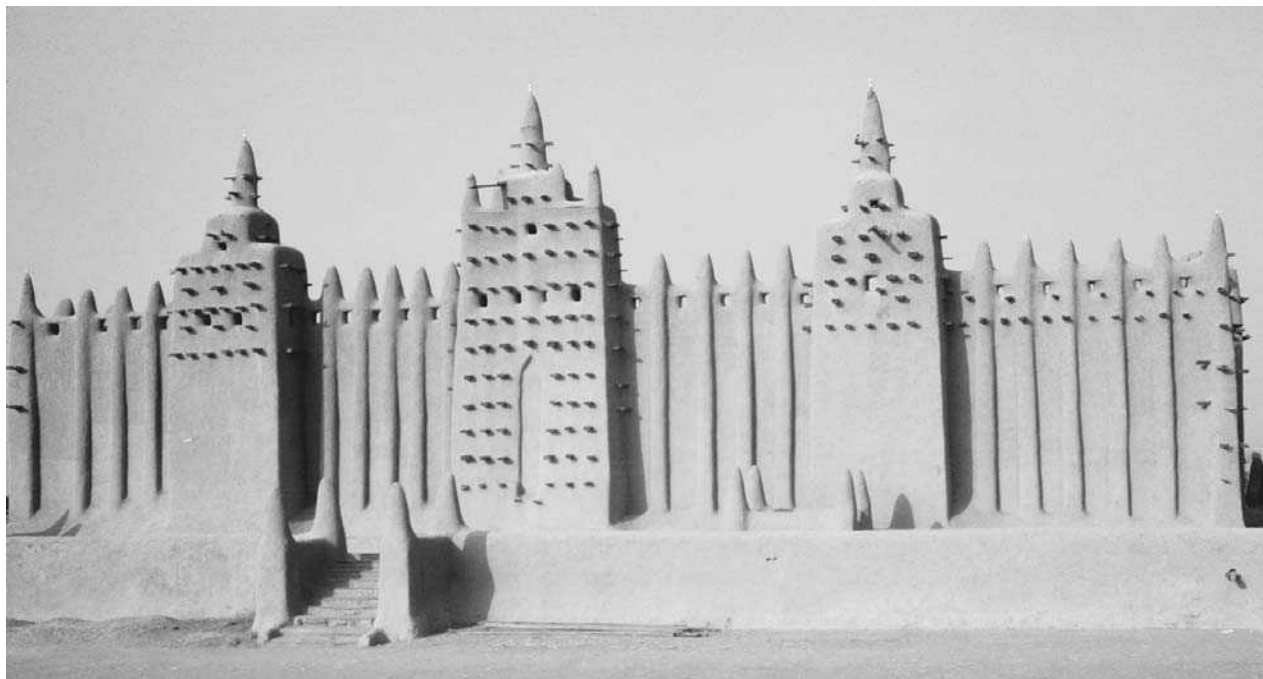
Grand Mosque in Djenne, Mali. *The Grand Mosque of Djenne in Mali was built with mud bricks from 1905 to 1907. The original Djenne mosque was destroyed by a fire in 1830.* © CHARLES & JOSETTE LENARS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

migration intensified though village associations, family and marriage systems preserved old values.

Islamic social structures are tenacious, survive against the forces induced by Western material culture, and thrive in urban settings. Ironically, Islam grew under the colonial canopy than many jihads could accomplish. It utilized colonial resources to spread into the hinterland. Many ethnic groups in Senegambia that had avoided Islam converted in large numbers; there are cases of mass conversion. Islam grew through trade, marriages, the evangelical ardor inspired by the Da'wah call, and the activities of various brotherhoods that sprouted to consolidate the spirituality. Some sufi brotherhoods as the Muridiyya had local provenance, ancient ones as the Quadriyya spanned the continent, while others like the Tiyaniyya, led by Ibrahim Niass, developed a network that linked the rest of West Africa to the Maghrib. Talisman, prayers, and rituals provided solace and anchor amidst rapid social change. The spasmodic harassment and exile of sufi leaders betrayed the discordant vestiges of Madhist expectations that contacts during pilgrimages intensified.

RESULTS OF ASSIMILATION

Assimilation policy created two cultural worlds and juxtaposed the incompatible worlds of modern medicine and magical-religious methods. Colonial policies sought to create detribalized, individualized "new men," protected from Arabic cultural centers; it invented Hamitic languages and lineages and ethnic distinctions that differentiated the Orientals from Africans and sought to counter Islamic community and total submission of all aspects of life to Allah, and the wall against Western ideals. By 1911, *le péril de l'Islam*, the old fears that the Muslims may serve as lightning rods conducting German attacks, resurfaced and encouraged repressive policies including the promotion of indigenous religions and cultures to counter Islam.

In practice, assimilation policy was never purist but resembled the British indirect rule policy because both faced manpower shortage, tense geopolitics, international turmoil, and portending world war. The British protected Islam, consolidated the Fulani hegemony in northern Nigeria, sponsored Islamic education, restrained missionary incursion into emirates, and granted local authority to effective, loyal Muslim rulers. In reality, it rested political power in the British administrator and limited the purview of *sharia* laws, allowing autonomy only in the law of personal status. But *sharia* ceased to be universal as in the ancient sultanate. Colonialism consolidated Western civilization through schools that combined Islamic and Western literacy and recruited educated Muslims into the civil service. One consequence was that custodianship of Islam passed gradually from the

ruling hierarchy (the sultan, *qadis*, and *imams*) into the hands of *sufi turuq*, devotional, mystical, thaumaturgic leaders. These made it difficult for Islam to adjust to insurgent Western presence. Muslim groups, as the Ahmadiyya from India, imbibed Western education as a survival strategy against intramural demonization.

Nigeria serves as an example of the changes that followed in Anglophone Africa: by the 1920s, the protection was eased to permit missionary activities in the northern region, especially as these controlled social service infrastructures. World War I nationalism, security considerations, and changing administrative structures brought the Islamic communities closer to others and created new challenges. For instance, the amalgamation of the northern and southern provinces into one nation, Nigeria, brought diverse ethnic groups together, betrayed the gap in education, differences in religions, and catalyzed a virulent competition for power. The artificiality of colonial boundaries became palpable. In Ghana, the Muslims formed a protective association in 1932 in response. Though the southerners decried the protection of Islam, the Muslims chafed under the defeat by colonialists.

In eastern and central Africa, neither the British nor the Germans practiced indirect rule; both left the Muslims to practice their religions and concentrated in competitive pursuit of gold, glory, and serving God. The German folk (*volk*) ideology made them more sensitive to indigenous religion of colonized peoples, and this affected policy toward Islam that had developed a Swahili Islamic culture long before colonialism. This culture permeated inland after 1880 when Omani Arab penetrated the Lake Victoria region, spreading Islam among the Yaos of Malawi, the Congo, and Buganda. They traded in ivory and slaves, and resisted colonial and Christian missions enterprises. It was their rebellion against the African Lakes Company in 1887 that broke their backs. All colonial powers responded violently against rebellion. The Belgians were strongly Roman Catholic and hostile to the spread of Swahili Islam that the *sufi shaykhs* nurtured in the 1930s. On the whole, Islam in Eastern Africa remained strong along a coastal strip and weak in the hinterland.

The Islam in South Africa originated from neighboring Mozambique despite the hostility of Dutch Afrikaans; then came Indian Muslims linked to Ismaili Muslims of East Africa, followers of Agha Khan. These exclusivist Muslims neither mixed with the "Malays" or Cape Colored or the faintly Islamized Balemba and Lemba ethnic groups. Despite their investment in mosques and social services, they were deeply resented. Ironically, apartheid forced Muslim intellectuals to exegete the Koran to support the liberation of the oppressed in the mid-1900s.

World War II (1939–1945) questioned the capacity to maintain colonial policies. Nationalists forced broken France to abolish the *indigenat* status in 1946 and open citizenship to the colonized without accepting French personal laws or discarding Islamic heritage. *Assimilation* was abandoned for *association* policy that would permit indigenous people to govern their affairs and associate closely with French interests. In 1956 the devolution continued with universal adult suffrage, single electoral college, territorial assemblies, executive councils, and Africanization of the local administrations, which enlarged indigenous political rule by transferring the powers reserved to the French Parliament. The negritude movement and participation in European ideological parties signaled the rise of the *evolues* and Africanist ideology that contested the pillars of colonialism.

In Ghana, the Convention Peoples Party sought to ally with the Muslim Association Party (formed in 1939) rather than ignore them. In Nigeria, the new political realities at the end of colonial canopy frightened the aristocratic elite: they formed a political party that they could control, essayed to mobilize the whole northern region under an Islamic identity. They wove patronizing contacts with Arabic states. The Wahabbis in Saudi Arabia funded the Islamic project in Nigeria. This initiated a process that would expose African Islam to international, radical Islamic influences in the future. But the educated, clerics, and masses formed a counter party that would liberate the masses, building an Islamic constitutional modern state adapted to modern conditions. Many of the un-Islamized communities mobilized with their own party and linked themselves to larger ethnic groups to escape from Habe/Fulani hegemony. The collapse of the imperial structures created an enigma for Islam: how to survive in a postcolonial world imbued with predominantly Western values.

SEE ALSO *Muslim Brotherhood; Sub-Saharan Africa, European Presence in.*

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Ogbu Kalu

ISLAMIC MODERNISM

A term associated with Muslim religious intellectuals who have appropriated modern Western point(s) of view and sought to reform Islamic institutions of learning, law, and politics in the light of Western ideas and values. The modernist trend flourished in many parts of the Muslim world in the heyday of colonialism, between the 1860s and World War I. Its proponents argued for the compatibility of Islam with Western concepts of (instrumental) rationality, science, and progress, and advocated constitutionalism and women's rights. In the course of the twentieth century, Islamic modernism gave way to one or the other of the two trends it had originally attempted to bridge: secularized modernism, most notably of the nationalist type, and the fundamentalist Salafiyya. Reflecting changes in notions of modernity in the West, later modernist thinkers put forth Islamic notions of democracy, equality, and civil liberties. The impact of Islamic modernism was generally confined to cultural elites, though in some cases it gave birth to political and socioreligious movements.

Islamic modernism is often merged with the modern Salafiyya, which also emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in response to the Western challenge. Yet despite mutual influences, partial overlapping, and occasional crossovers, it is analytically important to distinguish between the two trends. The Salafi discourse draws legitimacy from the Islamic past, most notably the medieval thinker Ibn Taymiyya and his premodern followers: the ultraorthodox Wahhabis and the Yemeni jurist Shawkani. Following in their footsteps, the Salafis professed to revive the legacy of the forefathers of Islam (*al-salaf*), while downplaying their borrowings from Western models. This construction made the Salafiyya the prototype of Islamic fundamentalism and enabled it to gain a large following among the Muslim masses and be involved in politics, which modernism could never accomplish.

Islamic modernism has never been a monolithic trend. There has been wide divergence of opinion among its protagonists concerning what is to be adapted from the West, what of Muslim tradition is to be set aside, and what attitude is to be taken toward the colonial and postcolonial powers. Such divergence reflects both variations in the intellectual background and social standing of modernists—who range from traditionally trained mid-level *ulama* (religious scholars) to middle-class laymen—and the differing circumstances of time and place. The boundaries of Islamic modernism are likewise imprecise, and scholars often disagree as to whether one figure or another belongs to it or crossed the lines to secular modernism or Islamic fundamentalism. However, there are certain core concerns that at least to some extent all Islamic modernists share, and that give this trend a measure of unity.

The intensification of the colonial enterprise from the 1850s onward brought home to many Muslims the painful realization that their countries had become backward compared with the West. Subjected to either direct European rule or Westernizing regimes, they felt that the Muslim world had fallen into a state of cultural decline. The distinctive feature of the Islamic modernist project within this wider religious perception lay in its fuller internalization of the Orientalist vision of Islam as the inferior Other, and in the conviction that to regain its place in the world Islam must adapt not merely Western science and technology, but also many of its institutions and customs. Modernists accordingly advocated reforming the traditional educational system by introducing secular sciences into the school curriculum and by building modern schools beside the old *madrasas* (seminaries). They were also among the first religionists to have recourse to the new medium of the periodical press; they likewise adopted novel literary forms and simple language in an effort to reach out to the expanding literate populations.

In common with the Salafis, modernists put the blame for the degeneration of Islam on its latter-day religious leaders. According to this construction, the *ulamas* resorted to the practice of blind imitation (*taqlid*) within their legal and theological schools and thus stifled all original thinking, while the Sufis deviated from the right path in their irrational teachings and popular practices. Purporting to revive the "true" principles of Islam, modernists and Salafis alike turned to the legal practice of *ijtihad*, which in their hands was transformed from a technical term, meaning an authorized "effort" to find a ruling in the sources, into rational deliberation. Similarly, not being averse to Sufism as such—many of them had a Sufi background—they sought to set it on a sounder rational-moral basis. Still, whereas the Salafis grounded their reasoning in a literal interpretation of the Qur'an and *sunna* (the Prophet's example), the modernists made rationality and science the measuring stick for a continuous reinterpretation of the scriptures.

In the political sphere, modernists living under Muslim rule generally favored a constitutional form of government. Aware of the importance of the state in effecting the reforms they desired, they regarded constitutionalism as both a guarantee of civil rights and freedoms and a check on the state's drift to *Westernization*, the wholesale adoption of Western values without regard to Islamic law (*Sharia*). Islamic modernists living in colonized countries tended to accommodate themselves to their foreign rulers, and at times even accepted their self-proclaimed "civilizing mission," in the belief that the

Outdoor Lesson in Punjab. *A teacher for an Islamic school holds class outdoors in May 1933 in Taxila, Punjab.* © BETTMANN/
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process of shaping the Muslim personality must precede the collective goal of independence. In the postindependence era modernists expounded their liberal ideals against both Westernized authoritarian regimes and radicalized fundamentalist oppositions. In the social sphere, Islamic modernists were committed to the promotion of women's rights. They backed girls' education and raised for public debate issues such as polygamy, divorce, the veil, work outside the home, and suffrage.

Islamic modernists employed various discursive strategies to justify, for themselves and for their coreligionists, the far-reaching adaptation they favored. For one, in their interpretation of the scriptures they made a distinction between basic commands, which pertain to religion proper, and contingent social and political rules that were given for their time and place and are therefore liable to amendment according to changing circumstances. Another strategy, taken from the Islamic philosophical tradition that modernists sought to revive, was to postulate that knowledge attained from revelation necessarily conforms to knowledge acquired by reason.

Finally, modernists adopted the apologetic line that European science had been built on the foundations of classical Islamic scholarship, and that by acquiring it Muslims were merely reclaiming their own heritage.

Representatives of the Islamic modernist trend appeared in practically every region of the Muslim world. Its earliest centers were established in the 1860s and 1870s in India, the Ottoman Empire, and Egypt. In the following decades modernist ideas radiated to other Arab countries, Russia's Muslim territories, Afghanistan, Indonesia, and elsewhere. Shi'i modernism spread mainly in the twentieth century, reaching its peak in the 1960s and 1970s.

In India, the early modernist trend is primarily associated with the name of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898). He opposed the Great Revolt of 1857, and in its aftermath devoted his energies to bringing about a rapprochement between British rulers and Muslim subjects. Khan was deeply troubled by the perceived backwardness of the Muslim community in India, and tried to persuade his coreligionists to adopt Western ideals and standards.

He rejected tradition and reduced the essence of Islam to the Qur'an, which was reinterpreted in the light of modern reason and science. Social practices that did not conform to liberal standards, like aggressive war, slavery, and subjection of women, were similarly rejected. Khan established his own journal, *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* (Refinement of Morals), and later on the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which, modeled on Oxford and Cambridge, was designed to train Muslims for service in the colonial administration.

Subsequent Indian modernists argued that Islam actually contained the Western values of the time. The theologian and historian Shibli al-Nu' mani (1857–1914), a long-time teacher of Arabic at Aligarh, drew on the Mu'tazilite rationalist school of early Islam to restate received theological positions in light of the contemporary Western scientific worldview. The Bengali jurist Sayyid Amir 'Ali (d. 1928) contended that Islam was inherently a civilizing and progressive religion, drawing evidence from the life and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and from the intellectual achievements of Islamic civilization in its formative phase.

With the advent of the Indian nationalist demand for self-rule during and after World War I, the modernist project assumed a political dimension. Its proponents were thereby divided into two camps in regard to the struggle's objectives: one group stood for cooperation with the Congress for the sake of a unified Indian nation, the other lent its support to the Muslim League's demand for the creation of Pakistan. The major spokesman of the first group was Abu al-Kalam Azad (1888–1958), a journalist who distinguished himself at the time of the Khilafat movement and was later elected president of the All-India National Congress and appointed India's minister of education. Azad maintained that all faiths are one in their essence and advocated universal humanism. The second group was led by the poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), the foremost intellectual figure in Muslim India in the interwar period, who had studied philosophy and law in England and Germany. Iqbal postulated the essential harmony of religion and science, and called for the use of *ijtihad* to create a strong Muslim personality and a progressive Muslim society.

The representatives of early Islamic modernism in the Ottoman Empire are generally known as the Young Ottomans. This was a group of religious-minded civil officials and journalists from Istanbul, who supported the state program of modernization (*Tanzimat*), but objected to the Westernizing turn it took under the high-handed direction of the Sublime Porte after the Reform Edict of 1856. The Young Ottomans arose in 1865 as a secret society, and often lived in exile in the provinces or in the West. They promoted their ideology of constitutional monarchy and patriotism through the press and the theater. They justified their resorting to Western notions of freedom and fatherland by the claim that these were part of Islam. Namik Kemal (1840–1888), their foremost writer, reinterpreted the Islamic concepts of *shura* (consultation) and *bay'a* (oath of allegiance) to mean parliament and popular sovereignty. The Young Ottomans helped bring about the first Ottoman Constitution in 1876, but were suppressed under the autocratic regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II and gave way to the secularized movement of the Young Turks.

Early Islamic modernism in Egypt was inspired by two forerunners: the education official Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi and the Iranian-born activist Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. Tahtawi (1801–1873) acquired a firsthand knowledge of Europe when he served between 1826 and 1831 as imam of the first student mission sent to Paris by Muhammad 'Ali. Subsequently he was appointed head of the Translation Bureau and editor of the official paper, and in the 1860s he took part in planning Egypt's new educational system. Tahtawi believed that modernization could be achieved through cooperation between an enlightened monarch and progressive *ulamas* bent on adapting Islamic law to modern conditions. He had recourse to the Islamic philosophical tradition to justify the study of modern sciences, and called for universal primary education for both boys and girls to develop their personality and inculcate in them patriotic feelings.

As a Shi'i by origin, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838–1897) was acquainted with the Islamic philosophical tradition and with the methodology of *ijtihad*, both largely rejected in latter-day Sunnism but flourishing in Iran. Around 1857 he moved to India, where he learned of modern Western science but also developed strong anti-imperialist feelings, primarily against Britain. Afghani spent the rest of his life seeking to influence Muslim rulers to modernize and unite in the face of European domination (making him part of a current termed *pan-Islamic*). Afghani arrived in Egypt in 1871, after a sojourn in Istanbul, and became the guide of a group of young admirers, mostly from al-Azhar. Expelled by the Khedive, in 1884 he established in Paris the short-lived but influential journal *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa* (The Firm Bond). Afghani ended his life in Istanbul, a virtual prisoner at the court of Sultan Abdülhamid II.

The foremost exponent of Islamic modernism in Egypt was Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905). 'Abduh was a disciple of Afghani, who encouraged him to study philosophy and engage in journalism. Exiled for his role in the resistance to the British occupation, he cooperated

Contemporaries of 'Abduh advocated modernist ideas in other regions of the Arab world. In Tunisia, the reformist Prime Minister Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi (1810–1889) established the Sadiqiyya college, which taught foreign languages and modern sciences along with Islamic subjects. For him, the road to integration in the modern world lay in the adoption of a responsible parliamentary government and in freedom of the person and the press. In Tripoli, Husayn al-Jisr (1845–1909) founded on similar lines the National Islamic School. More conservative in his outlook, he reformulated the Muslim doctrine in simplified language and in relation to modern sciences. In Damascus, Tahir al-Jaza'iri (1852–1920), who had been influenced by the ideas of the Young Ottomans and cooperated with the reformist governor Midhat Pasha, established the Zahiriyya library, the core of Syria's national library, and worked for the revival of the Arab heritage.

The next generation of Arab reformers drifted away to either secular modernist and nationalist ideologies or to the fundamentalist cause. Prominent among the fundamentalists was the Syrian Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865–1935), who is commonly regarded as 'Abduh's foremost disciple and a major proponent of the Salafiyya. At the other end of the spectrum was 'Ali 'Abd al-Raziq (1888–1966), who justified the abolition of the caliphate by the Turkish National Assembly in 1924 and called for the separation of religion and state. 'Abduh's efforts to reform al-Azhar were continued by the rectors Mustafa al-Maraghi (1881–1945) and Mahmud Shaltut (1893–1963).

Among the Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire, Islamic modernism was generally known as Jadidism. It was initiated by intellectuals from Crimea and the Caucasus and spread to the Volga region, Turkistan, and Central Asia. Beginning as a project of reform of the traditional educational system, Jadidism enlarged its focus to include most aspects of Islamic society. Its proponents accepted the ideas of progress and women's empowerment, and called for the adoption of modern science and technology to meet the Western challenge. The Jadidis were a diverse group in terms of ethnic, social, and intellectual background, and differed widely on the desirable balance between Islam and modernity. Their most articulate exponent was the Crimean Tatar Ismail Bey Gasprinski (1851–1914), editor of the influential newspaper *Tercüman* (The Interpreter). At the beginning of the twentieth century efforts were made to organize Jadidism as a political faction and empire-wide congresses were convened, but the Bolshevik Revolution brought these efforts to an end.

Islamic modernism in Afghanistan went hand in hand with the monarchy. The leading figure in the

Maulama Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958). *The scholar and independence leader Maulama Abul Kalam Azad addresses a crowd in India, circa 1935.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

with the master in publishing *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa*, but after that the two parted ways. 'Abduh moved to Beirut, where he interacted with the Syrian Salafis, before being allowed to return to Egypt. There he accommodated himself to British rule and was appointed chief mufti and rector of al-Azhar, with the mission of promoting reform in the educational system and in the application of Islamic law. 'Abduh was troubled by the division of society between Westernizers and conservatives. To bridge the gap he sought to prove that Islam accords with reason and science, and that it is capable of providing the moral basis and guiding principles for adapting to modernity. In his Qur'anic exegesis 'Abduh made a distinction between specific rules relating to worship and general principles concerning worldly affairs, the latter leaving wide scope for *ijtihad* as rational deliberation based on public interest and a synthesis among the four legal schools. Possibly under Salafi influence, 'Abduh also emphasized the need to return to the "true" religion of the forefathers.

QABD AL-KARIM SOROUSH

Born in 1945, Islamic scholar and revisionist thinker 'Abd al-Karim Soroush has been described as the "house intellectual" of Iran's democratic reform movement by *Boston Globe* writer Laura Secor, and as "the Martin Luther of Islam" by the *Los Angeles Times*'s Robin Wright, who called him "a man whose ideas on religion and democracy could bridge the chasm between Muslim societies and the outside world" ("Islamist's Theory of Relativity," January 27, 1995).

Soroush's philosophical beliefs began forming when, as a student in London, he studied both philosophy and science. Soroush developed the position that humankind's changing and evolving understanding of nature and metaphysics should extend to religion, and that these different perspectives should be considered together.

Active in the Muslim Youth Association during Iran's prerevolutionary years, Soroush returned to Iran during the revolution and became a member of the Culture Revolution Council. He was charged with combating the Marxist thought that had infiltrated Iranian politics. After the country's universities were closed, in order to establish fundamental reforms, Soroush was appointed by Ayatollah Khomeini to reopen them and restructure their syllabi.

Soroush ultimately questioned the rigid interpretation of Islam endorsed by Khomeini and challenged the establishment's use of religion to further its political and economic agendas. Soroush has never sought political office; indeed, his position is that Islamic religious leaders should not also be the leaders of governments—in other words, he advocates a separation of church and state.

During his career, Soroush has served as director of the Islamic Culture Group at Tehran's Teacher Training College, researcher at the Institute for Cultural Studies, professor of ethics at the Tehran Academy of Philosophy, lecturer at the Imam Sadeq Mosque in Tehran, and as an instructor at Tehran University. Soroush, whose talks in Iran are often disrupted by hard-line opponents, began lecturing abroad in 2000, and has served as a visiting professor at such leading institutions as Harvard Divinity School, Yale University, and Princeton University.

movement was Mahmud Tarzi (1865–1933), who had spent his youth in the Ottoman Empire and established contacts with reformers in the Levant. Tarzi propagated the ideas of an enlightened and constitutional Afghan nation-state and of pan-Islamism in his journal *Siraj al-Akhbar* (Torch of News), and supplied the ideological underpinning for the modernization project of King Amanullah until the monarch's downfall in 1928.

In Indonesia, Islamic modernism combined the call to adapt to modernity with rejection of the animist and Hindu traditions characteristic of indigenous Islam. It was stimulated by enhanced contacts with reformists of the Middle East, and secured a substantial base among the middle classes. The largest modernist movement in Indonesia is the Muhammadiyya, founded in 1912 in Java by Ahmad Dahlan (1868–1923), who was influenced by 'Abduh during his studies in Egypt. Shunning politics under Dutch colonial rule as well as after independence, the movement established hundreds of branches with millions of members. These support a network of schools, for both boys and girls, which combine religious education and modern sciences, as well as missionary societies, economic and welfare organizations, and newspapers and magazines.

Shi'i modernism was largely confined in its initial phase to the heterodox Babi and Baha'i faiths. Baha'ullah (1817–1892) advocated Western ideas such as separation of religion and state, constitutionalism, women's emancipation, and international peace. Within mainstream Shi'ism, modernism emerged as a response to the autocratic secular modernization of the Pahlavis in the 1930s and became popular in the years leading to the Islamic revolution of 1978 to 1979. In 1961 Mehdi Bazargan (1907–1995), an engineer who had studied in Paris, and the populist Ayatollah Mahmud Taleqani (1910–1979) founded the Liberation Movement of Iran, which called for an end to foreign domination and restoration of constitutional rights. The two played an active role in the revolution that toppled the Shah, trying to provide a bridge between Khumeini's fundamentalist followers and the secular nationalist opposition. Bazargan was appointed prime minister, but was soon forced to resign and the modernists were relegated to the margins of Iranian politics. Modern Western ideas—particularly of the Marxist type—are also apparent in the teachings of 'Ali Shari'ati (1933–1977), the chief ideologue of the Islamic revolution, who called for a rational and humanistic reinterpretation of Shi'ism to fight subjugation and injustice.

Despite its weakening during the twentieth century, Islamic modernism has never ceased to be cherished in religious-minded intellectual circles, and it attracts much sympathy in the West. Among its recent prominent proponents are the Pakistani scholar Fazlur Rahman, the Syrian civil engineer Muhammad Shahrur, and the Iranian thinker ʿAbd al-Karim Soroush. Rahman (1919–1988) studied Islamic philosophy at Oxford and taught at Western universities. He called for a reformulation of Islamic theology and educational reform, though his attempt to effect them in Pakistan during the 1960s ended in failure. Shahrur (b. 1938) emphasizes the need to reinterpret the Qurʿan in light of contemporary social and moral concerns, and advocates "creative interaction" with non-Muslim philosophies and women's equality. Soroush (b. 1945) developed an evolutionary approach to the human understanding of religion that makes room for modern sciences. Initially a member of the Cultural Revolutionary Council, his deepening criticism of the Islamic regime eventually obliged him to leave Iran and settle in the West.

SEE ALSO *Afghānï, Jamal ad-Dïn al-.*

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Itzchak Weismann

J

JAPAN, COLONIZED

Japan was not formally colonized by Western powers, but was a colonizer itself. It has, however, experienced formal semicolonial situations, and modern Japan was profoundly influenced by Western colonialism in wide-ranging ways.

Japan's first encounter with Western colonialism was with Portugal in the mid-sixteenth century. The Portuguese brought Catholicism and the new technology of gun and gunpowder into Japan. The latter changed the way *samurai* rulers fought wars, and accelerated the process of national unification. In the following era, national rulers came increasingly to regard Catholicism as a serious threat to their authority. The Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868) eventually banned Christianity nationwide in 1613, and persecuted its followers during the 1620s. This experience contributed to the formation of the *sakoku* (closed nation) policy (fully implemented in 1641 and ending in 1854). *Sakoku* was a Tokugawa response to the advance of Western colonialism, although its major objective was to consolidate the new regime. It banned Japanese overseas travel and contact with foreigners, and gave the government a monopoly over foreign trade. The only European power that was allowed to trade with Japan was a new Protestant power, Holland, which was strictly confined to the port of Nagasaki in Kyushu. Yet through the study of Dutch materials, the Japanese were exposed to the latest European knowledge in fields such as medicine, botany, astronomy, and geography.

Colonial powers did not challenge the *sakoku* policy until the late eighteenth century. This challenge first came from Russia, and then from Britain and the United States. In 1825 the Japanese government began pursuing a hard-line policy, by attacking foreign ships other than those operated by the Dutch and Chinese, and by persecuting those who argued for *kaikoku*, or the opening up of the country to foreign trade. Britain's victory over China in the Opium War (1839–1842) deepened Japan's fear of colonization, and a debate erupted among concerned *samurais* in Japan over how to react to the encroachments of industrialized Western powers in search of markets and raw materials. Although the government acted quickly to strengthen Japan by acquiring the technology and skills of these powers, especially armaments and military strategies, the opening up of the country was now imminent.

Kaikoku, however, did not result from a government policy change, but was forced on Japan by the military might of the new Pacific power, the United States. While Britain was engaged in the Crimean War, the Tokugawa shogunate government gave in to the pressure of Commodore Matthew Perry and his East Indian U.S. Navy Fleet, and concluded the U.S.-Japan Friendship Treaty in 1854. As a result, the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate were opened. The government further concluded a bilateral trade treaty with the United States in 1858 (followed by similar treaties with the Netherlands, Russia, Britain, and France). This incident intensified an already bubbling anti-shogunate movement, as it revealed the shogunate's incompetence and eroded its legitimacy. Anger over the treaties eventually culminated in the fall of the shogunate and the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

Many who opposed the shogunate's handling of Western powers were alarmed and outraged by two clauses included in each of the above-mentioned treaties of 1858, clauses they believed gave Japan a semicolonial

status. The first denied the Japanese the right to impose tariffs, which damaged the Japanese economy greatly. The second concerned consular jurisdiction. The treaties expanded the number of open ports to include Kanagawa (soon changed to Yokohama), Nagasaki, Niigata, and Kobe, and established settlement areas (*kyoryūchi*) near the ports for foreigners who belonged to the treaty nations. While their activities were limited to these areas, foreigners were not under Japanese jurisdiction, but under the jurisdiction of their respective consulates. This arrangement had, therefore, a similar effect to extra-territoriality, and created a formal semicolonial space within Japan.

Xenophobia and a wave of violent physical attacks on Westerners characterized the initial Japanese reaction to Western powers in this new era. Many leaders, however, learned quickly that this was not a viable approach, and switched to a pragmatic policy of friendly cooperation. The policy known as *kaikoku washin* (calling for an open country and friendly diplomatic relations) became the diplomatic orthodoxy of the new Meiji government. This orthodoxy, however, demonstrated the contradictions that were inherent in the international order of the time and intrinsic to Western colonialism. On the one hand, Japanese adaptation of this orthodoxy meant the country's integration into what some scholars now call an "international society," in which common diplomatic codes of conduct were shared and international laws were respected. The policy also marked a new and positive perception of the West—not as barbaric, but as sophisticated, civilized, and modern, a superior model to emulate. The Meiji government employed foreign advisers and imported Western systems, while intellectuals absorbed ideas and customs from the West and spread them to enthusiastic readers. On the other hand, the Meiji elite realized that this "international society" was based on the military and economic might of member countries. They saw the task of enriching the nation and strengthening the military as an absolute imperative for the new state in order to be a member of this community. Yet, the treaties of 1858 demonstrated that Meiji Japan was still not an equal member.

This unequal relationship with the West was manifested at the treaty ports, such as Kobe and Yokohama. Westerners who lived in the foreign settlement at these port cities (the largest group was British, followed by Americans and then continental Europeans) were mainly business people. Although they were restricted in their movements, they were beyond the Japanese laws. They enjoyed great advantages in business dealings and lived materially privileged lives. Non-Western foreigners, namely the Chinese, played a crucial role as mediators in this semicolonial relationship. While China did not have a formal treaty with Japan until 1871, many

Western business people came to Japanese ports from China, and brought Chinese servants, foremen, and compradors (business mediators). Soon, independent Chinese traders and workers of various types began arriving at the port cities, in such numbers that the Chinese quickly became the biggest foreign group in these cities. Significantly, it was Chinese tailors, artisans, and carpenters who initially introduced European clothing and European houses to Japan. The disputes in these foreign settlements, therefore, often involved Chinese mediators, who came to dominate day-to-day business. Significantly, it is various Chinatowns, as much as the few remaining Western buildings, that remind contemporary Japanese of the port cities' semicolonial experiences.

Repealing the two problematic clauses in the 1858 trade treaties was a major goal for the new Meiji government. Their quest was to overturn Japan's semicolonial status and make the country an equal of the Western powers. The Meiji government embarked on radical domestic reforms designed to make Japan a strong, civilized, and modern nation-state. Among their goals, the establishment of a modern legal system was a top priority. Yet, while persistent negotiations, drastic reforms, and rapid economic development were significant in the process of achieving a repeal of the two clauses, the demonstration of Japan's military might and its increased prestige as an empire were probably most significant. After the Japanese victory over China in 1895, Japan succeeded in repealing consulate jurisdiction in 1899. And after Japan's defeat of Russia (1905) and annexation of Korea (1910), it recovered tariff rights in 1911. The year 1911 not only marked the end of Japan's semicolonial phase, it also saw the consolidation of the Japanese empire in East Asia.

Western colonialism's influence on Japan was profound and wide-ranging, and modern Japan was shaped through a constant negotiation with this influence. This was evident not only in relation to the nation's key infrastructure and institutions, such as the legal system, the constitution, the Diet, the bureaucracy, the educational system, the police, transportation, the army, and the navy. It was also profoundly manifested in countless aspects of everyday life, including literature, arts, religion, architecture, music, food, hairstyle, clothing, customs, and even the standard of beauty. The implications of this were complex. Although the concepts of liberty, human rights, democracy, and socialism were introduced through the literature of Western powers, so too were the concepts of imperialism, Social Darwinism, and German-style statism. For many Japanese, these Western systems, institutions, technologies, ideas, and customs were superior to Japanese ones, whereas others saw them as detrimental to Japan. The division between these two camps was far less clear than is often assumed,

and both sides were motivated by their own political agenda. Nevertheless, this binary understanding of the world often influenced the way major issues were framed in modern Japan. During the Pacific War, for example, Japanese propaganda painted the Japanese empire as a moral force fighting against the evil empires of the West, and liberating Asia from Western colonialism.

After 1945 the United States emerged as the most dominant foreign power for Japan, and its impact was and still is wide-ranging and profound. The U.S.-led occupation after the Pacific War also marked the first formal foreign rule of the nation. The desire to challenge the legitimacy of this occupation, however, was found only among an extremist minority. Many Japanese embraced U.S.-imposed democratization and demilitarization, and the new constitution of 1946, especially its pacifist clause, came to define the ideals of Japan's postwar democracy. Over time, however, progressives became increasingly concerned about an antidemocratic turn in U.S. policy, resulting from Washington's determination to keep Japan firmly in the anticommunist camp. Even after Japan regained independence in 1952, some continued to decry "U.S. imperialism," particularly in relation to the U.S. military bases spread across Japan and the U.S. occupation of Okinawa (not returned to Japan until 1972). The U.S. ambassador to Japan in the early 1960s, Edwin Reischauer, later called Okinawa "the only 'semi-colonial' territory created in Asia since the war." While American bases at Okinawa paid most dearly for Japanese militarism, experiences at American bases in other Japanese cities have also added a significant layer to the Japanese memory of Western colonialism.

SEE ALSO *East Asia, American Presence in; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire, Japanese; Japan, Opening of; Occupations, East Asia; Occupations, the Pacific; Perry, Matthew Calbraith.*

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Tomoko Akami

JAPAN, FROM WORLD WAR II

Postwar Japan was officially in the hands of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. However, aside from a small British contingent, only the United States provided occupation troops, and though the other powers were consulted, the United States made almost all of the decisions for occupied Japan.

The primary man in charge was General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964), who, as supreme commander for the Allied powers, directed the rebuilding and restructuring of postwar Japan. The first order of business was dealing with the immediate aftermath of the war. What remained of the Japanese military was disbanded, and, as with Germany, some Japanese leaders were tried for war crimes. Thousands of these trials were held in areas such as Japan, Singapore, Philippines, and Hong Kong, but trials for those accused of the worst crimes were held in Japan. Twenty-five people were put on trial for the most severe crimes, deemed Class A. All were found guilty of at least some of the charges. Seven of them, including General Hideki Tojo (1884–1948), head of the army and prime minister throughout much of the war, and former Prime Minister Koki Hirota (1878–1948), were executed.

The focus then shifted to rebuilding and restructuring Japan. Almost all of Japan's major cities were destroyed, along with the country's infrastructure; this had to be rebuilt if Japan's economy could return to strength. It was also decided that many of the large corporations *(zaibatsu)* that had controlled the prewar economy were to be dissolved. This decision was not made primarily for economic reasons, but because these large entities had opposed democracy, the implementation of which was a primary goal of the occupation.

Japanese society also faced reforms, primarily intended to foster a new democratic ideal. A primary concern for the Americans was the Japanese education system. If democracy was to take hold in a country that for so long had been governed by different ideals, it must be fostered among the youth of Japan. The reforms included a careful monitoring of textbooks, the adoption of the American system of progression through the years, and the decentralizing of the entire education system.

MacArthur and Hirohito in Tokyo. *General Douglas MacArthur stands with Hirohito, Japan's wartime emperor, in the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo on September 27, 1945. Hirohito found a great ally in MacArthur, who believed that the retention of Hirohito himself, and not merely the office of emperor, was essential for the successful rebuilding of Japan.* © BETTMANN/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Japanese concept of Shinto was declared a religion, and was separated from the state. Following the tenants of state Shinto, the Japanese saw it as a duty to revere what they believed was their divine emperor. The question of what to do with the emperor was the most difficult for the Americans. Most in the American government wanted Japan to retain the office of emperor, but without the divine status that the position held before the war. The main reason given for retaining the emperor was that he could bring stability to Japan, which the Americans believed would help prevent the spread of communism to Japan.

As for Hirohito (1901–1989), Japan's wartime emperor, more than a few Americans in high office believed he should be removed or even put on trial for war crimes. But Hirohito found a great ally in MacArthur, who consistently told his superiors that the retention of Hirohito himself, and not merely the office

of emperor, was essential for the successful occupation and rebuilding of Japan.

The most significant of the reforms put into place was Japan's new constitution, which remains virtually unaltered to this day. The constitution, agreed upon in early 1946, guaranteed specific freedoms, civil liberties, and a democratic government; the constitution also officially ended Shinto as the state religion, and established a new role for the emperor. However, the most noticed, and later the most controversial, part of the constitution was Article IX. With this article Japan declared that it would never again go to war and that as a state it had no right to belligerent actions. Hence, Japan would be allowed no military forces.

The end of the occupation of Japan was initiated with the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty on September 8, 1951, and became official on April 28, 1952. Though the official occupation was ended, U.S. troops have remained in Japan for decades. This occurred, in part, because of Cold War considerations, but also because of Japan's new constitution—without its own military forces, Japan would have to be protected.

In Japan's government, party politics quickly became dominated by the Liberal Democratic Party. Japanese culture also began to find its way to different parts of the world, thanks in part to returning American soldiers who brought with them stories and small physical reminders from Japan. The post–occupation period coincided with a significant growth in world interest in Japanese movies, cartoons, comic books, and, to lesser degree, martial arts.

As the decades passed, Japan continued to experience unprecedented economic growth. Consumer products, especially electronics and automobiles, soon became the staple of Japan's economy. The 1980s and the 1990s established Japan as an economic powerhouse. However, some believed that this growth occurred in part because Japan had an unfair advantage. Though Japan created a self-defense force after the occupation, it still relied primarily on the United States for protection. Thus, Japan expended less of its gross domestic product for defense than almost any other industrialized country. Most experts believe the lack of this economic burden was a contributing factor to Japan's success.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Japanese; Japan, Colonized; Occupations, East Asia; Occupations, the Pacific.*

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JAPAN, OPENING OF

The final wave of European naval exploration reached Japan's shores in 1543 when a group of Portuguese traders landed on the island of Tanegashima, south of Kyushu. Merchants and missionaries from across Europe followed soon after. Eminent among Japan's early visitors was the Spanish Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier (1506–1552), who began a mission that resulted in the conversion of thousands of Japanese. An incalculable mixture of piety and desire for foreign commerce even led some *daimyo* (domain lords) to convert; the most famous, Omura Sumitada (1533–1587), opened the port of Nagasaki to foreign trade in 1571. By the end of the sixteenth century, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and English traders and missionaries were common sights in the port towns and harbor cities of Japan; they were known as "red hairs" or "southern barbarians."

For those ambitious warlords who sought to reunify Japan during this tumultuous "Warring States" period, however, the Christian faith was a threat to be eradicated. The general Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) sowed the first seed of Japan's "closed country" *(sakoku)* policy when he ordered the Jesuits to leave the country in 1587; although he did not enforce this edict, Hideyoshi made up for laxity a decade later with the ordered execution of twenty-six martyrs.

TOKUGAWA PERIOD

In the years surrounding the reunification of Japan under the Tokugawa shogunate in 1600, a series of edicts were announced that served to drastically reduce Japan's connection to the world beyond its shores. Relations with any country unwilling to separate missionary from merchant activity were severed (Spain, Portugal); Japanese were forbidden from traveling and trading abroad, or from building seafaring ships; and all contact between foreign countries and the daimyo domains was prohibited, thus establishing a shogunate monopoly on foreign relations.

In the end, only the Dutch and the Chinese were allowed to maintain their trading bases in Nagasaki. The former were quarantined on the small artificial island of Dejima, while the latter were similarly sequestered on shore (the Dutch trade paled in comparison to that of China: 700 Dutch ships made port during the entire Tokugawa era,

while the Chinese trade brought in 5,500 ships in that same period). While Japanese society was in many ways self-contained for most of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), there existed opportunities for the Japanese to sate their curiosity for foreign knowledge. In fact, prospective students of such "Dutch studies" as Western medicine, shipbuilding, astronomy, chemistry, geography, mathematics, physics, ballistics, metallurgy, gunnery, botany, and so forth flocked to Nagasaki as that city's reputation as an information hub spread.

The late eighteenth century marked a gradual turning point with regard to Japan's seclusion policy. As the global power of the Dutch faded, other counties that had benefited from the industrial and bourgeoisie revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries rose to take their place on the high seas. In the 1790s the Russians attempted to expand into northern Japan, while in the years that followed European whale- and gun-ships appeared in the southern harbors of Kyushu. Furthermore, whaling vessels sailing from the east coast of the United States had been entering Japanese waters since the early part of the nineteenth century, and after the acquisition of the California and Oregon territories in the 1840s (and the subsequent discovery of gold in 1848 to 1849), the country was determined to push westward toward the Pacific.

COMMODORE PERRY AND THE "BLACK SHIPS"

In 1853 a naval fleet under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry (1794–1858) was dispatched from Norfolk, Virginia, by the American government to request that Japan provide for the safety of shipwrecked sailors, as well as to allow the establishment of coaling and watering stations for American ships in the Pacific. Though unstated, the primary impetus for the Perry mission was to explore Japan's possibilities as a market for excess American industrial manufactures.

Upon his arrival in Japan in July 1853, Perry delivered a letter from President Millard Fillmore (1800–1874) to the Japanese government requesting first, the right to protect shipwrecked Americans who might possibly wash up on Japanese shores, and second, the right of American ships to stop in Japan to refuel (coal) and acquire provisions. After delivering the letter Perry announced that he and his party would return the following spring with a much larger force, if necessary, to receive an answer to Fillmore's request.

The head of the shogun's Council of Elders (effectively the head of the national government, as the shogun himself was a cipher) consequently ordered the coastal defenses around Edo (now Tokyo) Bay to be built up, and quickly moved to act on the requests of the Perry letter. Domestic opinion in Japan on the matter ran hot

Commodore Perry Meets the Japanese Royal Commissioner. *Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S. Navy meets the royal commissioner at Yokohama, Japan, in 1853. Perry concluded the United States-Japan Friendly Treaty in 1854, ending Japan's longstanding isolationist policy and giving the United States preferential status as a trading partner.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in both directions; some felt that the country was overdue to open itself to the West, while several influential hard-line traditionalists advocated attacking the ''black ships'' upon their return. Within the upper echelons of government, opinion was also very divided, and the death of the twelfth shogun Ieyoshi in late 1853—coupled with the ensuing succession debate—did not help in the matter. The Council of Elders therefore recommended that Perry's demands be accepted.

TRADE TREATIES AND OPEN PORTS

Perry returned on February 14, 1854, with double the squadron of the previous year. After several weeks of negotiations, a treaty was signed on March 31, 1854. Titled the ''Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce,'' the treaty allowed for American ships to dock at the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate, and for Americans to travel into Japan's interior up to a distance of 29 kilometers (18

miles) from each. It also promised humane treatment of shipwrecks, and accepted the eventual posting of an American consul in Shimoda.

The Treaty of Kanagawa, as it came commonly to be known, was soon extended to France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Russia. In 1856 U.S. consul general Townsend Harris (1804–1878) established residence in Shimoda and began negotiations on a commercial treaty with the shogunate. Harris's labors paid off in the signing of a treaty, and by 1858 trade relations between Japan and the Western powers were firmly established. The year 1859 witnessed the foundation of the ''treaty port'' of Yokohama for foreigners to reside and conduct business, and within a few years several other ports (including Nagasaki, Kobe, and eventually even Edo) were opened. Japan's ''closed country'' period, such as it was, had officially ended.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Japanese; Japan, Colonized.*

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Anne Reinhardt

JARDINE, MATHESON & COMPANY

The firm of Jardine, Matheson & Company was founded in 1832 by William Jardine (1784–1843) and James Matheson (1796–1878), two Scottish participants in the private "country trade" between India and Canton (Guangzhou) during the last years of the British East India Company's monopoly. By the time of the monopoly's repeal in 1834, Jardine Matheson was the most prominent trading house in China, dealing in opium, teas, and textiles.

In addition to pioneering the extension of the opium trade along China's east coast, the firm's partners were active in the politics of the China trade in Britain, lobbying the British government to adopt more aggressive policies toward eliminating Chinese trade restrictions. In the 1870s, when the Suez Canal, steamship lines, and telegraph connections sped communications between China and Europe, the China trade became increasingly competitive, and Jardine Matheson diversified its import-export business into shipping, insurance, and banking and withdrew from the opium trade in 1872. After 1895, the firm established industrial enterprises in China's treaty ports that included cotton mills, a silk filature, and a brewery. In 1898 it formed the British and Chinese Corporation in partnership with the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank in order to advance railway loans and equipment to the Chinese government.

From the 1830s through the 1950s, Jardine Matheson was the largest foreign concern in China, with headquarters in Hong Kong and Shanghai, and branch offices throughout China and in Yokohama, Japan. The firm survived significant disruptions during World War II, but was compelled to leave mainland China in 1954 by the government of the People's Republic. For the next several decades, Jardine Matheson operated from its Hong Kong headquarters, establishing transportation, hotel, and supermarket businesses in Southeast Asia and Australia. Following economic reform in the People's Republic of China, the firm reestablished its presence in mainland China and continues to be involved in business there.

SEE ALSO *China, Foreign Trade.*

JARVIS ISLAND

SEE *Pacific, American Presence in*

JAVA, CULTIVATION SYSTEM

After the Napoleonic Wars, Java and other posts in the East Indian archipelago were returned to the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1816. The Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC) had governed these lands in the eighteenth century. It had extracted products from them—coffee and pepper from Java, spices and tin from the other islands—that were shipped to Europe and sold there at a profit. Coffee was grown in the highlands of West Java under a tribute arrangement known as the Preanger System, which Mason Hoadley has termed a "feudal mode of production." It had become very profitable in the eighteenth century. The VOC was ended in 1800, but the wish to profit from its possessions remained.

The Dutch government hoped in 1816 to apply modern economic concepts to the governance of Java, instead of the outdated mercantile policies of the old trading company. The VOC had obtained products for export by placing itself in the position of the traditional Javanese rulers and by obtaining the desired products in the form of tribute that had previously gone to the rulers. This pattern of indirect rule left Javanese society much as it had been, a hierarchical patriarchal system from top to bottom. The peasantry at the bottom was subject to unlimited corvée (unpaid labor). The European trading company agents were few in number and dealt almost exclusively with the Javanese district heads, called *regents*, upon whom they imposed quotas of products to be delivered at fixed, low prices. The regents, in turn, were left to their own devices in governing their districts.

This system of control was to be replaced by new liberal concepts of open markets, free trade, private ownership, individual liberty, and responsible bureaucracy. Already before 1816 the Javanese and European administration had been reformed and salaried, and the forced

deliveries of products had been replaced by a tax on land, known as *landrent*. Accepting these changes, the restored Dutch government in Java set about advancing the social and economic life of the Javanese population in the direction of greater personal freedom and economic liberalism. The years from 1816 to 1829 witnessed a variety of problems and missteps in the effort to achieve this goal. Initially, coffee from West Java, where the Preanger System remained unchanged, was the main source of colonial revenue. But when world coffee prices fell after 1820, revenues no longer covered the costs of ruling Java. Efforts to expand production of coffee, indigo, pepper, and sugar into the government lands of Central and East Java, where landrent was being applied, had only limited success because they left the production of these products in the hands of the Javanese, as the new policies dictated. The Javanese villagers showed little interest in growing these export crops, preferring instead to grow their staple food, rice.

ORIGINS OF THE CULTIVATION SYSTEM

By 1829 King William I of the Netherlands was in desperate financial straits. His possession of Java was costing large amounts of money, and conditions at home were reaching crisis proportions. He was therefore highly receptive to the ideas of an innovative socioeconomic thinker, Dr. Johannes van den Bosch. Van den Bosch contended that the products of Java produced under a liberal economic system would never be competitive with similar products produced in the West Indies and South America under a slave economy. The King decided to allow Van den Bosch to try his scheme; he made him governor general and sent him to Java in 1830. Van den Bosch's plan was admittedly a return to some aspects of earlier East India Company control, but with the incorporation of later changes such as tax on land (landrent) and a reformed bureaucracy.

THE SYSTEM IN OPERATION

Van den Bosch's system proposed setting aside one-fifth of village land subject to landrent for growing an export crop to be designated by the government. On the remaining four-fifths of its land a village was free to grow whatever crops it wished and to sell them on the open market. The value of the designated export crop would more than cover the amount of the landrent owed by the village. When ripe, this designated export crop would be delivered to government warehouses, or, in the case of sugarcane and indigo, to processing centers. In 1832 coffee became one of the designated crops and soon its production in Central and East Java rivaled the amount produced in West Java under the Preanger System.

The plan then called for the government to export the products so obtained to Europe using the recently established (1824) Netherlands Trading Company and to sell the products on the world markets for a profit. The Javanese administrative hierarchy was strengthened to assist in managing this scheme. Over the life of the system, sugar production became the greatest source of profit. Sugar was produced under contract with European and Chinese entrepreneurs who processed the cane in mills built with government loans. These loans were to be repaid in processed sugar. Such sugar contracts became the source of individual wealth for the entrepreneurs. Indigo production fell off as aniline dyes were developed, and coffee suffered a serious blight in the 1880s and dropped out of production. Overall, however, the Van den Bosch system seemed like a win–win situation.

Not surprisingly the plan did not work as neatly and simply as described here. It was soon apparent that more compulsion was needed to induce the villagers to plant the designated crops. Some crops, especially indigo, not only weakened the soil for later rice-planting but also produced insufficient revenue to cover the landrent. In some cases more than the allotted amount of land was taken for government crops; indeed, in some areas favorable to sugar production, almost all village lands were taken and much of the population conscripted for work in the mill. Robert Elson (1984) has detailed the impact of such development in one East Java district. Crop failures were often not taken into account as the system mandated they should be, and where they occurred little remedial action was taken. Administrators, both European and Javanese, were awarded extra pay calculated on a percentage of the value of the crops produced in their districts. Some of them imposed extra burdens and harsh penalties on the defenseless peasantry in an effort to achieve greater personal gain. These abuses and shortcomings were highlighted in the writing of liberals in Europe opposed to a system of closed government control. Clive Day's book is the English language account reflecting this viewpoint. Van den Bosch's system was, however, highly successful in providing profits for the government of the Netherlands. Its success rather than its shortcomings brought about its end. Liberals gained control of the Dutch parliament and in 1870 passed an agrarian and land reform law that opened Java to free economic enterprise with limited property rights to land. This in effect ended the system, though remnants lingered on into the twentieth century.

ASSESSMENT OF THE SYSTEM

Judgments of Van den Bosch's system by twentieth-century historians are less severe than the liberal accounts

of the nineteenth century. The classic study of J. S. Furnivall already displays this trend. The most balanced and probably best account of the system is that of Cornelis Fasseur. It seems fair to say that the success of the system enhanced its dark reputation as the prototype of colonial exploitation. The wealth it brought to Europe and the capital infrastructure it created in Java laid the groundwork for future development. Its impact on Javanese society is difficult to assess, however. Clifford Geertz has written of the involution of the Javanese village, leading to "shared poverty"—though this view is now generally discounted. During and after the system, the Javanese village served as the vehicle for adapting Javanese socioeconomic life to the realities of changing market conditions and labor requirements. The peace and organization that the system brought to Java resulted in a rapid population growth that altered the nexus between land and labor that made liberal economic development possible. Robert Elson (1997) sees the stronger state control, growing capitalization, and production for international markets that the system introduced as the start of a trend that would ultimately destroy the small peasant producer.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company.*

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Robert Van Niel

JAVA WAR (1825–1830)

The struggle waged by Prince Diponegoro (1785–1855) of Yogyakarta, a city in central Java (now part of Indonesia), from 1825 to 1830 was one of the most important turning points in the political history of nineteenth-century Java, and of Javanese history as a whole. The Java War, also known as the Diponegoro War, determined the increasing glory of Java's colonial government and the inevitable retrenchment of local powers.

From the Javanese perspective, the Diponegoro War was the end of the Javanese effort to combat colonial intervention and restore the greatness of Java, a greatness tattered since the coming of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, or Dutch East India Company). Thereafter, the Javanese struggle was sporadically disconnected from the activities in its center of power.

The war can also be seen as the first major war against the Dutch involving Javanese leaders who were motivated by social and economic reasons, rather than the usual dynastic reasons that had caused earlier conflicts in Java. After the Diponegoro War, the kingdom and society of Java become a highly dependent subject of the colonial realm, not only politically, but also socially, economically, and culturally. The defeat of Diponegoro placed the Javanese solely and definitively under colonial control, forming one of the bases of the *Pax Neerlandica.* This situation placed the Dutch in a central position in determining everything that occurred in Java after 1830. It also gave them the opportunity to expand their colonial empire to other neglected islands.

The problems started when a long-standing conflict between the elites of the Yogyakarta sultanate of central Java became more heated as a transition of heir occurred during the British interregnum. The reappointed Sultan Hamengkubuwono II, after being forced to resign by the French-Dutch representative, enjoyed only one year of rule. The British then appointed a new sultan, Hamengkubuwono III, in 1812 and banished Hamengkubuwono II to the island of Penang, off the coast of the Malay Peninsula.

The British had earlier asked Diponegoro to accept the title of crown prince, but he declined. Hamengkubuwono III only reigned for two years before his untimely death. The British government then appointed Prince Jarot, or Raden Mas Sudama, the son of the official wife of Hamengkubuwono III, as Hamengkubuwono IV, sidestepping Diponegoro, who was the oldest son of Hamengkubuwono III from an unofficial wife. During this period, the sultan's mother, along with the chancellor (*patih*) Danureja IV, and a commander of the sultan's bodyguard, Wiranegara, formed a strong alliance within the palace. Diponegoro became the main critic of this clique.

The reign of Hamengkubuwono IV was also brief. The sultan died in December 1822, and Yogyakarta was handed back to Dutch control. In exchange, the Netherlands Indies government appointed Prince Menol, a three-year-old child, as Hamengkubuwono V. Diponegoro and three other distinguished personages were appointed members of the prince's guardianship. In reality, however, the tasks of the guardianship, with the exception of internal palace financial affairs, were taken over completely by Patih Danurejo. Danurejo worked closely with the colonial government and was hostile to Diponegoro. Diponegoro was left with a feeling of bitterness toward his many political opponents who had publicly humiliated him.

The situation became more complicated with the appearance of Dutch resident Smissaert, whose attitude offended the complicated Javanese rules of etiquette and customs. In routine meetings with the sultan inside the palace, for instance, Smissaert made it a habit to sit at the seat appointed specially for the sultan. The resident and his community and some sultanate elites also introduced Western ways into the palace, resulting in many changes in the daily lifestyle of the nobility. There were even reports of sex scandals between foreigners and the princesses inside the palace.

This situation was frowned upon by many *kraton* (palace) courtiers, who continued to uphold traditional Javanese values. Among them was Diponegoro, whose strict upbringing by his great grandmother, Kanjeng Ratu Ageng, had provided him with an image of how a good Javanese and good Muslim should behave.

The conflict among the elites resulted in political tensions that were difficult to control. Tension was heightened further as the Javanese people began to throw their support behind Diponegoro. The people's support of Diponegoro can be explained by analyzing several long-standing social and economic factors dating to the start of the nineteenth century. The leasing of appanage land owned by families of the sultan and the Javanese aristocracy to Europeans and Chinese started during the British period in 1814, and was continued by the Netherlands Indies government. The practice undermined the right of the Javanese community to work and live on the land. The opening of plantations on these leased lands caused the degradation of the people's status from farmers to laborers with meager incomes. In addition, many people were forced to move from their home villages.

At the same time, the introduction of a land-tax system by Stamford Raffles (1781–1826), along with the government's practice of administering tollgates by subcontracting through three to four Chinese tax-farmers, created more tension because the abuses of the traditional services system by local Javanese officials had

continued. People were further impoverished by various kinds of indirect taxes that were monopolized by Chinese *bandars*. Goldsmiths, coppersmiths, copper workers, and even the owners of Javanese musical orchestras, for example, had to pay an annual tax to the *bandar,* or they were sent to jail. Although the Netherlands Indies government denied that their tax system impoverished the Javanese populace—they even claimed to have eliminated twenty-four of the thirty-four types of tax once levied by the Javanese kingdom—the people still considered many of the taxes to be a burden.

The deepening social and economic grievances of the early 1820s became even worse when a cholera epidemic and harvest failure occurred in many parts of Java. During this period, Java's traditional belief system lent strong support to Diponegoro. People saw Diponegoro as the reincarnation of the mythical *ratu adil*, the "just king" in Javanese millenarian tradition. The *ratu adil* was expected to free people from their sufferings and bring back the glorious past. In the eyes of the Javanese people, Diponegoro not only brought hope to nativist Javanese, but he also represented the idea of *perang sabil*, or holy war within an Islamic frame.

Beginning in 1825, the policies of the colonial and sultanate elite did increasing damage to Diponegoro. For example, the government placed poles to designate the location of a planned new road that passed directly through Diponegoro's property without his permission. The event resulted in a spontaneous mobilization of people to defend Diponegoro's rights in mid-July 1825.

Diponegoro was further disappointed when, in early 1825, Patih Danurejo, acting as caretaker of the sultan, signed a thirty-year agreement with the colonial government to lease lands in the areas of Jabarangkah and Karangkobar without the consent of the guardianship board. After Diponegoro refused to meet with the representative of Resident Smissaert, the resident sent an order/invitation to meet with him on July 20, 1825. A day later, Smissaert sent an army of fifty men and two cannons to capture Diponegoro. Tegalrejo was destroyed, and Diponegoro retreated to the south, through Selarong, which then became the center of the struggle and the place where Diponegoro declared himself *erucakra*, another name for *ratu adil*, the just king.

Battles between the Dutch army, supported by local rulers, against the supporters of Diponegoro took place over a wide area that extended beyond the borders of Yogyakarta, especially in the areas around the Menoreh Mountains, Kedu, Bagelen, and Banyumas. The war also spread to the northern coastal areas of Java, such as Rembang, Lasem, Tuban, and Bojonegoro, and far to the east, crossing Surakarta as far as Madiun. Many areas in the Surakarta sultanate became battlegrounds for the

war, as many local people and elites chose to support Diponegoro.

The widespread support of the Javanese people for Diponegoro cannot be underestimated. Although the Islamic groups became his main supporters, the largest war in Java's history also involved many other groups, from farmers to noblemen, from clergy to bandits. Furthermore, the soldiers called to the field of battles did not consist of men only; many of Diponegoro's troops were women, and it is known that at least one of his daughters became a commandant.

The war in Java prevented the Dutch from continuing their political and military expansion elsewhere in the archipelago, especially in islands outside Java. The Dutch tried various strategies, from battle to negotiation, but they failed to stop the struggle. A new approach known as the *Bentengstelsel* was then implemented to corner Diponegoro. Prior to that, however, the Dutch offered Diponegoro the status of prince, similar to the position of princely king *(pangeran adipati)* held by Mangkunegoro and Pakualam, if he would agree to stop the struggle.

By mid-1829, all of Diponegoro's most important supporters—Dullah Haji Abdulkadir, Pangeran Bei, Pangeran Joyokusumi, Pangeran Adikusumo, and Raden Basah Prawirodirjo—had either been killed or captured or had surrendered. Diponegoro decided to stop the war in February 1830, and he commenced with negotiation. Diponegoro was invited to the Dutch resident's house in Magelang on March 8, 1830. He was captured on March 28 during the negotiations, and was exiled to Manado, North Sulawesi. Diponegoro was later transferred to Makassar, South Sulawesi, where he remained until his death on January 8, 1855. During his years of exile, Diponegoro produced many works of literature on Java and Islam.

The Java War caused the deaths of more than 200,000 Javanese. The Dutch lost more than 8,000 European soldiers and 7,000 local soldiers, and not less than twenty million guilders were spent to finance the five-year war.

SEE ALSO *Java, Cultivation System.*

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Bambang Purwanto

JONSTON ISLAND

SEE *Pacific, American Presence in*

JORGE DA MINA

SEE *Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia*

JUSTIFICATION FOR EMPIRE, EUROPEAN CONCEPTS

The term *empire*, derived from the Latin word *imperium*, contains at least three overlapping senses: a limited and independent rule, a territory embracing more than one political community, and the absolute sovereignty of a single individual. All three of these components were in play when the European overseas expansion gathered speed in the late fifteenth century. And all three senses of the term would figure prominently in European justifications for empire.

Although it opened a Pandora's box of philosophical disputes, the original justification for Spanish colonialism was found in the bulls issued by Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503). These conceded to the Spanish monarchy the right to occupy the newly discovered Americas and to undertake the conversion of the indigenous population, thus making the Spanish monarchy the vicar of God in the New World. If the initial encounters with the inhabitants of the New World corroborated with the Christian hope of evangelizing to the entire world, it also lent new force to a more secular aspiration that focused on the increasing civilization of all humankind. Evangelization and this mission of civilization were the two complementary ideals that underpinned most justifications for European empire for nearly 500 years. This essay traces the many manifestations of these ideas and convictions in the imperial trajectories of the Western powers.

For conquest to serve as adequate proof of the righteousness of the Spanish cause, the conquest itself had to be justified. The wide-ranging debates that preoccupied generations of jurists who debated the legality of the conquest may be condensed into a single question: Had the wars with the indigenous population of the Americas resulting in European conquest, been just ones? In *On the American Indians*, Francisco de Vitoria (1486–1546) argued that war with native populations could not be justified on the basis of the jurisdiction given by a papal bull, or even a purported right to compel natives to obey natural law. Conflict could be justified in defending the innocent, however, especially in cases where cannibalism and human sacrifice were practiced.

War resulting in conquest also could be justified, according to Vitoria's logic, if indigenous rulers refused to allow missionaries to preach, or discouraged conversion by killing converts. The defense of the latter might instigate war in which the Spaniards could legally occupy the native territories and depose their governments. While critics of the Spanish wrangled over the legitimacy of the conquest of America and the dispossession of its inhabitants, other European powers were embarking on their empire-building missions and would devise different justifications to support their rule.

Like the Spanish, the English justified the conquest of Ireland by claiming that their aim was to convert its inhabitants to Christianity. They contended that this goal was impossible to realize so long as the Irish persisted in their barbarous ways. In the view of Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577), the English were the new Romans who had come to civilize the Irish, just as the ancient Romans had once civilized the Britons. This historical vision bolstered the conviction that the Irish were culturally inferior to, and far behind, the English in

developmental terms. Through subjection, the English colonizers reasoned, the Irish could be made free. This was not regarded as a small task. In his book *Tragicall Tales* (1587), George Tuberville echoed England's dim view of Ireland, saying, "Wild Irish are as civil as the Russies in their kind;/ hard choice which is best of both, each bloody, rude, and blind" (Berry 1968, p. 28).

A similar rationale, the alleged responsibility to convert heathen Americans to Christian faith, extended to Britain's North American colonies. The true principal and main end of the colonial enterprise, according to one early seventeenth-century Virginian planter, Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), was to preach and baptize into the Christian religion. Hakluyt exhorted Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) in a similar vein, but added the civilizing mission that would become so important to imperialists in future centuries: "for to prosperity no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason" (Pagden 1998, p. 35).

This is not to say that religious justification disappeared entirely and was superseded by a secular civilizing mission after the first age of European imperialism had drawn to a close. In late nineteenth-century Britain, many Christians viewed imperial expansion as being designed to support worldwide conversion. Some observers felt that the purported benefits of conversion justified the use of force. One missionary went as far as to remark in 1895 that the British army and navy were under God's Evangelical mission fused with, and complemented, other justifications for European expansion.

Unlike their Spanish counterparts, however, English and Dutch ideologues of empire rejected the notion that conquest itself justified rule. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) distinguished the original acquisition of property through appropriation, which existed before the establishment of civil society and existed as a natural right, from the notion of ownership existing within civil society, and regulated by the laws made by the appropriate public authority. There were twofold implications of appropriation that served as the basis for a notion of divisible sovereignty: the public rights of sovereignty and the private rights of ownership.

Unlike the Spanish, but like Grotius, British theorists of empire were most concerned not with a king's jurisdiction over native populations, but with justifying the title to property they appropriated (or, more often, expropriated). In his *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), John Locke (1632–1704) asserted that ownership was acquired when a person had "mixed his labor with (it); and joined to something that is his own" (Pagden 1998, p. 45). This was part of a larger argument that drew on the Roman law of *res nullius*, which held that all

empty things, including unoccupied land, remained the common property of all humankind until they were put to some use.

The arguments of Locke and Grotius formed the basis of most English attempts to legitimate their presence in America, both against the claims of the Iberian powers who appealed to the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which divided the New World among itself, and those complaints of the dispossessed native populations. Locke was most influential in the justification of the latter. America was in the same condition as that of the entire world before the founding of human societies when, he argued, "the inhabitants were too few for the country, and want of people and money gave men no temptation to enlarge their possessions of land, or contest for wider extent of ground" (Pagden 1998, p. 44). The major conclusion of Locke's meditations was that Europeans could disregard all aboriginal forms of government, and, consequently, deny their status as nations.

The English, by settling and cultivating the land, had acquired rights to possession that the native people had never enjoyed and certainly could not contest. In this way, Locke's version of the *res nullius* argument was the most frequent legitimation of British presence in America and would later be employed to justify colonization in Australia and Africa. It also would be used during the American Revolution (1776–1783) by those seeking to justify the continuation of British rule. "Because no nation ever planted colonies with so liberal or noble a hand as England has done," Scottish philosopher Adam Ferguson (1723–1816) argued in 1776, "(the Americans) should repay us for all the blood and treasure that we have extended in the common cause" (Paquette 2003, pp. 428–429). British statesman also appealed to *res nullius* in their disputes with Spain in the late eighteenth century, claiming that their occupation of the Mosquito Coast and Darien in Central America and the Nootka Sound in the Pacific Northwest was valid because Spain had neither cultivated nor populated those places.

The discourse of improvement then became a justification for the expansion of imperialistic governmental power in the nineteenth century. As historian Richard Drayton commented, "the rational use of Nature replaced piety as the foundation of imperial Providence, government became the Demiurge, and universal progress, measured by material abundance, its promised land" (Drayton 2000, p. 81).

Even where no formal empire existed, as in South America, British proponents of unhindered free trade with the newly independent states invoked the mission of improvement as a way to justify the incursion of their capital. In the 1820s and 1830s, a widespread conviction
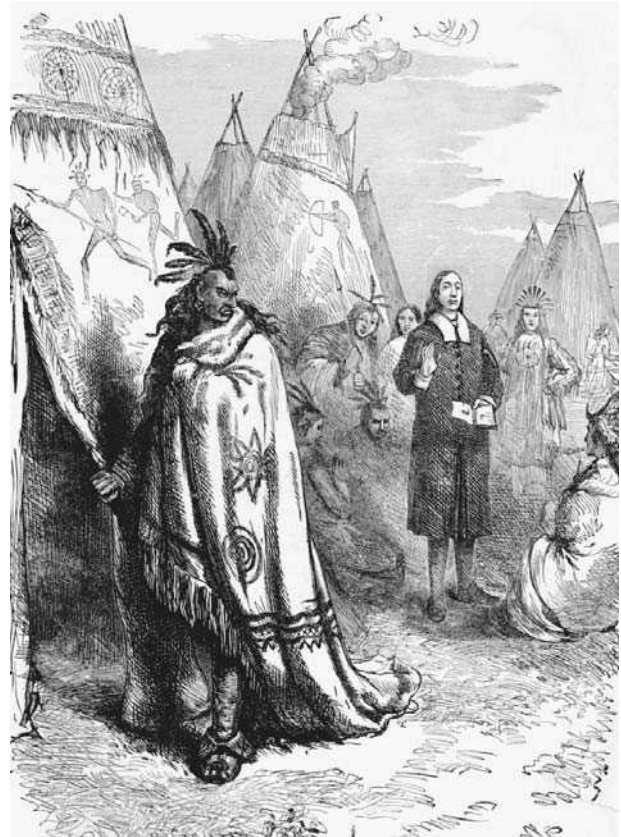
A Bible Lesson in Colonial Massachusetts. *Christian hopes of evangelizing the entire world underpinned most justifications for European empire, and the alleged responsibility to convert heathens to the Christian faith extended to Britain's North American colonies. In this illustration, a European missionary preaches to Indians in the Massachusetts area.* © BETTMANN/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

arose that British industry and technological ingenuity could generate wealth from the fertile resources that Spain's primitive methods and indolence had squandered. Free trade would open markets that Britain could exploit with its superiority and excellence in machinery, skill of the artisan, and extent of capital it enjoyed. The rapid growth of British mining companies in Chile, for example, was premised on the conviction that the mines, if worked with moderate industry and knowledge of metallurgy, might yield considerably more than the quantity necessary for the supply of the whole world.

Such grandiose visions permeated parliamentary debates as well. In a speech urging diplomatic recognition of Spanish America as independent in 1824, Lord Ellenborough (1790–1871) remarked, "even the power of steam seemed to be discovered at the most favorable moment for giving faculties to the navigation of (South American) rivers and the working of precious mines"

(Paquette 2004, p. 87). The political language of improvement fused with the interests of British financiers to help bring about a series of free trade agreements that would stifle the development of independent Latin America's industry for much of the nineteenth century.

However much the mission of improvement and legal arguments were the predominant justifications of empire, the differences, real and imagined, between European and non-European cultures would emerge with increasing force and frequency to legitimize imperial rule. Long before Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) set sail, a vigorous, progressive Europe was juxtaposed with a more apathetic Asia and Africa. Although Pope Paul III's (1468–1549) early sixteenth-century bull (*Sublimis Deus*) left little doubt that "the [American] Indians are true men," assertions of their inferiority to Europeans remained pervasive and this theory was employed to justify the conquest, subjugation, and enslavement of indigenous populations.

Nonetheless, very few writers before the nineteenth century would justify empire on the basis of racial difference. They did not assume that those living east of the Ural Mountains or south of Crete implied subhuman status, if only because no reference existed in the Bible to separate acts of creation. In the absence of scriptural evidence, environmental explanations, the impact of terrain and climate specifically, gained in popularity. The most popular of these climatic theories was the one contained in Corneille de Pauw's (1739–1799) *Recherches philosophiques sur les Americains* (1768), who declared that the difference between Europe and America was best defined as the difference between strength and weakness, between civilization and savagery.

These explanations gradually led to the stage-based theory of history popularized by the leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment. All societies, its proponents claimed, advanced through four stages evolving from a hunter-gathering society to a commercial society. An emphasis on cultural evolution linked physical environment and economic progress and could also be turned into a justification for empire. Although critical of Spanish conquest in the Americas, Scottish historian William Robertson (1721–1793) juxtaposed the science, courage, and discipline of the Spaniards to the ignorance, timidity, and disorder of the indigenous population to justify the vicious conduct of conquistadores in relation to the Aztec and Incan societies.

In the introduction to his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1793), Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–1799) argued that Spain had encountered in the New World "a field of glory worthy for its elevated thoughts"; and that, in spite of obstacles, "the genius along with the ardor of religious belief ensured the happy attainment of its most arduous

enterprises" (Muñoz 1990, p. 25). Spain, in his view, far from destroying the New World's wealth, persevered heroically in the worst of conditions, until America's steadily increasing wealth sparked the emulation, competition, industry, commerce, and interest of all of Europe.

This notion of a hierarchy of civilization, the possibility of advancement toward the perfection achieved by Europe, and Europe's responsibility to accelerate the progress of the non-European world also inspired certain progressive, if paternalistic, late eighteenth-century political writers. Marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794) claimed in 1791 that the inhabitants of Africa, Asia, and America almost seemed to be waiting for Europe to civilize them.

In the early nineteenth century, racial attitudes emerged increasingly as part of the rhetoric that justified colonial rule. Catholics, half-castes, and Hindus were deemed irremediably degenerate, as their religions were thought to corrupt both their moral judgment and political institutions. Arguments of cultural superiority and civilizing mission were plentiful in nineteenth-century Britain. Empire came to express the protection and glorification of the British Crown, church, law, and trade. As Lord Palmerston (1784–1865) bluntly noted, Britain stood at the head of moral, social, and political civilization. "Our task," he said, "is to lead the way and direct the march of other nations."

Such national and cultural chauvinism increased and was given new impetus in the mid-nineteenth century with the emergence of social Darwinism. Coining the term "survival of the fittest" several years before Charles Darwin (1809–1882) set forth his theory, Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) developed an all-encompassing conception of human society and relations based on evolutionary principles. The centerpiece of Darwinism is the theory of natural selection, according to which only the fittest species in organic nature survive, whereas the unfit become extinct. Europeans employed this biologistic framework to justify their imperial rule over people whose races were considered inferior or less fit.

French political leader Jules Ferry (1832–1893) explicitly argued that "the superior races have rights over the inferior races." In his *Greater Britain* (1868), Charles Dilke (1789–1864) rejoiced over the "grandeur of our race, already girdling the earth." Josiah Strong (1847–1916), an American clergyman, wanted this Anglo-Saxon mantle shared with the United States and, in his *Our Country* (1885), praised the Anglo-Saxon instinct for colonizing, saying, "his unequalled energy, his indomitable perseverance, and his personal independence made him a pioneer" (Snyder 1962, p. 122).

Empire was justified because it served domestic goals as well. While an empire might have been built around

notions of an exported social hierarchy, as historian David Cannadine has shown, it also served to reinforce the hierarchy at home. Possessing an empire bolstered the British perception that they still belonged—amid the upheaval wrought by mass democracy, industrialization, and urban growth to a traditional, agricultural, layered society.

If the legal and religious rationale for conquest, as well as the racial justifications for empire, have been discussed, other European concepts require further treatment. A pervasive justification for empire, existing from the Spanish Conquest until their dismantlement in the late twentieth century, involved the notion of empire as a trust. Finding indigenous societies to be lacking in human and political standards, Vitoria argued: "For their own benefit the king of Spain might take over the government of the country, nominating prefects and governors for their cities, and even giving them new rulers, if it were clearly necessary for their well-being." There was also a materialistic dimension to this trust in Vitoria's thought. The king, he argued, "is obliged to do for the pagans over whom he rules whatever he would be obliged to do for the good of his own people" (Hamilton 1963, pp. 133–134).

Such notions of trust persisted until the late eighteenth century. Speaking on the East India Bill in 1783, British statesman Edmund Burke (1729–1797) remarked that obligations stemmed from empire: "Such rights or privileges...are all in the strictest sense a trust; and it is the very essence of every trust to be rendered accountable; and even totally to cease when it substantially varies from the purpose for which alone it could have a lawful existence." This notion gathered force at the end of the eighteenth century. Imperialism's apologists pointed to their association with humanitarian policies, such as the abolition of slavery, in justifying the maintenance and expansion of territory. Writing of the acquisition of India in *The Expansion of England* (1883), J. R. Seeley (1834–1895) says, "aggrandisement might present itself in the light of a simple duty, when it seemed that by extending our empire the reign of robbery and murder might be brought to an end" (Snyder 1962, p. 120)—thus presaging Rudyard Kipling's (1865–1936) famous exhortation to Anglo-Saxons across the globe to "take up the white man's burden" (Snyder 1962, p. 87).

The question remained, however, about how this trusteeship could best be fulfilled. One of the main responses was that the expansion of commerce would benefit both the colonized and colonizer. Free trade was considered a vehicle for bettering the world, as well as a way to expand economic interests overseas. Capitalism was conceived as a moral force, helping to civilize the world through the spread of enterprise and a strong work ethic.

Palmerston believed commerce to be the best pioneer of civilization, saying that it improved humankind's sense of well-being. Others regarded this type of rhetoric with skepticism. Historian C. A. Bayly, for instance, said, "free trade was no more than a nostrum of a nation which had achieved superiority by the use of military force to break into other protected markets; the British could now afford to be free traders" (Bayly 1989, p. 237).

Free trade also would emerge as one of the main justifications for setting up the Belgian King Leopold II's (1835–1909) colony of the Congo in 1884. In exchange for recognizing the validity of his claims to sovereignty by other European powers, the King promised not to impose import duties on the goods of those nations in the newly established free state. Civilization, free trade, and fulfillment of European responsibility toward non-European people combined to justify such colonial ventures.

Different sentiments and justifications for imperialism as a trust also may be found in the history of Dutch imperialism. As a Christian nation, they believed that the Netherlands had a moral duty in Indonesia to uphold a policy that was manifested in the improvement of education, public health, agriculture, and the appointment of Indonesians to local administrative bodies. Similar notions would grow in strength after the Great War (1914–1918). Trusteeship dominated early twentieth-century debates, for example. It was the keystone of the mandate system proposed by the League of Nations in 1919, justifying the repartition of the collapsed German and Ottoman empires. Although the explicit purpose of making Britain and France trustees was to stifle slavery and forced labor, the demoralizing traffic in arms and spirits and other abuses were considered barbaric to European sensibilities. The mandatory power also was entrusted to promote the material, moral well-being, and social progress of the inhabitants.

The ethic of trusteeship served to justify empire at its most vulnerable point. In *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922) F. D. Lugard (1858–1945) purveyed an alternate vision for the newly acquired tropical dependencies, thought to be unsuited for white settlement, based on his experiences as governor of Nigeria before the war. Lugard called for the development by the agency of natives through European guidance, a formula that demanded the government's intervention. It was a dual mandate because it called for the advancement of the inhabitants and the development of its material resources for the benefit of humankind. In this way, Lugard deflected criticism that tropical dependencies were maintained solely for British self-interest. He insisted that Africans, too, were benefiting from, as he put it, "the influx of manufactured goods and the substitution of law and order for the methods of barbarism"

(Lugard 1922, pp. 616–618), while a simultaneous reciprocal and mutual benefit accrued to Europe.

Arguments for trusteeship persisted until the bitter end of European empires. In Portuguese-controlled Angola, one apologist contended in the early 1950s that colonial rule had been characteristically paternal, slowly but surely improving the native's quality of living and bringing them toward the more refined European way of life. The rhetoric of trusteeship also permeated the creation of the colonial development schemes, the forerunners of contemporary development agencies. Britain's 1929 Colonial Development Act, though intended to help colonies to service borrowing for public works, was not altruistic in practice. It was primarily designed to give a boost to a decaying British heavy industry. Similarly, trade preference policies in the 1930s counteracted the slim benefits that development monies produced. In essence, they helped the dominions and harmed the colonial consumers who were likewise exploited by the 1939 policy of bulk-buying commodities, which led to the British economy being subsidized by colonial producers.

The Colonial Development Act had little practical effect. Between 1930 and 1939, only £18 million was spent on development, compared to the £145 million borrowed on the open market by the colonies. Furthermore, the government did nothing to remove the obstacles to investment in the colonies, nor did anything to make industrial production more profitable. In spite of the shortcomings in practice, the notion of empire as a trust was a common feature of the justifications for colonialism in all of the European empires at one time or another.

Some justifications for empire did not address the indigenous inhabitants who would be impacted and focused purely on the needs of European society and its economy. Proponents of such views often resorted to a political language that described colonization as a natural process arising from burgeoning wealth or population in a European country. Colonies were justified as a potential solution to the problems wrought by population expansion. Sir James Steuart (1713–1788), a Scottish political economist whose influence extended across Europe in the mid-eighteenth century, alleged that population must be reduced either by encouragements given to leaving the country, or by establishing colonies. To stay economically strong, he believed that the colony should check its population growth and facilitate the "preservation of wealth that they have already acquired."

Thomas Malthus's (1766–1834) early nineteenth-century demographic analysis, which stressed competition for increasingly scarce resources, justified the search for open territory where a surplus population could live. Observing the social unrest triggered by massive urbanization in the early nineteenth century, G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) also argued in the *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (1821) that colonization could help to solve the problem generated by poverty by providing an outlet for the indigent population competing for scarce resources. European nations, he suggested, were driven to colonize by the pressures of burgeoning population, overproduction, and underconsumption. For Hegel, colonies represented an escape from the burdens and restrictions of European society and envisaged European peasants populating verdant and empty lands, making no mention of the people they might encounter there.

Demographic arguments persisted, especially among the nations without empires. One Italian politician in 1897 claimed that overpopulation forced large-scale immigration of Italians to rival European states and that the absence of space was a cause of poverty. Colonies would provide a much-desired outlet for this surplus population. Some believed that it was less safe and more expensive to bring under control 3 million hectares of land in Italy than to insure the prosperity of a large agricultural colony in Eritrea. Population, of course, was not the only surplus that flowed naturally to ultramarine possessions. Capital, too, searched for new markets. In 1898 American financial analyst Charles Conant (1861–1915) spoke of the irresistible tendency of great states to expand and advocated new outlets for American capital. He argued, "The great industrial countries should turn to countries which have not yet felt the pulse of modern progress."

It must not be forgotten that one of the main justifications for imperialism was that of gaining advantage in the competition among the European powers. The European empires watched each other constantly. They measured their behavior against each other and borrowed from each other's practices. As Portugal's Marquês de Pombal (1699–1782) observed in the mid-1740s: "All European nations have augmented themselves and are augmenting even today through reciprocal imitation, each one carefully keeps watch over the actions taken by the others (and), through their ministers, they take advantage of the utility of foreign inventions" (Carvalho e Melo 1986, p. 158).

Under the mercantilist system, each state aimed to secure the advantages of colonial trade by depriving competitor nations of access. To achieve this goal, the creation of monopolies was necessary. The conquest and maintenance of colonies was justified not only by bringing commodities to the European colonizing power and opening new markets for domestic manufacturers, but also by depriving rival nations of the benefits of that territory. All of the European empires endeavored to create a closed, monopolistic trading system so that all

benefits of colonization would accrue to itself alone, rendering the empire self-sufficient and economically independent of the rest of the world.

Seventeenth-century English commercial writer Charles Davenant (1656–1714) claimed that, in matters of empire, "whoever is the cause of another's advancement is the cause of his own diminuition" (Davenant 1704, pt. 1, p. 205). A nation could not remain, in his view, unarmed and inactive, while other nations enlarged their dominions. In the late eighteenth century, Scottish economist Adam Smith (1723–1790) would show that the mercantile system had rendered less secure the long-term prosperity of the colonial power because its commerce, instead of running in a great number of small channels, had been taught to run principally in one great channel. But even though mercantilist assumptions about the profitability of a colonial monopoly gradually dissipated in the early nineteenth century, the justification of empire based on international rivalry persisted.

Allusions and analogies to the natural processes reached their peak in the biologistic justifications for empire offered by adherents to social Darwinism. This set of ideas played a key role in both imperial rivalry among European states and in the justification of empire over non-European people. In the effort to be fittest among their peers, social Darwinists justified rising military expenditure and increased national efficiency. Walter Bagehot (1826–1877), harnessing biology to defend liberal democracy in the 1870s, emphasized cultural rather than individual selection. He sought to prove that the institutions and practice of liberal democracy were the guarantors of evolutionary progress. "In every particular state in the world," Bagehot wrote in *Physics and Politics* (1872), "those nations which are the strongest tend to prevail over the others; and in certain marked peculiarities the strongest tend to be the best."

In 1886 the Russian sociologist Jacques Novikov defined the foreign policy of a state as the art of pursuing the struggle for existence among social organisms. Competition with other European states urged the securing of colonies to guarantee the raw material, land, and potential markets against their rivals. Theodore Roosevelt's (1858–1919) *The Strenuous Life* (1900) warned against the possibility of elimination in an international struggle for existence. America, he said, could not shrink from hard contests for empire or else the bolder and stronger would pass them by and gain domination of the world. Successful imperial ventures thus were perceived to indicate the vitality, and hence fitness, of a nation.

Roosevelt's ideas echoed the sentiment of the so-called Doctrine of World Empires, which maintained that great nations possessed empires. Not possessing an empire, or losing an existing one, would be a sign of being a third-rate, or declining, power. In 1877 French publicist Pierre Raboisson declared, "The grandeur of empires always reaches its apogee when colonial expansion has reached its maximum, and their decadence always coincides with their loss of colonies"(Baumgart 1982, p. 70).

Similarly, Britain's Herbert Asquith (1852–1928) interpreted European expansion as normal, necessary, and a sign of vitality in a growing nation. As they had been for mercantile nations until the eighteenth century, possessing colonies was a sign of national strength and an asset in the constant state of conflict among European nations. Yet even within a biologistic framework, the growth and consolidation of empires did not always tend toward war, but also could be the harbinger of peace. In 1898, dividing the world between living and dying nations, Lord Salisbury (1830–1903) argued, "The living nations will eventually encroach on the territory of the dying, and the seeds and causes of conflict amongst civilized nations will speedily disappear" (Baumgart 1982, p. 72). In this way, biologistic conceptions of international relations made the acquisition of colonies imperative.

This essay has discussed European justifications for empire that persisted during its more than 500 years of world domination. The main justifications were evangelization, pursuit of the civilizing mission, racial superiority, trusteeship and development, and internal demographic and economic pressures. Yet while legions of the West's leading political thinkers collaborated in legitimizing empire, many others lent their intellectual prowess to debunking such justifications. Sometimes unfavorable attitudes toward empire arose from their lack of profitability rather than moral censure. The utility of colonies, or plantations, was among the most contentious and least resolved issues debated by seventeenth-century English economic writers.

Roger Coke derogated their value, asserting: "Ireland and our plantations rob us of all the growing youth and industry of the nation, whereby it becomes weak and feeble, and the strength as well as trade becomes decayed and diminished" (Paquette 2004, p. 77). William Petty (1623–1687) lamented on the treasury-draining impact of providing imperial defense for small, divided, and remote governments that are seldom able to defend themselves. He argued that defending these nations was too much of a financial burden and ultimately diminished national strength.

By the mid-eighteenth century, however, Denis Diderot (1713–1784), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), and J. G. Herder (1744–1803) all opposed imperial rule over non-European people on ethical rather than

economic grounds. The views of these Enlightenment, anti-imperialist thinkers on issues of human nature, cultural diversity, and cross-cultural moral judgments served to undermine justifications for European overseas expansion. They rejected imperialism outright as unworkable, dangerous, or even immoral.

Diderot and his collaborator Abbé Raynal (1713–1796), for example, rejected imperialism not only because of its unhappy consequences for subjugated non-Europeans, but for its adverse impact on Europeans as well, whose prospects for peace, economic stability, and freedom were diminished by the quest for, and maintenance of, empire. Furthermore, Herder, Kant, and Diderot, as scholar Sankar Muthu has recently shown, shared a commitment to human dignity, rooted in the humanity of each individual. These authors presaged the attacks on empire that intellectuals, most notably Marxists, pursued in the twentieth.

SEE ALSO *Christianity and Colonial Expansion in the Americas; Imperialism, Liberal Theories of; Imperialism, Marxist Theories of; Mission, Civilizing; Race and Colonialism in the Americas; Religion, Roman Catholic Church.*

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K

KANDY, COLONIAL POWERS' RELATIONS WITH THE KINGDOM OF

In the early sixteenth century, when the Portuguese arrived at the shores of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the Sinhalese kingdom of Kandy was still under the domination of the neighboring Kotte kingdom—though the foundations for independence had already been laid. The kings of Kandy were attempting to establish themselves as autonomous rulers in the central mountains by wresting control of the region from the powerful Kotte rulers of the western lowlands. As the Kotte kingdom fell into a state of disarray, due mainly to the protracted succession crises of the early sixteenth century, Kandyan rulers began to establish their autonomy.

In 1521, with the support of the Kandyan king, the three sons of the Kotte king, Wijayabahu IV, engineered a coup, then executed their father and proceeded to divide up the Kotte kingdom. Mayadunne, the middle son, who established himself in Sitawaka, to the east of Kotte, enlarged his portion of the kingdom by annexing his younger brother's share, following the brother's death. Buvanekabahu, the eldest, who received the prime areas of the kingdom—including Kotte, the seat of the kingdom—sought the help of Kandyan kings in his struggle against Mayadunne, who was a potential threat for both, as Sitawaka was located adjoining to the Kandyan region. In 1582 Mayadunne's son Rajasinghe I defeated Karaliyedda, the Kandyan ruler, and annexed Kandy to Sitawaka.

It was following the fall of Sitawaka after the death of Rajasinghe in 1592 and the total subjugation of Kotte to the Portuguese in 1597 that Kandy emerged again as an important historical player. Konappu Bandara, son of a chief of Kandy, ascended to the throne of Kandy in 1592. He defeated the Portuguese plan to enthrone Karaliyedda's daughter, Kusumasana Devi (Dona Katerina), as the puppet queen of Kandy, and married her in order to secure a legitimate right to the Kandyan throne.

THE SOLE NATIVE KINGDOM

When the Portuguese annexed the Jaffna kingdom, which controlled the Jaffna Peninsula and parts of the northern tip of the island in 1621, Kandy emerged as the sole native kingdom that could claim to represent the continuance of precolonial traditions, including religious and social rituals. This enabled the Kandyan kings to occasionally call upon the support of natives in other regions outside of Kandy.

Portuguese attempts to occupy Kandy proved disastrous in the face of the guerrilla tactics of the Kandyans, who skillfully made use of the virtually inaccessible mountains that formed their kingdom's frontier. Kandyan kings even toyed with the idea of expanding their frontier at the expense of the Portuguese. In 1602 Wimaladharmasuriya I tried to obtain the support of the Dutch when he received General Spilbergen, the leader of a Dutch East India Company fleet, but met with no success. Rajasinghe II, however, managed to conclude the Westervolt treaty with the Dutch in 1638, as a result of which the Portuguese were expelled from the island in 1658.
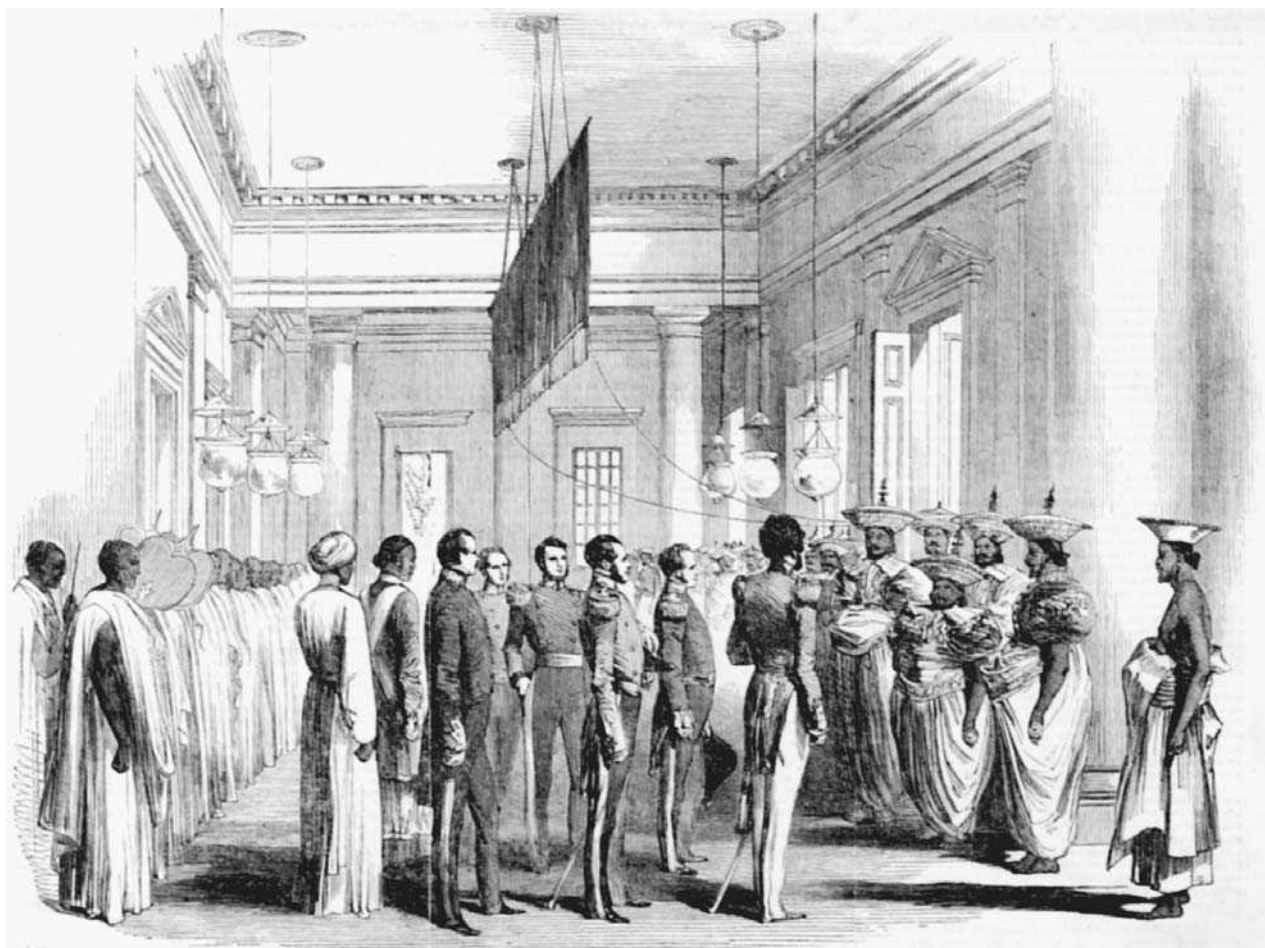
The British Governor Interviews Kandyan Chiefs. *George Anderson, the newly appointed British governor of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), and his assistants meet with native chiefs of Kandy on February 1, 1851, an event depicted in this nineteenth-century illustration.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

KANDY AND THE DUTCH

Relations between Rajasinghe II and the Dutch were not cordial for long, however: things soured after the Dutch captured the fortified city of Galle on the southern coast of the island in 1640. In defiance of Rajasinghe's wishes, the Dutch were aiming to establish themselves as the successors to Portuguese possessions. The relationship turned into an open confrontation when Governor Van Goens captured Kalpitiya Harbor, which was Kandy's main access to the sea from the western coast. The Dutch then followed a policy of territorial expansion, although the Batavian administration of the Dutch East India Trading Company did not fully comply with this policy. From the point of view of Kandy, this was an open violation of the treaty of 1638, which precluded the Dutch from holding any territory against the wishes of the king. Dutch authorities, however, justified their claim on two grounds. First, they interpreted the treaty in a different manner by, apparently, deleting one important clause. Second, and mainly because the first claim was not convincing, they argued that they had the right to hold onto the territory they captured until the debt owed the Dutch for helping Kandy expel the Portuguese was fully paid. Estimated unilaterally by the Dutch, this debt was by no means affordable for Kandy. Thus, the Dutch were able to justify holding onto various territories for a long time.

Following the death of Rajasinghe II, Kandy's attitude toward the Dutch became more conciliatory. The Dutch also became less aggressive, as their economic interests demanded a peaceful atmosphere. Peaceful coexistence basically prevailed until the Kandy-Dutch war of 1761 to 1766. Dutch governors made a conscious effort to please the king. For example, they helped Kandy to bring Buddhist monks from Burma and Siam to perform higher ordination for Buddhist novices. They also

accepted, at least nominally, the sovereign rights of the king even in Dutch territories. The Dutch, in turn, received permission to peel cinnamon free of any remuneration in Kandyan lands.

There were, however, occasions when this peaceful coexistence was tested. Repeated demands from Kandy to take part in the overseas trade and occasional unrest among the inhabitants of the Dutch territory caused problems. The Dutch stood firm against Kandy's wish to take part in trade. Nayakkars from South India, who constituted a significant group in the Kandyan court (because Kandyan kings frequently selected Nayakkar wives for the royal family), had a great interest in the trade between the two opposite coasts. Moreover, Kandyan chiefs either instigated or supported various rebellions in the Dutch territory, most significantly those involving cinnamon peelers. These issues lay the ground for the open confrontation that culminated in the war of 1761 to 1766.

When a Siamese prince was handed over to the Dutch to be deported following a conspiracy in the Kandyan court, a rumor spread that the Dutch were planning to enthrone the prince. Kandy then invaded the Dutch territory in 1761 under the pretext of responding to the grievances of inhabitants who had complained to the king.

War and the treaty that followed greatly weakened Kandy. Its access to the sea was completely denied after it lost the coastal portions of its territory. It also lost more territories in the interior, and was forced to recognize the sovereign rights of the Dutch over their possessions. The treaty in general was humiliating to Kandy, and as a result the kingdom did everything to baulk at its implementation.

KANDY'S SUBJUGATION TO THE ENGLISH

The English East India Company got hold of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon in 1796, benefiting from Napoleon's invasion of Holland. In place of the Dutch, the internally weakened Kandy now had to deal with agents of the ever more powerful British Empire. When the English occupied the Maritime regions, a bitter rivalry broke out among the court chiefs of Kandy, who divided themselves into two rival factions. A succession crisis after the death of King Rajadhi Rajasinghe, who left no son, added more fuel to this rivalry. While Nayakkars tried to enthrone the son of the brother of one of the queens, a move that was supported by a section of the court chiefs, Mahaadigar (prime minister) Pilimatalauve, the most powerful chief, planned successfully to enthrone an eighteen-year-old named Konnasami, the son of a sister of one of the queens-dowager.

The crisis in the court was extremely beneficial for the English, as each rival party tried to win their support. Pilimatalauve soon broke from the king and approached the English on his own. In 1803, hoping to exploit the situation, the British governor of Ceylon, Frederick North, mounted an expedition to occupy Kandy, which proved to be disastrous. The failure of the English adversely affected the career of Pilimatalauve. In 1810 he was executed following an aborted revolt, after which his nephew Ahelepola succeeded him. He too followed his uncle's path by revolting against the king. The execution of Ahelepola's family widened the gap between the two parties and gave the opportunity for the English to intervene. The intervention was masterminded by John D'Oyly, an expert on Kandyan affairs, who had built an efficient intelligence network and was in communication with the chiefs who had defected. The war against Kandy, proclaimed in January 1815, was strongly supported by Ahelepola. It was over in forty days, without any notable military engagements. The king was captured and the Kandyan Convention was signed, ceding the Kandyan kingdom to the British, but maintaining many of the rights of the chiefs.

However, the honeymoon between the British and the rebel Kandyan chiefs did not last long. Although the Convention has made provisions to safeguard the *ancien regime*, administrative measures that were taken to consolidate British rule greatly diminished the influence of the chiefs. While Britain planned to extend its rule from maritime areas to the Kandyan interior, the chiefs were unwilling to sacrifice their power and privileges. A rebellion in 1818 was the inevitable outcome of dissatisfaction among the chiefs and on the part of the principal Buddhist monks, who formed another significant element of the Kandyan polity.

Following their ruthless crushing of the rebellion, the British issued a proclamation in 1818 that effectively put an end to the erstwhile organization of the Kandyan kingdom. Unlike the Convention of 1815, this proclamation greatly curtailed the power and privileges of the Kandyan chiefs. It is fair to say, therefore, that the proclamation concluded the integration of the Kandyan kingdom into the British colonial sphere, by bringing an end to Kandy as a separate political formation.

SEE ALSO *Ceylon; Empire, British; Empire, Dutch; Empire, Portuguese.*

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Nirmal Ranjith Dewasiri

KARTINI, RADEN AJENG
1879–1904

Raden Ajeng Kartini has occupied a dominant space in the history of women emancipation in modern Indonesia. She was born April 21, 1879, in a small town on the northern coast of Central Java (part of present-day Indonesia). Kartini received a modern Dutch education provided to her by virtue of her aristocratic background and her family's acquaintance with reform-minded Dutch officials and women. Her education, along with her personal experiences, rendered her highly qualified to address issues facing contemporary Javanese women.

Kartini grew up in an aristocratic family of a regent *(bupati)* in Jepara in the northern part of Central Java. Her father, Sosroningrat, first married Kartini's future mother, an ordinary local girl, Ngasirah, a daughter of a coconut trader and religious scholar, in 1872 when he was a district officer in Mayong. In 1875, while Ngasirah was still alive, Sosroningrat also married Raden Ajeng Muryam, who eventually assumed the position of official wife *(garwa padmi)* because of her aristocratic background. This marriage helped pave the way for Kartini's father to succeed his father-in-law as regent of Jepara in 1881. Ngasirah never assumed the official wife position, one of rank and status, because of her non-aristocratic background. In a society where higher social status was socially and bureaucratically crucial, the status of wives became crucial in climbing the social ladder, including access to European education.

As the daughter of an aristocrat, Kartini received her early education directly from her mother, stepmother, and father, who taught her about religion, Javanese customs, and etiquette. At the age of six, Kartini was enrolled at a Dutch primary school located near her home in Jepara. Although the school served only Dutch and Eurasian children, Kartini was allowed to attend because her father was a regent. After school, Kartini received extra tutoring in embroidery, sewing, religion, and reading.

Unlike many other girls in the regency, Kartini was privileged to attend various functions and meet the Dutch and indigenous officials who visited her father. Most of these privileges came to an end by the time she completed her primary school education, because she was obliged to undergo an almost total seclusion inside the walls of her home, in accordance with aristocratic etiquette of the time.

Kartini's father allowed her an hour a day to receive sewing lessons from the wife of the Dutch assistant resident, Mrs. Marie Ovink-Soer, an energetic woman with feminist sympathies, which had an influence on the young Kartini. Kartini appealed unsuccessfully to her father to be allowed to join her elder brothers, who had been sent to Semarang for higher schooling. She and her two sisters were allowed in 1896 to attend an official ceremony near their home. Then, in 1898, they accepted an invitation to attend a celebration of Dutch Queen Wilhelmina's (1880–1962) coronation held by the governor general in Semarang.

In light of Kartini's early exposure to education and feminism, it is not surprising that she later protested against the custom of forced, early marriage, insisting that women be allowed "to be free ... to study, not to be subject to any one, and, above all, never, never to be obliged to marry" (Symmers and Geertz 1964, p. 64)." Her conception of an ideal education focused on empowerment, enlightenment, and relevance, and she advocated open, nondiscriminative, government-sponsored schools. Her experiences and her understanding of the challenges of the changing times inspired her to emphasize the importance of education for all her compatriots, especially women. She was keenly aware of how poorly girls were represented in local schools; for many girls, their mothers would be their first teachers. Kartini also emphasized the importance of lifelong education.

Kartini's long seclusion and the gender-based unequal treatment she experience encouraged her to fight for women's emancipation in Java. More specifically, her access to such books as Goekoop de Jong's *Hilda van Suylenburg* (1898) and her extensive correspondence concerning feminism with Stella Zeehandelaar (b. 1874) and others helped her focus her ideas on women's emancipation and even independence in the larger context.

Kartini's great achievements resulted from her correspondence with various, mostly Dutch, officials and individuals. Although her direct encounters with visitors to her father and with other enlightened individuals had a strong impact on her search for emancipation, it is her correspondence in Dutch where Kartini's great vision is

apparent. Along with Zeehandelaar, the individuals with whom Kartini maintained intensive, regular correspondence include Jacque H. Abendanon, the director of the Batavian Department of Education, Religion, and Industry; H. H. van Kol, a Dutch socialist parliamentarian; and Annie Glaser, an activist and educator; as well as G. K. Anton, P. F. Sijthoff, and Hilda de Booy-Boissevain.

Although Kartini advocated the prevention of marriage to a man with previous wives and children, in November 1903 she married the regent of Rembang, Joyoadiningrat, shortly after the death of his official wife. Joyoadiningrat had been close to Kartini's father, for they were about the same age. In July 1903 Kartini's father told her that Joyoadiningrat had made a proposal to marry her; she was given three days to reply. Kartini accepted the proposal on the condition that they have a simple wedding ceremony and that she be given the opportunity to pursue her ongoing project of providing tuition for girls in Rembang. She was, in fact, given full support and facilities to open classes for girls, including her stepdaughters, in her new home. In addition, her desire to open a vocational school was warmly received

Kartini's new life as an official wife of a regent seems, as she claimed in her letters, to have brought her strength and happiness. She was greatly impressed by the care and treatment her husband gave her. She shared with her husband the determination to improve the conditions of the Javanese people. She pursued her ideas with him in Dutch, and he encouraged her to write a book on the myths and legends of Java. Her health deteriorated after the delivery of her first child; Kartini died four days later on September 17, 1904.

Despite the limited impact of Kartini's ideas and actions on her compatriots, she was considered ahead of her time by contemporary social reformers and feminist sympathizers in the Indies. Kartini emerged at a time when the ideals of the Dutch colonial Ethical Policy had won the day in the colony. Indeed, Kartini was a product of the policy. Yet, she maintained a balance between indigenousness and modernity in envisioning the future of her society. More specifically, Kartini pioneered a movement to emancipate women from the patriarchal structure and enlighten the youth with modern education for all. Her insistence on freedom of choice and modern education for girls left a major impact on the future youth movement in the country. Because of her relentless efforts, women and girls were given an equal place as citizens. Future generations should be, she maintained, a melting pot of the best, both locally and universally.

Kartini was formally declared the major symbol of women's emancipation in Indonesia when her birthday,

April 21, was declared women's national day. In addition, she was declared a national heroine in 1964. Kartini's ideas, more than her actions, have been a source of inspiration for the emancipation movement in Indonesia, because her life story and ideas closely resemble those of many other Indonesian women. Kartini's determination to "end darkness and open light" has become a slogan for freedom in Indonesia.

SEE ALSO *Daum, Paulus Adrianus; Ethical Policy, Netherlands Indies; Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker).*

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Iik Arifin Mansurnoor

KENYATTA, JOMO
1891–1978

Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of the Republic of Kenya, was born Johnston Kamau in Kiambu, in the Central Province of Kenya. The history of his life traverses Kenya, Europe, and other parts of Africa that he visited as a nationalist leader and as the head of state. Kenyatta is best known for his part in the nationalist movement in Kenya in which he played various roles both within Kenya and abroad. He was the secretary general of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) from 1926 until 1940 when the organization was banned. In 1928, he served as the editor of one of the first African newspapers in Kenya, *Muiguithania* (The Reconciler). He represented the KCA in 1929 when he was sent to present to the Colonial office in Britain the KCA grievances on land, female circumcision, and the establishment of independent schools.

Between 1931 and 1946 Kenyatta was based in London, from where he toured many European countries including Russia, France, Italy, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. He studied at Moscow University and at London School of Economics. He wrote articles in newspapers such as *The Manchester Guardian* and spoke at

Jomo Kenyatta (1889–1978). *Prime Minister Kenyatta of Kenya waves to well-wishers in London as he leaves to attend the 1964 African Leader's Conference in Cairo.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

public meetings where he addressed the plight of his people the Kikuyu, land hunger in Kenya, and the harsh colonial pass laws. He also represented the KCA demands that included direct representation of the African people in the legislative council. Kenyatta wrote anthropological works such as *Facing Mount Kenya.* He worked closely with George Padmore, the radical West Indian trade unionist in the 1930s, and was one of the founders of the Pan African Federation with Kwame Nkrumah.

Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1947, joined the Kenya African Union (KAU), and was elected president of the organization in 1947. During his tenure, he attempted to dissociate KAU from Mau Mau but was arrested and detained between 1952 and 1962, accused of organizing the Mau Mau movement.

Kenyatta is remembered for his controversial trial at Kapenguria where the British colonial government detained him for seven years with hard labor. He denied being the leader of Mau Mau or adhering to any of the violent activities conducted by Mau Mau in Kenya.

At Independence, Kenyatta stood for and personified national unity and urged Kenyans to work hard through his calls for *Harambee* ("to pull together") through which he urged Kenyans to redouble efforts in nation building. He urged Kenyans to "forget the past"—that is, the colonial encounter and its negative impact, and work together for national unity. Kenyatta, drawing from the nationalist movement, viewed poverty, ignorance, and disease as the major problems that Kenyans had to overcome in order to develop their nation and move forward.

His leadership was colorful, and Kenyatta always carried his flywhisk and wore the nationalist hat made of colorful beads, often accompanied with an entourage of singers at his public gatherings, which he addressed with great oratory skills. His leadership was, however, at times controversial. As the first president of Kenya, he ran the country as a de facto single-party state from 1966, becoming precursor to the later de jure one-party state from 1982 under the second president of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi.

Kenyatta commenced political detention without trial in independent Kenya when he banned the opposition party Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) and detained all KPU members of parliament in1968. Under his regime, gender issues around women's leadership in Kenya were mainly silent, although he nominated at least two women to parliament among the twelve nominated members during his last two tenures as the president in 1968 and 1974. Despite the controversy associated with his leadership, Kenyatta is remembered as a great African statesman who remained in office during a time of prosperity for Kenya. He died on August 22, 1978, having led Kenya for fifteen years.

SEE ALSO *Nationalism, Africa; Nkrumah, Kwame.*

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Edith Miguda

KHOMEINI, AYATOLLAH RUHOLLAH
1902–1989

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a Shi'i Muslim cleric and instructor, played a central role in the Iranian Revolution of 1978 to 1979 and orchestrated the establishment of
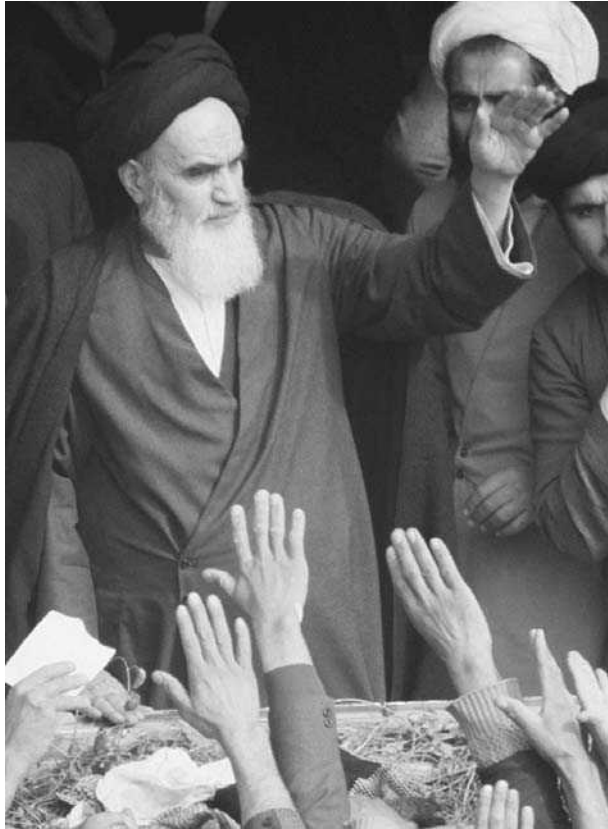
Ayatollah Khomeini (1900–1989). *Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (center) waves to supporters on February 1, 1979, the day of his return to Iran from exile, after the abdication of the shah.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the Islamic Republic of Iran. Khomeini first became a well-known public figure when he spoke out during the 1960s against the failings and policies of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), the shah of Iran, denouncing the government's corruption, repression, secularism, and alliance with the United States. Khomeini was further incensed when the government gave women suffrage and extended the legal privileges of Americans in Iran. Khomeini demanded the shah's resignation, after which the government soon deported Khomeini to Turkey.

The next year, Khomeini was expelled to Iraq, where he maintained contact with Iranians by smuggling into Iran cassettes of his sermons, through which he continued to condemn the shah's government. In 1978 Khomeini was deported to France, where it was easier to sustain these contacts. Throughout his years in exile, Khomeini increased his credibility and fame for his opposition to the shah due to both the wide circulation of his sermons and his network of former students who were rising in the religious ranks.

Meanwhile, living conditions in Iran had worsened throughout the 1970s despite Iran's massive oil reserves. Iranians increasingly blamed the failures of the shah's economic policies, government corruption, and repression for the status quo, and looked to Khomeini, whose charisma and religious rhetoric proved to be effective unifying mechanisms. In Iran's diverse political spectrum, the only commonalities among the various groups were their resentment of the shah and their shared cultural background, of which Shi'i Islam is a major part.

In 1978, as Iranians were increasingly frustrated with the government and pushing for reform, a government-owned newspaper attacked Khomeini with dubious accusations. Students and merchants in Qom, the city where Khomeini had received his training, protested spontaneously and the army ended the demonstration with force, killing some seventy students. At the customary memorial gatherings held after forty days, more demonstrating mourners were killed; the initial incident led to a recurrence of demonstrations and deaths every forty days. Khomeini encouraged the demonstrations from France via his students' networks and cassette distributions. By January 1979, the shah's military backing was collapsing and he fled the country; Khomeini returned to Iran two weeks later.

From the time of Khomeini's return until 1982, circumstances in Iran were precarious and chaotic. During this period, religious and secular sectors struggled for control of Iran's future, and an Islamic theocracy was only one of several alternatives. Khomeini launched a number of measures to root out the opposition, including the Islamic Republic Party, the Revolutionary Guards, and tribunals. Khomeini also established the Council of Guardians, a body that has veto power over all legislation, and installed himself as supreme leader.

Although the Islamic regime under Khomeini sought a comprehensive, severe Islamization of society, it has been forced to reverse or soften many policies. For example, despite Khomeini's efforts to curtail women's rights in the early 1980s, women have successfully campaigned to overturn many of these rulings and have secured some legal advantages that they lacked under the shah.

SEE ALSO *Iran.*

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Elizabeth Brownson

KIAOCHOW

SEE *Shandong Province*

KINGMAN REEF

SEE *Pacific, American Presence in*

KNIL (KONINKLIJK NEDERLANDSCH-INDISCH LEGER)

SEE *Royal Dutch-Indisch Army*

KOREA, TO WORLD WAR II

The strategic location of the Korean Peninsula, situated at the far eastern edge of the Asian continent and a mere 210 kilometers (about 130 miles) from the Japanese archipelago, often compromised the state's ability to maintain its sovereignty. Nineteenth-century Russian expansion eastward only complicated Korea's already precarious position, particularly after Japan emerged as an imperial power and Korea's traditional ally, China, was weakened by domestic and foreign crises. The Korean Peninsula's division following the defeat of its colonial occupier, Japan, not only separated a people, but also Korea's agricultural south from its mineral-rich north.

Throughout most of its pre-1945 history, Korea participated in China's tributary system, whereby it recognized the Chinese emperor as the sole "Son of Heaven," followed the Chinese calendar based on his reign, and dutifully reported Korea's regal successions to the Chinese capital. Chinese imperial blessing in turn gained the Korean throne legitimacy, and selected Korean merchants were granted access to Chinese markets. Participation in this system also provided the Korean Peninsula with military protection, as long as the reigning dynasty in China was strong. Membership

had its drawbacks, as well, particularly during times of dynastic transition, as was the case in the mid-seventeenth century. At this time, Chinese political instability forced the Korean government to decide whether to remain loyal to the waning Ming dynasty, which had just helped drive the Japanese from the peninsula, or support the Manchu, who challenged, and eventually toppled, the Ming.

Korea's relations with Japan generally assumed an open, albeit cautious posture. The threat of "pirate" *(wako)* intrusions dominated the two states' diplomatic relations from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries. The late sixteenth-century invasions of the Japanese military leader Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) still remain a bitter memory to Koreans. The two peoples resumed their trade relations from the early seventeenth century, after the new Japanese regime cooperated in returning kidnapped artisans and in assisting in Korea's battle against Manchu (now Qing) retaliation over Korea's remaining loyal to China's Ming dynasty. The twelve Korean missions to the Japanese capital over the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) were as much for trade as they were for reconnaissance. Additional Japanese-Korean trade took place through the Japanese island of Tsushima, which frequently sent missions to the southern city of Pusan.

Domestically, the Korean government depended heavily on the precepts of the ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius (ca. 551–479 BCE) to guide its legal, social, and political institutions. Korean elite wishing to secure a government position were required to pass a series of tests based on Confucian philosophy. The tenets of the ideology governed how social relations were maintained and administrative decisions made. An elite group, known as the *yangban*, comprised the kingdom's aristocracy, which surrounded and influenced decisions made by the king. Government positions were staffed from a pool of *yangban* who had successfully risen in the ranks by passing a series of civil service examinations that required the examinees to correctly interpret Confucian text passages.

In addition to the *yangban*, Korean society officially consisted of three commoner ranks: the farmers, artisans, and merchants. In practice, Korean society was much more complex, with the *yangban* divided into different ranks, and several groups, such as the slaves and the *paekchong* (a debased group discriminated against on account of their having participated in "unclean" occupations that involved animal butchering and leather works), holding ranks below the commoner.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were turbulent times for the Korean peninsula, in both its domestic and foreign affairs. Major domestic rebellions broke out in 1812, 1862, and 1894. The last uprising, led by the

Tonghaks (eastern learning), initiated a foreign crisis after the Korean government requested Chinese assistance to quell the rebellion. This move invited in Japanese troops, which led to the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). These challenges also demonstrated fundamental weaknesses in the central bureaucratic system, including, but not limited to, its ability to fairly tax its constituents. During the 1880s, reform-minded groups emerged that sought, among other things, more equitable participation in government and reforms in taxation and education. One of the more successful reform-minded groups was the Independence Club, which endeavored to strengthen Korean sovereignty: it convinced the king to declare his land an empire (i.e., a sovereign state); it printed a newspaper written in Korea's *han'gul* script; and it initiated other symbolic projects to emphasize this point. Their success threatened the established traditional system, and in 1898 the Korean emperor Kojong (1852–1919) ordered their two-year experiment to disband, thus rendering helpless the core of Korea's reform movement.

Japan's presence on the Korean Peninsula intensified toward the end of the nineteenth century. In 1875 it initiated a confrontation along Korea's west coast that drew the two governments into negotiations to modernize their traditional relations. Armed with demands similar to those brought by the American naval officer Matthew C. Perry (1794–1858), who demanded in 1853 that Japan "open" itself to the West, Japanese negotiators imposed upon the Koreans a similar "unequal" treaty that forced them to open ports to Japanese residence, to accept extraterritorial rights for Japanese residents, and to accept determined fixed import and export tariffs. Soon thereafter, the United States and several European states arranged similar treaties with the Korean government. Over the latter half of the nineteenth century, Japanese intellectuals influenced the core of the Korean reform movement and assisted them in failed coup attempts. The Japanese were also implicated in the 1895 murder of Korea's pro-Chinese Queen Min.

Following victories in war with the Chinese (1895) and the Russians (1905), the Japanese moved to first establish Korea as its protectorate (1905) and later to formally annex the peninsula into its growing empire. Thus began a thirty-six-year period of colonial occupation that ended with Japan's surrender to the Allied forces in 1945. Many Koreans battled the Japanese presence. Righteous armies fought Japanese colonizers up through annexation (1910).

A huge independence movement, formed in March 1919, kept Japanese police occupied throughout much of that year. A provisional government was formed in the spirit of this movement, but it soon split into militant and diplomatic factions, with the former migrating to

China and Russia to join Communist activists, and the latter traveling globally to seek support for Korea's independence. Others, who believed that Korea's future could not be guaranteed unless the people were prepared, envisioned a less radical, and more gradual, path to liberation. Still others believed this vision to be a pipe dream: Korea's best hope for the future lay with it remaining in the Japanese empire.

The sudden and complete defeat of Japan left a political void on the Korean peninsula that was filled by occupation, with the United States occupying the south and the Soviet Union the north. The division, which was to have been temporary, remains in place to this day.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire, Japanese; Occupations, East Asia.*

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Mark E. Caprio

KOREA, FROM WORLD WAR II

Japan's surrender to the Allied forces on August 15, 1945, left liberated Korea in an uncertain state. Though Koreans naturally anticipated full recovery of national independence, they were soon disillusioned. By September 1945 Korea was occupied once more, now by the armies of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), who soon agreed upon a joint trusteeship of Korea until the ushering in of self-rule. The line dividing

Kim Jong Il and Chung Dong-young. *Kim Jong Il (right), the leader of North Korea, shares a toast with Chung Dong-young, South Korea's unification minister, during a meeting in Pyongyang on June 17, 2005.* © UNIFICATION MINISTRY/HANDOUT/REUTERS/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the northern (USSR) and southern (U.S.) zones of occupation was set at the 38th parallel, running north of Seoul and splitting the peninsula roughly in half.

Recent scholarship has argued that Korea was ripe for civil war in the wake of Japan's defeat, in response to centuries of economic and political inequities that had been reinforced and perpetuated under Japanese colonial rule. While the Soviet Union used emerging leftist political organizations and figures in the creation of a functioning administration in the north, American military authorities in the south opted to rely largely upon more conservative Korean elements, many of whom had in fact served the Japanese colonial regime.

In the course of preparing Korea for self-rule then, the politics of the Soviet-backed north and American-backed south grew increasingly polarized. These Soviet-American tensions played a part in polarizing postwar Korean society as well, with many leftists fleeing north and conservatives and large landowners fleeing south. The end result of this confused state of affairs was a

United Nations election in 1948—ostensibly to usher in a sovereign Korean state—that was boycotted in the north and by many in the south. From this election emerged the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the southern (American) zone. On August 15, 1948, American-backed Syngman Rhee (Yi Sung-man, 1875–1965) was inaugurated as the first president of the ROK. In response to this, in the north the Soviet-backed Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was formed, with the Korean independence guerilla and Moscow-trained Kim Il Sung (Kim Il-sung, 1912–1994) at its head.

On June 15, 1950, the DPRK launched a massive attack across the 38th parallel in a bid at armed reunification. Though the origins of the resulting Korean War (1950–1953) are still hotly contested, scholarly consensus places the immediate cause of the conflict with Kim Il Sung. With United Nations and then Chinese Communist intervention on behalf of the ROK and DPRK respectively, the Korean War was fought to an armed truce in 1953, roughly along the same 38th

parallel that had divided the ROK and DPRK prior to the war.

The Korean War had reverberations far afield, resulting in the strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance and a hardening of the Cold War. Set at ideological loggerheads and in a continuous state of armed tension, the postwar fortunes of North Korea and South Korea were tightly bound to the Soviet Union and United States respectively. Following the Korea War, and in view of Communist advances in Europe and China, the American strategic vision of Korea took a radical shift as the ROK became a major recipient of U.S. military and economic aid. The DPRK likewise became heavily dependent upon Soviet aid and expertise.

In the North, drawing upon Korea's shameful colonial past, Kim Il Sung increasingly emphasized national "self-reliance" *(juche)* in all spheres, while painting the ROK as an American puppet state, playing upon opposition frustrations in the ROK that under American occupation the south had never properly dealt with former Japanese collaborators. Kim also instituted a personality cult unrivaled even by the China of Mao Zedong (1893–1976) or the Soviet Union of Joseph Stalin (1879–1953).

In the wake of President Rhee's 1961 overthrow by a student movement violently opposed to his authoritarian politics, the ROK Army general Park Chung Hee (Pak Chong-hui, 1917–1979) seized power in South Korea. Park would go on to rule the ROK for eighteen years, his often repressive tenure overseeing the rapid industrialization of the ROK. Park also forged more intimate ties with Korea's former occupier, Japan, as well as with the United States, which Park saw as a vital source of the economic aid incumbent for development. In 1979 Park was assassinated by his intelligence chief in an ostensible bid to save South Korea from dictatorship. The result was a series of military leaders in the ROK before the ushering in of democracy there in the late 1980s.

Not all in South Korea were happy about the ROK–U.S. alliance. A rising and increasingly vocal populist movement in the 1980s perceived in the ROK's acquiescent stance toward the United States shadows of the traditional Chinese–Korean relationship, in which Korea was the tribute state. Such deference to the greater power is termed *sadae* (serving the great) in Korean, and this perceived Korean penchant for *sadae-ism* (toadyism) was seen as a historical source of Korea's weakness. Added to this was the frustration that under American tutelage Japanese collaborators had not only evaded prosecution but had been allowed to prosper. As a result, many leftists, and in particular the student activist movement, in South Korea revered North Korea's *juche*

ideology in view of Korea's experience of colonization and division at the hands of foreign powers.

Though less apparent than the ROK–U.S. alliance, the DPRK under Kim Il Sung remained highly dependent upon the Soviet Union. However, Soviet subsidies to the DPRK came to an abrupt halt with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and from that time North Korea, since 1994 led by Kim Il Sung's son Kim Jong Il (Kim Chong-il, b. 1941), has languished under a deepening economic crisis. The DPRK ultimately remains a highly authoritarian and secretive state whose society revolves around the personality cults of both Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il.

Since the 1990s, political dynamics on the Korean Peninsula continue to be volatile, if less predictable. Though the South Korean president Kim Dae Jung (Kim Tae-jung, b. 1925), who served from 1997 to 2002, initiated a "Sunshine Policy" regarding the DPRK that resulted in the first ever North-South summit in 2000, relations between the two Koreas continue to be characterized by tension and mistrust. The rise of the left-leaning opposition into national power in the ROK elections of 2002 has resulted in a resolve to finally deal with the issue of past Japanese collaboration, as well as more vocal debate regarding the costs and benefits of the ROK–U.S. alliance. However, though at times troubled, in the face of the continued perceived threat from North Korea, the ROK–U.S. alliance remains a mainstay of South Korean policy.

SEE ALSO *Occupations, East Asia.*

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Daniel C. Kane

KRUGER, PAUL
1825–1904

Known for his leadership of the Transvaal, significantly during the lead up to the South African War (1899–1902), Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger personified

Paul Kruger During the Boer War. *Paul Kruger (center, with pipe), president of the Transvaal from 1883 to 1900, visits Boer troops during the Second Anglo-Boer War.* © BETTMANN/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the Afrikaner independent spirit. This father of Afrikaner nationalism, he was born in the eastern Cape Colony in 1825. In 1835 his family joined the Great Trek. Kruger developed his beliefs in the crucible of a developing Afrikaner nationalism. He fought Ndebele forces led by Mzilikazi (1795?–1868) at Vegkop in 1836, and went on to become a *veldkornet*, or district law enforcement officer, for the local government.

In 1883 Kruger became president of the Transvaal, following upon the state's victory over the British in the Anglo-Transvaal War (1880–1881). Combining his spiritual beliefs with a clear notion of Boer independence from British imperial encroachment, Kruger secured what he considered to be the republic's clear sovereignty from Britain in the Treaty of London in 1884. In 1886 gold was discovered at Witwatersrand, south of the capital at Pretoria. This, the largest gold deposit in the world, enabled the Transvaal to enjoy a new economic lease on life.

The Treaty of London did not halt Britain's imperial expansion. In 1890 diamond magnate Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) established the colony of Rhodesia north of the Transvaal. Rhodes envisioned building a British "road to the north" from Cape Town to Cairo. He also argued for the destruction of the two Boer republics by suffocation, surrounding them with British territory. Rhodes's actions served to increase the tension between Kruger's government and Britain. This was played out in the winter of 1895 to 1896, when Rhodes sanctioned a raid into the Transvaal to overthrow the state government. Although the raid failed, it did succeed in driving Kruger to arm the republic (using capital from the gold mines), complete with the construction of forts around the Pretoria.

In 1899, following a summer of heated debate, the two republics declared war. Early and important victories went to the Boers, forcing Britain to send more troops while implementing a crash recruiting program at home. The tide began to turn in 1900, however, as new leadership in the British army helped secure the fall of the Orange Free State in March and the Transvaal Republic in June. With British troops spilling into his country, Kruger went on the run, finally leaving his beloved nation in October 1900. He went to the Netherlands seeking international assistance for his war with Britain. He received sympathy, but little else. Britain won the war in 1902, but gave the Boers substantial aid as part of the peace agreement. Paul Kruger died in exile in Switzerland in 1904, having never returned to the Transvaal.

A man of solid faith and solid nationalism, Kruger's folksy demeanor helped endear him to his fellow Afrikaners, many of whom he received on the front porch of his house near the capitol building in Pretoria. "Oom Paul" (Uncle Paul) remained a beloved figure in the Afrikaner national memory, helping to strengthen the growing mythology of apartheid.

SEE ALSO *Great Trek.*

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Jeffrey Lee Meriwether

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LANGUAGE, EUROPEAN

Language and empire were closely related, whether the quasireligious and legal language of papal donations concerning lands beyond Europe, or the speech and signs that Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) described in his writings about first encounters with natives in the New World. European gestures and classical and vernacular languages from that continent are a key part of the story and history of expansion, colonization, and empire. Words are the traces we have of the European empires that begin in earnest with the Portuguese expansion into Africa in the fifteenth century, and that ended formally with decolonization, a process that began with the American War of Independence in the 1770s, and finally ended with similar wars in the twentieth century, as well as peaceful independence in parts of Asia and Africa (often in the British Empire).

The Spanish humanist, Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522), author of the first grammar of the Castilian language (1492), reached the conclusion in his preface to that work that "language always accompanies empire." Nebrija's classical statement is a point of departure for how a few European languages became world languages owing to imperialism. European speech and writing also transmitted the Western languages of politics, radicalism, journalism, education, law, history, and more. Some postcolonial scholars have advanced arguments that what was actually transmitted was the language of "Orientalism" (a Western discourse of misunderstanding and undervaluing colonial "others"), as well as racism, sexism, fascism, capitalism, and globalism.

LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND REPRESENTATIONS

Portuguese practices at home later became usual in colonies overseas. Legal language was particularly important in this regard. On May 26, 1375, King Ferdinand I (1345–1383) of Portugal published a law by which all rural landowners were to cultivate their lands or rent them for cultivation (*Lei de Sesmaria*), a practice that Portuguese colonies in Africa and Brazil adopted. In Portugal, black slaves replaced in the fields men who were overseas.

Brazil was to be a key colony for the Portuguese, who claimed it during Easter week of 1500 as recorded by Pero Vaz de Caminha, one of the crew of Pedro Álvares Cabral (ca. 1467–1520). This same writer uses the power of language to represent themes that Columbus had expressed about the New World—the innocence that makes the natives ready to convert, the nakedness of the inhabitants, and the native signs that indicate gold and other riches, the will of God, and salvation. One curious passage in Caminha's account is that he has no doubt that if the *degradados* (banished Portuguese criminals) learned the natives' language then these new-found peoples would come into the Christian faith. Early on, sign language and the learning of native languages was an important part of converting local populations abroad. Later, however, the use of European languages became part of a practice of assimilation or domination (in the root sense of having lordship over the tributary or vassal population of natives).

Apparently, Cabral did not write about his voyage to Brazil and India. Various sources help to piece together the events of this journey. The key source is an anonymous text, written in Portuguese but translated into

Italian, that was included in one of the collections of voyages that were appearing in the first decade of the sixteenth century. In Lisbon in 1502 a volume was published that included descriptions of the voyages of Marco Polo (ca. 1254–1324), Nicolò de Conti (ca. 1395–1469), and Hieronimo di (Geronimo da) San Stefano (a Genoese who traveled to Pegu in Burma in 1495–96) and a volume titled *Paesi Nouamente retrouati et Nouo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio intitulato* (Newfound Lands . . .) was published in Vicenza, Italy, in 1507. This last source provided an example for the collections of Simon Grynaeus (1493–1541) and Giambattista Ramusio (1485–1557) and, more indirectly, of Richard Hakluyt the Younger (ca. 1552–1616) and Samuel Purchas (1577–1626), a compiler of travel books whose work included this 1507 narrative. Language was not simply about individual texts but about editing, translating, collecting, printing, and reading them. There is a collective as well as an individual context. Translation ensured that all European states gathered strength and that their knowledge and languages were enriched.

A few years earlier, Columbus, as described in the "Letter of Columbus," which Columbus probably wrote in 1494 to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain about the "discovery," colonization and commerce of Hispaniola, remarked on how timid the natives were but then admitted that he took some of them by force and established a mutual understanding "by speech or signs." Before Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618), Columbus used a language that identified the land in the New World as a woman and sometimes eroticized the female natives he encountered. The use of a language of signs, and the interpretation of those signs and of speech even before the Portuguese or Spanish learned the languages of the natives, represent the practice of traders but also may seem like overconfidence. From the beginning of the Iberian expansion, the language of gesture and of the spoken and written word became crucial in the enterprise. This passage from Columbus has implications that extend to this day.

The mediation of writing and reading seems to shape the images Columbus forms of the native after first contact. Perhaps it also has an effect on the transmission and editing of his account, as well as on the rhetorical relation between speaker or writer and audience, and between Columbus and the sovereigns (whom he has in mind and whom he addresses). This relation has a very material dimension, for Columbus proceeded to promise Queen Isabella (1451–1504) and King Ferdinand (1452–1516) of Spain vast riches and slaves in return for their "very slight assistance."

In this possible contract, in this quid pro quo, the natives are lost; they are transformed into slaves. These slaves, as many as sovereigns ordered to be shipped, would

La Malinche. The Native American woman La Malinche worked as a translator and interpreter for Hernán Cortés. As such, she was a mediator, caught between languages. THE ART ARCHIVE/MIREILLE VAUTIER. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

be chosen from the idolaters, so that Columbus could have a clear conscience and could, with a highly imperfect knowledge of the language and culture of the natives, decide who among them practiced idolatry and who did not. Slavery was fine for those whom Columbus considered to worship idols instead of Christ. Columbus and other Europeans choose to interpret others in the framework of their church and legal dogma. Who was a pagan, idolater, heretic, or infidel was a decision based on an interpretative context that papal bulls helped to forge. It was also encoded in "encounter" narratives and the many other written documents that represented European expansion into lands "discovered" or "rediscovered."

The precariousness of the expansion of European languages and empires is a key part of the story. There was a certain defensiveness in the offensive stance of Europe. The Iberian powers (Spain and Portugal) had been largely under Muslim rule for hundreds of years before the Christian kingdoms started to push the Muslims back. It took until 1492 for Spain to reconquer its territory, and the year of Columbus's first voyage to America, the Spanish Crown ordered the expulsion of Moors (Muslims) and Jews. The spread of Castilians and

Portuguese involved the distinction between Portugal and Spain from each other, as well as the distinction between their languages.

DEFENDING THE NATIVES AND LEARNING AND PROTECTING THEIR LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

During the first three decades of the conquest (1492–1519), owing in part perhaps to the quick decimation of the natives, there was no Amerindian chronicler of the encounter. It was the Spanish Dominican missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566) who rose to write a defense of the native population. Las Casas also defended the natives of the New World against the arguments of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490–1573) at Valladolid, Spain, where in 1550 to 1551 King Charles I (1500–1558) convened theologians and philosophers. Stangely enough, Las Casas and Sepúlveda, who called on the Council for the Indies for the "debate" on colonization and the war against the American Indians, in the first instance, did not face each other, but read their arguments to a panel of theologians from the University of Salamanca. Las Casas insisted on a place for the Amerindians as members of a human civil society. The famous debate between Las Casas and Sepúlveda for the benefit of the Spanish king over Aristotle's (384–322 B.C.E.) concept of natural slavery and whether it applied to the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World demonstrates the dissention from within. A debate based on distinctions in language was to determine whether natives were considered barbarian or even human.

The question of the European representation of native peoples also relates to the Amerindian representation of the European arrival in, and colonization of, America. One of the difficulties presented by preconquest native documents, as in the case to the Nahuas of central Mexico, is that even the most informative among them were mostly redone under Spanish influence during the 1540s and after. The Europeans and their American settlers frequently wrote about the natives from the vantage of conquest and triumph. Europeans also had a myth that the Amerindians had no writing, and when the Europeans encountered evidence of writing, they tried to eradicate it because it posed a threat to the Bible.

The represented also represent. Examples are the annals of the Valley of Mexico (1516–1525), a Tupi taunt of French missionaries in Brazil (1612), and a seventeenth-century Algonquin account of Europeans entering North America. The representation of the natives and the Amerindian representation of the Europeans have left evidence only in the wake of Columbus's encounter with the world of the western Atlantic.

TRANSLATION, IDEOLOGICAL EDITING, AND THE BLACK LEGEND

Writers and translators in France and England made ambivalent and contradictory use of the example of Spain's colonization of the New World from Columbus's first voyage to the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Translations of Spanish books about the New World, along with French and English texts on the same subject, suggest that historical changes occurred in the use of the example of Spain while, for the most part, ambivalence and contradiction remained. Legal and textual anxieties developed amongst the French and English over Columbus and Spain being the first Europeans to "discover" the "New World" and over the pope's division of that newfound land between Portugal and Spain. France and England tried to learn from Spain and to compete with it and circumvent its monopoly in the New World (1492–1547).

Texts in the period from the deaths of Henry VIII (1491–1547) of England and François I (1494–1547) of France to the year of the first narrative of the Spanish massacre of the French colonists in Florida (1548–1566) contain praise for Spain in England during the reign of Queen Mary I (1516–1558), as well as the first important French description of Spanish cruelty in the New World. In addition, the historian Richard Eden (ca. 1521–1576) used translation to advocate English colonization and then the imperial union of Spain and England.

Eyewitness accounts of the conflict between the French and Spanish in Florida—Thomas Hacket's (fl. 1560–1590) translation of Jean Ribault (ca. 1520–1565) (the original was lost) and Nicolas Le Challeux's narrative—also contributed to the debate on colonization. These are key texts with apparently different aims: Eden's work appears to be that of a champion of the potential alliance of England with Spain, whereas the Ribault and Le Challeux texts are French Protestant works that help to produce, in France and England, the Black Legend of Spain, an anti-Spanish attitude that blamed Spaniards for cruelty, greed, and fanaticism in their empire, especially in the Netherlands and the New World, in contrast with the White Legend (*leyenda rosa* or *blanca*), which idealized Spaniards. An analysis of these important texts suggests a shift in the representation of Spain in the 1560s, when the French and then the English, mainly because of the events in Florida and in the Netherlands, began to develop an intricate anti-Spanish rhetoric.

Having incorporated into the Spanish conquest of the New World the qualities of civility and *virtú*, Eden also followed Columbus in dividing the natives into good

natives, or those who helped and acquiesced, and bad natives, or those who opposed the Europeans: the Spanish liberated the natives through religion and civility. Columbus represented the "bad natives" as cannibals and Amazons. The distinction between liberty and license, one that the English author John Milton (1608–1674) would later take up, is part of an imperial discourse in which the forces of empire liberate the indigenes from their primitiveness, barbarity, strife with treacherous neighbors, pagan beliefs, and laziness.

The imperial discourse of France and England would replicate this language of liberty for their own ends well into the twentieth century. Sometimes the French and English would cast the Spaniards as the treacherous party, as cannibals devouring the innocent natives. But the paternalism, Christian and secular, differed little from Eden's rendition on behalf of Spain. The narratives of the explorers included representations of the relations among the European imperial powers: Spain was still a powerful example that these practical French and English mariners contemplated. The captains and seamen wrote accounts of their experiences with the Spanish that were often framed in the language of romance and heroism but that frequently reflected what their own governments would tolerate or sanction unofficially.

Economic self-interest and the balancing of power in European politics affected these apparently straightforward narratives. Through their written accounts, explorers and pirates (depending on whether the reports were from the point of view of Spain or not), like John Hawkins (1532–1595) and Dominique de Gourges, justified their actions, the one for breaking Spanish laws and the other for wreaking revenge on Spain. English and French narratives were instrumental, their ends often being political and economic, even as they protested motives of religion and liberty.

From the mid-1550s, French and English translations were sending out mixed messages about the natives through Spanish eyes. In a history of discourse—and this applies in the historiography of expansion—translation is so central that there is sometimes a lag between event or original textual argument, representation, and its transmission into other languages. Latin was available to the elite, but most often the translation into Spanish and then into French and English or some variation on that process (Spanish to French, French to English) meant a greater and more popular dissemination than of the Latin original. Many Spanish authors decided to write in Spanish, and, for some, especially among the captains, adventurers, and settlers, the vernacular was the only option, or what might be called the confident option. Some of the texts on Spain were not French or English

translations but were histories and narratives of exploration, encounter, and settlement that involved imitation of, allusion to, and commentary on Spain.

The example of Spain was central in determining English attitudes toward the New World and its inhabitants. In addition to Hakluyt, who translated or commissioned translations from the Spanish, other principal translators were Richard Eden, John Frampton (fl. 1577–1596), and Thomas Nicholas (b. 1530s). Even though the English adapted Spanish writings that glorified the Spanish conquest for their own purposes—providing propaganda to encourage potential investors and settlers—they often adopted Spanish representations of the New World and its natives. The "Spanish" authors most translated into English, such as Peter Martyr (1499–1562), Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo (1478–1557), and Francisco López de Gómara (ca. 1511–1566), emphasized the glory of Spain in the face of Native American betrayal and barbarism, even if they sometimes advocated conversion and condemned Spaniards for mistreating the natives.

Even though Las Casas thought the work of his compatriots in the New World was important, he was not one to emphasize Spain's colonization of the New World and its treatment of the natives as full of glory. Those Spanish authors who glorified Spain were the most often translated into English. Only one edition of Las Casas's *Brevissima relación de la destruyción de las Indias* (Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies, 1552) appeared in English (as *The Spanish Colonie,* 1583). This translation was filtered through the French translation from which the preface was taken. The preface encouraged support for the Dutch revolt against Spain.

Numerous translations of Spanish works concerning the New World also appeared in France. The French and English textual responses to the events in Brazil and Florida were staggered over the years, and this response complicated the way the Portuguese and Spanish texts moved into these languages (as well as into Dutch).

This historiography of expansion involved the production, dissemination, and reception of ideas about Spain. The earlier complaints against Spain were pale beside the propaganda that arose in the French and English languages from London through Amsterdam and Paris to Geneva. The anti-Spanish tracts of the 1560s and 1570s led up to the building of the Spanish Armada (1567–1588) and the intensification of rivalry with Spain as both France and England tried to expand and establish colonies. Columbus was to be a model and precedent, even in 1566 when the English navigator Humphrey Gilbert (ca. 1539–1583) planned to establish a colony in territory that Spain claimed.

In the wake of the Armada, works such as Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589) and Marc

Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566). *A famous debate took place in the mid-sixteenth century between Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican missionary, and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda on the concept of "natural slavery." This debate, based on distinctions in language, was to determine whether the natives of the New World were to be considered barbarian or even human.* **LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**

Lescarbot's *L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (The History of New France, 1609) demonstrate that the ambivalent and contradictory representation of Spain in the New World was not simply a matter of religion. Once France and England established permanent colonies in the New World and Spain began to decline, the sustained intensity of anti-Spanish sentiment abated into periodic eruptions of the Black Legend of Spain. Language in the original and in translation could be a political weapon.

The language of key texts expressed religious, legal, and political ideas for and against the expansion into the New World that occurred in roughly the first six decades after Columbus's landfall in the western Atlantic. These ideas and practices intertwined in the texts and documents of the period. The textual evidence suggests that the English, while quick to "discover" the North American continent, soon lost momentum and, for the period in question and beyond, the French made this northern part of America a priority. Before and after Columbus, whether in Spain, France, England, or other western European countries, the merits and demerits of expansion played an important role in legal, religious, political, and economic debates.

One of the chief means of spreading anti-Spanish sentiment among other nations was the use, against

Spain, of the work of Las Casas, a critic of Spanish colonization but a supporter of the Spanish emperor and empire. Las Casas was a holy Spaniard who would never have approved of the use to which his work was put by these "heretics." The very ability the Spanish had in criticizing themselves became a weapon of intolerance and a tool to be used against an increasingly intolerant Spain. The French and English exploited Spain's self-criticism through vernacular translations, particularly of Las Casas. And Las Casas appeared in English-speaking countries as a weapon of propaganda late in the day. For instance, his account of the destruction of the Indies was printed four times in the period of the Spanish-American War of 1898. Language reproduces itself, persisting while changing shape.

LANGUAGE OF COLONIZATION, EMPIRE, LIBERTY, AND DECOLONIZATION

Las Casas had used language to defend the dignity and humanity of native peoples, although he was less concerned with the rights of African slaves. The spiritual dimension of the natives and their potential for conversion were mainstays of his argument. Contradictions, ambivalence, and opposition within the European states and their empires was expressed through language, so that Nebrija's yoking of language and empire is intricate.

In New England in the seventeenth century, John Eliot (1604–1690) acted as an apostle to the Indians and tried, by establishing communities of converts (fourteen towns, Natick being most notable among them), to allow them to pursue a Christian life. After King Philip's War (1675–76) between the English and the natives, the community was broken up and many of the Natick Indians deported to islands. Subscriptions from English parishes helped to enable that effort, as well as the establishment of the Harvard Indian College in 1655. Eliot also translated the Bible into the indigenous language (Algonquin in 1663). The natives themselves were torn between their own religion and language and the classical and vernacular European languages. This Eliot Bible was used as a means of converting the Indians, including by fellow educated natives, such as Harvard's first such graduate, Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck from the Wampanoag tribe (class of 1665). He lived with other students—English and native, in a dormitory called the "Indian College," founded under President Charles Chauncy and, as a result of neglect, torn down in 1698.

These residential schools continued well into the twentieth century, and there have been legal disputes over their negative effects in Canada. Mediators, such as La Malinche (Malintzin or Doña Marina, ca. 1505–ca.1529) a Native American woman, most likely Nahua, from the Mexican Gulf Coast, acted as go-betweens. La Malinche

accompanied Hernán Cortés (ca. 1484–1547), played a key role as an interpreter in the Spanish conquest of Mexico, and was mistress to Cortés, whose son she bore. Another example of a mediator is Squanto (d. 1622), a Patuxet Indian who helped William Bradford (1590–1657) in Massachusetts. Translation also involved the transmission and transformation of native languages into European ones. One example of this is the codex in *Broken Spears*, a text often used in courses on colonization. The work is a collection of documents about the Spanish Conquest of Mexico by the Nahua (Mexicas or Aztecs) and translated into at least twelve languages. The debate here is whether the earliest of these documents were written in Nahuatl and how great the influence of the Spanish missionaries, their language and culture, were in this enterprise. Bernardino de Sahagún was a key figure in this translation and transculturation. Translation occurs between native and European cultures, but also between centuries.

Language is also about incommensurability and the abuse of power. The *Requiermento* (Requirement) was a document that the Spaniards read to natives, even though its language was incomprehensible to them, before massacring them. This warning was beyond understanding as an empty form that did not allow the natives to do as they should to protect themselves, and it served as a justification for what might be considered genocide today. The *Requiermento* might have been indebted to the *jihad* (holy war) that the Moors had used in the Iberian Peninsula; both were based on legal foundations.

Europeans tried to destroy or assimilate natives into their religion or language. Whether the last of the Mohicans or the last speaker of a dying language before the juggernaut of English, Portuguese, or Spanish, indigenous peoples since the expansion of European states have had to fight for their physical, cultural, and linguistic survival.

Conflicts between Europeans, and between natives and Europeans, are embodied and expressed through language. Recognition and misrecognition of empire, as well as the promotion of and opposition to empire, exist in language: empire and language are not simply linear or dual in their connection. For instance, Elio Antonio de Nebrija wanted Spain to teach Castilian Spanish and Christianity to the natives, but this view met with resistance. The mendicant friars and Jesuits preferred to write grammars of the indigenous American languages rather than teach the Indians Castilian.

It is ironic that, centuries later, Spanish became the language of nationalism in the construction of independent states in the former Spanish Empire in the Americas. In 1570 King Philip II (1527–1598) announced in a royal order that Nahuatl would be the official language of the natives in New Spain. *Coloquios y doctrina christiana* (Colloquies and Christian Doctrine, 1524) shows this linguistic contestation. This work, a dialogue between Mexican elders and twelve Franciscan friars in 1524, was transcribed by Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590) in 1565 and involves mediation and transculturation. In this text, the Mexicas favor telling stories aloud, whereas the Spaniards prefer the letter and word as the foundation of understanding and knowledge.

The language of rights was as much a part of the quasilegal and legal framework as were the terms of papal donations and treaties. International law tried to set out a discourse of justice, liberty, and fairness, but also had to contend with conflict, slavery, and warfare. The Spanish legal scholar Francisco de Vitoria (ca. 1483–1546) helped to call into question the legitimacy of the Spanish conquest of the New World. The Dutch attempted to come to terms with the law as they tried to supplant the Portuguese and Spanish in the East and West Indies. *Mare Liberum* (Freedom of the Seas, 1609) by the Dutch scholar Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) considered the freedom of the oceans, which was key for trade and conquest. Slavery, as well as expansion, was closely related to liberty.

The tension between slavery and liberty is a main theme in the language of the European empires. Gomes Eannes de Azuzara (ca. 1410–1473), a chronicler attached to Prince Henry (1394–1460) of Portugal, described how in 1444 the Portuguese landed 235 African slaves near Lagos in south Portugal. The language of slavery would become a key element in European empires, and above all the topic of African slaves would be essential to the development of the New World and the consequent riches of Europe.

In the seventeenth century, the slave trade in the English, Dutch, and French colonies had ambivalent beginnings. People favored and opposed it. It created great profits and problems. Texts proliferated. The novel *Oroonoko, or, The Royal Slave* (1688) by the British author Aphra Behn (1640–1689) represented ambivalence to slavery, and during the eighteenth century, this attitude became more widespread. Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois* (The Spirit of the Laws, 1748) scorned the slave trade and disputed Aristotle's theory of natural slavery, which framed the language of many who had long justified slavery in the European empires. In 1758 Frei Manuel Ribeiro da Rocha, born in Portugal but resident in Brazil, produced a call for the abolition of slavery. The French writers Pierre Marivaux (1688–1763), Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (1694–1778), Denis Diderot (1713–1784), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) all circulated ideas about the liberation of slaves and about freedom generally.

During the American Revolution (1775–1783), both the British and the Americans began to abolish slavery. In the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) may have omitted a condemnation of slavery because of the pressure of some representatives from southern colonies whose commerce depended heavily on slavery. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) had written a dialogue in 1760 that revealed the injustices of slavery in Europe and America. When Abigail Adams (1744–1818) wrote to her husband, future American president John Adams (1735–1826), in September 1774, she considered slavery in Massachusetts an iniquitous scheme and saw the irony of fighting for freedom while depriving others of it.

The American poet Phillis Wheatley (ca. 1753–1784), kidnapped from Senegal-Gambia, fashioned poetry in English about her condition. Her work was published in London with the support of her masters. Some readers were shocked that an African could write in English, but there was also interest in her work.

Women's writing about slaves and slavery in the dying years of the American Revolution and in its aftermath suggests some of the complex emotions of white Americans and the Africans they represent. Some of the letters and diaries tell tales of contesting and conflicting forces within and between these European Americans and in the minds, hearts, and communities of African Americans. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789) by the former slave Olaudah Equiano (ca. 1745–1797) was another text by an African-born writer in English, this time explicitly representing the abuses of the slave trade and slavery and advocating their abolition. In 1794, during the French Revolution (1789–1799), the convention of Paris declared the emancipation of slaves without abolishing the trade.

The language of slavery and freedom continued to be bound up with colonization and became part of the linguistic aspect of decolonization and independence. In 1820 the British philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) advised the Spanish to rid themselves of Ultramaria, their overseas colonies, and to grant these possessions independence. In this way, they would do what the United States had done, but their act would be a lesson to the United States and Britain by moving Spain entirely beyond benefiting from slavery.

The British started to use the language of antislavery as its empire expanded, so that the contradictions in the language of empire persisted. British policy in China was not about reform, even if it did concern the trade in and the holding of slaves. Even between 1856 and 1858, while concerns over slavery were still pressing in the British government, a second Opium War in China was being fought. Some, like Richard Cobden (1804–1865), a free-trader and a member of parliament for Stockport (part of the greater Manchester area that was the center of the cotton mills), thought Britain was being hypocritical as there was a gap between its language and action. While the government and those against slavery appealed to morality, Britain was the greatest seller to Brazil of textiles that were made from cotton, which slaves produced. At the same time, Britain refused to receive sugar, another product based on slave labor. The language of the debates in the British House of Commons revealed how intense were the feelings aroused by slavery.

In the United States, the language of the debate over slavery also suggested contradictions and hypocrisy. Frederick Douglass's (ca. 1818–1895) speech before the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in May 1854 underscored the ways African Americans were excluded from the rights and freedoms that the founders of the United States had set out. In his notes, Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) thought that God might be punishing settlers of European backgrounds for enriching themselves through slavery. In a letter to James N. Brown in 1858, Lincoln said that he considered that the founders had included "the Negro" in the term "men" in their declaration of equality.

The language of slavery and freedom constituted a site of contestation in the rhetoric of the empire of liberty, as in Britain, and of the break with empire and decolonization in the United States. Abolitionists in the mother country and the former colony were still connected in their battle for the rights of slaves as part of a larger movement toward human rights, democracy, extended suffrage, and liberty.

The language of human rights in the debate over colonialism and decolonization continued into the twentieth century. The tensions between empires and colonies affected discourses and practices of freedom. If the Spaniards had made slaves of and decimated natives in the New World during the colonial era, the Nazis had enslaved and exterminated peoples in Europe during the twentieth century. In disbanding the substantial remains of the British Empire, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan (1894–1986) called for an end of abuses and advocated for a sense of equality and freedom for all. Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), Martin Luther King (1929–1968), and Nelson Mandela (b. 1918) all looked to the education they had in the European tradition and used it peacefully to oppose, curtail, and attempt to end the violence of racism. Civil disobedience, as Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) had advocated in the nineteenth century, was part of the striving toward freedom.

Just before and after World War I (1914–1918), opposition to imperialism grew more intense.

Paradoxically, when these empires seemed most powerful, they declined. By 1941, Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) and President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) had established the Atlantic Charter, which set out the principles of self-government and liberty, opposition to the Nazis as forces of tyranny and slavery, and the right of self-determination for all peoples. The Soviet Union opposed what it saw as Anglo-American world domination or imperialism, whereas President Dwight Eisenhower (1890–1969) came to see the Cold War as a struggle of freedom against slavery. The Eastern European states might have considered the Soviets as a new version of Russian imperialism. Point of view in matters of language is always a key factor.

World War II (1939–1945), even more than the first, had shattered the western European empires. Nationalism, which had been so developed in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, spread globally. The so-called white man's burden or the Social Darwinist imperialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became diffuse and displaced. Language shifted to rights for all peoples in the United Nations Charter (1945) and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948). Discourses of multiculturalism and postcolonialism developed from the 1960s. That did not mean that discourses of nationalism, racism, and intolerance disappeared, but they found new challenges, especially in the official government ideology of Western democracies, including those that had held vast overseas empires for many centuries.

An example of the legacy of colonization illustrates the persistence and the language of empire. In Australia, the High Court judgments in the Mabo case, published in June 1992, involved the complaint of Eddie Mabo (1936–1992), a native of Murray Island in the Torres Strait, that the state of Queensland's annexation of the Torres Strait in 1879 had not legally extinguished his customary ownership of a part of Murray Island that his family passed on to him. Concerning the Mabo case, two judges of the High Court of Australia, William Deane and Mary Gaudron, questioned the quality of the doctrine of *terra nullius*—a Latin phrase that came from Roman Law, meaning "empty land," a concept the Portuguese had used in claiming Africa. In the Australian legal system the doctrine of *terra nullius* was confirmed in 1979 and rejected in 1992. The colonial persisted in the postcolonial: perhaps the postcolonial reinterpreted the colonial.

In Australia, as in the Americas, the legacy of Portuguese and Spanish expansion, which was also to be found in empires like those of Britain, France, and the Netherlands, was being reinterpreted in the years leading up to the 500th anniversary of Columbus's landfall in the Americas. The relation of settler and aboriginal

cultures was being redefined in the courts. What constitutes *property* and what constitutes *appropriation* have become central questions in language, especially the language of rights and the law more generally.

Since about the mid-1980s, debates have intensified over whether we live in a neocolonial, rather than a postcolonial, age, and whether empires change their forms, as if the shape-shifting Greek god Proteus was one shape ahead of those that came after him. Ambivalence and contradiction remain in our use of language, as in the fifteenth century, when Europeans expanded and began their empires, however haltingly, in earnest.

SEE ALSO *Law, Colonial Systems of; Papal Donations and Colonization.*

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Jonathan Hart

LAW, COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF

Law has never been marginal to colonialism. When European powers began expanding their wealth through the acquisition and possession of territories in the New World, they necessarily did so with appeals to law. Whether they used military means of conquest, economic ties of ceded territory and fortified trading posts, or "peaceful" agricultural settlement, the processes by which expansion and colonization occurred and within which it was framed "the discourse of legalities" (Tomlins 2001, p. 38).

Initially, there were no internationally recognized rituals of claiming ownership by right of discovery. These had to be established through contest. The discussion over legality, "the quest for an apparently unassailable legitimation" (Pagden 1998, p. 52) for acquiring new lands and resorting to violence when expedient, extended over more than two centuries and had an enduring impact on subsequent conceptions of empire. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, law was a technique of expansion as legal instruments recorded the facts of occupation and authorized colonizing ventures by private companies and groups.

The importance of law did not stop there. Colonies required administration; strategic decisions had to be made about how to introduce and extend legal control, and these gave rise to new forms of governance when law was imposed on newly acquired territories and subordinated peoples.

There was no single strategy employed. Possible strategies could and did include "aggressive attempts to impose legal systems intact" (Benton 2002, p. 2). But imposing top-down foreign law on other local legal systems was not the most obvious strategy followed. More commonly, in the interest of maintaining order, colonial

administrators made conscious efforts to sustain indigenous legal forums and retain elements of existing legal institutions, thereby limiting the amount of legal change. European colonizers were in the process themselves of developing coherent systems of state law over alternative sources, such as customary and canon law, as they simultaneously expanded their borders. This fluid, complex, pluralistic model underscored the likelihood of multiple jurisdictions within colonial administrations.

Conquered and colonized groups, in turn, sought to respond to the imposition of law in ways that included accommodation, advocacy within the system, subtle delegitimation, and outright rebellion. These responses were compounded by factionalism and competition between colonial authorities. Thus, "multisided legal contests" were "central to the construction of colonial rule" (Benton 2002, pp. 2–3).

EARLY MODELS AND STRATEGIES: ROMAN AND CANON LAW

The impetus and basic model for colonization came from the Renaissance humanist fascination with Roman antiquity, which spread in the fifteenth century as Italian scholars became aware of the riches of classical antiquity. Although the English came later than other European powers to the project of empire building, they "were as much in thrall as the Spanish had been" to ancient models of Imperial grandeur (Pagden 1998, p. 35). Rome provided the model of imperial expansion through colonization. One of the first and most prominent theorists of colonization was Thomas Smith (1513–1577), professor of classics and law at Cambridge University, but he was one of many educated Europeans who were familiar with the idea that the Romans had advanced "their authority and civility throughout much of Europe" through colonization (Canny 1998, p. 7).

Ancient Rome also provided the European powers with the concepts and language of law. Although Islamic law must also have been influential on the development of ancient legal principles, by the Middle Ages Roman civil law…formed the basis for political and legal thought throughout Europe" (Stein 1999, pp. 66–67). In the thirteenth century, it combined with canon law and theology to become, for those who were in positions of authority, part of a common, shared learned culture. Roman law was then "readily exported…into areas that had never been part of the Roman Empire" (Stein 1999, p. 40). By the time Europeans were seeking expansion, the church was the main custodian of Roman legal tradition. The first step in developing an empire was to resort to the authority of the church.

Catholic powers, initially Spain, pursued their goals on the "highly questionable authority" of the pope, who

in the Bulls of Donation of 1493 conceded to the Spanish monarchs the right to occupy new regions, even those yet to be discovered. Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) in fact divided the New World between the first discoverers, Spain and Portugal. For the Protestant powers, the Netherlands and England, papal authority was unavailable, although similar terms were used by the English monarchs to endow their adventurers and explorers with the rights of conquering new lands.

Roman law had "indelibly impressed its character" on the legal and political culture and thought of Europeans (Stein 1999, p. 2). It was a foundational concept of classical imperialism that any expansionist state had to legitimate its actions by appeal to either natural or divine law. "In the terms accepted by every legal system of classical or Christian origin, acts of appropriation necessarily involved the denial of those rights which all men held by virtue of their condition as men. Every such act therefore had to be explained so as to render those natural rights invalid" (Pagden 1998, p. 37). Imperial ambition, enslaving the indigenous peoples, or occupying their territories had to be argued for, defended, and identified in the language of legality, and tensions between secular and religious law in European tradition gave particular form to these defenses.

Theories of legitimation that we now call *colonialism* served as both justification for past actions of "discovery" and exploration, and as motivation for further conquest and colonization. They were mobilized when exploitation and spoliation had occurred sufficiently to attract attention within or between either the European powers or the colonists themselves. At first, the European powers who saw themselves as conquerors legitimated their actions with appeals to religious theology.

By the Middle Ages canon law had developed as an independent judicial system whose authority over religious belief and practice extended to include marriage and family, military service, slavery, and on occasion economic and commercial behavior. It made sharp distinctions between the legal status of Christians and non-Christians (heretics, apostates, Jews) in their relations with each other and their ability to participate in legal proceedings and exercise authority. It was this aspect of legality that was most referred to in discussions of expansion, over the rights of conquest, the rights of conquerors to take possession, and the rights of conquered peoples.

To the question "by what right or warrant we can enter into the land of these Savages, take away their rightful inheritance…and plant ourselves in their place…?" posed by Englishman Robert Gray (c. 1580–c. 1640) in the early seventeenth-century (Pagden 1998, p. 37), expansionists held up principles of Christian religious belief that overrode natural law. Imperial

expansion and territorial acquisition were to be based on a Christian obligation to convert the heathen. There were those who believed that non-Christians could not bear rights in property or sovereignty: therefore their territories and the persons of the indigenous people of the New World were to be forfeited to the first "godly" (i.e., Christian) person they encountered.

The Americas were not the only places Europeans established communities. Merchants, such as those in the Dutch East India Company trading in calico and spices, and ship-owners trading in slaves and gold, were pursuing trade with Asian and African ports on an unprecedented scale, which led to the establishment of commercial and administrative outposts in these areas. They could often be fortified communities, although they were not colonies as such and traders did not need to legitimate their practices. The few settlements established on the African coast before the nineteenth century were often held by agreements about rent or tributes paid to local indigenous rulers, and Asian settlements in places of trade and commerce such as India were acquired and held by treaty. It was not until expansion could only occur with prolonged warfare that legitimation became a pressing moral and political concern.

Until the thirteenth century, canon law had little interest in defining the relation between Christians and infidels outside Europe. After that date, however, it began to develop principles that limited the church's jurisdiction over infidels and simultaneously established a special responsibility of the church to intervene to protect natural law. These principles would be tested with colonial expansion into the New World.

Spain and Portugal on the eve of expansion in the fifteenth century had complex legal systems where different religious groups—Christians, Jews, and Muslims—coexisted with separate legal authorities and followed the laws of their own communities. Compounding this complexity further was the tension between local customary law and the superior claims of royal legal authority. This "complex legal landscape" (Benton 2002, p. 45) was made even more complicated as these countries moved into new areas of control.

European expansion in the sixteenth century presented "unprecedented problems" to legal scholars whose existing notions of law (drawn from codified customs and Roman law) were intertwined with Christian theology. A concept of *ius gentium* (law of people), a law shared by all the peoples, had previously been confined to Christian European countries under the power of both emperor and pope. Expansion beyond these boundaries brought non-Christian people into the purview of European law. Were they to be included? Did Christian Europeans have the legal right to usurp or adjudicate the crimes of non-

Christian peoples? The answers to these questions were found through reference to natural law.

However, at the points of contact, legal adjudication and the administration of justice were often limited to the European community, despite the difficulty of maintaining boundaries between those and the indigenous inhabitants. Portugal delegated its legal authority to private venturers or the ship's captain, and only sporadically attempted to assert royal supervision. Consequently, non-Christian indigenes were treated as either living outside the law or were subjected to "virtually unregulated disciplinary excesses" (Benton 2002, pp. 46–47).

One person who addressed this problem was a Spanish Dominican professor of theology, Franciscus Vitoria (ca. 1483–1546), who in 1532 laid down important principles for the natural rights of the heathen infidels living in territories conquered by Spain. Roman law provided the concept of justice developed by Christian philosopher Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–1274), and was at the heart of the argument proposed by Vitoria on the rights held by indigenous people. Vitoria argued that *ius gentium* was not based on a shared religion but rather was built on the nature of humankind: it was a set of rules to govern relations between one group of people and another, and was "what natural reason had laid down among all peoples" (Stein 1999, pp. 94–95). Similarly, under natural law indigenous people fully owned their lands and could not be deprived of them against their will. While Vitoria seemingly championed indigenous rights, recent scholars have pointed to the triumphant imperialism internal to Vitoria's logic. Vitoria's principles also contained the seeds of domination.

COMMERCIAL AND PROPERTY LAW

Over the course of the sixteenth century, as trade became increasingly important, rationales supporting commercial interests supplanted those advocating religious doctrine. As European nation-states grew, the interests of the Crown intertwined with those of merchants, and colonies became widely accepted as an essential means of providing economic well-being to the populace. Acquiring new lands and ensuring the conduct of trade and commerce required rules and regulations binding on the parties and protecting merchants from competition and encroachment from rival powers. Conflict and competition meant early theoretical arguments that legitimated European conquest and laid down principles by which colonization could proceed. These principles subsequently became the foundation of modern international law.

Colonization means appropriation, taking possession. Important in taking possession are the techniques of planning, explaining, and justifying the action of

appropriation, whether it be territory, trade routes, or resources. Once a territory had been conquered either for Christian or commercial purposes, the key problem of how to develop it and keep it as a colony also became a matter of legality.

Religion and commerce were important as motivations for colonization, but when the theorists of expansion discussed the processes of acquisition, "the measures necessary for the realization of colonization's essential processes" (Tomlins 2001, p. 28), they turned to the techniques of geography and law. Geography's methods of mapping and surveying enabled colonists to take possession of the areas the maps represented and named. Law provided the documents that enabled the areas mapped and surveyed to be fenced, bought and sold, defended with arms, and "used, taxed and inherited" (Tomlins 2001, p. 30).

By the seventeenth century and continuing well into the eighteenth century, the most persuasive and frequently cited argument favoring appropriation of aboriginal lands in America was the theory of property, derived from the Roman law of *res nullius* (no thing) and perpetuated most effectually by the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). *Res nullius* held all things that were empty, including lands that were "unoccupied," remained common property until they were put to use, usually agriculturally. Though it was not uncontested, especially by colonists with other agendas, Locke's position powerfully legitimated colonists' acquisition of indigenous territory through the authority of natural law rather than legislative decree. To combat the claims of other European powers, it had also to be yoked to claims of prior discovery, which in law constituted the initial step toward legitimate occupation. Claims of possession could only be sustained, however, by prolonged occupation (i.e., by the establishment of colonies).

Colonialism is the term for political and economic relationships that are established with colonization, but constructed and legitimized through ideologies of progression and racism. Colonialism is intricately historical in its effects. While the process of "cultural distancing" (Benton 2002, p. 13) was uniformly set in motion by colonizing powers claiming legal jurisdiction over new lands and people, the process itself differed substantially in practice. The legal system and background of the colonizing power on one hand conditioned the meaning, as well as the means, by which law was extended to conquered peoples. On the other hand, subordinated colonized people could use legal strategies to exploit the tensions and complications aroused by the colonial setting of any dispute. One such instance where the ambiguities of jurisdiction were evident and powerfully felt

was the joint authority of Crown and church in the Spanish conquest of the Americas.

COLONIAL LAW AND CULTURE

In addition, "always, equally importantly and deeply," colonialism is a cultural process whose "discoveries and trespasses are imagined and energized through signs, metaphors and narratives" (Thomas 1994, p. 2). By the eighteenth century, colonialism was framed in terms of natural history, and by the nineteenth century in terms of an "overt, pervasive and extraordinarily confident racism, which was manifested in military operations... [And] in apartheid laws regulating marriage, residence and education" (Thomas 1994, p. 79). Not surprisingly the people who had been subjected to colonization "often perceived very clearly the close connections between jurisdictional claims and messages about cultural difference." Institutional frameworks that developed in colonial settings "link[ed] local cultural divisions to structures of governance" (Benton 2002, p. 15).

Law is implicated in colonialism as a technique of legitimation, authority, and dominance. It is also a sign system, language, and culture. Law could and did work both instrumentally in facilitating the colonial project and imaginatively as a resource of power and authority to be drawn on. It was in itself a language in which colonization could take place: "physical occupancy and legalized claim overlap[ped] as expressions of colonizing" (Tomlins 2001, p. 33). The charters given by the English monarch to establish colonies on the Chesapeake and in New England, for example, functioned to English audiences "as signs of colonization's legitimacy" and to the colonizers "as specifications of the process's limits and boundaries" (Tomlins 2001, p. 33).

Ensuring that the messages intended to be conveyed, through legal institutions and rituals, were indeed those actually received was always a problem for the colonizers. Within colonial encounters, cultural practices were often a result of interaction between colonizers and colonized, not necessarily of "domination" or "subordination," but rather the consequence of a complexity of cultural representation and interpretation and a sophistication in cultural adaptation. Colonialism also created new legal statuses as intermediaries acted to protect their interests against imposition by the colonial authorities, yet did so by acting within those very legal mechanisms, thereby simultaneously collaborating with the imposed legal order and yet resisting its effects.

Colonialism gave rise to particular state formations, such as, for example, *settler societies*, which are characterized by having nomadic or semi-nomadic indigenous populations displaced from the land and replaced with imposed formal centralized institutions of authority and

government. Within these colonial states, conflicts often took the form of disputes about group rights and legal status, which in itself was a form of property. Where numbers mattered in the size and strength of the polity, indigenous subjects were held "inherently incapable of exercising the rights and responsibilities of citizenship" (Grimshaw 2001, p. 79).

The aim of the colonial project was to establish order, and colonial states were produced out of this "politics of legal ordering" (Benton 2002, p. 253), which could not be achieved without reference to previous local custom. Colonialism "required interaction" between the law that was being imposed and whatever indigenous law or custom already existed. The colonial state was an "arbiter over internal boundaries" in the face of "jockeying over alternative visions" of legal ordering (Benton 2002, p. 23).

Extending jurisdiction over new territories and new peoples created new relationships between the colonizers and the colonized, differences that were formalized in legal categories. Law also structured difference, "making rules about cultural interactions" (Benton 2002, p. 12). Jurisdiction marked new boundaries, made possible a shared identity of subjects before the law, and for colonizers and colonized to function within the law—as litigants, advocates, witnesses, and judges. Thus "the act of extending formal jurisdiction" (law) was frequently complex and difficult. "Colonizing groups in fact wished at times to restrict jurisdiction and thus to reinforce cultural divides" (Benton 2002, p. 12). In settler societies colonists expected political independence and democracy for themselves, often in advance of these developments occurring in their country of origin, yet they marginalized or excluded the indigenous people from those same "democratic" processes.

Nowhere was this more powerful than in the former English, Dutch, and German colonies in southern Africa, where formal union under a constitution into the Union of South Africa in 1910 brought in its wake the structuring of political rights on lines of racial difference. Through constitutional developments, court appointments, and racial legislation, the national government of this new country "showed, from the start, that it intended to govern in the interests of its white electorate" (Evans and Philips 2001, p. 91). New laws, passed almost immediately, reserved land for white ownership, entrenched an industrial color bar, removed existing political rights, and finally introduced full-fledged apartheid. Nonwhite voters were removed from electoral rolls, judicial and government institutions were "unscrupulously" manipulated, and all-white electorates elected all-white governments.

Such discriminations were resisted wherever they were set up. In some areas indigenous people struggled for inclusion on equal terms, other groups fought to maintain the legitimacy of their own legal forums. (Benton 2002, p. 12). "Colonial rule magnified jurisdictional tensions," as the presence of cultural "others" challenged existing legal categories and exposed ambiguities in the law (Benton 2002, p. 253).

As settlement grew in the new areas following their colonization, settlers expected to be governed in the manner of metropolitan European governance (e.g., "claiming the rights of Englishmen" and developing categories of exclusion, hierarchies, and boundaries between populations). Law furnished the "means to design and implement those relationships" and "provided a potent medium for the imposition of meaning on the activities engendered" (Tomlins 2001, p. 29). Within colonial domains, law created the relationships and routines of social interaction, established authoritative identities, and constructed the culture within which human purpose, "habits of living," and "objects of industry" were constituted (Tomlins 2001, p. 30). Law had material importance.

Property and trade were central to colonial interests. At times "seemingly irrelevant cases of inheritance or marriage property could quickly become crucial to the production of labor, revenue collection, or the regulation of land markets" (Benton 2002, p. 22). Colonial states defined sites for setting rules about property and social identity and enforced definitions of property as it also acted to regulate exchanges. Simultaneously, laws of property, commerce, and civic duty in European countries developed concomitantly with the growth of those nation-states as imperial powers. Colonialism structured legal ordering within the metropolitan centers, as well as in the colonies where "local . . . elites often ran ahead of colonial administrators," for example, "in advocating a greater role for the colonial state in regulating property transactions of all kinds" (Benton 2002, p. 23). This in turn reflected back to the colonial power.

Nevertheless, colonial legal cultures exhibited localized variations conducive to an idea of colonialisms rather than a singular concept. While law could sometimes be used instrumentally, for most circumstances it is better understood as "an imaginative resource" that was "inherently ambivalent, contradictory" and not always in the control of colonial administrators (Tomlins 2001, p. 37). The act of colonizing required the movement of people, not just the process of legally claiming territory. It therefore also conveyed identifiable legal cultures distinguished by local variation, depending on where colonists came from and which stratum of society they belonged to. Law was something common people participated in; it was part of popular culture. Their usage of the law, and the meanings they attached to it, helped

shape the diversity within law even within similar colonies.

Colonialism was not simply "a crushing progress" of triumph for the colonizers (Kirkby and Coleborne 2001, p. 3). There were also significant contradictions between policy, such as "rhetorical commitment[s] to equality among British subjects" formulated back in Europe or the British Colonial Office, and practice on the edges of empire where it "was often far less enthusiastically endorsed by settlers and administrators…" (Evans and Philips 2001, p. 94). Issues were perceived differently in different centers of power. A question such as that of extending the franchise (the right to vote) "held a more particular immediacy for Europeans in colonial communities…than it ever could for politicians and colonial officials in Britain" (Evans and Philips 2001, p. 94). It also represented different significance. In the colonies the franchise was "a potent indicator" of the colonists' anxiety "to maintain exclusive [white] minority rule" but a "measure of the Home Government's unwillingness to redress such discrimination in practice" (Evans and Philips 2001, p. 94).

COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS WITH INDIGENOUS AND LOCAL LAW

Encounters with local indigenous systems of law also prevented the imposition of a singular legal authority or a unitary colonialism. By 1820 a quarter of the world's population lived within Britain's empire. The continent of Africa was being carved up between the major imperial European powers of that time—France, Germany, and Britain. The nineteenth century was the great period of empire: the period when the largest proportion of the world's population lived under direct colonial rule. But this does not mean colonial power was unlimited. Introduced institutions were frequently appropriated to strategic effect by colonized peoples.

Colonial histories were shaped by indigenous responses of resistance and accommodation to colonization, as much as by the imposition of power from metropolitan authorities and local officials adhering to or departing from policy and previous practice. The colonizers, as well as the colonized, were exposed to new possibilities of action and departure from Old World corruptions. This was particularly the case within the English colonies of North America, where law became the medium of social transformation when colonists resisted the imposition of imperial constraints and asserted their legal independence through a newly acquired identity.

Similarly, in the common law jurisdiction in the Australian penal colony of New South Wales, colonists, whether convict or free, enjoyed access to the courts and economic freedoms denied to their counterparts in the imperial center. Married women, who in English law were denied economic rights and legal personhood under the common law doctrine of coverture, were in the colonies permitted to engage in economic activities, even to buy and sell land, as colonial societies developed congruently and in relationship with, yet independently of, the metropole.

The presence of indigenous populations and the political and symbolic importance of defining their legal status provided the biggest challenge to the colonial imposition of unitary legal authority and "stretched across the colonial world" (Benton 2002, p. 253). As Europeans encountered peoples who were non-Christians, legal boundaries closely following ethnic and cultural boundaries were "an important constraint and rhetorical resource used in shaping ethnic identities" (Benton 2002, p. 78). Thus, cultural difference—and relationships of power based on this difference that we call *colonialism*—became the heart of political difference in the development of the modern world.

Not least, European imperialism created new sites for struggle within and between indigenous and European women and men. Miscegenation complicated cultural categories, legal status, and property rights as it tied colonizers and colonized together in familial and kinship ties, as well as in economic and political obligation. It presented particular problems to the existing question for the colonizers of how and to whom to apply law.

To the usual problems of evidence and corroborating witnesses in cases of rape was added the problem of non-Christians taking oaths of truth-telling in courtrooms. Europeans did not expect to adhere to or be judged by tribal law, nor did they want to litigate in indigenous courts where such courts existed. At times, European colonizers sought to interfere with legal prohibitions where traditional practices were thought to be morally unacceptable. Colonial rule thus proceeded amidst "myriad conflicts over the definitions of difference, property, and moral authority" (Benton 2002, pp. 127–129). The outcome was inevitably unresolved and unresolvable.

Many of the legal issues of colonialism remain. In the twentieth century, law continued to shape colonized societies even after the colonial era was officially ended by the United Nations. Law was perceived as an instrument of development, capable of bringing about far-reaching social change through the constitution of modern nation-states and the facilitation of finance capital. Yet, in practice law could instead maintain structures and perpetuate conflicts that were instituted under colonialism. Here continuities with colonialism suggest that law, rather than being a legacy of the colonialist past, may more profitably be seen as "a living instrument for the reproduction of imperial international relations" (D'Souza 2001, p. 257). Contests over law are constitutive of larger international relationships. In the globalized world today,

even "seemingly small struggles over cultural boundaries in the law" have the potential to profoundly affect power structures everywhere (Benton 2002, p. 265).

Indeed the legal politics that shaped the "global ordering" of the modern world continue in the contemporary postcolonial era as indigenous people of former colonies challenge the internal legal authority of the states in which they live with "competing legal pluralisms" (Benton 2002, p. 264). At the same time, the rise of transnational associations demands alternative jurisdictional boundaries. Colonialism is now implicated in the writing of the history of those nation-states that were once colonies, as scholars debate the legitimacy and accuracy of territorial acquisition by "peaceful" settlement, and legal authorities contest the very concept of "sovereignty"—whose "simple conjuring is held to change an ancient peoples' relationship with its land" (Borrows 2001, p. 190)—that has undermined indigenous ownership since the fifteenth century.

SEE ALSO *Divide and Rule: The Legacy of Roman Imperialism; Law, Colonial Systems of, British Empire; Law, Colonial Systems of, French Empire; Law, Colonial Systems of, Spanish Empire; Religion, Roman Catholic Church.*

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LAW, COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF, BRITISH EMPIRE

British colonial expansion brought the administration of English common and statutory law to the newly acquired territories in America, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. Common law had been developing in England since the twelfth century, and denominated a body of mostly unlegislated law founded on custom and precedent. Due to its centuries-long evolution, common law proved to be a stable and slow-to-change legal system. It formed the basis of jurisdiction in all three types of direct colonial holdings. Common law formed the basis of British jurisdiction in the trading posts along the Indian Ocean coast. British settlers brought it to the settlement colonies of North America, South Africa, and Australia. And it became the legal fundament of all British colonies of domination in Asia and in Africa.

Nevertheless, British administrators in all three types of colonies soon recognized the need to adapt their imported law according to local circumstances, and they amended English common and statutory law with colonial statutes in response to specific colonial situations.

Until the passing of the Colonial Laws Validity Act in 1865, such colonial laws were valid only if they were in no aspect "repugnant"—that is, contradictory—to the laws of the home country. Although often criticized for manifesting the principle of "nonrepugnancy," the Colonial Laws Validity Act recognized the validity of colonial legislation and declared "repugnant" laws invalid only to the extent of their conflict with British law (whereas such laws had been invalid in total before).

The Colonial Laws Validity Act and the nonrepugnancy principle governed colonial legislation in all British colonial holdings (regardless of colonial self-government) until the passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, which granted validity to any law passed in a dominion parliament. In British Crown colony holdings the Colonial Laws Validity Act remained valid until independence.

COLONIAL LAW IN TRADING POSTS AND FACTORIES

When European merchant companies started to establish trading stations and factories in territories under foreign authority, they took advantage of a practice relatively widespread in contemporary merchant societies—the practice of consular law. To further and protect their foreign trade, local sovereigns, particularly in Asia, recognized the right of foreign merchants (or other subjects) to live under their own legal system.

Thus, the British East India Company brought English law to its trading posts and factories in India. The company's founding charter of 1600 already made indirect reference to the principle of nonrepugnancy regarding the laws and punishments in future company territories. Company legal authority was vested in miniature governments and originally covered only British subjects. In 1661 legal authority over company servants and other Europeans was placed in the hands of Governor and Council. But with its power in the trading posts steadily growing, the company continuously extended its jurisdiction to legal cases involving European and indigenous subjects and finally assumed legal authority over the indigenous population as well. However, indigenous cases were generally handled by local judges according to local customary law—thus establishing a practice of legal pluralism.

COLONIAL LAW IN SETTLEMENT COLONIES

In colonial territories with a comparatively sparse indigenous population and continuous European immigration, English common and statutory law were claimed by the settlers as the one and only law of the new colonies. To live under English law was perceived as a privilege reserved for the white population, and the privilege was not readily shared with the indigenous inhabitants. The royally-

appointed or (in case of chartered colonies) proprietarily-appointed Governor and Council constituted the highest legal authority in the colonies in civil as well as in criminal matters. Although theoretically bound by the principle of nonrepugnancy, slow communications and the practice of issuing "temporary" laws guaranteed considerable legislative freedom to Governor and Council.

English law was adapted to local colonial circumstances. In the North American colonies, the importation of African slaves required the implementation of European-designed laws regulating master-slave relations. In the Australian settlements, colonizers adopted the practice of *terra nullius* (nobody's land), thus not recognizing native claims to land and securing European land titles. Settlement colonies rarely produced legal pluralisms (and if so only in their weakest form), but they confirmed British law as the single legal system. It is important to note that self-government in settlement colonies did not override the principle of nonrepugnancy. Only with the Statute of Westminster did Britain's six dominions (Australia, Canada, the Irish Free State, New Zealand, Newfoundland, and South Africa) achieve full legal authority.

COLONIAL LAW IN INDIA AND OTHER COLONIES OF DOMINATION

With the acquisition of Bengal in 1757, the British East India Company (and with it the British government) was confronted with new challenges concerning the legal administration of its European and indigenous subjects in India. Legal pluralism as practiced in the factories and trading stations was advocated by the legal reforms of Warren Hastings (1732–1818), India's first governor-general, in 1772 (placing Muslims under Muslim civil law, Hindus under Hindu civil law, and all indigenous inhabitants under Muslim penal law) and the Regulating Act of 1773 (extending British jurisdiction over all British subjects, all company servants, and all other indigenous inhabitants who chose to submit to it).

Discovering the economic value of India beyond mere revenue collection, the British administrators began to interfere with the relatively untouched indigenous legal systems only in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. After the Indian Revolt of 1857, the British Crown took over the Indian holdings from the East India Company in 1858. A unified Indian Penal Code was introduced in 1860 and during the rest of the nineteenth century most fields of commercial, criminal, and procedural law had been fully codified—incorporating only little indigenous legal practice. Legal pluralism continued only in the fields of Hindu and Muslim personal laws. After Indian independence was achieved in 1947,

Warren Hastings. *Legal pluralism as practiced in Britain's colonial factories and trading stations was advocated by the legal reforms of Warren Hastings in 1772, placing Muslims under Muslim civil law, Hindus under Hindu civil law, and all indigenous inhabitants under Muslim penal law.* **LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**

the legal system introduced by the British remained practically intact.

The legal practice that had evolved in colonial India became a role model for other British colonies of domination. Codification, the expansion of British law and the application of indigenous customary law in personal affairs, became the acknowledged practice. Labeled as *indirect rule*, the British made use of indigenous elites to administer law in their African colonies, thus keeping up a form of legal pluralism. However, local customary laws mostly survived only in altered forms as appendages to British state law.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF LAW

The primary purpose of colonial law was the safeguarding of the colonizers' interests. The introduction of British laws regarding land and property secured British acquisition of and titles to land in settlement colonies and—later—secured investments in the plantation industry. British-designed slave laws regulated master-slave

relations in North America and provided a steady and reliable labor force. In trading stations, British law on a consular basis guaranteed personal security in an alien society and protected foreign trade.

Both in settler and nonsettler colonies, to fall under British jurisdiction had been viewed as a privilege not readily shared with the indigenous population. The resulting legal pluralism retained legal inequality in nonsettler colonies. The codification of colonial law—incorporating altered forms of local customary law—finally imposed a Europeanized legal system on many colonies of domination, much of which remained in place even in the postcolonial era.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; Indian Revolt of 1857; Law, Colonial Systems of.*

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LAW, COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF, DUTCH EMPIRE

Export of Dutch law to its various overseas possessions (Brazil, 1630–1654; New York, 1626–1664; and Dutch Guiana, 1627–1975) is best exemplified by experiences in the Netherlands Indies (present-day Indonesia) between 1602 and 1942. Although not the longest

colonial undertaking of Dutch expansion overseas, it was the most important.

The law applying primarily to Dutch citizens in territories acquired by the Dutch East India Company (1602–1799) was basically the law of the fleet or "Ships Law." Subsequently supplemented by Dutch legal practice at Batavia (present-day Jakarta), it found expression in the *Statutes of Batavia* (1642), revised in 1766 as the *New Statutes of Batavi*a. In the latter, attempts were made to incorporate Javanese law. These particularly concerned the special place of Islam with regard to marriage, divorce, and inheritance. On paper, local law remained valid. In practice, the increasing involvement of the Dutch East India Company administrative state in the island's political and economic life resulted in the demise of written courtly law with the resultant rise of the unknown and unknowable customary *(adat)* law.

The continuity of the Dutch colonial system of law was hampered by the political underdevelopment of the metropole. Until the early nineteenth century, the Dutch political entity consisted of seven heterogeneous provinces. Solely by virtue of their geographic position, they had been able to assert political independence from their liege lord, Philip II of Spain (1527–1598). A national Dutch state was created in 1816 as a result of international politics culminating in the Congress of Vienna. Even then, a legal basis for the kingdom was delayed by war with the southern Netherlands, which in due course would become Belgium. Only after a finished constitution was promulgated in 1838 could attention be turned to regulating law in the colony.

The Netherlands East Indies Constitution *(Regeringsreglemente)* of 1854 enshrined two basic principles. The first was the concordance principle, ensuring that Dutch persons residing in the Indies would be subject to the same laws and ordinances as those living in the metropole. The second was that of duality: Dutch laws applied to the Dutch and those considered as such; "native" law applied to the indigenous population. From the latter followed the doctrine of applicability, through which "natives" could legally become "Dutch," voluntarily or at the discretion of the government, temporarily or permanently. The assumption was that the natural superiority of Dutch law would attract enlightened "natives" (*inlander*), which would ultimately result in legal unification. Ethnicity was a legal definition, albeit with far-reaching social effects. Criminal and commercial law were unabashedly European.

Traditional scholarship has empathized the importance of customary law (*adat recht*) as applying to the indigenous population. Based upon the work of Dutch legal scholar Cornelis van Vollenhoven (1874–1933) and his disciples at Leiden University, who were greatly influenced by the *Historische Rechtsschule* (Historical School of Law) of German jurist Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779–1861), the Indonesian archipelago was divided into some seventeen so-called "law circles," each assumed to reflect the customary law of that region. Thus, to the two nonindigenous law systems—Dutch, plus after 1918 that of the Foreign Orientals (Sino-Indonesians)—came these mutually exclusive sets of oral laws. Under the circumstances, "forum shopping" and the "conflict of laws"—a determination of which set of laws were valid in cases between individuals from different ethnic or legal groups—almost overshadowed the law itself.

Recent scholarship tends to see the adoption of the *adat* either as an instrument of the nationalist project or as one providing the rationale for incorporating the bureaucratic nobility (*priyayi*) into the Dutch colonial system. The *priyayi* were declared to be the sole sources of *adat* canon. They constituted the "natural leaders" who were bound to the Dutch by "perks" in office.

The odd man out was religious law. Dutch penchant for seeing religion as the basis of indigenous law is attested to by the General Provisions on Legislation for the Netherlands Indies (1846–1848), which stated that for the natives, "their religious laws, institutions, and customs are to remain in force." Islamic features were recognized, but depended for their validity on being part of the customary law system rather than a system of *shari'a* (Islamic law) in its own right.

The combination of late state-building and early recognition of legal pluralism reduced Dutch imperialism to an extension of existing control rather than new projects. Particularly under Governor-General J. B. van Heutsz (1851–1924), the conqueror of Aceh, the borders of the Netherlands East Indies were pushed out over the greater part of the archipelago. With them came the complex system of legal plurality already established on Java. The fact that the Outer Islands' indigenous legal system was influenced at a far later date than that of Java led to a sharpening of the administrative contrast between the two with regard to both theoretical and practical results.

Although less elaborate, legal pluralism continued under the Republic of Indonesia. According to the constitution of 1945, "the regulations and state organs present at the moment of the birth of the Republic on 17 August 1945 remain in force," as long as they were not superseded by new laws and did not conflict with the contents of the constitution. The Indonesian Republic's founders were split between those extolling the virtues of the customary village ideal assumed to be ordered by the

adat and those orientated to formal legality at the national level.

Certain paragraphs of the constitution conceived the state as a hierarchy of laws, others as a more *teori integralistik* (totalistic concept) in which the communal principles underlying *adat* came to the fore. Whatever the case, law under the "New Order" (1966–1998) was an opportunistic mixture of both, depending on the interests of the political and economic elite. Indonesia's self-proclaimed *rechtsstaat* (state bound by the rule of law) was belied by its proclaimed *Panca Sila* (the five principles mentioned in the constitution's preamble) basis stemming from its Indonesian historical and romantic ideas. Elements of the *adat* were specifically allowed. Yet they had to give way to the exigencies of the development state when they stood in the way of development, as in conflict with Western-style ownership rights and unlimited access to natural resources. The country's natural resources were placed under the disposal of the state apparatus without reference to indigenous ownership rules or access to society's commonly held goods. Access to the means of production was governed by the positive rules of the *rechtsstaat*.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Dutch; Law, Colonial Systems of.*

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LAW, COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF, FRENCH EMPIRE

The raison d'être of the French colonies was to benefit France. Royal ordinances of the eighteenth century defined the *système de l'Exclusif* whereby overseas territories were under the authority of metropolitan France. Any trade between France and its colonies was to be to the advantage of France. The principles of the French Revolution of 1789 and its legacy ran counter to these provisions of the Ancien Régime (France's prerevolutionary political and social system), especially after the consolidation of the French Republic in the 1880s. In theory, French law should have applied equally to all French territories, including those outside of metropolitan France, but this was not the case in practice. Deeply influenced by the Revolution, republican law was supposed to have been a means to emancipate colonized populations, but on the ground, the law was also used to coerce them.

A PATCHWORK OF RIGHTS AND LAWS

A combination of different legal regulations—formal laws, decrees voted on or issued from Paris, executive orders, and local customs—were maintained in French colonies to serve the interests of the colonizer. After the actual conquest of a territory, law was supposed to substitute the might of weapons. But in nearly every case, the rivalry between the French army and civil administration persisted. Algeria is a case in point. The military—the conquerors of 1830—were reluctant to obey the civil administration whose power was confirmed by law only in December 1896 and later in December 1900. In colonies like Algeria that were under direct French rule, the governor-general was omnipotent.

Colonies were ruled, on the one hand, through decrees issued by two different ministries (the Ministry of the Interior and the Colonial Office) in Paris and, on the other hand, by executive orders that made the representative of the French government the main source of the law. Most of the executive and judicial power in French territories resided with the governor-general, particularly in territories that were further away from France. While the French Empire was mainly under direct rule, protectorates were established. To maintain the appearance of autonomy, the French left indigenous sovereigns with symbolic legislative power and kept local legal institutions intact. After the conquest of Morocco in 1911, for instance, the sultan was retained as part of the state apparatus. He signed *dahirs* (decrees) drafted by his viziers—and approved by the French administration. But for all intents and purposes it was the French, through the resident general, who ruled the country.

As far as possible the French tried not to interfere in civil matters, as long as their authority was not challenged. They were particularly careful where religion was concerned. Courts were usually under the jurisdiction of indigenous judges but were invariably controlled by the French administration. All over the empire, when written law did not exist before their arrival, the French recorded traditional law, as was the case for the Berber and Kabyle populations in Algeria and Morocco.

THE LAW AS A MEANS TO EMANCIPATE

Since the Revolution of 1789, French law was conceived as a means to attain the republican ideal of equality

among men, as stated in article VI of the Declaration of Human Rights of 1789. But by its very nature, colonization ran counter to this principle. Slavery still existed in many colonies. After a failed attempt to outlaw the practice under the first republic (the Convention of 1792 to 1795) in February 1794, the French abolitionist and statesman Victor Schoelcher (1804–1893) finally succeeded in banning it in 1848. The law was passed throughout the empire, but in colonies like Cambodia local rulers were reluctant to abandon such a lucrative institution. French officials formally denounced "inhuman" practices such as corporal mutilation and even cannibalism in Equatorial Africa or lethal punishment by strangulation in Indochina.

With the French Republic firmly entrenched at the end of the nineteenth century, true democrats supported the policy of assimilation, which was based on the principle that French law should apply in all French territories and that all the populations within the empire should be granted the same rights as any French citizen. In 1892 the standardization of customs duties was inspired by the same principle.

This trend prevailed from the 1870s to the mid-1890s. But after the creation of the Colonial Office in March 1894, opponents of assimilation gained ground on the pretext of respecting local traditions. Then the main obstacle to equality remained French citizenship, which was not often granted to individuals from the colonies. Despite the mobilization of almost one million colonial soldiers during World War I (1914–1918), timid legal reforms kept it difficult for them to obtain full citizenship. This fed a growing resentment among the indigenous elite, aware of their inferior status.

The Popular Front of Léon Blum (1872–1950), who led the first socialist government in France (1936–1937), focused its attention on domestic issues and devoted little energy to reforms in the colonies. Nevertheless, it imposed measures such as the prohibition of compulsory labor and the creation of a colonial inspector of work.

THE LAW AS A MEANS TO COERCE

Because the idea of the exploitation of the colonies for the profit of the colonizer never really disappeared, the "constraint" of French law was rarely applied on the ground. French settlers were needed to develop the new territories. But the French, historically strongly attached to their homeland, were rarely willing to venture overseas without the prospect of lucrative gain. Laws were put into place to minimize the risk for the new settlers.

After the "pacification" of Algeria in the late 1830s, for example, the administration provided each settler with a house on a plot of land, one third of which had already been cultivated. This was the first impetus to develop the

Mitidja, the most fertile land around the province of Algiers. To face the growing demand for land, local populations were confined to the smaller and less productive plots, which were divided among the tribes.

After the French defeat against Prussia and the loss of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine under the Treaty of Frankfurt in May 1871, a law was passed in June 1871 allotting 100,000 hectares (about 247,100 acres) in Algeria to the natives of these provinces. The land had been confiscated from Moqrani, the chief of the Medjana area (d. 1871), who rebelled against the French during the Great Revolt of Kabylie from March 1871 to January 1872. This policy of confiscation reached its peak in July 1873 with the passing of a law that facilitated the dispossession of Algerians. In the same spirit, compulsory labor was imposed throughout the empire. In theory, locals could be made to perform public duties for anywhere from five days in Indochina to two weeks in Equatorial Africa.

French law was a means to justify colonization. The French, like Americans, were supposed to "civilize" indigenous populations but in reality merely exploited their colonies. Nevertheless, after independence, most of the colonies did benefit from French law, for instance with the adoption of the French Civil Code of 1804. Paradoxically, French influence was more significant after independence.

SEE ALSO *Empire, French.*

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LAW, COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF, JAPANESE EMPIRE

Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, European merchants and missionaries began visiting Japan. These Westerners, known to the Japanese as *Nanban* (literally, "southern barbarians"), earned tremendous profits, and their frequent visits opened a period of expanded commercial and cultural exchange between Japan and the West. Internally, Japan was divided by warring factions, which in 1600 were forcibly united under the Tokugawa shogunate, a type of military-civil administration. Its

leaders grew suspicious of the foreigners' motives, and in the 1630s all Westerners were banned from Japan except a very restricted number of Dutch traders who were limited to port calls near Nagasaki.

For the next two hundred years, Japan's leaders quarantined the country from virtually all international contacts, cultivating instead a social system, culture, and politics centered on the divinity of the emperor and unquestioned obedience to imperial edicts. The legal system was relatively simple. Most disputes were resolved either by the intervention of *samurai*, the high-caste chieftains who supported the throne, or through customary practices of mediation, conciliation, and resolution. Renewed contact with expanding Western colonial powers in the mid-nineteenth century forced Japan to adopt a series of internal reforms, including legal modernization, which Tokyo then utilized in the construction of its own colonial empire in Asia.

THE MEIJI RESTORATION

In 1854 an American naval force coerced the ruling shogunate into signing a treaty that gave Western merchants open access to Japan, while obliging Japan to provide supplies for Western ships and suspending Japan's legal authority to control visiting foreigners. Recognizing Japan's vulnerability, and fearing invasion by one or more of the Western powers, the old Tokugawa leaders faced a crisis. Civil war erupted between conservative and reformist leaders in 1867 to 1868. The victorious reformers gained support from the young Emperor Mutsuhito (1852–1912), who took the throne in 1867.

Mutsuhito adopted the reign name Meiji ("enlightened rule"). With guidance from the reform clique, the Meiji emperor vowed to restore Japan's strength as a nation and to make it a peer of the Western powers. His first major reform, introduced in 1868, was the Five Charter Oath, which included a commitment to replace traditional methods of conflict resolution with a uniform system for administering justice. A rudimentary constitution was promulgated, placing Japan's sovereignty in the person of the emperor himself. Japan's brightest young scholars attended European and American universities, where their studies included administration and law. Upon their return, these students advised the Meiji government on how to rapidly transplant to Japan Western institutions that would build it into a political, commercial, and military rival of the great powers of the West.

Reform of Japan's traditional legal system was central to this plan. Continental European legal codes and procedures gained favor with Japan's reformers, in preference to Anglo-American jurisprudence, which relied upon a complex body of legal precedent and case law. The systematized procedures of continental law were

practical, less complicated, and amenable to modifications that accommodated traditional Japanese social mores. For example, in 1875 a government decree provided a new criminal justice framework based in part on French law, but it also allowed for Tokugawa-era conciliation procedures as well.

Indeed, several features of French law were introduced in the early Meiji period, including the opening of courts to journalists, prohibition of torture in civil cases, restrictions on methods of torture in criminal cases, and the use of appeals procedures. Tokugawa-era orders, like the Code of a Hundred Articles of 1742, which instructed the governed on how they should act, were replaced by French-style laws that identified unacceptable behaviors and specified punishments for each offense. Japan's Penal Code and its Code of Criminal Instruction, both introduced in 1882, reflected French practices that emphasized aggressive investigations and inquisitorial procedures.

Over the next fifty years, German legal theories also gained ground in Japan. Early evidence of this came with the promulgation of Japan's first Code of Civil Procedure, adopted in 1890. Under this new system for civil actions, pretrial witness interviews were disallowed; interviews were reserved instead to the court itself during trial proceedings. Judges were assigned to lead trials, rather than act as referees between the parties, as they do in Anglo-American legal procedure. A German adviser to the Meiji court drafted Japan's first Commercial Code in 1893, which regulated sales, contracts, and bankruptcies. An updated Commercial Code adopted in 1899 remained in force until the 1930s. It legalized new commercial tools, including checks and promissory notes, and regulated freight and marine trade. Japan's judges and lawyers were selected according to the German practice of examinations, interviews, and apprenticeships overseen by officials from the Ministry of Justice. Finally, in 1922, the old French-style criminal procedures law was replaced by a German-influenced criminal code that remained in effect until Japan's occupation by the United States following its defeat in World War II (1939–1945).

LAW AND ORDER IN THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

With centralized legal systems borrowed from continental Europe and a uniform belief in the sovereignty and infallibility of the emperor, Japan embarked upon an ambitious foreign policy program designed to provide it with the resources and manpower necessary to rival the Western powers. Beginning in the 1880s, when elements of the Kuril and Ryukyu Islands were annexed, Japan's empire grew to include Taiwan (1895), Korea (1910), ports and privileges in mainland China, Germany's Pacific island

possessions (following Germany's defeat in World War I), Manchuria in northeastern China, and, between 1940 and 1942, the mainland and maritime Southeast Asian colonies of the British, French, and Dutch.

From the beginning of its colonial expansion, Japan imposed legal distinctions on its nonmetropolitan territories. An 1899 government directive labeled such territories as *shokuminchi*, or colonies, where the executive orders of the imperial government would not generally be applicable or enforced. Instead, the colonies would be subject to special ordinances issued by local administrations. Important exceptions arose with the annexation of Taiwan and of Korea, which were designated as "sovereign colonies" to which selected elements of Japan's constitution and existing laws would apply. Voting rights were not included, but individuals in these colonies were regarded in law as Japanese nationals. In 1929, after acquiring some 1,400 Micronesian islands formerly owned by Germany, Japan saw that the complexity of colonial affairs demanded new solutions. It created a Ministry of Colonial Affairs to liaise between the imperial government at Tokyo and its far-flung colonial administrations.

Fundamental decisions were made to limit the legal protections afforded to conquered or annexed peoples. Most colonial subjects of Japan lived under martial law administered by military governors-general who exercised both civil and military authority. Civilian Japanese bureaucrats ran economic and public enterprises, while military garrisons of Japanese troops enforced Tokyo's policies. Military control was reinforced through strict enforcement of colonial ordinances by the *kempeitai*, or gendarmerie units, which spread throughout Japan's colonies. This police force, first developed to suppress anti-Japanese guerrillas in Taiwan in the 1890s, expanded its role from counterinsurgency to other important areas, including tax collection, curfew monitoring, and enforcement of racial segregation directives. Combining its extensive police powers with intimidation and retaliation, the *kempeitai* was widely feared. It often succeeded in securing local leaders' cooperation in maintaining internal security and the uninterrupted economic productivity of Japan's colonial territories.

Since Japan's colonial policies were not aimed at long-term goals such as political pacification or cultural assimilation, but rather at efficient economic exploitation, local institutions that did not cooperate were regularly destroyed or absorbed into Japan's governance scheme. When Korea's urban population proved difficult to control, for example, Japan reorganized the Korean army and police as units of its own military, and used the education system, the press, radio, and films to try to erase the distinctiveness of Korea's national identity and

replace it with obedience to Japan's emperor. Japan also imposed Meiji-style reform laws in Korea, such as changing traditional land-tenure practices and terminating the legal privileges of Korean social elites. These tactics reflected the breadth of Japan's political and social control of Korea as a colony, where the subjugated population had virtually no legal recourse against the occupying power.

The peoples added to the Japanese Empire were also stripped of any legal right to refuse service to Japan or to its colonial administrations. In 1918 Japan enacted a directive providing for its colonies a uniform legal system covering criminal, civil, and commercial matters, and also imposing military conscription duties. Colonial administrators publicly emphasized the obligations of Japan's subjects, rather than their rights. As the most heavily populated colonies, Taiwan and Korea bore the brunt of military service and labor levies.

In 1939, in preparation for expanding the empire in Southeast Asia, Japan adopted the Military Manpower Mobilization Law, which rendered all people in Japan's colonies susceptible to labor drafts and forced relocation for unlimited periods of time. Japan's subjects from Manchuria to Micronesia were registered, conscripted, and compelled to work on construction projects for both civilian and military installations. When more manpower was needed, Tokyo issued a directive forcing some 200,000 convicts out of Japan's prisons and into labor battalions that were dispatched to numerous Pacific islands to participate in airfield construction.

POSTWAR CHANGES AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Following Japan's defeat in 1945, Allied forces occupied most of Japan's colonial territories. Japan itself was occupied principally by U.S. forces, which established a military-civilian government that ran Japan's affairs until 1952. During this period, Japan accepted a new constitution that conformed closely to the U.S. Constitution. It afforded personal rights to Japanese citizens and relegated the emperor to the role of a largely symbolic and powerless figurehead. Anglo-American jurisprudence was also introduced, including adversarial courtroom proceedings and separate police investigatory procedures. Japan joined the United Nations in 1956, subscribing both to the human rights clauses of the UN Charter and, later, to most major international legal rights and human rights conventions.

Indigenous ethnic minority populations in Japan's islands had long been neglected and legally disempowered by Tokyo. In the 1970s these minority peoples began to establish new legal and political identities, in part by launching claims to recognition under

international human rights conventions. The Okinawan minority, who live in the Ryukyu island chain and number approximately 1.3 million people, and the Ainu *minzoku*, or folks, an aboriginal population that resides in northern Hokkaido and numbers approximately 50,000, have been among the most vocal minorities to demand recognition and rights from the Japanese government. While Tokyo has made some concessions to these minorities, and continues to assess the advisability of enacting special legislation to assist these groups, Japan's courts have begun to extend special legal recognition to them.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Japanese.*

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Laura M. Calkins

LAW, COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF, OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottomans were among the Turkish tribes that came to Anatolia (the Asiatic region in present-day Turkey) from Central Asia. They adopted Islam in the ninth and tenth centuries. From a modest nomadic state, they created a stable Middle Eastern empire lasting for more than six hundred years under one dynasty. The Ottoman Empire holds a special place in world history on account of the long duration of its existence and the extent of its realm, which comprised vast territories in the three continents of the ancient world—Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Ottoman Empire passed through several stages: the first Ottoman period (1281–1446), the classical age (1446–1566), destabilization (1566–1789), reform efforts (1789–1912), World War I (1912–1918), and collapse (1923).

By the fourteenth century, the Ottomans ruled the Balkans, and by the early seventeenth century, the empire had expanded as far as Vienna. It extended in Europe to embrace the Balkans, Greece, Albania, Serbia, and the greater part of Hungary and Austria. The Ottomans controlled the Black Sea, and in the north their empire included the Crimea. The Ottomans also controlled most of the Mediterranean, and in Africa the empire included Egypt, Libya, Tripoli, Tunisia, and Algeria. In Asia the Ottomans took in Asia Minor, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, the western shores of the Persian Gulf, and the west and south in Arabia. As early as 1399, the empire's eastern frontier had reached the Euphrates River.

In 1453 the last great Byzantine stronghold, Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey) fell to Sultan Mehmed II (ca. 1432–1481), the Conqueror. The Ottoman conquest of Egypt under Sultan Selim I (ca. 1470–1520) brought the caliphate to the Ottomans in 1517, the sultan becoming the supreme voice in all matters religious, not only for the Ottoman Empire but for most Muslims. Under Süleyman the Magnificent (ca. 1494–1566), the empire was the strongest power in Europe, stretching from the Atlantic shore of North Africa to the borders of Iran, Austria, Poland, and Russia. Buda, the capital of Hungary, was taken in 1541.

Geography and brilliant leadership were the two most important factors in the rise of the Ottoman Empire. The first ten sultans had remarkable personal abilities, functioning as kings in Europe and Turkish nomad lords in Anatolia. The empire was created through conquest, and in the early years the Ottomans were attracted to Europe by the booty to be gained there—the principal economic basis of life—and the interest of the Turkish Gazis (warriors of the faith) in expanding the rule of Islam. There was no one power in Europe to oppose this expansion.

Later, the Gazi state was transformed into a centralized bureaucratized empire led by all-powerful sultans. The importance of the nomad warriors decreased, and a new army was created by the regular, enforced recruitment of Christian boys *(devçirme)* for training and eventual employment in the military and civil service as slaves

of the sultan. On arrival in Istanbul, the capital, they were converted to Islam.

The Ottoman Empire was based on expansion. The Ottomans neither colonized the territories they conquered nor carried Ottoman Islamic law to all the new settlements. They did, however, introduce an administrative system for collecting taxes to promote national economic growth. They also established fortresses and garrisons at strategic points and along the frontiers, but the armies returned home after conquests.

Islamic law applied to the Turks left behind in conquered territories and to the few converted natives. The rest of the population continued to live according to their existing laws in most respects. This was a multiethnic, culturally and legally pluralist, and decentralized empire. Cultural and religious differences functioned as structuring elements in the law. The different groups were identified by religion: Muslim, Orthodox, Christian, Armenian, and Jewish, though any Ottoman subject could become a Muslim. The system applied was the *millet* system, a term first used for Muslims and later for non-Muslim religious communities. Keeping *millets* as organized and legally recognized separate and distinct religious entries fostered religious separation.

Until the second half of the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had a Christian majority under the rule of a Muslim minority. Eclecticism and pragmatism prevailed in the running of the empire. The principle of tolerance inherent in Muslim governmental tradition toward Christians and Jews was closely connected with a financial policy based on the payment of tribute by non-Muslims. However, tolerance of diversity meant that there was no one language and no single distinct culture within the empire.

Conversion to Islam was practiced only in those regions conquered by the Gazis in Eastern Thrace, and later in the furthest western frontiers in Albania and Bosnia. The vast territory between these two Gazi zones was allowed to remain Christian. Some non-Muslims, the *zımmis* (mostly Armenian, Greek, and Jewish communities and Christian groups given asylum), lived in and around Istanbul. In personal status and private law, their own religious laws and customs applied, their disputes being settled in their own community courts. Though *zımmis* had special legal status, they had a lower status than Muslims.

The second category of non-Muslims comprised the people of conquered lands in Europe whose own local indigenous laws applied in existing local courts. Non-Muslims could not become civil servants and paid special additional taxes *(cizye)* in these regions.

The third category of non-Muslims comprised foreigners, mostly residing in Istanbul and Izmir (Smyrna), who were concerned with trade. These foreigners had special status, including residence privileges and the right to have their disputes settled by consular courts. These privileges were first granted in 1537 to the French in conjunction with an offensive and a defensive alliance, and later to the Dutch and the English. Such foreigners were ruled by their own laws and paid no taxes to the empire.

The Ottoman legal system was pluralistic, the primary connecting factor in choice of law being religion. Public law and administrative structures were influenced by ancient Turkish political customs and by the organization of the Byzantine Empire and the Balkan states. In appearance, however, the Ottoman Empire was an Islamic state, and the fundamental Islamic distinction between master and slave, men and women, and believer and unbeliever was an essential aspect of Ottoman society.

The sultans settled Turks in sensitive regions for defense; elsewhere a program of conciliation and vassalage was adopted. Defeated kings kept their lands as tribute-paying vassals and contributed troops for Ottoman wars. When the vassals weakened and the Ottoman forces were firmly settled, direct control was instituted. The Crimea, for example, was a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. Crimean Tatars accepted Ottoman sovereignty in 1475 and remained as vassals until 1774, defending the frontier against Russian encroachment.

The first Ottoman provinces were military governorships, with high officials *(bey)* ordered by the sultan to govern regions called *sancak*. In times of peace, the *bey* was the civil authority and oversaw the bureaucracy and taxation. In wartime, he was the general. In the Balkans, for example, many *sancaks* were created and a non-Turkish element came into the operation of the empire. To prevent the establishment of local interest groups and loyalties, the *beys* were subject to a rotation system.

Serbia (1459), Bosnia (1463), and Albania (1479) were under direct Ottoman rule for most of their time as Ottoman provinces. In Anatolia and the Balkans, the provinces were called *vilayet*. Hungary also became a regular province in 1541. Later the empire was divided into three *beylerbeyliks*: Rumelia, Anatolia, and Africa.

In the sixteenth century, throughout much of the Ottoman Empire, conquered lands—theoretically the property of the state—were converted to private ownership *(tımar* lands) by the sultans. In *tımar* lands, appointed landholders acted as imperial representatives for revenue collection. The *tımar* system preserved much of the indigenous social order. Elsewhere, much of the land was *vakıf* ("pious foundations") in the hands of the *ulema* (Islamic religious leaders), who could set aside income-producing properties for charitable purposes, paying no taxes.

Dubrovnik (in Croatia), Moldavia (a region in present-day Romania and Moldova), Walachia (in Romania), and the North African coastal regions were

tributaries of the Ottoman Empire. Some of the tributary states later became *sancaks*. Turcoman principalities were governed as suzerainties. Over most of the Muslim world, direct rule applied.

The decline of the Ottoman Empire started in 1789. The most important factors in this decline were the growth of European imperialism and the resulting constant loss of land by the empire, and in the nineteenth century, growing nationalism among Christian ethnic groups in the empire. These factors fueled political separation in an empire made up of so many distinct ethnic and religious groups, and led to its dissolution. After World War I, the Ottoman Empire collapsed, to be replaced by the present Republic of Turkey in 1923.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Ottoman.*

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Esin Örücü

LAW, COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF, PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

Early modern Portuguese society was multicultural; it emerged from a period of reconquest against the Muslims and was home to communities of Jews. Through a slow process of conquest and political consolidation, from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, the Portuguese Crown claimed sovereignty over the territories that make up its modern borders. Conquest and political domination of the most western portion of the Iberian Peninsula was concomitant with the development of a legal system reflected in the Portuguese Law Code.

Up until the fourteenth century, several statutes had already been promulgated and in 1446 were codified in the so-called *Ordenações Afonsinas* during the reign of Afonso V (1432–1481). As new laws arose, it became necessary to amend old ones. In 1521 Dom Manuel I (1469–1521) promulgated the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, which became one of the crucial instruments in the governing of the overseas Portuguese colonies. There was rigid crown control of justice and of land ownership, solidified by the supremacy of royal agents over local authorities. The Casa da Suplicação and the Desembargo do Paço (both appeal courts located in Lisbon) constituted the highest level of the judiciary in the Portuguese Empire, and from their location in Lisbon they controlled the distant and often difficult colonial system. Various laws and institutions were created within this framework with the aim of controlling the problems posed by administering colonies.

Portuguese colonization followed two basic patterns. In Asia, the Portuguese would conquer cities and then monopolize trade, whereas in Africa and the Americas they occupied extensive territories in which European political organization was superimposed on existing indigenous societies. The development of commerce in East Asia naturally involved the need for specialized administrative entities and thus the Casa da India (House of India) was created in 1503 in Lisbon.

The creation of the Casa da India resulted in the centralization of overseas trade within Lisbon, which became the locus for all administration and trade with India. This included the export of goods to India, the import of Asian products and their distribution within Portugal and throughout Europe, and the collection of custom fees in the name of the king. Further, Lisbon became the administrative center for the naming of functionaries and the promulgation of crown directives. In the case of Africa, control of the slave trade was overseen by the Casa dos Escravos (House of the Slaves), created as a separate entity in 1486.

On the American continent, the colonial Portuguese administration produced a series of laws, provisions, and royal orders specific to that situation. The territory that was to become Brazil was an immense geographical expanse. Moreover, the indigenous peoples posed a new situation for the Portuguese legal codes. Coming under the banner of Christianization of the Indians, enslavement of Indians dates to the beginning of Portuguese colonization in the Americas in 1530. Though the enslavement of Indians was discouraged, it was only with the arrival of the Jesuits in 1549 that indigenous slavery was strenuously opposed.

The Jesuits established the *aldeamento* system, the practice of settling and Christianizing Indians in supervised villages. In the ensuing battle with secular Portuguese colonists over control of Indian populations, the Jesuits relied heavily on support from the crown. However, unlike the Spanish colonies in the Americas, the Indians never possessed their own colonial tribunal. Considered vassals of the Portuguese king, the Indians' complaints were made via petitions directly to the king, who ordered an investigation of the complaint. Officially, only Indians captured in "just" wars could be enslaved, although in reality indigenous slavery was practiced throughout colonial Portuguese America.

Thus, in the sixteenth century, after the promulgation of the *Ordenações Manuelinas* (codex, collection of laws written when D. Manuel I was the king), additional laws were created to regulate new colonial aspects not covered in the old legislation. This enormous quantity of laws led to the *Leis Extravagantes* (a complementary collection) compiled in 1569. Upon the unification of Iberia in 1580 under the Spanish Crown, Philip II of Spain (Philip I of Portugal, 1527–1599) carefully guarded his royal prerogatives and political authority over Portugal, though he showed good will toward the Portuguese by granting them a measure of autonomy in reforming their legal system.

After the unification, a commission completed the revision of the *Ordenações Manuelinas,* including the *Leis Extravagantes*, around 1595. It was not until 1603 that a new code—the *Ordenações Filipinas* (also a collection of laws written when Philip I was the king)—was issued. In the seventeenth century, the principal change for the colonies was the transformation of the old Conselho da India (1604) into the Conselho Ultramarino (Council for Oversea Affairs) in 1643. The expansion of this new administrative institution resulted from the increasing importance of Brazil over India; all matters and business pertaining to the colonies were now referred to the Conselho Ultramarino.

Consequently, the crown drew up a deliberate strategy of creating structures endowed with ill-defined jurisdictions intended to act as checks on one another. The repeated approvals and consultations required by traditional administrative procedures hampered Portuguese rule on the periphery of its empire, especially in situations that required flexibility, as in the event of military threats.

Moreover, the temporary nature of administrative appointments throughout the empire gave the latter a makeshift quality that hindered the establishment of stable power structures and made it rely excessively on charismatic personalities. It seemed as if, instead of a strong empire relying on well-defined areas of responsibility, the crown preferred a precarious arrangement in which mutual vertical and horizontal surveillance among officials safeguarded the power of the supreme authority. A consistent royal policy of imposing overlapping jurisdictions and the accumulation of authority in chosen figures, paradoxically, led to a relatively weak but centralized empire in which the thicket of intermediate levels of authority became a structure capable of managing day-to-day matters, while the base structures required that a reasonable degree of decision making remained essential for the empire's survival.

In Brazil, the structure of Native American societies appeared politically disorganized to the Portuguese. This resulted in not only more direct political intervention, but also the barring of any form of self-government on the part of the Indians, thus making the importation of European political and administrative practice inevitable.

Soon after colonization began, the need for overseas appeals courts became apparent in order to process local cases, and additionally to alleviate the cumbersome and inefficient practice of appealing cases in the colonies all the way back to Lisbon. Thus the Tribunal da Relação (appeal court located in the colonies) was established in Goa (India) in 1544, in Bahia (Brazil) in 1609, and nearly a century and a half later in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1750. The judges were legal scholars who had studied at the University of Coimbra, Portugal's oldest and most prestigious university.

In Coimbra, legal studies were a process of socialization intended to engender loyalty to the crown. It is worthy of notice that during the modern period Coimbra possessed the only law school in the entire Portuguese Empire. All colonial judges, whether of metropolitan or colonial birth, attended this school. Legal training was not permitted for students whose parents plied manual trades or worked as retail merchants.

When, in 1640, Portugal once again became independent of Spain, control over the colonies intensified and *juizes de fora* (judges from outside) were appointed in the main towns for three-year terms. Whereas historians have traditionally regarded these judges as agents of the crown that impinged on municipal powers, more recently the *juizes de fora* have been considered homogenizers of the legal and administrative parameters imposed by the central authority. *Juizes de fora* were established in Goa in 1688, Bahia in 1696, Rio de Janeiro in 1703, and Luanda (Angola) in 1722. While their original duties were restricted to investigating losses to the Royal Treasury, they soon extended their purview to encompass all kinds of actions.

New analysis shows that the appeals courts lacked the power required to curb the excesses of unruly priests. The civil courts were indeed entitled to issue decrees to

ecclesiastical courts, as well as intervene in them, but the courts exercised no decisive power over bishops. Appeals to Portugal were lengthy procedures, and pending final resolution, the bishop was free to do as he pleased. Lacking any institutionalized means of control, the civil court would resort to harassment or the withholding of priestly salaries. But the bishops possessed the far greater power to pronounce excommunication or interdict (a Roman Catholic form of censure), and did not hesitate to employ them in the pursuit of the church's goals.

There is no doubt that conflicts between the appeals courts and the other state organs hampered the courts' effectiveness in the conduct of their judicial business. Although personal clashes and spite contributed to this deplorable state of affairs, they do not suffice to explain it. Portuguese colonial administration was afflicted above all by an absence of well-defined spheres of authority, indeed often by contradictions between overlapping jurisdictions. The intentional powerlessness of local authorities made them dependent at all times upon edicts from a distant metropolis that they were forced to consult for every major decision. At times, the situation was aggravated by conflicting goals, as in the case of state-church disputes, but also, within the civil administration itself, by rivalry between the appeals courts and treasury officials.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Portuguese; Empire, Portuguese.*

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Carmen Alveal

LAW, COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF, SPANISH EMPIRE

Basing its legitimacy in Spanish America and Asia on the papal bulls of Alexander VI (1493) and Julius II (1508), the Spanish Crown asserted preeminent authority in these regions as the vicar of the Vicar of Christ (i.e., the pope). Accordingly, believing that *natural law* expressed divine will and that *positive law* (manmade law) must conform to natural law, the law system of the Spanish Empire was built on the twin pillars of church and state, on canon law and crown law. Acknowledging the inseparability of religious and secular power in the Spanish Empire, this entry will focus on secular law and authorities.

Although the institutional framework of the colonial legal system clearly originated in Iberia, the degree to which the formal and customary laws governing the colonies reflected Spanish political and legal hegemony is disputed by historians. Rather than being an absolutist system, throughout the Hapsburg and much of the Bourbon reigns, the legal system in Spain's colonies was a patchwork of laws and overlapping jurisdictions.

COUNCIL OF THE INDIES

At the apex of the institutional hierarchy was the Spanish Crown. Its policies were informed by reports from the Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias (Supreme and Royal Council of the Indies), which was established in 1524, shortly after the conquest of the Aztec Empire. From its founding until the eighteenth century, the Council of the Indies possessed supreme legal, administrative, military, trade, finance, and, by way of royal patronage over the church in the colonies, religious authority. It was the primary executive and lawmaking body, as well as the final court of appeals. Immediately below the Council of the Indies, and located in the American and Asian kingdoms, were the archbishops, viceroys, and judges of the royal courts *(audiencias).*

THE VICEROY

Throughout the reign of the Hapsburgs, from 1521 to 1700, the colonies had two viceroyalties: New Spain and Peru. Between 1580 and 1640, when the Portuguese and Spanish crowns were united, the viceroyalty of Brazil was integrated into the imperial bureaucracy. Under the Bourbons, who ruled since 1713, two additional viceroyalties were created: New Granada (1717, 1739) and La Plata (1776).

As the alter ego of the crown, viceroys possessed broad executive and lawmaking powers, and they acted as the vice-patron of the church and the president of the viceregal *audiencia.* Predominantly aristocrats without

juridical training, viceroys could influence decisions and proceedings of the tribunal as its president, but could not decide the outcome of legal cases.

In addition, as the secular protectors of Indians, viceroys were ordered to designate at least one day each week to hear cases and to receive petitions brought by native subjects. Responding to the growing numbers of cases initiated by native subjects and the economic hardship of litigation, in 1585 the viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco, the younger, Marqués de Salinas (1534–1617) established the General Court of the Indians (Juzgado General de Indios). As a specially designated court for the protection of native people, the Juzgado guaranteed that native people received abbreviated legal processes, summary judgments, and reduced or free legal services.

AUDIENCIA

Despite the legal protections proffered by the Juzgado, natives in New Spain recognized that having their case heard by judges or appealed to the *audiencia* could provide legal advantages, in certain cases. Similarly, native people in outlying provinces recognized the impracticality of bringing their cases before either the *audiencia* or the *Juzgado* in Mexico City, or the *audiencia* in Lima and relied on provincial *audiencia* judges to decide their cases. In the frontiers and outlying provinces, the provincial *audiencia* judges were generally the highest royal officials with whom the local population interacted. In addition to their judicial powers, *audiencia* judges generally possessed extensive executive and administrative authorities— being the first royal bureaucrats to arrive in newly conquered territories.

The earliest *audiencias*, or royal courts, were established in Santo Domingo (1511) and Mexico City (1527, 1530) to rein in the conquistadors. Thereafter, they were founded as need dictated to assert royal authority and to resolve disputes between crown subjects—Spaniards, Africans, and Indians alike—in outlying regions; in the viceroyalty of New Spain, including the Audiencia of Mexico and the lesser courts of Santo Domingo, Guatemala (1544), New Galicia or Guadalajara (1549), and Manila (1583); and in the viceroyalty of Peru, including the Audiencia of Lima (1542) and the lesser courts of Panama (1538, abolished in 1543, reinstated in 1567), Santa Fe de Bogotá (1549), La Plata or Charcas (1559), Quito (1563), and Chile (1565, disbanded in 1575, reinstated in Santiago in 1609). Under the Bourbons, the Audiencias of Buenos Aires (1661–1672, reinstated in 1783), Venezuela (1786), and Cuzco (1787) were also established.

JURISDICTIONAL CONFLICTS

Jurisdictional disputes were common among the secular and religious authorities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because officials held overlapping authorities. Despite being structurally subordinate to the viceroy, for example, the *audiencia* judges who lived away from the viceregal capital were able to exercise their executive and administrative powers in relative autonomy, while those closer to Mexico City and Lima frequently challenged the executive and administrative authority of the viceroy.

Additionally, while archbishops were responsible for overseeing the evangelization of and upholding religious orthodoxy among the native population, and viceroys for the good governance and treatment of the native population, their respective interpretations of how to administer the native population brought them into frequent conflict with one another. On one hand, as colonial officials brought their disputes to the Council of the Indies, it allowed the council to assert royal authority in the colonies. On the other hand, recognizing the overlapping jurisdictions, native people learned to manipulate the tensions in the system, often to their advantage, as they appealed their cases from lower courts or challenged the legal interpretations and powers of parallel authorities.

LAWS

At the imperial level, laws derived from royal and viceregal provisions, mandates, and ordinances. In general, crown laws addressed specific concerns of particular petitioners and litigants and, therefore, generally were narrow in scope rather than universal. Moreover, generally responding to the initiative of petitioners and litigants, crown laws reflected the concerns and issues of Africans, Indians, and *castas* (mixed-raced people), as well as Spaniards.

As the imperial period progressed, the crown increasingly promulgated universal laws for common problems and aimed to standardize laws. The earliest bodies of laws issued were the Laws of Burgos (1512–1513) and the New Laws (1542), both of which aimed to establish standards for governance as well as conduct for Spanish colonists in their dealings with the native population. In addition, many jurists recognized the need to compile the laws and legal decisions that had been issued, and they attempted to collect the royal provisions, mandates, and ordinances into single texts, as reflected in *Recopilación* (compilation) of Juan Ovando; *Cedulario* (royal mandates collection) of Vasco de Puga (1563); *Compilación para las Indias de general* (general compilation of the indies) of Alonso de Zorita (1574); *Cedulario para las Indias en general, gobernación espiritual y temporal de las Indias* (general collection of royal mandates of the indies, the spiritual and temporal governance of the indies);
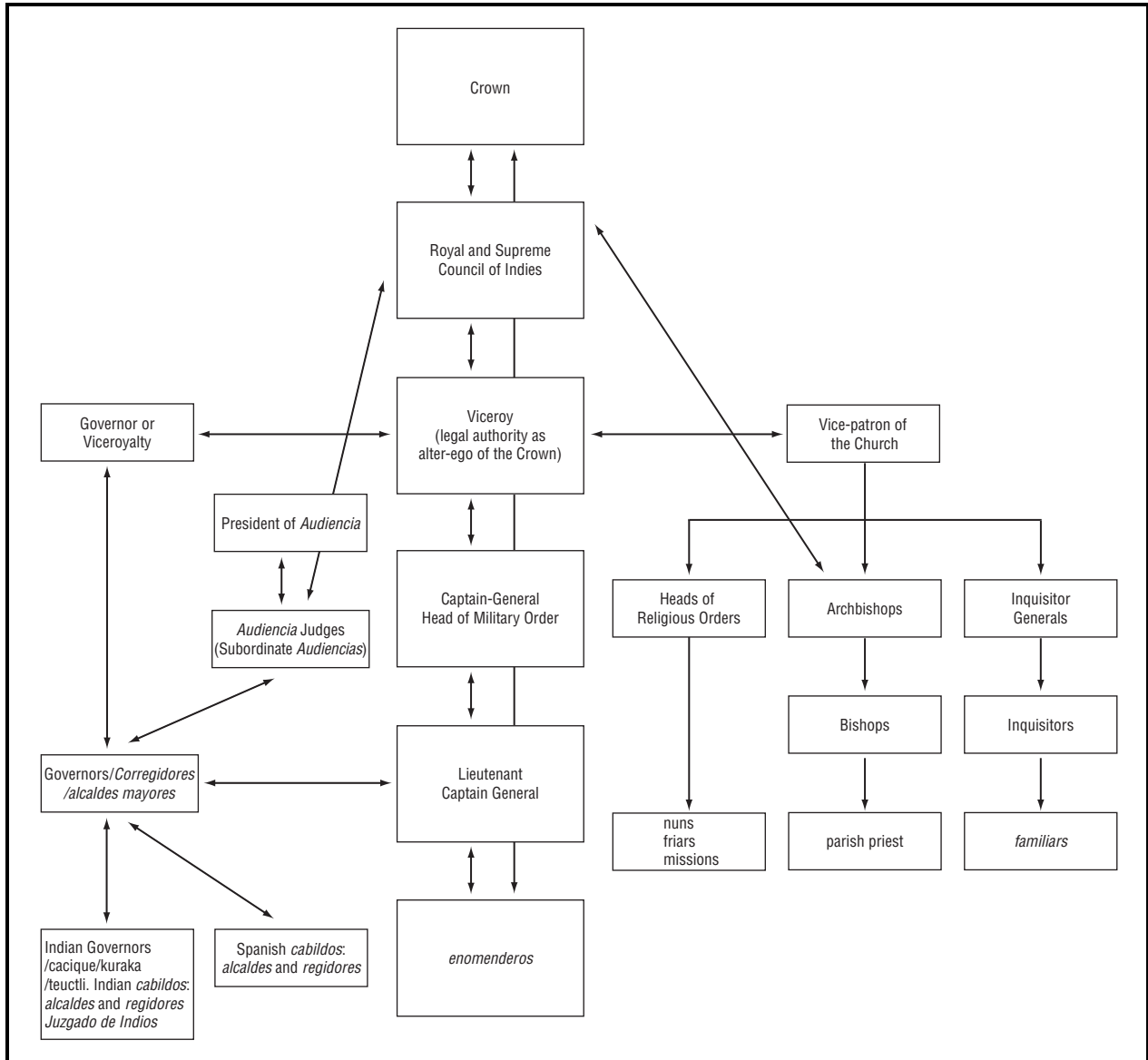
Legal System of Spanish Empire. *This chart depicts the institutional hierarchy of the Spanish empire's legal system in colonial territories.* **THE GALE GROUP.**

Recopilación para las Indias en general (general compilation of the indies) of Diego de Encinas (1596); *Autos, acuerdos, y decretos del gobierno real y supremo consejo de Indias* (decisions, agreements, and government decrees of the royal and supreme council of the indies) of León Pinelo (1658); and the *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* (1680) (compilation of the laws of the kingdoms of the Indies). Although most laws remained particular, as the legal system developed, royal officials increasingly aimed to universalize and standardize laws, and to have laws to mediate between the various communities under crown authority.

At the communal level, laws were based on the customary laws, traditions, and ordinances of the particular community. In issuing laws that addressed concerns or issues of a particular community, Castilian practice necessitated that royal law and legal decisions not ignore the rights, traditions, and practices of the community. Thus, each community had its own legal tradition, whether it was a locality, such as a village, town, or city; or a religious, political, or economic community, such as the body of friars, nobles, merchants, or military orders. Likewise, according to colonial legal practices with Castilian tradition, in 1530 the crown mandated that

its officials protect native customs and traditions in their legal decisions—as long as the indigenous laws did not contradict Catholic doctrine or natural law.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

In civil disputes involving persons from other communities or sojourners, Spanish officials—governors, *corregidores,* and *alcalde mayores*—adjudicated the cases. In the early sixteenth century, and later in frontier areas, when royal officials were not present, friars often adjudicated civil and criminal cases. Likewise, being charged with tutoring native people in Spanish political, legal, and religious norms, zealous friars, parish priests, and royal officials sometimes punished native people for practices that contradicted Catholic doctrine or natural law.

Nonetheless, according to law, within communities, local native authorities maintained their right of first instance and decided criminal and civil cases—using native customary law and practice. Ultimately, similar to the viceregal level, local authorities frequently disputed over jurisdictional authority, and asserted their autonomy from each other and those above them.

LAW AND NATIVE SOCIETIES

Despite royal protection of native custom, every aspect of native traditions and customary law was transformed during the imperial period. For example, although the authority and wealth of the native elite was explicitly protected, much of their political tradition was infused with practices, such as polygamy and belief in the elite's relationship to traditional deities, that contradicted Catholic doctrine. In prohibiting one aspect of native tradition, most elements of native tradition were impacted. Contributing further to the shifts, sometimes Spanish judges misunderstood native traditions and other times native people intentionally misrepresented their traditions (as part of a legal strategy). When decisions were rendered on these misunderstandings and misrepresentations, new legal and cultural practices emerged.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Native Americans and Europeans; New Spain, the Viceroyalty of.*

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R. Jovita Baber

LAW, CONCEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL

Colonialism has been a central preoccupation of international law since the very beginnings of the discipline. One of the first texts of modern international law, Francisco de Vitoria's work, *On the Indians Lately Discovered* (1532), addresses the complex legal problems that arose from Spanish claims to sovereignty over the Americas following Christopher Columbus's voyage. Drawing upon the naturalist and theological jurisprudence of the period, Vitoria argued that all peoples, including the Indians, were governed by a basic "natural law." The Indians, Vitoria argued, violated this law by, for instance, interfering with the Spanish right to trade in those areas, as a consequence of which it was legal to wage war against the Indians and dispossess them of their lands. This text establishes a clear pattern, for the conquest of non-European peoples and the exploitation of their resources were invariably justified by legal doctrines.

HISTORY

Contact between European and non-European peoples had taken place for thousands of years. As European presence into non-European areas intensified, beginning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, legal doctrines

were developed to manage more complex forms of interaction between European and non-European states, and these extended, finally, to doctrines that could account for the acquisition of sovereignty over the non-European peoples. These doctrines, invariably, were created by Europeans, or adapted by Europeans, for their own purposes, although scholarship has shown that many principles relating to the law of treaties and the law of war, for example, were also developed and practiced by non-European states.

Imperial expansion intensified during the nineteenth century, and it was also during this period that positivism became established as the major jurisprudence of international law. Unlike naturalism, which argues that all states are subject to a higher universal law, positivism, in basic terms, asserts that the state is the creator of law, and cannot be bound by any law unless it has consented to it. There is no higher authority than sovereignty according to this system of jurisprudence.

Nominally, at least, under the system of naturalism, both European and non-European societies were bound by the universal natural law, which was the foundation of international law. Although non-European peoples had never been completely equal in this system of international law, positivist nineteenth-century jurists devised a series of formal doctrines that distinguished between "civilized states" that were full, sovereign members of international society, and "uncivilized states" that were not properly sovereign and were therefore deprived of international rights. In this way, racial and cultural criteria were used to exclude non-European societies from the realm of international law. Once non-European societies were so deprived of legal status, they lacked the personality to advance any legally cognizable objection to their conquest or dispossession, and were thus reduced to objects for conquest and exploitation.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, when imperialism was at its height as European powers sought to expand and consolidate their empires, Western jurists developed and refined a variety of doctrines to justify imperialism. Under the doctrine of *terra nullius*, for instance, imperial powers claimed title to unoccupied lands by discovering them; often these lands were occupied by natives, but these peoples were deemed to be so inferior that they were considered less than human. As such, the lands could be simply possessed as belonging to nobody. War was a legitimate instrument of statehood during this period; as a consequence, Western states could acquire sovereignty over non-European peoples by military conquest. In other cases, imperial powers claimed that native chiefs had entered into treaties that gave those powers sovereignty over non-European territories and peoples. European states also used their superior military power to compel non-European states to provide them with extensive trading and other rights through unequal treaties. This practice was a source of enduring humiliation to the non-European states that were compelled to accept them.

Many of the legal doctrines used at this time dealt not so much with relations between European and non-European states (for the latter were regarded as simply lacking legal personality) but between European states who were intent on acquiring title over the non-European territories. These doctrines were developed in order to prevent conflict between European states over which states had proper title to a non-European state. Thus, at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 the great European powers of the period met in Berlin to decide on the modalities by which Africa was to be occupied by European states. Within this scheme, certain non-European societies, such as China, were deemed to be "civilized" and yet possessing a sort of civilization of an entirely different character from that of the West. As a consequence, these societies too were excluded from the realm of international law, but deemed to possess certain rights under international law; they were quasi-sovereign.

Under the international law of the nineteenth century, non-European states could become incorporated into European international law only by being subjected to European sovereignty—by becoming colonies—or else, by changing their social, political, economic, and legal systems in such a manner as to ensure that they complied with European standards. This was the arduous task successfully undertaken by Japan, which was accepted into the "family of nations."

States such as Siam, which were never formally colonized, were nevertheless compelled to enter into unequal treaties, and to a system of capitulations, according to which foreigners were governed by their own law, rather than being subjected to the laws of the local sovereigns. By the end of the nineteenth century, European expansion had ensured that European international law had been established globally as the one system that applied to all societies.

The trauma of World War I (1914–1918) brought about many changes in international law and relations. The imperial character of the discipline was recognized and criticized by scholars and political leaders of the interwar period who denounced the international law of the nineteenth century that had legitimized colonial exploitation. The League of Nations attempted to formulate a new approach toward colonies that were now termed "backward territories." As a consequence, the territories of the defeated powers of the Ottoman Empire and Germany, rather than being acquired as colonies by the victorious powers, were placed under

the authority of the Mandate System of the League of Nations. The purpose of this system was, through international supervision, to ensure "well-being and development" of the mandate territories; and it was even contemplated that some of these territories, such as Iraq, would become sovereign states.

Nationalist struggles in the third world had been profoundly affecting the international system, and by the time the United Nations had emerged, decolonization had become a central preoccupation of the international system. The United Nations responded by creating a number of institutional mechanisms for the furtherance of decolonization. The acquisition of independence by colonized states significantly changed the composition of the international community, as they became a majority in the United Nations system. These new states attempted to use their numbers in the General Assembly to establish a set of principles that would outlaw colonialism, and reverse its economic effects. The emerging law of international human rights provided one vehicle in which anticolonial initiatives could be furthered. Thus the right to self-determination was one of the principal human rights that the new states asserted and developed.

Further, the General Assembly passed a number of resolutions dealing with issues ranging from the outlawing of intervention, to the creation of a New International Economic Order.

The latter initiative was especially important, as the new states realized that political independence would be meaningless without corresponding economic independence. Thus the new states attempted to articulate a series of doctrines designed to enable them to regain control over their natural resources. Consequently, issues such as the terms on which a state could nationalize a foreign entity became particularly controversial. The arena of international economic law now became a central arena of struggle between the West and the new states, as the new states argued that this body of law had been created by the West to further its own interests. On the whole, the new states were unable to realize their ambitions to change international economic law, as General Assembly resolutions are not in themselves binding on states.

By the end of the 1980s, virtually all colonies had achieved independence. The end of formal colonialism, while extremely significant, did not, however, result in the end of colonial relations. Rather, in the view of third world leaders, colonialism was replaced by neocolonialism; third world states continued to play a subordinate role in the international system because they were economically dependent on the West and the rules of international economic law continued to ensure that this would be the case. U.S. and Soviet involvement in the affairs of third world states because of the ongoing cold war raised important issues as to the legal principles prohibiting intervention and the use of force.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the intensification of globalization, together with civil wars in third world states—including the genocide in Rwanda—were prominent features of the 1990s, as was the view that democratic governance had become the international norm. The ascendancy of neoliberal economic policy and the creation of the World Trade Organization presented new challenges to third world states. International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank played an increasingly intrusive role in the economies of third world states, and indeed, attempted to use their considerable powers to reform the political and social structures of these states, this in the name of promoting good governance. In this way, these institutions attempted to use human rights law to further their particular policies. The demand made by the international financial institutions that these states reform their internal arrangements was compared by some scholars with the system of capitulations that had previously been used by European states to demand the reform of non-European states.

The twenty-first century war on terrorism suggests a new phase in the relations between the West (and the United States in particular) and the third world. Recourse by the Bush administration to the unilateral use of force, coupled with the intention to transform Middle Eastern states into democracies, raise new challenges to the law relating to the use of force, international humanitarian law, and human rights law, and it remains to be seen what impact the war on terrorism will have on international law.

THEORY

The conventional history of international law is based on the view that all the major doctrines and principles of international law originated in Europe, and were then gradually transferred to the non-European world as a consequence of European imperialism. Sovereignty is the foundation of international law, and the treaty of Westphalia of 1648 is traditionally viewed as articulating a version of sovereignty that has prevailed since then. The Westphalian model holds that all sovereigns are equal and, further, that intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state, most particularly in the exercise of its powers over its own territory, is prohibited. Colonization and decolonization, then, can be viewed as the processes by which Westphalian sovereignty was transferred to non-European states, which, upon acquiring independence, were viewed as formally equal with Western states.

More recent scholarship, however, has questioned some of these basic assumptions. Rather than viewing colonialism as peripheral to the discipline, this

The Palestinian Delegation in The Hague, February 23, 2004. *Delegates from Palestine attended a three-day hearing to discuss the legality of Israel's construction of a barrier wall in the occupied territories. The Israelis boycotted the hearing.*
MICHEL PORRO/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

scholarship has argued that colonialism is central to the formation of international law. European international law could not have become universally applicable if not for colonialism. Colonialism justified itself as a civilizing mission. This project, then, was furthered through a structure of ideas by which European practices were asserted to be civilized and universal, and non-European societies were barbaric and particular.

International law participated in this mission by developing a set of doctrines by which distinctions could be made between the civilized and the uncivilized. This essential distinction having been made, the project then remained of civilizing the barbaric—and international law devised a set of doctrines, such as conquest or the protectorate regime—for the purposes of doing so. Further, scholars have argued that the very foundational doctrines, for example of sovereignty, were formulated in such a manner as to exclude the non-European world. This is most evident in the international law of the nineteenth century, when the question of who was sovereign was decided by using racial criteria. Sovereignty, then, might be viewed as containing within itself a series of mechanisms by which exclusion and discrimination can be

effected; and these mechanisms were developed for and animated by the purpose of disempowering the non-European world. Thus, while it is possible to view certain doctrines, such as conquest and the validity of unequal treaties, as being colonial because they were used for explicitly colonial purposes, this newer scholarship suggests that colonialism has shaped the very basic concepts of international law including those that appear to be neutral.

It is arguable that the standard of civilization that was such an important aspect of nineteenth-century law continues to shape international relations. Some scholars have called for the explicit reinstatement of the standard of civilization, civilization in this context being assessed by the extent to which a state complies with international human rights law. Others have argued that the civilizing mission continues today: the nineteenth-century division between the so-called civilized and uncivilized, excised from the vocabulary of international law on account of its racism, has now been reformulated in more acceptable ways in distinctions that play a profound role in contemporary international relations, between states that are developed and developing, liberal and nonliberal, postmodern and premodern.

Each of these distinctions refers to a particular set of concerns and areas of inquiry, and is supported by different doctrinal structures. In this way, even ostensibly neutral doctrines such as human rights, for instance, may be used for these purposes, to bring about transformations in the internal polities of a state. The ramifications of this scholarship are still being developed. Recent scholarship thus focused on questions of how colonial relations and structures of thought continue to operate in an ostensibly neutral setting. Further, jurists, principally from the non-European world, have continued their efforts to incorporate legal principles from very rich traditions of jurisprudence into the system of international law.

The war against terrorism launched by the United States, with its avowed attempt to transform the Middle East and its willingness to use preemptive force for the purposes of doing so, resemble in many ways a much earlier version of the civilizing mission. The question arises: How can international law respond to these challenges? The major issue remains whether international law has ever successfully rid itself of its imperial dimensions and whether or not it is possible to create a nonimperial international law.

SEE ALSO *Law, Colonial Systems of.*

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LIBERIA

Liberia, a nation on the west coast of Africa, emerged out of America's antislavery and abolitionist campaign of the early nineteenth century. The abolitionist movement, which comprised blacks and white northern philanthropists and clergy, adopted a strategy of emancipation and colonization in its campaign. It focused not merely on abolishing slavery, but also on colonizing freed slaves in a territory of their own outside the United States, preferably in the continent of origin of their ancestors, Africa. Many elements within the abolitionist movement believed that colonization would provide ex-slaves the opportunity to live a decent and true life of freedom in a territory of their own. Yet, colonization was also intended to allay Southern fears of perceived threat that a large, free black population posed to white society. Colonization was thus a way of ridding America of unwanted black population.

EARLY U.S. INFLUENCE

The American Colonization Society (ACS), founded in December 1816, undertook the task of the colonization of free blacks in Liberia. The society raised money, and with additional financial backing from U.S. Congress, embarked on a project to plant a colony in West Africa where free blacks could be repatriated. In January 1822, the society established the first settlement on Cape Mesurado, which later became Monrovia. Although many American blacks opposed repatriation to Africa, emigrations to the region nevertheless continued, leading to establishment of other settlements. By 1850 about 5,000 settlers lived in various settlements, which had now become incorporated as the Commonwealth of Liberia with Monrovia as capital, named after James Monroe, the sitting president of the United States when the first settlement was established. As a result of the American antislavery naval patrol off the coast of West Africa, Liberia also became home to New World–bound slaves rescued aboard slave ships still illegally engaged in slave trafficking. By 1867 the U.S. Navy had resettled about 5,700 recaptives in Liberia.

Before 1848 the international status of Liberia was anomalous. It was neither a sovereign state nor a colony of the United States. A constitution of 1825 that gave administrative authority over the commonwealth to agents of the ACS made it a private colony. Liberia's status, however, changed on July 26, 1847, when it

declared its independence under a constitution strikingly similar to that of the United States. Joseph Jenkins Roberts, who in 1842 had become the first black governor, was elected the first president of the sovereign state now called the Republic of Liberia. Before World War II (1939–1945), Liberia did not feature prominently in America's foreign and commercial relations. Even though Britain and other nations recognized Liberia's independence soon after it was declared, the United States did not do so until October 1862, a reflection of America's racial prejudice. Barring missionary and maritime activities in Liberia, the United States had no significant political and economic relations with the new African state. Despite historical ties, the United States lacked consistent interest in Liberia, and only responded sporadically to it, often during critical periods of challenge to its sovereignty.

Liberia did face such periods during its formative years. A number of times its sovereignty was threatened by European imperialism in Africa. Already active in the scramble for African territories in the nineteenth century, Britain and France desired to expand their conquests by annexing Liberia. Indeed, in 1883, Liberia lost a portion of its original territory in the area north of the Mano River to Sierra Leone, a British colony. Again, in 1895, the Liberian territory beyond Cape Palmas was annexed by the French colony of Ivory Coast. America's attitude to European colonial encroachment on Liberia was to oppose it and defend the nation's territorial integrity. On occasions, America's intervention in the incessant boundary disputes with the British and the French, whose colonial possessions literally encircled Liberia, did help to preserve its independence. For instance, in 1862, following an appeal from Monrovia, the United States sent a warship to West Africa to thwart possible British annexation of Liberia.

From the early years of the foundation of Liberia, the settlers faced constant uprising from the indigenous ethnic groups. The interior people were particularly fearful of the settlers' expansion and encroachment on their lands and the extension of government rule into their territories. In many instances, the United States provided Liberia with military assistance in putting down uprisings by indigenous groups such as the Kru and the Grebo.

U.S. INFLUENCE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Despite the United States' lack of consistent interest in Liberia, its sporadic support for the nation during critical times ensured that it exercised informal influence over the African nation. America's influence further increased when the Firestone Rubber Company established rubber plantations in the country in 1926. Liberia soon became an important source of rubber to the United States. Through its operations in the country, Firestone came to play a significant role in Liberia's political economy.

During World War II, Liberia assumed an unprecedented importance to the United States when it served America's economic and strategic needs. Liberian rubber and other products such as palm oil became of critical importance to the Allied powers after the Axis takeover of the traditional Far East market. Also, when the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the control of an air ferry operation across Africa through which American bombers and other military supplies reached the Allied forces in the Middle East, Liberian ports and airfields provided strategic points along the ferry route. Liberia's support for the American war effort was rewarded with American modernization projects in the country.

In the course of Liberian history, two distinct groups have constituted the society. First were the immigrant

settlers called the Americo-Liberians, born and bred in the United States, and, therefore, Eurocentric in orientation and outlook. Second were the various indigenous ethnic groups original to the area. The Americo-Liberian minority group emerged as the dominant class with special privileges, to the detriment of the indigenous population, which it relegated to a subservient position. The Americo-Liberians developed commerce, education, and social services, and a political system tailored along American democracy. Many Americo-Liberians were successful farmers and wealthy merchants, controlling a booming trade along the coast. From independence in 1847, the Americo-Liberians exercised almost total economic and political dominance of Liberia. Their political party, the True Whig, held power until April 12, 1980, when a bloody coup d'état led by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, an indigenous officer, terminated their unprecedented control of power.

SEE ALSO *Abolition of Colonial Slavery; African Slavery in the Americas; American Colonization Society.*

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Adebayo Oyebade

LI HONGZHANG
1823–1901

Li Hongzhang, a Chinese scholar-official, military leader, diplomat, and statesman, was born on February 15, 1823, in a village near Hefei Anhui Province. In 1844, he traveled to Beijing to study intensively under the direction of Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), his patron and mentor. Li became a *jinshi* (graduate of the highest order) in 1847, and he was admitted into the Hanlin Academy in 1849.

Li's rise began during the years of the Taiping Rebellion, when Qing government forces fought the forces of Hong Xiuquan (1812–1864), a self-proclaimed mystic and Christian convert who challenged Qing authorities. When the Taiping rebels reached the central provinces in 1853, Li returned to Anhui, where he raised a militia regiment, which was successful and attracted the attention of Zeng Guofan. Li was then appointed a circuit attendant *(daotai)* in Fujian Province, but in 1859 Zeng Guofan had him reassigned to the campaign against the Taiping. With the support of the "Ever Victorious Army"—a Chinese brigade, trained and commanded by foreigners, originally raised by Frederick Townsend Ward (d. 1862), later placed under the command of Charles George ("Chinese" Gordon, 1833–1885)—Li gained numerous victories, resulting in the surrender of Suzhou and the capture of Nanjing. Li was then appointed acting governor-general in Nanjing, where he established an arsenal.

In 1866 Li was ordered to suppress the Nian Rebellion (a remnant of the Taiping in Henan and Shandong) and finally succeeded. The next year, he was appointed governor-general of Huguang (the provinces of Hunan and Hubei) and held this post until 1870. After the Tianjin massacre (Catholic missionaries had been attacked by a group of anti-foreigners, who were disgusted by rumors of human sacrifice and the drinking of babies' blood), Li was appointed governor-general of the metropolitan province of Zhili, where he suppressed all antiforeign sentiments. To honor his services, Li was made imperial tutor and a member of the Grand Council. Most important, he was appointed superintendent of trade—and from that time until his death, he had a key role in Qing foreign politics: Li concluded several treaties and conventions (e.g., the Zhifu Convention of 1876 that ended the difficulties caused by the Margary affair, treaties with Peru and Japan, and the treaty with France to end the Sino-French War in 1886), and he directed Chinese policy in Korea. After the death of the Tongzhi emperor in 1875, Li played a major role in the coup d'état that put the Guangxu emperor on the throne.

Li was always aware of the necessity of strengthening the empire, modernizing transportation and industries, and reorganizing the armed forces. He raised a large armed force that was well drilled and well armed. Due to his prominent role in Qing policy toward Korea, Li was the leader of the Chinese forces in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). China's defeat in this war undermined Li's position, and he was transferred to a nonpolitical post. In 1896 Li toured Europe and the United States.

Two years later, Li was appointed governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi. In the aftermath of the antiforeigner Boxer Uprising (1900), he was urged to return to Beijing to negotiate a peace settlement with the allied powers, a multinational force that had

suppressed the uprising. Li used all his power and ability to keep the indemnities as small as possible and to eliminate undue humiliations resulting from other conditions of the treaty. Li signed the treaty on September 7, 1901, and died in Beijing on November 7 of that year.

SEE ALSO *Qing Dynasty; Taiping Rebellion.*

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Monika Lehner

LIMA

On January 18, 1535, the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) founded La Ciudad de Los Reyes (The City of the Kings), or Lima, in the Rímac Valley, six miles inland from what would become the port of Callao. The valley had been part of Pachacamac, a precolonial Andean religious center. In contrast to Mexico, where the Spanish established and built their colonial capital upon the ruins of the imperial center of the Aztecs, Tenochtitlán, Lima was located far from the Andean Inca capital of Cuzco. Pizarro wanted a city and political center on the Pacific and conveniently connected to the sea routes to Panama, Cuba, and Spain.

In 1542 Lima was made the capital of the viceroyalty of Peru, in effect, the imperial political center of all of Spanish South America. From that year until the end of Spanish rule, forty-two viceroys resided in Lima in the Palace of the Viceroys, located on the north side of the Plaza de Armas. In the early twentieth century, this run-down colonial palace was reconstructed as the more stately, neocolonial Palacio de Gobierno, which became the residence of the president of the republic.

Pizarro set the first stone of Lima's cathedral on top of the Puma Inti Temple. "Pizarro ordered Juan Tello to distribute the plots in the order they were designed in the plan," wrote the Spanish soldier and historian Pedro de Cieza de León (ca. 1518–1560). "And they say that Juan Tello, who was knowledgeable in this, remarked that this land would be another Italy and in trade a second Venice because with such a quantity of gold and silver it was

impossible for it to be otherwise" (1550/1998, p. 357). Lima, like all Spanish American cities, had been laid out according to a rational grid system inspired by Renaissance thinking on town planning. At the center of the city was a public square, the Plaza de Armas, with eight streets running outward from the corners of the square (and one additional street extending from the southern side of the plaza). Around the square were located the cathedral, the viceregal palace, and the houses of the municipal government. Proximity to the Plaza de Armas indicated the social prestige of the families who lived in fine houses of two stories. The orderliness of the city demonstrated the Spanish attempt to impose rational European structures upon a wild and natural America. In the early seventeenth century, Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616) commented, "The city was beautifully laid out, with a very large square, unless it be a fault that it is too big. The streets are broad and so straight that the country can be seen in four directions from any of the crossroads" (1617/1966, p. 776).

In 1593 Lima had a population of about 13,000 people. By 1614 the population had grown to over 25,000. Africans comprised the largest single group with 10,386, and with the addition of mulattos, the people the Spaniards called *negros* and *pardos*, exceeded 11,000. The next largest population group in the city was Spaniards, both American-born criollos and peninsular-born *chapetónes*, at 9,616. There were 1,978 native Andeans and only 192 mestizos (mixed Spanish-Indian offspring). The small number of mestizos suggests that many sons and daughters of mixed unions lived (and were therefore counted) as Indians or passed as Spaniards. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were more than 36,000 *limeños* (residents of Lima). By this time, Spaniards were in the majority with 56 percent of the population; Africans and mulattos made up 32 percent; and natives and mestizos constituted only 12 percent.

Compared to Mexico City, Lima was a small city but no less rich or monumental. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Spaniards had discovered the mountain of Potosí, the world's largest deposit of silver, which was controlled from Lima. Merchants, agriculturalists, and miners like Antonio López de Quiroga, acting as a business agent for others or on his own account, brought great sums of money to Lima. The Spanish historian Bernabé Cobo (1580–1657), in his mid-seventeenth-century *Historia de la fundación de Lima*, wrote of the "trade, splendour, and wealth" of the city. "The commerce and bustle which is always to be seen in this square is very great," wrote Cobo, referring to the Plaza de Armas. "The things to be found in this market are all that a well provisioned republic can desire for its sustenance and comfort" (quoted in Higgins 2005, p. 37).

There were in Lima in the seventeenth century fifteen or so *mayorazgos* (entailed estates) with incomes of 300,000 to 400,000 ducats yearly, but that was exceeded by the total income that flowed annually in salaries to ecclesiastics, royal officials, and military officers. The city's wealth was displayed in churches, houses, luxurious coaches, jewelry and gold and silver plate, tapestries, silks, brocades, fine linens, articles of worship, and African slaves.

The most impressive aspect of Lima in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the size and splendor of its religious establishment. A contemporary report in 1613 stated that there were more than 400 secular priests, about 900 friars, and 1,366 nuns. They worked and lived in nineteen churches, monasteries, and nunneries. One in ten of Lima's inhabitants were clerics. Besides the cathedral and the palace of the archbishop, there were parish churches, monasteries, convents, the house and jail of the Inquisition, separate hospitals for Spaniards and Indians, a hospital for sailors, a house for orphans and another for abandoned women, a doctrinal school for Indians, and schools and colleges.

The church and monastery of San Francisco, with its beautiful twin towers, conventual buildings, and grounds, constituted a city within the city of Lima. It housed more than two hundred monks, with an additional large staff and numerous African slaves in its prime. The convent of the Nuns of the Incarnation housed more than four hundred religious women. "Many of the rich nobles' daughters came to learn good manners, and they leave to marry," wrote Pedro de León Portocarrero in the early seventeenth century. "In this convent there are splendid and intelligent women, endowed with a thousand graces, and all of them, both nuns and lay women, have Black women slaves to serve them" (quoted in Mills and Taylor 1998, p. 170).

Lima was also a city of manufactures and commerce. Artisans and merchants tended to concentrate on particular streets according to specialization. There was the street of the silversmiths, the hatters' ally, the street of the mantas (cloaks), and the main one, Merchants' Street, which had at least forty shops. Many observers described Lima as a city overflowing in wealth. "I am astonished at what they tell me about Castile," noted a resident of Lima in 1590, "that it is finished, and I believe it from what people say here. Here we go neither hungry nor thirsty, nor do we lack for clothing." Another Lima resident writing home to Spain was upset by the news of "the hardship that you suffer in Spain. Since we want for nothing over here, we can hardly believe it" (Kamen 2003, pp. 309–310).

Late colonial Lima was not the great city it had been during its seventeenth-century "silver age." Devastating earthquakes, particularly in 1655, 1687, and 1746, severely damaged the city. The quake of 1746 killed some 6,000 residents and brought down most of the important buildings in the city. After these earthquakes, and the great quake of 1940, few genuine "colonial" buildings remain in Lima.

In 1739 Spain established the new viceroyalty of New Granada (with the viceregal capital of Bogotá) and in 1776 the viceroyalty of La Plata (with the viceregal capital of Buenos Aires). This redesign of the political map of Spanish South America not only reduced the prestige and power of Lima but also broke its near commercial monopoly. Goods no longer had to be imported at Callao and Lima and transported by mule train up and down the Andes as far as the port city of Buenos Aires.

By 1812 the population of Lima was close to 64,000. About 18,000 were Spaniards. Spaniards were always a minority in their colonial capital. In this late colonial year, the large majority of *limeños* were African slaves and free blacks and mulattos—over 30,000 people. There were slightly more than 10,000 Indians living in the city and almost 5,000 mestizos.

During the wars of independence in the years leading up to 1821, Lima quartered the royalist army of some 70,000 men. Despite this occupation, Lima's Creoles demonstrated little interest in revolution and independence. Creole fear of African slaves, blacks and mulattos, and Indians and mestizos—the exploited and subordinated majority—produced a very cautious and conservative local elite. In 1821 when Lima, and Peru, was liberated from Spanish rule and the republic was established, it was the result of the invasion of Peru by a revolutionary general from Argentina, José de San Martín (1778–1850).

SEE ALSO *Inca Empire; Lima; Mining, the Americas; Pizarro, Francisco; Túpac Amaru, Rebellion of.*

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LINGGADJATI AGREEMENT

The Linggadjati Agreement was agreed upon by a Dutch delegation and representatives of the Republic of Indonesia on November 12, 1946, in the hill station Linggadjati (Linggarjati) near Ceribon on Java. The agreement was signed in Batavia (Jakarta) on March 25, 1947.

Dutch authorities returning to the Dutch East Indies after World War II (1939–1945) soon realized they were not in a position to restore Dutch authority on Java and Sumatra, which was controlled by the Republic of Indonesia. This Republic had proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945. Lieutenant Governor-General H. J. van Mook (1894–1965), the highest-ranking Dutch administrator in the East, realized that negotiations with Sukarno (1901–1970), president of the Indonesian Republic, were inevitable. However, the Dutch government in the Netherlands, together with most Dutch political parties, was reluctant to talk to Sukarno, especially given his pro-Japanese stance during the war.

Under strong British pressure, the Dutch reluctantly started negotiations with the Republic of Indonesia. Van Mook studied events in French Indochina to find a solution for the Dutch problems in Indonesia. He wanted to recognize the Republic of Indonesia as having de facto authority over Java and Sumatra in exchange for the willingness from the Indonesian side to accept a federal Indonesian state that would be a partner with the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Within the federal Indonesian state the Dutch would at least control Borneo (Kalimantan) and the eastern part of the archipelago. The model for this proposal was the Fédération Indochinoise (Indochina Federation) and the Union Française (French Union), which were designed to maintain French control over Vietnam.

After the Dutch elections of May 1946, the newly formed Dutch coalition government decided to establish a "commission-general" in order to start negotiations with the Republic of Indonesia. The members of this commission-general were former prime minister Wim Schermerhorn (1894–1977), Max van Poll (1881–1948), and Feike de Boer (1892–1976). Their assignment was to adapt the constitutional arrangements for the Dutch East Indies to postwar realities without giving up the Dutch imperial mission.

The commission-general left for Indonesia in November 1946 and started negotiations with a delegation of the Republic of Indonesia, which included Sukarno and Sutan Sjahrir (1909–1966), in Linggadjati. Difficult and long negotiations followed on the future relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia. In the end, van Mook laid down a compromise in which the "United States of Indonesia" would become a "sovereign and democratic state" within a Dutch-Indonesian Union, which would concentrate on economic and cultural cooperation. The United States of Indonesia would have three states: the Republic of Indonesia, East-Indonesia, and Borneo. The Dutch would recognize the Indonesian Republic as having all authority on Java and Sumatra.

Sukarno accepted this compromise in order to avoid a long and difficult armed struggle against the Netherlands and, with the knowledge of his Republic, would control the vast majority of the population of Indonesia and would therefore soon control the United States of Indonesia. The Dutch commission-general accepted the compromise because a possible war was avoided and a close future relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia seemed to be assured.

In the Netherlands, conservative forces strongly opposed the Linggadjati Agreement. The commission-general seemed to have "given away" the Dutch East Indies to an irresponsible and unreliable group of Indonesian nationalists. The Dutch government decided to amend and to interpret the agreement in order to assure the Netherlands a reasonable future influence in Indonesia. The Dutch minister for overseas territories, J. A. Jonkman (1891–1976), issued a statement in parliament in which the Linggadjati Agreement was called merely a basis for further discussions and Dutch overseas ambitions were reasserted. The Social-Democratic Party and the Catholic Party proposed a motion that made clear that the future United States of Indonesia would be a part of a sovereign Dutch-Indonesian Union. Parliament passed this motion, by which the Netherlands definitely gave a new interpretation to the Linggadjati Agreement—without changing the precise words of the agreement itself.

Within the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno faced his own problems in gaining support for the Linggadjati Agreement. Radical elements within Indonesia were supported by the leader of the army, General Sudirman (1915–1950), in opposing the agreement, which did not bring immediate and full independence to Indonesia. However, Sukarno succeeded in convincing the Indonesian Parliament that the Linggadjati Agreement was a stepping stone toward full independence. On March 5, 1947, the parliament accepted the agreement, but only with the explicit understanding that the Indonesian government should work toward the

"liberation" of Borneo and East-Indonesia by making these areas a part of the Indonesian Republic "as soon as possible."

On March 25 the Linggadjati Agreement was finally signed by the Netherlands and Indonesia in the Rijswijk Palace in Jakarta. In reality, two different agreements were signed. The Dutch signed the agreement as interpreted by the Dutch government and the Dutch Parliament, which meant they agreed on forming a sovereign and powerful Dutch-Indonesian Union in which the United States of Indonesia and the Republic of Indonesia only played a minor role. The Indonesians signed the agreement in its more original form, accepting only a symbolic Dutch-Indonesian Union and wanting a fully sovereign United States of Indonesia in which the Republic of Indonesia would play a dominant role.

This fundamental difference of opinion on the future of Indonesia could not be bridged in the months following the signing of the Linggadjati Agreement. Finally, the Dutch government decided in June 1947 to fight a war against the Republic of Indonesia, hoping "moderate" Indonesians would grasp the opportunity to take over power in the Republic. The Dutch failed to understand that "moderate" Indonesians also desired full independence. In December 1948 a second war followed, after which international pressure, military failure, and the loss of political influence in Indonesia made the Dutch accept the independence of Indonesia along the lines of the original Linggadjati Agreement.

In December 1949 the United States of Indonesia was formed. The new country was linked with the Netherlands through a symbolic Dutch-Indonesian Union. This political construction only lasted for a few years: the United States of Indonesia was soon replaced by a unitary Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia left the Dutch-Indonesian Union in 1954.

SEE ALSO *Dutch-Indonesian Wars; Indonesian Independence, Struggle for.*

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Wim van den Doel

LITERATURE, MIDDLE EASTERN

Twenty-first-century Middle Eastern (primarily Arabic, Persian, and Turkish) literature encompasses a rich variety of genres, whose maturation has profited from internal and external influences upon this literature over the past fourteen centuries. Modern Arabic literature addresses the full range of human experience, often through a realist approach that employs the Arabic language in ways ranging from the most formal to the most colloquial. While Turkish and Persian literatures have both followed individual trajectories since the modern period, they too evince a similar range with respect to genre and employment of language.

Although today these three literatures appear as discrete entities, they share a long early religious, cultural, and political history. While pre-Islamic Persian and Turkish literatures would prove influential when taken up by writers in the first few centuries after Islam, pre-Islamic Arabic literature provided the first literary model. Pre-Islamic Arabic literature is characterized by the *mua'allaqat* (ca. mid 500s–early 600s CE), a collection of poems from the Arabian Peninsula renowned for their beauty. These poems are odes to the sorrows of lost love, using such tropes as abandoned campsites to evoke memories of a beloved. That of Imru al-Qays (c. mid-500s), perhaps the best known, begins: "Come, let us cry from the remembrance of a love and a home." Although poetic themes have changed over the centuries, the ode *(qasida)* has enjoyed continuing popularity through the twentieth century.

Poetry remained the dominant literary form during the "classical" period of the Abbasid (750–1258), with romantic praise of a beloved, whether male or female, the most common theme. A folk literature also emerged, involving heroic or adventure narratives; *A Thousand and One Nights* is the most renowned example. This collection of stories, of which "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" and "Aladdin" are perhaps the best known to Western readers, began to take shape around the year 1000. It drew together stories with roots in India, Persia, and the Arab world. Meanwhile, prose matured as a literary form, a development attributed to the Persian bureaucrats employed by the Abbasid court. Authors like Ibn Muqaffa (died ca. 760) and al-Jahiz (776–868/9) brought Persian narrative forms, stylistics, themes, and subject matter into the world of classical Arabic literature.

With the political fragmentation of the Muslim world in the 1200s, cultural contributions from Persia, India, western Asia, and North Africa intensified, entering the literature primarily through Sufi figures like the eminent Persian poet Hafiz (ca. 1352–1389). For the Levant and the Persian Gulf—the heart of the Arab world—the emerging Ottoman Empire provided the most significant influence. The Ottoman Empire aided the development of Arabic literature by, like the earlier Islamic empires, serving as a bridge joining peoples and cultures across its great geographic expanse.

Napoléon Bonaparte's (1769–1821) invasion of Egypt in 1798, often described as the beginning of the modern era, also marked the shift from domestic to external literary traditions as dominant influences on Middle Eastern literature. The introduction of European colonial regimes, coupled with the modernizing efforts of the Ottoman state, opened the region to European political, economic, and cultural influences on a much broader scale than in any previous historical moment. Whether in the form of European themes or genres, the incorporation of European words or the adoption of European languages wholesale, or literary responses to the new reality of colonial regimes, European influences on Middle Eastern literature began appearing toward the end of the century.

The most notable effect of European influence was the emergence of the novel as a primary literary genre of modern Arabic literature. Imported European novels first appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. By the late nineteenth century, the genre had attracted an upper- and upper-middle-class following. The reputed "first" Middle Eastern novel, Muhammad Hussein Heykal's (1890–1956) *Zaynab*, was published in 1913 and was followed by numerous novels published in Ottoman Turkish and Arabic.

The other characteristic genre of modern Arabic literature, the short story, also emerged in this period. Drawing upon the *hakawati* (story-telling) tradition found in folk literature, the modern short story has been employed to offer social and political commentary on the difficulties faced by ordinary citizens—particularly those in urban areas. Finally, the early and mid-twentieth century saw the blossoming of memoirs and autobiographic literature, which blended elements of the *tarjuma* (a type of formalized curriculum vitae often used to summarize the life achievements of eminent men), the literary inheritance of the *sira* (the narrative of the life of the Prophet Muhammad), and the more personal elements of naturalistic nineteenth-century poetry into autobiographic and memoir genre traditions.

Drama and poetry were also affected by nineteenth- and twentieth-century European literary movements.

Absurdist and existential dramatic styles have aided works whose political critiques needed to be safely cloaked in abstraction. On the other hand, an often gritty realism has enabled the production of a rich collection of novels and short stories, whose narratives are steeped in the daily lives of ordinary people. In poetry, the introduction of free verse style, breaking the tight conventions of the traditional forms, has spurred the emergence of new themes: the dramas of ordinary life, emotional responses to the loss of Palestine, and other topics grounded in the personal experience of the author rather than conventional rhetoric found in earlier eras.

A list of modern Middle Eastern literature must begin with the Egyptian author Naguib Mahfouz (Najib Mahfudh, b. 1911), who has exercised a peerless influence over twentieth-century Arabic literature. His best-known works include the Cairo trilogy (*Palace Walk*, *Palace of Desire*, *Sugar Street*), published from 1956 to 1957, and *Children of the Alley* (1959). A similarly eminent figure is Jordanian Abdelrahman (Abd al-Rahman) Munif (1933–2004), whose *Cities of Salt* (1984), an epic portrayal of the changes brought to a desert community by the advent of oil drilling there, was rewarded for its authenticity with bans in several countries.

The Palestinian short-story author Ghassan Kanafani (1936–1972) wrote a number of pieces that demonstrate the richness of the genre, of which "Men in the Sun" (1963) is the most widely known. Egyptian author Nawal el Saadawi (b. 1930) is best known in the United States for her activist writing on the oppression of women in the Arab world; within the region she is also known as a novelist, whose works, including *Woman at Point Zero* (1975), often treat similar themes. The books of Lebanese novelists Hanan al-Shaykh (b. 1945) and Ghada Samaan (b. 1942) are also often described as concerned with women's experiences, particularly during the Lebanese civil war: Samaan's *Beirut '75* (1974) can be found on university reading lists in Damascus, for example, while al-Shaykh's *Beirut Blues* (1995) uses the war to revisit themes of frustration and emptiness that she first addressed in *The Story of Zahra* (1986) and other works.

Some of the most well-known writers of contemporary Middle Eastern literature write in other languages: Palestinian novelist Anton Shammas (b. 1951) and emerging writer Sayed Kashua (Qashu', b. 1975) both write in Hebrew; Algerian author Assia Djebar (b. 1936) and Persian graphic writer Marjane Satrapi (b. 1969) write in French.

Poetry continues to play a significant role in modern Middle Eastern literature. The twentieth century was a time of great evolution in poetic styles, from the mysticism of the Lebanese-born writer Gibran Khalil Gibran

(1883–1931) to the gentle experiments with form and expression made by Egyptian author Ahmad Shawqi (1868–1932), the Palestinian poet Ibrahim Tuqan (1905-1941), and others in the interwar period. The best known figures of the later twentieth century have been those who have turned their mastery of language and rhythm to explore new poetic forms while expressing often sharply critical political and social commentary.

The Palestinian poet Mahmud Darwish (b. 1942) remains one of the most active voices in contemporary Arabic poetry; *Memory for Forgetfulness* (1982) is perhaps his most famous *diwan* (collection of poetry). The Syrian poet Nizar Qabbani (1923–1998), known for his often frosty relations with his own and other state governments, wrote political poetry in the guise of romance and quasi-erotic pieces. His works are often misrecognized as the latter in the West; translated collections of his poems often bear misleading references to love in their titles.

In addition to fiction, the genre of memoirs has proven particularly rich in the later twentieth and early twenty-first century. The best known and most frequently cited is eminent mid-century Egyptian author Taha Hussein's (1889–1973) autobiography, *The Days* (1929–1955), which follows the course of his life in three parts. Most other memoirs, however, focus on the author's childhood. In the late-twentieth century the genre began opening to women, following the publication of Moroccan writer Fatima Mernissi's (b. 1940) *Dreams of Trespass* (1994). (The childhood memoir of Turkish feminist and intellectual Halide Edib Adivar [1884–1964], *House with Wisteria*, was published in the mid-1900s.) Well-known Palestinian poet Fadwa Tuqan (1917–2003; *A Mountainous Journey*, 1985), Syrian author Siham Tergeman (*Daughter of Damascus*, 1994), and Moroccan short-story writer Leila Abouzeid (b. 1950; *Return to Childhood*, 1993) and others have published memoirs.

SEE ALSO *Clothing and Fashion, Middle East; Education, Middle East; Ideology, Political, Middle East.*

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LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The London Missionary Society (LMS), established in 1795, was one of a number of voluntary foreign missionary societies formed throughout Western Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. The evangelical revivals that inspired lay humanitarian activity at home, coupled with an increased sense of Britain's moral responsibilities to populations in its growing empire, led to the wave of foreign missions that crested across the nineteenth century. The founders of the LMS had been preceded by the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), and were followed by evangelical colleagues who established organizations in Scotland and England—in Scotland, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies (both 1796), and in England, the Society for Missions to Africa and the East (1799), which from 1812 was known as the Church Missionary Society. The LMS joined with the Commonwealth Missionary Society to become the Congregational Council for World Mission in 1966, and that organization evolved into the Council for World Mission in 1977.

The nondenominational founding principles of the Missionary Society, as the LMS was known until it was renamed in 1818, were preserved throughout its institutional history despite the fact that the organization quite quickly became almost exclusively associated with the Congregational Churches in Britain. Membership of the society was based on annual subscription. Members met annually in May to deliberate, to vote on administrative decisions, to be introduced to and send off new missionaries and those on furlough, and to celebrate the life and work of the institution. The formal administrative work of the LMS was undertaken by a voluntary Board of Directors, administration was managed by a Home Secretary, and a Foreign Secretary exchanged personal and business correspondence with the missionaries employed by the society all over the world. In 1810 this core organizational structure was expanded to include a growing number of committees, some region-specific, which oversaw the increasingly complex work. These included an Examinations committee—the work of which was to screen and train mission candidates. In 1875 this group was joined by a Ladies' board, which functioned until 1891, when it was replaced by a ladies' examination committee after women were allowed to join the Board of Directors. These central committees were also supported by a network of voluntary local auxiliary groups, organized and supported mostly by women, that disseminated information about missions and raised the funds—in small increments—needed to support administrative and mission work. What seems clear is that women's decision-making power, both in Britain and in foreign work, lay in their ability to exercise

Robert Morrison (1782–1834). *The Scottish missionary Robert Morrison (right), the first Protestant missionary in China, is shown in the early 1800s with Chinese assistants as they prepare Morrison's translation of the Bible.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

skill in working within what was a male-dominated institutional organization. As such, women operated through familial and social networks, and when attempting to influence decision making were bound by the necessity of avoiding the sort of direct confrontations they were certain to lose.

The LMS sent its first missionaries abroad in 1796, to Tahiti, and by 1945 it had sent 1,800 men and women to engage in foreign mission work. LMS missions to the South Seas were marked by the establishment of small but vibrant Christian communities, like those that resulted in the self-governing church in Papua. They were also marked by dramatic events, such as the fate that befell John Williams, who joined the mission in 1817 and became one of the LMS's most famous martyrs. Williams's criticism of existing LMS practices, his broad travel and dynamic evangelism, and his violent death in Erromanga in 1839 made him an inspiration to future mission workers; the society subsequently named a series

of seven missionary boats after him, and wooden ship-shaped boxes labeled "the John Williams" were used by mission workers collecting the change that supported mission work. A mission venture was established in eastern Siberia in 1818 when two missionaries and their wives traveled to Irkutsk to evangelize the Buryat before moving on to work with Mongols in China. Other missions were established in Greece and Malta, in North America, and to the Jews in London during this era.

The main fields of LMS activity across the nineteenth century were India, China, Southeast Asia, the Pacific, Madagascar, Central and Southern Africa, Australia, and the Caribbean. The LMS hired a significant number of Scottish missionaries throughout its history. Because Scots tended to be better educated than their English colleagues, they made up the majority of the Society's medical missionaries and provided the hearts and hands for work in the east, where better-trained candidates were deemed necessary to counter

the arguments of Hinduism and Islam. LMS work in India was first begun in 1798 outside of Calcutta; work was initiated after that in western India, and then in southern India, in 1805. LMS work in China was begun by Robert Morrison, who arrived in Canton (Guangzhou), the only port open to foreigners, in 1807; he and the colleagues who followed him focused on translation and publishing. However, the Qing Imperial government was successful in refusing Westerners entry to the rest of China until the mid-nineteenth century, and it was not until after 1843 that LMS workers began to slowly work their way into mainland China. LMS missionaries were present in the early days of the Sierra Leone settlement, but sustained LMS activity in Africa began in 1799 in Southern Africa, and spread north. A series of LMS missionaries in Southern Africa offered an important and sustained critique of settler actions, colonial activity, and imperial policy; David Livingstone, the society's most famous popular missionary, traveled north from there in his famous journeys as missionary and explorer. In each of the territories the LMS operated in, a combination of preaching, institution-building, and social outreach work was met by a variety of responses ranging from acceptance to adaptation, to outright rejection.

Both because of and in spite of the efforts of mission societies like the LMS, Christian churches were established throughout the world that exhibited beliefs and practices quite distinct from anything found in the West. Since their establishment, many of these churches have developed to a size and with a dynamism that has outstripped the Western church.

SEE ALSO *Missionaries, Christian, Africa; Missions, China; Missions, in the Pacific.*

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Rhonda A. Semple

LUANDA

LUGARD, FREDERICK JOHN DEALTRY
1858–1945

Frederick Lugard was a British military and colonial administrator. Lugard had a successful military career: he joined the army in 1878 and in 1905 became a colonel (with the local rank of brigadier general). He served in the Afghan war (1879–1880), in the Sudan campaign against Mahdist forces (1884–1885), and in Burma (1886–1887). In 1888 he was wounded in combat during an expedition organized by white settlers against Arab slave traders in the region of Lake Nyasa. One year later he was recruited by the Imperial British East Africa Company (I.B.E.A.), which employed him in geographical explorations and in further initiatives to crush slavery and the slave trade in the mainland territory under the jurisdiction of Zanzibar.

Lugard's fate changed when the Company dispatched him into Buganda (1890) as its representative. Lugard succeeded in urging Kabaka Mwanga to accept the I.B.E.A.'s protection. Lugard's memorandums and his addresses to various bodies did much to prevent the evacuation of Uganda. In the dispute between Christian missions, that beside the denominational differences involved Anglo-French rivalry, Lugard supported and armed the Protestant party against the pro-French Catholics headed by Mwanga, but throughout the whole affair he was anxious to reach a friendly settlement.

In 1894, the young but already notorious captain was sent by the Royal Niger Company to the future Nigeria. Even more than Uganda, Nigeria, especially northern and western Nigeria, with its well-established political infrastructure, proved to be an excellent setting for implementing Lugard's colonial design, known as *indirect rule.* The core idea was to utilize tribal chiefs as part of the colonial administration, while preserving their cultural identity and social separation. Colonialism as a governmental structure was welcomed and supported by westernized African elites, the so-called "collaborators," who essentially endorsed the new system brought by
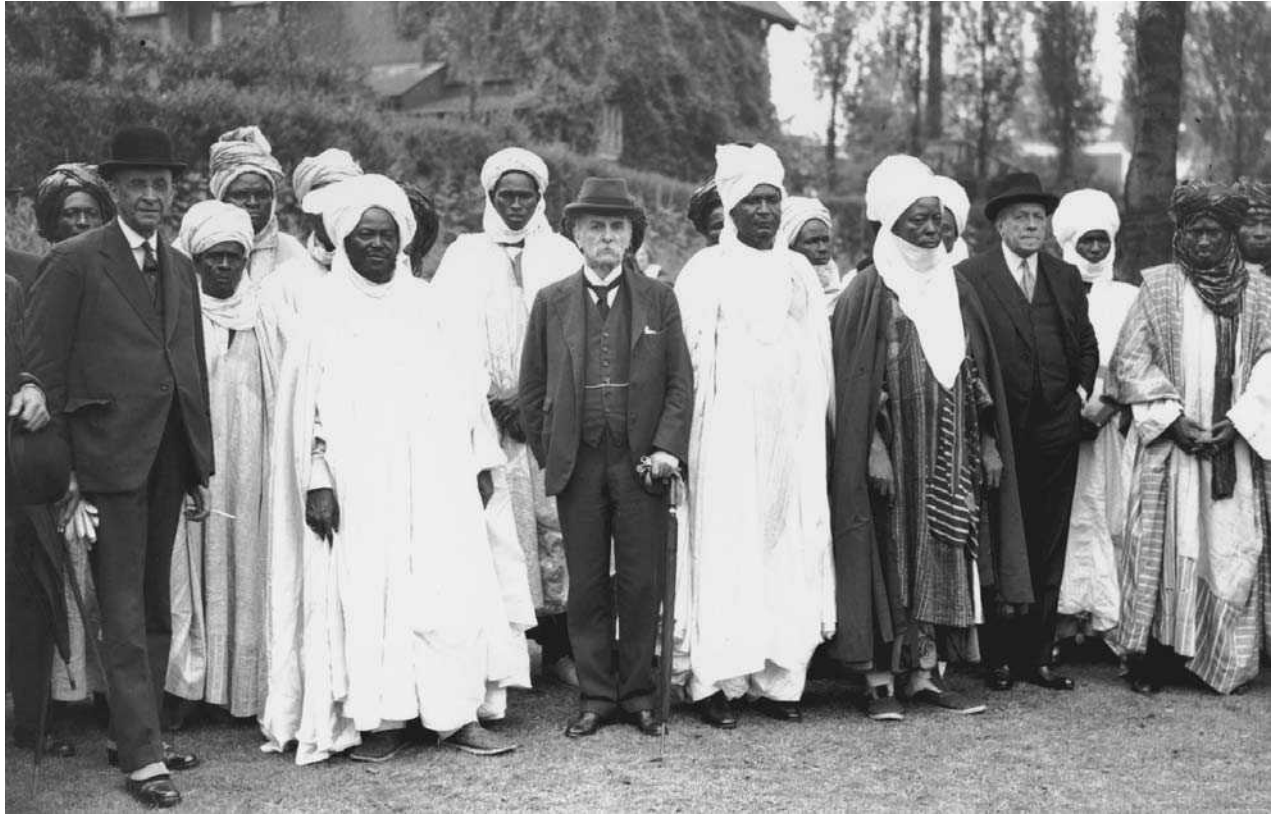
Lord Lugard at the London Zoo, June 1934. *Frederick John Dealtry Lugard (standing center), the British diplomat and colonial administrator of Africa, accompanies a delegation of West African chiefs on a visit to the London Zoo in 1934.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/ GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Europeans; for functions like justice, tax collection, and local public order the tribal chiefs were more suitable than anybody else because of their effective control of territory and inhabitants. Where necessary—for example in the Niger delta region, where stateless societies prevailed—the British administration did not hesitate to *invent* tribes, then create *warrant chiefs* in order to establish the model elaborated by Lugard—which in the meantime had become the dominant British approach in tropical Africa. Lugard combined administrative and military duties, overwhelming and subduing the African kingdoms and opposing rival European powers, mainly France and Germany. Between 1897 and 1899 he commanded the West African Frontier Force.

In 1900, when the Royal Niger Company's charter expired—thus concluding the private phase of colonialism—Lugard was appointed high commissioner of the Northern Territories of Nigeria. The expansion of British forces in the region was challenged by the powerful sultan of Sokoto and other Fula monarchs, who were galvanized by Islam. After Lugard mounted a campaign against them, however, both the emir of Kano and the sultan

of Sokoto were induced to accept British protectorate status. This eased the occupation of the entire region. At the end of Lugard's term in office, in 1906, the whole country was administered by the former rulers under the supervision of British residents.

After an interlude as governor of Hong Kong, in 1912 Lugard returned to Africa as governor of the Northern and Southern Provinces of Nigeria. There he achieved his greatest triumph as a colonial administrator, by unifying and amalgamating the two huge territories despite their profound differences. The operation was completed in a few years and on January 1, 1914, Lugard, by then Sir Frederick (and later Lord) Lugard, became governor-general of Nigeria, which he administered during World War I and up to 1919, when he retired.

In 1920 Lugard was named privy councilor. Between 1922 and 1936 he served as a member of the permanent mandates commission of the League of Nations, offering his great experience in colonial affairs to an international ambit. Lugard published a partly autobiographical book about the British colonial expansion (*The Rise of Our East*

African Empire, 1893), issued remarkable reports on Northern Nigeria, and expounded his ideas on colonial administration, which were perhaps influenced by George Goldie's enterprises and arguments, in *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa* (1922). The core of the doctrine he espoused in this seminal book is summarized by his assertion that "Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal and that it is the aim of the civilized administration to fulfil this dual mandate." To some extent, however, indirect rule was the evidence that colonialism, despite its disruption of traditional statehood, was not omnipotent and needed to rely on the same personnel and institutions that had defended in vain their own power and the freedom of their polities.

SEE ALSO *Dual Mandate, Africa; Indirect Rule, Africa; Warrant Chiefs, Africa.*

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Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961). Patrice Lumumba, leader of the Congolese National Movement, addresses troops in Stanleyville, July 18, 1960. **AP IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

LUMUMBA, PATRICE
1925–1961

Lumumba, the son of a poor peasant, was born in Onalua (near Katako-Kombe, in East Kasaï, Congo) on July 2, 1925, when Congo was under Belgian colonial rule. During his primary school years, Lumumba ran away or was expelled from several missionary institutions. But at the same time, he was ambitious and driven by real intellectual hunger. On arriving in Stanleyville (now Kisangani) in July 1944, he attended evening classes and became a voracious reader. He was employed in the postal service, but also had an active public life outside of work.

Lumumba became the founder and president of several Congolese cultural, social, and political organizations, including the local *Amicale Libérale*. In this capacity, he met the Belgian Minister of Colonies, Auguste Buisseret, when the latter was visiting Congo in 1954. Thanks to the minister's help, he participated in a delegation of Congolese visiting Belgium in 1956—a rare privilege for a black person at the time. Upon his return, Lumumba was arrested on the charge of theft while performing his duties as a postmaster. He was sent to jail and lost his job. However, these events did not break his spirit, nor impact his growing popularity among the Congolese.

After his release, in June 1957, he went to the capital, Léopoldville (Kinshasa), where he found a job as a salesman for a local brewery. More than ever before, Lumumba engaged in public and even outright political activities. In October 1958 he was co-founder and provisional president of the *Mouvement National Congolais* (MNC), which immediately became one of the most influential formations of nascent Congolese nationalism. In December 1958, he participated in the Pan-African Conference at Accra (Ghana's capital). In July 1959 internal disagreements led to the split-up of the MNC into two rival organizations, Lumumba's wing being more radical.

The so-called MNC-Lumumba was one of the few Congolese parties being organized on a non-ethnical basis; it stressed the necessity of Congolese unity, as opposed to confederalist or separatist tendencies. In a climate of growing hostility toward Belgian colonial rule, Lumumba was arrested once again after riots in Stanleyville in October 1959. On January 21, 1960, he was condemned to six months' imprisonment, but was released a few days later so he could attend the Round Table Conference, held in Brussels, where the Belgian government discussed the political future of the Congo

with all Congolese parties. This conference decided to grant the country a quick and unconditional independence on June 30, 1960.

In the meantime, parliamentary elections were being held in May; they established MNC-Lumumba as the single most important party of Congo, but without gaining an absolute majority. Consequently, Lumumba became prime minister of the first Congolese government, while Joseph Kasavubu (1910–1969), the leader of another important party, the Abako, was designated as president. During the official ceremonies, held in Léopoldville on independence day in the presence of Belgian King Baudouin (1930–1993) and several prominent Belgian politicians, Lumumba caused serious turmoil by delivering an unannounced speech in which he stressed the many sufferings the Congolese had undergone during Belgian domination. This incident confirmed to the Belgian authorities and other Western powers, such as the United States, that Lumumba was a dangerous and extremist leader.

He was seen as a real threat to Western influence and as a promoter of communist rule throughout the entire African continent. Only five days after independence was declared, a rebellion in some units of the Congolese army led to unilateral Belgian military intervention and widespread chaos in the country. Moreover, the rich mining province of Katanga broke away from central authorities and declared its own independence. This secession was (in practice) supported by the Belgians. Lumumba's central government broke off diplomatic relations with Belgium and called for international help. This led to a United Nations (UN) intervention in Congo. By now the political and, in some circles even physical, elimination of the Congolese prime minister had become a priority for the Belgian and U.S. authorities.

Inspired by them, President Kasavubu dismissed the prime minister on September 5, 1960; Lumumba, in turn, immediately deposed the president. This political stalemate led Colonel Mobutu (1930–1997), then head of the Congolese National Army and protégé of Washington, DC, and Brussels, to take over power.

Lumumba, arrested and placed under home surveillance by Mobutu's troops (but protected by UN soldiers), made an unsuccessful attempt to escape to Stanleyville, where he could count on many followers. After his capture, Lumumba was finally handed over to his fiercest enemies, the secessionist authorities of Katanga. Only a few hours after his transfer to Katanga's capital, Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi), during which he was severely beaten and tortured, he was executed nearby on January 17, 1961.

The news of his death caused great indignation in many third world countries and in the Soviet bloc. The elimination of Congo's legal chief of government was seen as a plot of Western imperialist powers to curtail growing African and third world self-determination. Although the Belgian and U.S. authorities denied any participation in Lumumba's assassination, presented as an intra-Congolese affair, it is clear by now that both Western powers contributed to create the context leading to his elimination, without directly carrying it out. Immediately after his death, Lumumba became an icon of the third world's struggle against imperialism—even if he had been prime minister for only two months and not given much opportunity to exercise power.

SEE ALSO *Belgium's African Colonies; Decolonization, Sub-Saharan Africa; Nationalism, Africa.*

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Guy Vanthemsche

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MACAO

Macao (also Macau), a special administrative region of the People's Republic of China, occupies a small, hilly peninsula located on the west shore of the Pearl River (or Zhujiang River) on the southeast coast of China. Originally less than 15 square kilometers (5.8 square miles), the peninsula and the adjacent islands of Taipa and Colôane have expanded by land reclamation since the early twentieth century to 27 square kilometers (10.4 square miles). The population in 2004 was approximately 460,000, 95 percent comprising Chinese immigrants from the South China provinces, plus a small number of perhaps no more than 5,000 Macanese, the mixed-blood descendants of early Portuguese unions with Asian peoples.

Macao was founded in 1557 by Portuguese traders seeking a location for a permanent commercial settlement. Until the founding of Hong Kong nearly 300 years later, Macao was the only permanent European settlement in China. By 1600 Macao had become a thriving cosmopolitan city, its prosperity founded on the trade network from Goa in India, to Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, to Macao, and on to Nagasaki in southern Japan.

By the mid-seventeenth century the Portuguese seaborne empire declined precipitously under the assault of the Dutch, who took Malacca in 1641. In 1640 Japan expelled all foreigners and closed the country. Macao's prosperity collapsed, and the city survived as a center of local Southeast Asian trade. As the new colonial powers, led by Britain, arrived in pursuit of the China trade in the late eighteenth century, Macao's importance was revived as a temporary refuge for Europeans involved in the Canton (Guangzhou) trade. But when Hong Kong was founded by the British in 1842 in the wake of the first Opium War (1839–1842), Macao was relegated to a backwater, its inferior harbor increasingly unable to accommodate modern ships. By the early twentieth century Macao had acquired notoriety for gambling and various forms of vice. Its principal industries then included matches, fireworks, incense, furniture, and cheap toys. After World War II (1939–1945) Macao's economy remained stagnant, but the establishment of a gambling syndicate and the growth of tourism in the 1960s saw its slow revival.

China had never ceded sovereignty over the territory, and the Portuguese paid ground rent for the privilege of occupation. In the late nineteenth century Portugal attempted to claim formal sovereignty over Macao and a treaty in 1887 recognized Macao as a colony under perpetual Portuguese occupation. Its status remained ambiguous until the 1980s when Hong Kong's ultimate return to China in 1997 was settled with Britain. Negotiations between China and Portugal led to the return of Macao to Chinese control on December 20, 1999. The agreement preserved Macao's economy, society, culture, and quasi-autonomous government for at least fifty years.

From the 1980s Macao experienced rapid economic growth and expansion. Tourism and gambling grew vigorously with the construction of an airport, new hotels, and casinos. Fifty-five percent of municipal revenues derive from a tax on gambling. In 2002 the gambling monopoly was opened to bidding and new Las Vegas syndicates won places in Macao. Macao's robust economy has become an integral part of the Pearl River Delta economic region.

SEE ALSO *China, After 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, to the First Opium War; Chinese*

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Jonathan Porter

MACHEL, SAMORE
1933–1986

Born into a poor family in the Chilembene village of colonial Mozambique on September 29, 1933, Samore Moisés Machel worked hard to achieve eminence as a nationalist, statesman, and intellectual. Under his leadership as a freedom fighter, Machel helped dismantle the Portuguese's colonial clutch on his people of Mozambique. In his position as the first president of an independent Mozambique, Machel also is remembered for his unflinching opposition to white minority rules in neighboring South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe).

In the 1940s Machel had his early education under the Catholic mission schools at his home province, then known as Adeia da Madragoa. With the Portuguese policy of assimilation, colonial education was under strict government control. Unlike some of his privileged comrades in the anti-colonial struggle, Machel was denied the privilege of a higher education because of his poor background. Nonetheless, he received good military training in several African and Western countries. The wider continental liberation struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, which corresponded with Machel's formative years, played a crucial role in his emergence as an African nationalist. Bitter from the exploitative Mozambican colonial experience, Machel, like the majority of African nationalists, equated Western capitalism with colonialism and oppression, whereas Soviet socialism stood for freedom and independence.

In 1962 Machel joined the left-wing Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO), which had launched a guerrilla movement against Portuguese colonial rule in 1961 under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane (1920–1969). Machel would eventually rise through the ranks and become the leader of the movement six months after Mondlane was assassinated in 1969. Under Machel, the FRELIMO intensified guerrilla attacks against white settlers in Mozambique, especially around the Cahora Bassa

Samore Machel. *The nationalist leader and president of Mozambique from 1975 to 1986, photographed with troops in Mozambique on June 25, 1980.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and Vila Pery districts. As the popularity of FRELIMO increased among the Africans, the Portuguese national army started rethinking the repressive approach to the decolonization question in their African colonies, including Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde.

On April 25, 1974, the army overthrew the Caetano regime in Portugal and the incoming government of General Antonio de Spinola (1910–1996) immediately favored a ceasefire with FRELIMO. After about a year of negotiations, uneasy peace, and more bloodshed,

Mozambique gained its independence on June 25, 1975. Samore Machel was sworn in as president of the People's Republic of Mozambique on July 1, 1975.

In accordance with his ideological beliefs, Machel advocated for the formation of a new Mozambican society based on Marxism. He established a one-party state, declaring that his country would be a ''revolutionary base against imperialism and colonialism in Africa.'' Machel provided the basis for the African Nationalist Congress (ANC), and the Zimbabwean liberation movements. Troubled by Machel's pro-Communist policies, several Western powers, including the United States, collaborated with the apartheid regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in funding an anti-Communist faction in Mozambique known as the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO). Mozambique had heavily depended on South Africa for its food and material needs. Therefore, the internationalized civil conflict amounted to a stranglehold that Machel needed to confront to keep his dreams alive. Heavy financial, material, and personnel contributions from the Soviet Union, Cuba, Tanzania, Zambia, and other African countries sustained the FRELIMO in the war, while Machel attempted to build a country tolerant to race and ethnic differences.

On October 19, 1986, Machel died in a suspicious plane mishap coming back from a meeting with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia (b. 1924). Joaquim Chissano (b. 1939), the current President of Mozambique, succeeded Machel as the new party leader. In 1994 he initiated the region's transition into multiparty politics.

SEE ALSO *Nationalism, Africa; Portugal's African Colonies.*

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Raphael Njoku

MADRAS

MAGELLAN, FERDINAND
1480–1521

The Portuguese mariner Fernão de Magalhães, whom the world knows as Ferdinand Magellan, was given command of a Spanish fleet of five ships in 1518 to discover the Spice Islands for Spain. Magellan's five small ships, the Armada de Molucca, departed Seville in 1519 with about 260 crew members from ''divers nations''— Greeks, Venetians, Genoese, Sicilians, French, Portuguese, Spaniards, and others—as the chronicler Antonio Pigafetta (d. ca. 1534) wrote. This three-year expedition was the most important European voyage of discovery after the voyages of Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) to India in 1497 to 1499 and Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) to America in 1492 to 1493.

Magellan's expedition was an expedition of many ''firsts.'' It was the first voyage to pass from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean through what came to be known as the Strait of Magellan, the first European voyage to cross the Pacific Ocean, the first European ''discovery'' of the Philippines, and—most famously— the first circumnavigation of the globe. This 96,500-kilometer (about 60,000-mile) voyage opened the remaining crucial sea-lanes of the world to European ships, commerce, and colonial empires.

Ferdinand Magellan was born near Villa Real in Tras os Montes, Portugal, and educated in Lisbon at the royal courts first of King João II (1455–1495) and then of Manuel I (1469–1521). Beginning in 1505, Magellan began an eight-year career as a sailor and soldier in the Portuguese East Indies. In 1513 he joined the Portuguese invasion of Morocco. In India, Magellan lost his investment in trade. In Morocco, his horse was killed in battle. His requests to the king for compensation were refused. Charges of treason and corruption against Magellan for actions taken in Morocco were not reviewed by the king at Magellan's request but were later dismissed in North Africa. By 1517, when the king refused to increase Magellan's allowance or support a voyage to the Indies, the soldier-mariner was deeply distressed; his pride was wounded, his reputation insulted, and his ambition thwarted. When Magellan asked the king if he could offer his services to another kingdom, the answer was a surprising yes. A month later, Magellan arrived in Seville.

In Spain, the Portuguese mariner Fernão de Magalhães became known as Hernando de Magallanes. He offered the kingdom's powerful House of Trade extremely valuable knowledge. He claimed he had sailed on behalf of Portugal to the Spice Islands (the Moluccas), he knew where they where and how to find them, and he claimed that under the Spanish-Portuguese Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) these islands were located within the Spanish hemisphere.

In 1518 King Charles I (1500–1558; soon to be Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor), gave Magellan a commission "to find in the domains that belong to us and are ours in the area in the Ocean Sea, within the limits of our demarcation, islands, mainlands, rich spices" (quoted in Thomas 2003, p. 496). The crown (and the banking House of Fugger) provided Magellan with the ships of the Armada de Molucca, salaries for the crew, trade goods, provisions, and more, all expenses coming to 8,751,125 *maravedís* (in current U.S. dollars, this expenditure would have a value of approximately one million dollars). The captain-general (Magellan) was paid 50,000 *maravedís* and an additional 8,000 each month.

Magellan left Spain in September 1519 with the *San Antonio*, the *Concepción*, the *Victoria*, the *Santiago*, and the captain-general's flagship, the caravel *Trinidad*. This small fleet immediately sailed to the Canary Islands to pick up more provisions. From this usual departure point for Spanish ships heading west, Magellan turned south and followed the coast of West Africa from Cape Verde to about Sierra Leone, and then let the south equatorial current take his ships across the Atlantic to the bulge of Brazil. From late November through December and January, the Armada de Molucca coasted southwest, reaching the bay at Rio de Janeiro and then the great estuary of the Río de la Plata. After determining that the River Plate was not the strait to the East Indies, Magellan continued sailing south and searching for a passage. Discontent among the crew, particularly the Spanish officers, led to a mutiny against the Portuguese captain-general that took control of three ships. The hesitation of the conspirators and the furious response of Magellan defeated the mutiny.

The search for the strait began in May 1520 and took months. During the search, the *Santiago* was shipwrecked in a storm in August. Magellan and his four remaining ships discovered the strait in October. Passage through the narrow, surging, and confusing network of fjords approximately 480 kilometers (about 300 miles) long was difficult and dangerous and took three of the ships thirty-eight days to accomplish. In midpassage, the *San Antonio* disappeared and returned to Spain.

Emerging from the strait into what was known as the Southern Sea, the smaller Armada de Molucca coasted northwest along the South American shore until reaching the site of the future Santiago de Chile and then turned due west. For ninety-eight days this small fleet sailed across more than 11,300 kilometers (about 7,000 miles) of relative calm. On this exceedingly long voyage, the crew ran out of food and water and ate rats, ox hides, and saw dust, and drank "yellow water." Scurvy, a malady caused by vitamin C deficiency, produced a swelling of the gums, as well as boils and lesions that seemed to make the skin fall off the bones. Pigafetta reported that twenty-nine crewmen died of scurvy, and nearly as many fell grievously ill. In March 1521 the crew heard the cry "Tierra!" (land). The fleet landed in the Marianas on the islands of Rota and Guam.

By April, Magellan and his steadily shrinking expedition arrived in what would later be named the Philippines. At Cebu Island, Magellan made a show of military force and forged an alliance with the local ruler Humabon. As the captain-general began to make himself lord of the natives, he became more and more insistent on encouraging his native allies to convert to Christianity and, where necessary, on requiring conversion by coercion and violence.

On the neighboring island of Mactan, Magellan found a chief, Lapu Lapu, who refused any cooperation with the Europeans. At the request of another native chief, Magellan brought sixty of his men, armed and armored, and attacked the village of Lapu Lapu. Although Magellan believed one European soldier could defeat a hundred native warriors, when the fight began the Europeans were outnumbered twenty-five to one, and the battle did not go as planned. Natives shot poisoned arrows at the unprotected legs of the European soldiers. The toxin disoriented and weakened the soldiers, which allowed natives to approach the wounded and do more damage. This is what happened to Magellan. Shot in the leg with a poisoned arrow, Magellan continued to fight for another hour or so, but eventually he lost his strength and was surrounded and attacked by several natives who hacked him to death. An additional eight European soldiers were killed in the battle before the surviving wounded and scared soldiers retreated to their ship. On April 27, 1521, European expansion met effective resistance. Facing Mactan Harbor today is a giant statue of Lapu Lapu. An obelisk nearby commemorates the battle: "Here on this spot the great chieftain Lapu Lapu repelled an attack by Ferdinand Magellan, killing him and sending his forces away" (Bergreen 2004, p. 287).

A few days after the battle, Magellan's ally Humabon hosted a feast that thirty Europeans attended, most of them officers, about one-quarter of the entire crew. Near the end of the banquet, the Europeans were attacked and most were killed. Learning of this tragedy, the remaining 115 crewmen in three small ships did not send a rescue party but, instead, set sail and left Cebu as quickly as possible. Once they were at sea, the crew of the *Concepción* concluded that their damaged and worm-eaten ship would not make the voyage. After its provisions, rigging, and other useful items were transferred to the other two ships, the *Concepción* was burned and scuttled. The *Trinidad* and the *Victoria* now proceeded to the Spice Islands as best they could.

From May to November 1521, the ever-smaller Armada de Molucca journeyed to Borneo, Palawan, Brunei, and Cimbonbon. As they traveled into the "East Indies," the crew entered more populated, commercial, and politically dangerous regions. They also found a guide to bring them to Ternate, Tidore, Motin, Makian, and Bacan, the primary islands of the Moluccas, the famed Spice Islands.

In November and December 1521 the crew traded what they had for 1,400 pounds of cloves, the most valuable spice on the European market. In late December the *Victoria*, under the command of the Basque sailor Juan Sebastián de Elcano (d. 1526), left for home with sixty crewmembers. The *Trinidad* attempted to sail back across the Pacific but foundered and turned around, then sailed to Portuguese Goa in India. The few surviving crew reached Lisbon and were immediately imprisoned. Only four sailors from this ship ever returned to Spain.

The *Victoria* passed Java and then sailed across the Indian Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, then north to the Cape Verde Islands and finally Spain. Pigafetta noted that as the ship sailed north along the African coast, the crew had to throw the dead bodies of their mates into the ocean. When the *Victoria* reached Seville on September 8, 1522, there were eighteen survivors onboard. King Charles granted Captain Sebastián de Elcano a coat of arms that showed a globe, spices, Malay kings, and the legend *Primus me circumdedisti* (Thou first circled me).

After 1522, the great unknown was known. All the world's oceans were connected and they became highways for European ships, traders, missionaries, and colonists. This became clear in 1529 in Diego Ribero's world map, which accurately depicted the outlines of the continents of Africa, India, and America. This map also showed the route of the Magellan voyage. The most famous illustrations of the Magellan circumnavigation were the oval world maps made by Battista Agnese from 1543 to 1545. These gorgeous color manuscript maps on vellum showed the route of Magellan (in black ink) and the Spanish silver fleet (in gold). In 1543 Charles V ordered one of these maps to give to his son Philip. Paolo Forlani's engraved map of South America (ca. 1564–1572), although not the first to do so, clearly showed the strait connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans and gave it the name Streto di Magaanes, the Strait of Magellan.

SEE ALSO *Cartography in the Colonial Americas; Columbus, Christopher; Empire, Spanish; European Explorations in South America; Gama, Vasco da.*

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Thomas Benjamin

MAJI MAJI REVOLT, AFRICA

The Maji Maji Revolt (1905–1907) was a pivotal event in the history of early colonial Tanzania. The revolt was the first manifestation of a united, interethnic opposition to colonial rule in Africa. Though the rebellion failed to oust the Germans from East Africa, it led the colonial administration to implement a series of reforms. The Maji Maji Revolt further engendered a protonationalist tradition that was tapped into in the 1950s during the country's modern nationalist period.

Following the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), Germany acquired several colonies in Africa, including the present-day countries of Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and part of Mozambique. Like other colonial powers, Germany aimed to maximize the economic potential of its African colonies. In East Africa, the Germans exerted control through violent repressive tactics. They introduced a head tax in 1898 imposed on adult males to raise revenue for their administration. Like many other colonial powers, Germany relied on forced labor to build roads and other infrastructure. In 1902 the governor of German East Africa, Count Adolf von Götzen (1866–1910), ordered Tanzanian villagers to grow cotton as cash crop. Tanzanians resented so strongly this order because of the back-breaking work involved in cotton cultivation. These German policies were highly unpopular, and some villagers refused to work the land or pay the taxes. German policies also disrupted African social and economic relations as many men were forced away from their homes to work, and rural women were forced to assume new roles and contribute more to subsistence. The difficult conditions to which the natives were subjected were exacerbated by a drought that threatened the region in 1905. These circumstances, in combination with the effects of the government's agricultural, forest, and labor policies, led to open rebellion in July 1905.

The native Tanzanians turned to African spirituality and magic to drive the Germans out of Tanzania. The leader of the rebellion was a spirit medium named Kinjikitile Ngwale (d. 1905), who called himself Bokero and claimed to be possessed by a snake spirit called Hongo. Bokero began to spread the idea that the people had been

called upon to eliminate the Germans. The revolt was named after a medicine called *maji* that purportedly gave African fighters immunity to German bullets. Although this "war medicine" was in fact nothing but water mixed with castor oil and millet, the dissemination of the *maji* ideology spread a message of common opposition and resistance to German colonial rule.

Believing themselves empowered with this medicine, Bokero's followers began the Maji Maji Revolt. Armed with cap guns, spears, and arrows, and wearing millet stalks around their heads, they set out from the Matumbi Hills in southern Tanzania and attacked German garrisons throughout the colony. Along with the Matumbi, the Mbunga, Kichi, Ngoni, Ngindo, and Pogoro joined the rebellion in German East Africa. Although fewer in number, German forces of European and native soldiers used superior firepower to their advantage, and several thousand Maji rebels were cut down by machine-gun fire. The magic water that they thought would protect them from the German guns failed. However, the fight in several areas was bitter.

When Kinjikitile Ngwale was executed by German troops on August 4, 1905, another spirit medium continued to lead the revolt. The rebellion continued when the Ngoni people joined in the revolt with a force of 5,000 but they were no match to German guns when they were attacked. The Germans destroyed villages, crops, and other food sources used by the rebels in a scorched-earth policy, leading to the deaths of an estimated 250,000 from famine. The defeat of the Ngoni marked the end of any serious resistance. By April 1906, the southwest of German East Africa was pacified, but it was not until August of 1907 that the rebellion was effectively stamped out.

The aftermath of Maji Maji Revolt had important implications for German rule until the end of World War I in 1918, when the area became British territory. The rebellion, which led to the death and displacement of hundreds of thousands of people, was a major challenge to German colonial rule in Africa. The colonial government instituted important administrative reforms in the wake of the rebellion. For the Africans in the region, the rebellion raised a nationalist consciousness that was called upon during the decolonization period.

SEE ALSO *Berlin Conference; Germany's African Colonies.*

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Chima J. Korieh

MALABAR, EUROPEANS AND THE MARITIME TRADE OF

In the sixteenth century, prior to the arrival of Europeans, the maritime region of Malabar on the southwest coast of India had the enviable reputation of being the most hospitable of trading havens in the Indian Ocean. Constituted by geography as a robust and self-contained coastal unit with access to a productive pepper-growing hinterland, the region was dotted with ports that carried on a thriving commerce in pepper and spices in the markets of the Indian Ocean. There was, in addition to the high-seas trade with West Asia, a substantial coastal trade that connected the Malabar ports with Kanara and Gujarat further north along the west coast of India and with the Coromandel in India's southeastern littoral. Malabar's exports consisted primarily of pepper and spices, while imports were rice and textiles from Gujarat and Bengal, as well as bullion and horses from West Asia.

Politically, the region was fragmented among a series of contenders and local suzerains, of whom the most influential was the *zamorin* of Calicut, followed by the rulers of Cannanore, Cochin, and Vynad. The actual business of commerce was, by and large, dominated by three merchant groups: (1) the *pardesis* or foreign merchants; (2) the Mapillas, the local Muslim merchant community; and (3) the Chetties, a Tamil merchant caste, who were prominent as money changers and coral merchants and transacted the trade with the Coromandel. The *pardesis* enjoyed a special status in most of the Malabar ports and especially in Calicut, where the *zamorin* scrupulously safeguarded their interests. It was not surprising, therefore, that this group played a major role in resisting the European offensive that came with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1499.

Shipping and seafaring in Malabar drew the appreciation of early European travelers and traders. The Mapillas were considered excellent sailors and ship owners, as well as courageous fighters. Coastal shipping was dominated by fast oar- and sail-powered *vallams* (a type of Indian boat). The fast-moving Malabar galleys, built in the shipyards of Cochin and Calicut, were also ubiquitous in the coastal circuit. Fleets of twenty to thirty Malabar galleys swarmed the Arabian Sea, pouncing on vulnerable ships.
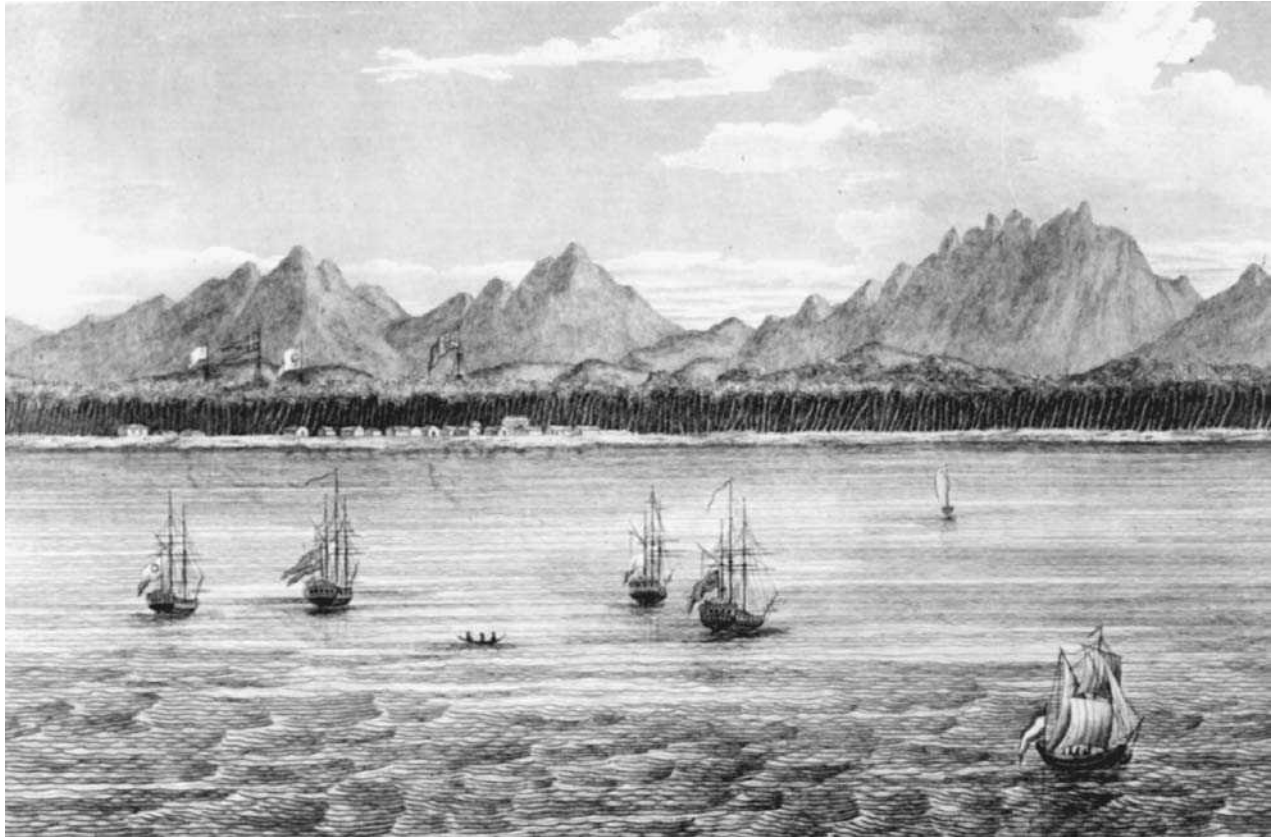
East India Company Ships in Malabar. *Ships belonging to the British East India Company explore the coast of Malabar at Calicut in southwest India in this nineteenth-century illustration.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Oceangoing vessels in Malabar seem to have been smaller, in terms of tonnage, than their counterparts in Gujarat.

The Portuguese discovery of the direct sea route to India, which they hoped to use to dominate the pepper traffic between India and Europe and to discover potential Christian allies, as part of their crusading zeal, was followed almost immediately by the articulation of superior claims to trade in the Indian Ocean and the establishment of a seaborne empire to enforce a monopoly on trade in pepper and spices. This took the form of constructing garrisons and fortified settlements in select Malabar ports, establishing pepper agreements with the rulers who were obliged to turn over a portion of their pepper production to the Portuguese at fixed prices, and imposing a policy of trading permits *(cartazes)* that local merchants were obliged to purchase, thereby confining them to designated routes and commodities. These measures specifically targeted *pardesi* merchants, who were forbidden from carrying pepper, thus turning over the traffic to Portuguese shipping.

Throughout the sixteenth and a considerable part of the seventeenth century, an overwhelming proportion of the pepper imported from Asia into Lisbon was procured from southwestern India. Against the total of approximately 17,300 quintals (1,907 short tons) of pepper imported into Lisbon in 1506, the average amount imported from Cochin alone in 1506 and 1507 was 13,214 quintals (1,457 short tons), while the total amount imported into Lisbon was 20,020 quintals (2,207 short tons) in 1513 and 20,415 quintals (2,250 short tons) in 1514. In the early part of the seventeenth century, this increased even further; between 1612 and 1634, pepper procured at Malacca (in present-day Malaysia) accounted for only 3.26 percent of the total amount shipped to Lisbon.

The arrival of the Portuguese completely altered the terms of trade in the Indian Ocean and introduced for the first time the idea of armed commerce. Malabar was probably the most traumatized region as a result of the European intrusion, and the consequence was a large-scale militarization of coastal society. The sixteenth century witnessed a state of endemic conflict, which threw into disarray existing patterns of trade and commercial activity on the Malabar coast. Local resistance to the

Portuguese took the form of occasional attacks on Portuguese ships and avoidance of the *cartaz*, thereby establishing a parallel network of ports. Two groups stand out in the annals of Malabar's resistance—the Mamales of Cannanore and the Kunajalis, the admirals of the *zamorin*. As coastal chieftains, who jealously defended their right to trade in the ocean, especially in the Maldives, they mounted an armed resistance that was sustained and successful. Endorsed by Malabar's rulers like the zamorin they were able to undermine the Portuguese monopoly.

The seventeenth century saw the entry of the Dutch and the English into the Indian Ocean and the waning of Portuguese influence in Malabar. By the beginning of the century, most of the commercial powers in the region had come to terms with the Portuguese. Calicut and Cannanore resumed their trade with the Red Sea. Coastal traffic with Gujarat and the Coromandel was renewed and the result was an overall expansion in the region's overseas trade.

Regular sailings of the Dutch into Malabar followed after their initial conquest of Kandy in Ceylon. In 1660 the Dutch took control of the fort of Coylan; in 1663 the capital fort of Cochin was occupied; and in 1664 the Dutch occupied Cannanore and Cranganore. At the same time, a treaty was entered into with the raja of Cochin. This agreement confirmed the raja's vassal status, and in theory ensured regular supplies of pepper at fixed prices. There was also a provision intended to exclude other competitors—Asian and European—from trade in those commodities.

All these arrangements did not immediately result in a substantial expansion of Dutch commerce, however. Dutch trade in Malabar never assumed the importance that it enjoyed in the contiguous region of the Coromandel. On the basis of available figures for Dutch exports of pepper from Malabar, it would appear that the Dutch shipped out of Malabar about 2,700 quintals in some years, to a high of 11,000 quintals in others. In most years, the exports were closer to 680 quintals. The English East India Company, on the other hand, began to step up its operations in Malabar from about the 1670s.

The total volume of European trade in Malabar in the seventeenth century appears to have been small. In all, the total European exports of pepper would have added up to more than 18,000 quintals (about 4 million pounds) in the last years of the seventeenth century. This constituted less than a quarter of the total pepper production, which continued to be absorbed into the trade of Asia. However, private European investment in the country trade of Asia became increasingly important in the last decades of the seventeenth century as the Dutch

joined Gujarati shipping in the Western Indian Ocean. In 1673 the Dutch made a profit of 177 percent on the sale of pepper in Bandar Abbas, and in 1701 the profit was 129 percent.

The Dutch also attempted to dominate the trade with the Coromandel by controlling the pepper supply in south Malabar and by restricting sailing through the Indo-Sri Lankan straits. This was found to be impossible because any restrictions on maritime sailing were subverted by the increasing transportations of pepper over land. The Bengal trade was a different story; the Dutch discouraged direct Malabar-initiated trade to Bengal, and Bengal merchants did not find it profitable to trade directly with Malabar.

European intrusion, first in the form of the Portuguese Estado and subsequently the Dutch and English East India companies, did not radically transform the trading structure of Malabar in terms of its orientation or its operational features. Admittedly, the consequences of periodic raiding, of the pass system (*cartazes*), which restricted trading and imposed conditions on free access to ports and the high seas, and of coercive mechanisms affecting price, supply, and distribution of pepper affected levels of trading activity from time to time, but on the whole these effects were temporary and only produced shifts in the relative status of ports.

In the eighteenth century, European trade in Malabar confronted a complex situation of competition and altercation with local rulers, especially the kingdom of Travancore, which by the middle of the century had successfully established a monopoly over Malabar's pepper trade. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the Dutch East India Company was forced to deal with increasing competition, initially from other Europeans and subsequently from the state of Travancore, which had begun to stake its claim to monopoly trade. The accession of Martanda Varma (1729–1758) to the kingdom of Travancore and his successive victories against the neighboring states and the Dutch East India Company in the Battle of Kolachel (1741) enabled him to take over the trade and production of pepper in Malabar and turn it over into a state monopoly.

The French settlement at Mahe (established in 1740) and the English settlement at Tellicherry became important centers of pepper trade. Activities at these settlements had the consequence of diverting pepper supplies and raising pepper prices. At the same time, there was on the part of Gujarati shipping a renewed interest in Malabar's trade, which gave a temporary but perceptible fillip to Calicut's fortunes. These developments, along with the expansion of the Travancore state and its policy of controlling the pepper trade, severely undermined the Dutch company's operations.

The decline of Travancore after the death of Martanda Varma was followed by a brief resurgence of British commercial expansion, which was deflected by the Mysorean invasions of Malabar in the 1780s. The region thereafter suffered long-term damage, which the expansion of English private interests and the growth of Bombay could not offset. For a brief period, the demands of the newly emerging colonial economy diverted Malabar's pepper production and trade to the markets of China and Europe, but even this by the first quarter of the nineteenth century was on the wane. The falling demand for pepper in the European markets and the growing interest in raw cotton as an export for China shifted the center of commercial gravity from Malabar to the ports of the north.

SEE ALSO *Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia; Coromandel, Europeans and Maritime Trade; Empire, British; Empire, Dutch; Empire, Portuguese; English East India Company (EIC); Indian Ocean Trade.*

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MALAYSIA, BRITISH, 1874–1957

Following the British founding of Singapore in 1819, Chinese and British economic involvement on the Malay Peninsula expanded because of the lure of profits from tin mines and plantation agriculture. In the west coast states, increased investment by merchants in the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Penang, and Melaka) coincided with ongoing succession disputes within several Malay ruling families. Contending Malay factions negotiated alliances with Chinese secret societies, which had

mushroomed as thousands of men arrived from China in search of work. In addition, Straits Settlements investors backed different Malay contenders, hoping for commercial advantages. When the conflicts showed no signs of abating, they pressed for British intervention so that order would be restored and their capital would be safe. Their arguments were influential not only because industrializing Britain needed access to tin and forest products, but because London was concerned that some other European power would expand into the peninsula.

THE CREATION OF COLONIAL MALAYA

In 1873, when Sultan Abdullah of Perak asked for British help against his rivals, the Straits Settlements governor, Andrew Clarke (1824–1902), seized the chance to advance British interests. By the Pangkor Treaty of January 20, 1874, Abdullah gained British support in return for accepting a resident whose advice he was required to accept on all matters except religion and custom.

The Pangkor Treaty is significant not merely because it created new openings for economic expansion, but because it laid the groundwork for the extension of British rule across the entire peninsula. As a result of the murder of the first resident, most Perak chiefs were removed and a new Sultan installed, allowing the British to maintain the shell of the traditional Malay administrative structure while placing all effective power in colonial hands. This system of indirect control was extended to the other west coast states of Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, and eventually to Pahang. In 1896 they jointly became the Federated Malay States with the capital at Kuala Lumpur.

Britain's ambitions to acquire Siam's Malay vassals (Patani, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Terengganu) resulted in the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1909, by which Bangkok relinquished authority over all the northern Malay states except Patani in return for diplomatic privileges. Johor remained independent until 1914, but its incorporation into British Malaya was simply a matter of time because its economy was so closely tied to financial interests in Singapore. In 1919, when Terengganu finally accepted a British adviser, the entire peninsula, consisting of the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, and the Unfederated Malay States, came under colonial control.

COLONIALISM, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND THE PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

The west coast of the Malay Peninsula experienced profound economic changes as a result of colonial expansion. Ports were developed, existing towns grew larger, roads were built to the mining centers and plantation areas, and by 1910 railways stretched from Johor to Penang. Malays

Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference, London, 1956. *The Federation of Malaya gained complete independence from Britain in 1957 and later became part of the nation of Malaysia. Malayan delegates met with British officials in London in 1956 to discuss their country's future relationship with Britain.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

were outnumbered in many areas because so many Chinese and Indian laborers had arrived to work in the tin mines, rubber estates and other plantations, and to staff the civil service. These foreign Asians were concentrated in cities and on plantations. Economic development generally bypassed rural Malay communities.

The colonial presence was less evident along the east coast, which was never as important in colonial planning. It attracted fewer Chinese migrants and thus remained more "Malay" in character. Ironically, however, British expansion here met considerable resistance from Malay nobles and their peasant followers. In Pahang a major rebellion occurred in 1891, led by district chiefs alienated by a lessening of their former privileges. Local uprisings also occurred in Kelantan and Terengganu.

The extension of British control and expansion of a colonial economy was even slower in Borneo. In 1841 the Sultan of Brunei granted part of Sarawak to James Brooke (1803–1868), the first "white rajah," but both Brooke and his successor relied heavily on native chiefs. Development like that on the peninsula was not seen as appropriate. Although a special place was given to the Ibans, ethnic divisions were less pronounced because many of the Chinese lived in rural areas. In Sabah the British North Borneo Company was anxious to operate profitably, but, apart from timber, most commercial ventures were unsuccessful. The administrations of both Sarawak and Sabah were theoretically autonomous, but the British government was always anxious to forestall the advance of some other European power and in 1888 Sabah, Sarawak, and Brunei all became British protectorates. Brunei accepted a resident in 1906.

Fundamental to the development of colonial government was the view that Malays were essentially farmers and fishermen, rather than laborers. The perception of the Chinese and Indians as being more economically astute locked Malays out of the colony's export sector. Occupational divisions were widened by religious differences because Malays were virtually all Muslim. The British also assumed that the Chinese and Indians were itinerants, and that there was no need to provide a common school system for all. A small number of upper-class Malays, Chinese, and

Indians did receive an English education because this was the path to advancement, but the majority acquired only basic schooling in the vernacular. Malaya thus became the classic example of a "plural society" where different ethnic groups met in the marketplace, but otherwise lived apart.

By the 1920s, however, a new generation of Malays was gaining access to educational training in teachers' colleges, and leaders of this group began to voice opposition to the economic dominance of the Chinese and Indians. Ethnic divisions were fueled by developments in China and India. Enthused by the revolutionary mood in their homeland, many Chinese joined either the Kuomintang or the Malayan Communist Party (MCP, formed in 1930). Indians took similar pride in the Indian independence movement, while Malays were caught up by the call for Islamic reform that urged Muslims to modernize education to compete with the West. Largely concerned with developing a unified economy and administration, the British gave little thought to the possibility of Malayan independence and how a new nation would deal with deepening ethnic distinctions. In the Borneo states education in any language proceeded much more slowly. Ethnic tensions were muted here because so many communities were only marginally affected by economic change.

WORLD WAR II AND INDEPENDENCE

Malaya's independence was precipitated by the outbreak of World War II (1939–1945). Japan attacked the peninsula in late 1941, and by February 1942 Malaya and Singapore were in Japanese hands. All British officials were imprisoned, and toward the end of the war there were hints that Japan might grant Malaya independence. Anxious to win local support, the Japanese generally treated Malays and Indians leniently, but the Chinese met systematic discrimination because of Japan's continuing military campaigns in China. It was, therefore, the Chinese groups, dominated by the MCP, which initiated wartime resistance against the Japanese. When the war ended, many British thought the Chinese should be rewarded with full citizenship, but it was difficult to eradicate suspicions resulting from years of separate ethnic and economic development. The British government's proposal for a "Malayan Union" that would make the Chinese and Indians citizens aroused unprecedented opposition among the Malays.

In 1946 a group of leading Malays formed the United Malays National Organization (UMNO). Basic to the UMNO's platform was retaining the status of Malay sultans and "special privileges" for Malays as the original occupants of the land. The Malayan Union was revoked in February 1948 and replaced by the Federation of Malaya, which united the peninsula under one government. Singapore was not included because the Chinese would then have outnumbered the Malays.

The Federation was seen as a victory for Malays, and many Chinese became sympathetic toward the MCP's aim of establishing a Malayan republic. The so-called Malayan emergency began in mid-1948 when the MCP embarked on a systematic campaign of violence against European interests. Since the communists were mainly Chinese, they received substantial help from rural Chinese settlements. From 1950 onward, the British forces began to resettle these communities into "new villages" and thus denied the MCP access to supplies. This strategy was successful, although the Emergency was not officially ended until 1960.

Two reasons for the ultimate failure of the communist insurrection were a new political alliance between Malay and Chinese leaders, and Britain's commitment to Malaya's independence. The formation of the Alliance, consisting of the UMNO, the Malayan Chinese Party (MCA), and later the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) gave hope for multicultural politics. By 1955 the Alliance and its call for independence had overwhelming support. A constitution was developed for the new nation that created a federation of states with a strong central government, retaining certain privileges for Malays. On August 15, 1957, under its first Prime Minister Tuanku Abdul Rahman (1895–1960), Malaya was declared independent. However, the colonial division of Malayan society into three ethnic groups was complicated by the creation of Malaysia in 1963 and the incorporation of Sabah and Sarawak (and Singapore briefly, 1963–1965) because now non-Muslim and non-Malay groups in Borneo could also claim indigenous privileges.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British.*

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Barbara Watson Andaya

MANCHU DYNASTY

SEE *Qing Dynasty*

MANDATE RULE

A *mandate*, defined in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919), was a new form of political supervision created after World War I:

> 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 civilization 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...[and] should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

There were three types of mandates: A, B, and C. German colonies in Africa and the Pacific became B or C mandates under Britain, France, Belgium, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, or Japan. The southern and largely Arabic-speaking provinces of the Ottoman Empire became A mandates, meaning their transition to self-determination would be faster and more assured than that of the B and C mandates. Britain received the mandates of Iraq and Palestine and Transjordan; France received the mandates of Syria and Lebanon.

SELFLESSNESS OR SELF INTEREST?

The texts of the mandates stated that "the Mandatory Power commands and governs only to educate." But Britain and France sought mandates according to their economic and strategic interests. France had concessions in Syria and Lebanon to build and maintain railroads, roads, port facilities, tramways, and public utilities and hoped to expand production of cotton and silk for its textile industry. A port or two in the eastern Mediterranean would also be welcome. Britain claimed Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan for imperial communications needs and wished to control potential sources of oil in Iraq. Because the assignment of mandates indulged the self-interest of European powers, the mandates turned out to be "a cloak for a good measure of imperialism," as Elizabeth Monroe remarked in *Britain's Moment in the Middle East* (1963, p. 141).

France and Britain also claimed mandated territories on the basis of special relationships with minorities. France had ties to the Catholics of the Middle East, especially the Maronites in Lebanon. Britain had the 1917 Balfour Declaration that promised to facilitate the creation in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. Given that Jews were only about 10 percent of the population, this promise entailed colonization, which made Palestine unique among the mandated states. By patronizing religious minorities, both Britain and France sought to lay the basis for an especially strong and durable presence in the coastal areas; yet, by identifying with minority interests, Britain and France weakened their overall position in the region.

The newly created mandated states were inconvenient, inefficient, and irrational to most of their inhabitants. Trade barriers, separate administrative, legal, and security structures, and different currency zones, educational systems, and public works and transportation networks made the movement of goods, capital, and labor within the region more difficult than during the late Ottoman Empire. The imposition and replication of institutions, functions, and personnel in each new state was costly, not only in itself but in diminishing what might have been invested in the "well-being and development" of the peoples under mandate. Boundaries also created the basis for water diversion projects to benefit the users of one state at the expense of users in another. For example, the headwaters of the Quwayk River that fed Aleppo were across the border in Turkey, which in 1926 diverted much of the flow for its own use.

State boundaries were not the only divisions imposed by France and Britain. Within each new state, France and Britain mined veins of social diversity to strengthen their position overall. France divided Syria into a number of ministates on the basis, according to the French, of separatist feelings and different levels of

Removing the British Flag in Haifa, June 30, 1948. *After World War I, Great Britain was entrusted with the mandate of Palestine. Shortly after the state of Israel was proclaimed in May 1948, a British soldier hauls down the British flag in Haifa Harbor prior to the departure of the last British troops.* **AFP/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

development among various segments of the population: the State of the Alawis in the northwest, the State of Jebel Druz in the southeast, and direct French administration in the so-called Tribal Territory beyond the Euphrates. This multistate structure did not add up to an administration that met the needs or aspirations of the majority or allow for much local participation in governing. On similar grounds of ethnic separatism, France ceded the district (Sanjak) of Alexandretta to Turkey in 1939, contrary to its mandatory responsibility "that no part of the territory of Syria and the Lebanon [be] ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of a foreign Power."

Britain divided Iraq and Transjordan into two jurisdictions each, one under so-called tribal administration and one under the central government. Cities and peasants within the orbit of cities were subject to one legal system; the transhumant countryside was subject to another. King Faisal (1885–1933) of Iraq complained that the small army

allowed him by Britain would be no match for any combination of tribal forces against him; thus he was reminded of his ultimate dependence on British protection. Designated tribal areas were subject to different voting laws, which worked against the election to parliament of nationalists who were generally from urban areas.

REBELLIONS AND THEIR IMPACT ON MANDATORY RULE

Mandatory rule was meant to accommodate the principle of self-determination, but it required force to be carried out. Major rebellions occurred in Iraq in 1920, in Syria from 1925 to 1927, and in Palestine from 1936 to 1939. These rebellions had a profound effect on the shape of mandatory rule.

The 1920 rebellion in Iraq caused Britain to adopt a model of indirect rule. Britain chose its wartime ally Faisal ibn Husayn to be king in 1921, deported his chief

local rival for the throne, and conducted a referendum that legitimized his elevation by a suspiciously high 96 percent approval rating. On the Iraqi side, the rebellion brought together tribesmen and townsmen, Sunni and Shi'i, and provided the foundational myth for an Iraqi nationalism. King Faisal, poised uncomfortably between Britain and the population of Iraq, sought to gain as much freedom of action from Britain as was possible and to knit together the varied communities within the awkward British-drawn borders. Yet, he lamented in 1932 that "there is still . . . no Iraqi people but unimaginable masses of human beings, devoid of any patriotic idea . . . and ready to rise against any government whatever" (Batatu 1978, p. 25).

The 1925 to 1927 Syrian revolt began in Jebel Druz, crossed the borders of the ministates set up in Syria, and brought together townsmen and tribesmen, peasants and pastoralists, Muslim, Christian, and Druze, in Syria and parts of Lebanon. Like the Iraqi rebellion, it became a central event in a nationalist narrative. In its course, France bombarded Damascus and revealed for all to see, including the League of Nations, the hard edge of mandatory tutelage. Of course, the British had bombed Iraqi tribes during the rebellion in Iraq, but the bombing of a capital city familiar to Europeans through biblical references had a much more negative impact. The revolt caused both French and nationalists to moderate their positions. France saw the wisdom of indirect rule and of trying to co-opt nationalist leaders; the nationalist leaders saw that armed confrontation would not end the French mandate and began a strategy of "honorable cooperation."

Owing to the growth of a settler community in Palestine under British protection, there were more frequent and more obvious upheavals there than in the other mandated states. Important manifestations of strife between Jewish settlers and Arab inhabitants occurred in 1920, 1921, and 1929. From 1936 to 1939 there was a major Arab rebellion against British rule. As a result, Britain acknowledged in 1937 that "we cannot—in Palestine as it now is—both concede the Arab claim to self-government and secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home" (Palestine Royal Commission Report, 1937, reproduced in Smith 2004, p. 155). Another result was that Britain trained and armed Jewish auxiliaries while it disarmed the Arab community and killed or exiled its leadership.

THE END OF MANDATORY RULE

In 1932 Iraq was the first mandated state to gain formal independence. Britain maintained its interests by a treaty that allowed Britain to have military bases in Iraq, to be the sole supplier of arms and training to the Iraqi army, and to maintain its controlling interest in the Iraq Petroleum Company. Thus Iraq's independence caused

little immediate change in the politics of the country. Oil revenues paid in the form of rent started to accrue in significant amounts in 1932 and gave the state more resources to shore up support. In 1958 a revolution destroyed the monarchy and Britain's privileged position.

Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan received independence after World War II. All the ministates that France had created in Syria were absorbed into the Syrian Republic. In Lebanon the 1943 National Pact cemented a system of power-sharing along sectarian lines, which gave Christians a slight edge. Owing to France's weak postwar status, it was unable to secure treaties with either Syria or Lebanon to guard its privileged position. A treaty maintained Britain's influence in Transjordan, renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan after the war. The British resident became the British ambassador to Jordan, but his influence and his duties changed little.

Palestine was a different story. Britain handed its mandate for Palestine to the United Nations in 1947, and the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into two states: one Jewish, the other Arab. Since the terms of the mandate had provided that a "Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home," there was a governing structure ready to step in as a Jewish state. The Arab community in Palestine had no such structure. When Britain withdrew its forces from Palestine in May 1948, the leaders of the Jewish community in Palestine proclaimed the independent state of Israel, which was immediately recognized by the Soviet Union and the United States. The Arab state that was to be created in Palestine was neither supported nor enforced by the United Nations.

ASSESSMENT OF MANDATORY RULE

In a sense, mandatory rule achieved its goal everywhere but in Palestine. France and Britain created republics and constitutional monarchies respectively, which eventually gained independence. Syria, however, did not last long as a republic, nor did Iraq as a constitutional monarchy. And by tolerating election fraud and the opportunistic suspension of elections and parliamentary rule to get the sorts of administrations Britain and France could most easily work with, they set an example for the authoritarian governments that came after independence.

Jordan is still a constitutional monarchy, though for most of the period from 1957 to 1984, the king ruled without parliament and martial law was in force. Patterns of French patronage in Lebanon deepened sectarian divisions. Although the 1943 National Pact allowed sectarian leaders to work together for independence, by 1975 there was civil war in Lebanon fueled by sectarian identities. In

Palestine, Britain failed to create a governing structure that represented the interests of the whole population. Many regard the creation of a Jewish state, Israel, as a triumph; but Palestinians are still striving to have their losses recognized and to create a Palestinian state.

The economic and developmental impact of mandatory rule is debatable, but is largely seen as negative. The bulk of mandate budgets was spent on administration and security, leaving less for infrastructure, health, and education. After independence each former mandate acted to rectify such neglect. Iraq was most successful thanks to oil revenues beginning in 1934. In both Iraq and Syria, the mandate-period ruling elites were mainly large landowners. Thus land reform was not attempted until these elites, and the mandatory structures of government that supported them, were overthrown.

During the mandate period, public education was limited, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, where large private school or nonstate school sectors catered to special groups—Christians in Lebanon and Jews in Palestine—and taught in languages, French and Hebrew, that further estranged them from the regional majority. The generation educated in such schools under the mandate brought exclusivist outlooks to the independent states that came afterward. Finally, each mandate had its own army and security forces. In the postindependence period, armies have served as the central institution of state formation in all states except Lebanon, with deleterious effects on economic development and social support networks, on internal political processes, and on the conduct of regional affairs.

SEE ALSO *British Colonialism, Middle East; French Colonialism, Middle East; Iraq; Trusteeship.*

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Mary Christina Wilson

MANDATE SYSTEM
SEE *Trusteeship*

MANDELA, NELSON
1918–

Born in Transkei, South Africa, on July 18, 1918, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is one of Africa's greatest nationalists, political activists, and statesmen. The son of Chief Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa of the Thembu and his wife, Nosekeni Fanny of the amaMpemvu clan, Mandela's father named him Rolihlahla, which literally means "pulling the branch of a tree" or "troublemaker" in Xhosa. The English name "Nelson" was added later by a primary school teacher—an example of the imperial arrogance that characterized South Africa's colonial history.

Nelson Mandela's nature was deeply rooted in his chiefly upbringing in the royal house of the Thembu after the death of his father. Mandela's life, however, was defined by the struggle against racism, an inequality that defined white-black relations in South Africa until 1995, when the country became a democracy.

Mandela was educated at Healdtown, a Wesleyan secondary school, and the missionary University College of Fort Hare. His membership in the Student's Representative Council exposed him as a firebrand young radical and activist. He was suspended from college for joining in a protest boycott against the white racist policy of the institution. But it was only after he left Fort Hare and went to Johannesburg, where he completed his bachelor of arts degree by correspondence, took articles of clerkship, and commenced study for his law degree with the University of Witwatersrand, that he set out on the long task for national liberation.

Mandela was exposed daily to the inhumanities of apartheid, where being black reduced one to the status of a nonperson. Mandela joined a small but vocal group of African political activists with the aim of uprooting centuries of colonial rule that had concentrated all political

Nelson Mandela Leaves Prison. *Mandela, hand-in-hand with then-wife Winnie Mandela, parades past a jubilant crowd shortly after his release from prison on February 11, 1990.* © **PATRICK DURAND/CORBIS SYGMA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

and economic power in the hands of the white minority. He joined the African National Congress (ANC), the premier black political organization, in 1942. Mandela and a small group of young African members of the African National Congress, including William Nkomo (1915–1972), Walter Sisulu (1912–2003), Oliver R. Tambo (1917–1993), and Ashby P. Mda, under the leadership of Anton Lembede (1913–1947), founded the African National Congress Youth League in September 1944. They argued that the political tactics of the old leadership of the ANC were proving inadequate.

Members of the ANC Youth League set themselves the task of transforming the ANC into a mass movement that would derive its strength and motivation from the working people in the towns and countryside, peasants, and professionals. Mandela's leadership impressed his peers, and he was elected the secretary of the Youth League in 1947. He became deeply involved in programs of passive resistance against the pass law, which made it compulsory for all black South Africans over the age of sixteen to carry, at all times, a pass book that stipulated where, when, and for how long a person could remain in a particular part of the country. He was also involved with other apartheid legislation that kept blacks in a position of permanent servility.

The victory of the National Party in the all-white elections of 1948 on the platform of apartheid spurred more radical action from black political leaders. At its 1949 annual conference, the ANC adopted the "Programme of Action." The Programme of Action, inspired by the Youth League, advocated boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience, and noncooperation, tactics that were accepted as official ANC policy. The Youth League called for full citizenship, direct parliamentary representation for all South Africans, the redistribution of the land, trade union rights, and free and compulsory education for all children, as well as mass education for adults.

In 1950 Mandela was elected into the National Executive Committee of the ANC. From this period, the ANC became more radical in its attempt to transform South African society. Mandela was elected national volunteer-in-chief when the ANC launched its Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1952. This initiative was conceived as a civil disobedience campaign that would ultimately culminate in mass defiance by ordinary people.

Mandela's role as volunteer-in-chief took him to many parts of the country to organize resistance to

discriminatory legislation. Mandela played an important part in leading the resistance to the Western Areas removal scheme, which forced residents out of their homes in Sophiatown and relocated them to Meadowlands (now part of Soweto), and also to the introduction of the Bantu Education Act (1953), which enforced separation of races in all educational institutions including the curriculum. In recognition of his outstanding contribution during the Defiance Campaign, Mandela was elected to the presidency of both the Youth League and the ANC in Transvaal in 1952, and thus became a deputy president of the ANC.

Mandela was constantly under the radar of the white racist regime during the whole of the 1950s. He was brought to trial for his role in the Defiance Campaign and convicted of contravening the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, for which he received a suspended prison sentence. Shortly after the campaign ended, he was also prohibited from attending gatherings and confined to Johannesburg for six months.

The Sharpeville Massacre on March 21, 1960, occurred when sixty-nine black South Africans, protesting against pass laws, were killed as the police opened fire on them. This marked a turning point in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. A state of emergency was declared at the beginning of April 1960, and several leading anti-apartheid politicians, black and white, were arrested. Following this, the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were outlawed. The leadership of the ANC went underground. Mandela emerged at this time as the leading figure in this new phase of the struggle. It was during this time that he, together with other ANC leaders, formed a new section of the liberation movement known as Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) as an armed wing of the ANC in 1961. Mandela was its commander-in-chief.

In 1962 Mandela left the country unlawfully and traveled abroad for several months. He was warmly received by senior political leaders in several countries including Algeria and Ethiopia. Anticipating an intensification of the armed struggle, Mandela began to arrange guerrilla training for members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Not long after his return to South Africa in July 1962, he was arrested and charged with illegal exit from the country and incitement to strike. Mandela was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison.

Exasperated, the government mounted a massive treason trial against ANC leaders, Mandela among them. While serving his sentence, Mandela was charged with sabotage in the Rivonia Trial, which began on November 26, 1963. During the trial, he uttered these immortal words: "I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment and started his prison years in the notorious Robben Island Prison, a maximum-security prison on a small island off the coast of Cape Town. Released on February 11, 1990, Mandela plunged wholeheartedly into his life's work, striving to attain the goals he and others had set out almost four decades earlier. In 1991, at the first national conference of the ANC held inside South Africa after being banned for decades, Nelson Mandela was elected president of the organization.

In 1993 Mandela was awarded the Nobel Peace Price, which he accepted on behalf of all people who have worked for peace and stood against racism. He became the first democratically elected president of South Africa in 1994 and served until June 1999.

After stepping down as president, Mandela continued to speak with the same moral force and devotion to democracy, equality, and commitment to conflict resolution, and he continued to work for the elimination of poverty, as well as the improvement of public health in Africa, especially with regard to HIV/AIDS. He remained an inspiration to fair-minded people all over the world.

SEE ALSO *African National Congress; Apartheid; Human Rights; Segregation, Racial, Africa.*

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Chima J. Korieh

MANUMISSION

Slavery was not seriously questioned until the late eighteenth century. In fact, the exploitation of slave labor was crucial to the growth of most colonies. With the development of powerful antislavery movements, the problem presented itself in different forms. The most basic difference was between colonies in which Europeans and

Americans used slave labor and those in which the slave-owners were not European. Furthermore, within the first group we can distinguish between plantation colonies in which slavery was the base of the economy and those in which slaves were less numerous and slavery less important.

THE FIRST WAVE: SLAVE SOCIETIES

The first efforts at abolition took place in the northern United States, where slavery was not crucial to economic life. In 1780 a Pennsylvania act freed slave children born after that year on condition of service until age twenty-eight. This meant that anyone born to a slave mother after 1780 remained in servitude until age 28. This formula, known as a free womb act, became popular elsewhere. Connecticut and Rhode Island passed similar acts in 1784, New York in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804. As slavery became less important, private manumissions increased, as did pressure to be done with slavery. New York abolished slavery definitively in 1827, Pennsylvania only in 1847, and Connecticut in 1848. Only in Massachusetts and New Hampshire was manumission unconditional, and in both cases it occurred as a result of court interpretation of new state constitutions.

Many slaves were manumitted in exchange for military service. During the American Revolution (1775–1783), the British tried to undercut the colonists by freeing slaves. During the wars of independence in Spanish America, both sides freed slaves who enlisted. Real manumission for other slaves did not come until after independence. In Africa, slaves who served in colonial armies were often given freedom, though conditional on fulfilling an enlistment contract. Only in Haiti did a slave revolution win immediate and total manumission. Even there, new elites tried to sustain plantation production of sugar, but the former slaves refused plantation discipline and speedily became a free peasantry.

In 1833 Great Britain ended slavery in all of its colonies. Slavery did not exist in Britain itself. Compensation was provided for slave-owners, and a period of apprenticeship was set up to smooth the transition. Slave resistance to continued plantation labor forced a speedy end to apprenticeship in 1838. Where land was available, slaves withdrew to areas more suited to smallholder production than to plantations. On the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, the slaves withdrew into highland areas not appropriate for sugar and within a decade, slave labor had been totally replaced by Indian indentured labor. Even where male former slaves continued to work for wages, freed women were withdrawn from the plantation and men were reluctant to work the long hours that marked slavery.
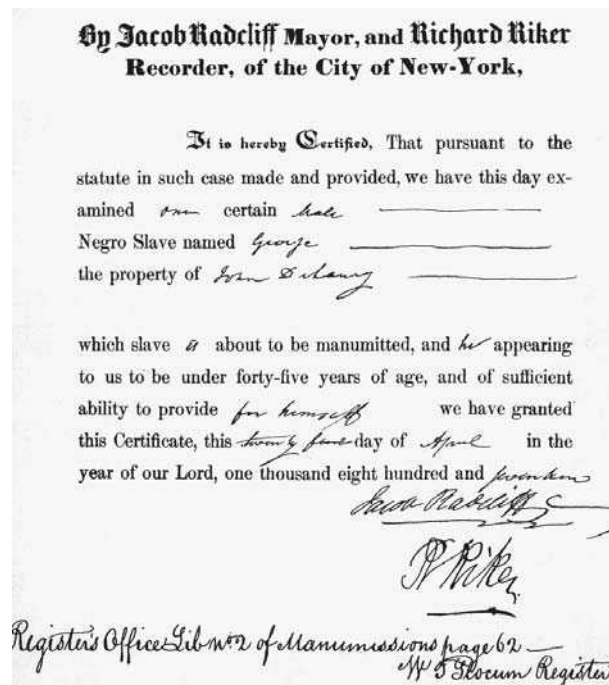
New York City Manumission Certificate. *This certificate of manumission, freeing a slave named George, was signed by New York mayor Jacob Radcliff and city recorder Richard Riker in 1817.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Other slave-owning societies followed. In 1848 France abolished slavery. Compensation was provided to former masters, but manumission took place within several months and was complete. Denmark ended slavery the same year, largely as a result of a slave revolt. The Dutch abolished slavery in their West Indian colonies in 1863, and Spain abolished it in Puerto Rico in 1873. In Cuba, many slaves were freed during the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). Spain abolished slavery in 1880, but conditional on a long period of apprenticeship. The slaves resisted apprenticeship, and in 1886 immediate and total manumission was granted.

Those emancipating slaves were generally more concerned to compensate masters for financial losses than slaves for unremunerated labor. Manumission often involved a period of struggle over the labor of former slaves. In many areas, slave labor was replaced by indentured labor, usually from India. When the planters on the Indian Ocean island of Réunion were denied the right to recruit labor in India, they imported African indentured labor and sought to keep the existing labor force in place with laws against vagabondage and begging. The Portuguese had a disguised slave trade on the cocoa plantations of São Tomé, an island off West Africa, until 1910. In many former slave colonies, master-and-servant laws were passed specifically to control former slaves.

They increased the control employers had over employees and made it difficult for former slaves to break contracts.

THE SECOND WAVE: NON-EUROPEAN MASTERS

Some colonies were primarily trading entrepôts. In these, slaves resident in areas under European administration were usually freed, but efforts were made to limit enforcement of these laws so as not to threaten the interests of their trading partners. As colonial rule was extended, the problem was that slave-owners were not European and were often important in the administration of the colony. Colonial governments thus were under pressure from humanitarian groups at home, but were reluctant to alienate local slave-owning elites.

The most important formula was worked out in India. The 1833 British Emancipation Act did not apply to India because India was ruled not by the British Crown but by a chartered company. Parliamentary pressure on the English East India Company, however, forced it to devise a formula that minimized change. The courts were no longer to recognize claims derived from slave status. No compensation was paid to slave-owners and no alternative employment was offered to the slaves. Slavery was fully abolished only in 1860, but Indian slave-owners were generally able to maintain their control over servile labor by developing other forms of bondage.

Colonial regimes faced the same dilemma elsewhere in Asia and Africa. In many cases, they turned to the Indian formula. On the Gold Coast, such a law, proclaimed in 1874, was poorly enforced. In French Africa, the regime prohibited all exchanges of persons and quietly asked administrators to stop recognizing slave status. They hoped that slaves would not notice, but in a six-year period an estimated one million slaves left their masters. In Northern Nigeria, the British freed only those who had been mistreated. Others were guaranteed the right to purchase their freedom.

The process was similarly slow in most Asian colonies. In Indonesia, the Dutch began to hesitantly extend antislavery laws to areas of indirect rule in 1874 and completed the task only decades later. The French abolished slavery in Cambodia in 1887. In Malaya and Burma, the British operated in a similar case-by-case manner. The process was completed only in 1915 in Malaya, and in 1926 in Burma. In Nigeria and the Sudan, slavery was only made illegal in 1936.

In most cases, no assistance was given to freed slaves, but former slaves everywhere asserted control over work and family. They usually rejected plantation discipline, preferring to become smallholders. Some former slaves accepted forms of continued dependency on rich patrons. Often, with little assistance, the success of former slaves depended on the options available to them. The most important was the availability of land or jobs.

SEE ALSO *Abolition of Colonial Slavery.*

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MAO ZEDONG
1893–1976

Mao Zedong was born on December 26, 1893, in Shaoshan, Hunan Province, China, and died on September 9, 1976. Mao was the most influential leader and theorist of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

In the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Mao, while staying in Beijing, started to study Russian Bolshevik theories and methods in a search for better ways to save a weak and divided China. The unsatisfactory settlement after World War I in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles concerning the transfer of German possessions in China to Japan triggered the anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement in China. This movement brought Mao closer to Marxism and Leninism.

Mao was one of the founders of the CCP, formed in July 1921. From 1924 to 1927, under the auspices of the United Front of the CCP and the Nationalist Party (Guomindang, GMD), Mao organized labor unions and peasant associations and participated in the Nationalist Revolution against warlords and foreign imperialists. Mao

Mao Zedong, November 12, 1944. *Mao Zedong (1893–1976), the future leader of Communist China, rallies a group of Chinese people to the Communist cause.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

stressed the central role of peasants in rural class struggles. It remained the core of his belief that the semicolonial status of China—foreign meddling and mauling inside China, the resulting lack of industrial development and a strong urban proletariat class, the warlord government—meant that the Chinese revolution would have to take the form of poor peasants versus rich landlords in rural areas.

From 1927, when a breach between the CCP and GMD occurred, to 1934, Mao established rural bases in Jiangxi and Fujian provinces in southeast China, and engaged in guerrilla warfare to resist the superior GMD forces. From 1934 to 1935, the CCP Red Army was driven out of its rural soviets (CCP's armed territories/authorities in adoption of the name of the Soviet government) and forced to relocate to Yan'an, Shaanxi Province, in northwest China. The nearly 9,700-kilometer (6,000-mile) move became known as the "Long March."

In Yan'an, Mao consolidated his power and developed political, social, and economic models for the future

China. After the eight-year war against Japan ended in 1945, civil war broke out between the CCP and the GMD, despite American attempts at mediation. The defeated GMD retreated to Taiwan, and the CCP's victory in the civil war led to the founding of the PRC in 1949, with Mao as its chairman.

In spite of constant friction in its relationship with the Soviet Union (USSR), which eventually resulted in an open split in the early 1960s, Mao chose to follow Russia's Stalinist system to implement socialism in the PRC—party supremacy in the government and the army, a state-planned economy with an emphasis on heavy industry, and agricultural collectivism. To achieve his goals, Mao initiated mass campaigns such as the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960, a disastrous social and economic movement that was intended to increase agricultural and industrial production through eradication of private land ownership, moral incentives, and mass labor) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976, a violent mass movement against the establishment,

which brought about turmoil and enormous suffering to Chinese people).

Against the backdrop of the Cold War rivalry between the USSR and the United States, Mao's China, sympathetic to North Korea's pro-Moscow Pyongyang regime, went into the Korean War (1950–1953) in direct confrontation with the United States. In support of the GMD in Taiwan, the United States had adopted a non-recognition policy toward the PRC until the visit of American president Richard Nixon (1913–1994) to China in 1972 and the final normalization of Sino–American diplomatic relations in 1979.

From the early 1940s on, Mao's revolutionary ideology and methodology were labeled "Mao Zedong Thought." Central to Mao Zedong Thought is his application of Marxist and Leninist theories of world proletarian revolutions to the actual conditions of China. Mao's "Three Worlds" idea (1974) played an important role in forming alliances in world affairs among the third world countries of Africa, most of Asia, and Latin America.

As for Mao's legacy, some view him as an evil Chinese "Lord of Misrule," who was responsible for initiating tumultuous political, social, and economic changes that caused widespread suffering among millions of people. Some argue that Mao's contributions to the Chinese nation—the restoration of China's independence and sovereignty, the unification of China, and the construction of socialism—far exceed his errors. For ordinary Chinese, Mao remains an iconic figure, which attests that the Chinese have their own memories of their own past and their own leaders.

SEE ALSO *China, After 1945; Chinese Revolutions.*

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Dong Wang

MARSHALL ISLANDS

The Marshall Islands are an archipelago of thirty-four low-lying atolls in the Western Pacific, lying in a double arc running north-south at latitude 5–14 North and longitude 162–173 East. In an area encompassing 800,000 square miles, the Marshalls has a total land area of only 70 square miles. The population of 50,000 (1999 census) is distributed throughout twenty-four inhabited atolls, but over two-thirds of Marshallese are crowded onto two atolls: Majuro, the capital, and Kwajalein, the site of a U.S. missile-testing base.

The Marshalls was first settled about 2,000 years ago, probably from central Melanesia. The Marshallese language, a member of the Micronesian language family, is closely related to the languages of its neighbors in the Carolines to the west. Although Marshallese share a common language and cultural tradition, minor differences distinguish the eastern chain (Ratak) from the western (Ralik). Marshallese have always been skilled navigators, employing celestial navigation systems similar to those used throughout Micronesia, as well as distinctive stick charts to map wave patterns. Paramount chiefs (*iroij*) once had absolute authority over their people and even today retain primary rights to the land.

The first recorded European visits to the Marshalls date back to the early sixteenth century. Two centuries later, the British sea captain John Marshall gave his name to the group. Otto von Kotzebue, a Russian naval commander, explored and mapped the archipelago on his visits there in 1817 and 1824. American Protestant missionaries began evangelizing the islands in 1857, just a few years before Adolph Capelle and Anton DeBrum arrived to establish the beginnings of the trade in dried coconut meat, or copra (the source of coconut oil).

To expand its copra trade interests in the area, Germany signed a treaty in 1878 with the most powerful chief in the Ralik group. The combined pressure of the German trade firms led to full German annexation of the Marshalls in October 1885. The Jaluit Company, formed by the merger of two large trading firms, was given full administrative authority over the Marshalls until 1906. Afterward, the German government directly administered the islands from its headquarters in Rabaul.

At the outbreak of World War I, Japan occupied all former German possessions north of the equator. After 1914, the Japanese Navy was responsible for the administration of the Marshalls, with its capital in Jaluit. In 1919 the Marshalls was officially entrusted to Japan as a League of Nations mandate, after which a government bureaucracy was set up to rule the islands. Japanese fortification of the islands began in 1940, and the military facilities were used in the Japanese invasion of Kiribati and Nauru.

In early 1944, U.S. forces captured Kwajalein and Enewetak, following which the U.S. Navy established a military administration over the other islands in the

group. After the war, the Marshalls, together with the remainder of the former Japanese Mandate, were designated the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and placed by the United Nations under U.S. administrative authority. The capital was transferred from Jaluit to Majuro at that time. Between 1946 and 1958 the islands of Bikini and Enewetak were evacuated and used as sites for nuclear testing. From 1960 on, Kwajalein was developed into a defensive missile-testing site and supported a large American community.

In 1979, following ten years of negotiations with the United States over its political status, the Marshalls became self-governing under a parliamentary democracy, ending nearly a century of colonial rule. The constitution of the Republic of the Marshall Islands provides for an elected legislature as well as the Council of Iroij, with its twelve paramount chiefs as members. The independent status of the Marshall Islands was formalized in October 1986 when it signed the Compact of Free Association with the United States and was subsequently admitted as a member of the U.N.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in; Trusteeship.*

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Francis X. Hezel

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY

The Massachusetts Bay Company was formed in 1628 as a joint stock venture to trade in the fish and furs of New England. But from the beginning, a number of its leaders, notably John Winthrop (1588–1649), wanted to use it as a vehicle for promoting a Puritan religious commonwealth. The Puritans were dissatisfied with the progress of reform in the Church of England and were also alarmed at the outbreak of the Counter Reformation in Europe, to reestablish the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. Their last hope of reform was seemingly lost when King Charles I (1600–1649) dissolved Parliament and began a period of absolutist rule. Accordingly, Winthrop and his Puritan colleagues

bought out their more commercially minded colleagues in August 1629 and set sail for America in March 1630, taking the charter with them. But before leaving, the company held one last meeting at which Winthrop was elected governor with a council of eighteen like-minded assistants. The transformation of the company into a religious commonwealth was further strengthened on arrival in Massachusetts, where the General Court of the company, comprising the governor, council, and freemen, passed a resolution stating that thereafter only full church members could participate in the colony's affairs.

For the next eighteen months Winthrop and the assistants ran the colony almost as a theocracy. They made land grants to "the elect," as church members were known, allowing them to establish covenanted communities based on the congregational principle. They also issued laws and ordinances regarding everyday life, using the Bible as their guide. All of this contravened the charter, which stated that the laws of the company were to conform to those of England. The charter also stated that quarterly meetings of the General Court were to be held, and that the governor and council should be elected annually by the freemen of the company. Although the majority of the population wanted to live as good Puritans, they still cherished their rights as Englishmen. Hence it was not long before the authority of Winthrop and the council was challenged, first over the issue of taxation in 1632 and then over the general governance of the colony in 1634. Critical to the resolution of this controversy was the demand to see the charter, which Winthrop had in his safekeeping. Inspection of this confirmed that the General Court had the sole right to raise taxes, make laws, and hold elections. As a result, Winthrop lost his position as governor, though he retained his place on the council and duly returned during the Antinomian controversy in 1636 when Anne Hutchinson (1591–1643) challenged the qualifications required for membership of the elect. Nevertheless the principle of annual elections had been established, even if participation was still restricted to the elect. Since most church members now lived outside Boston, they opted to send representatives instead of attending the General Court in person. Another change was the decision of the representatives in 1644 to sit as a separate chamber, finally breaking the dominance of the governor and council. Massachusetts now had the makings of a constitution and a representative system of government, all based ironically on its royal charter as a joint stock company.

Meanwhile, the activities of the Massachusetts Bay Company had not gone unnoticed in England, where calls were made for an investigation into both its secular and spiritual activities. Several other parties had claims to the

John Winthrop Lands in Massachusetts. *John Winthrop (ca. 1588–1649), governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, lands in Salem in 1630 with other English migrants to Massachusetts in this nineteenth-century engraving.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

area, while the Anglican Church of Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645) was alarmed at the dissenting nature of the settlement. Proceedings were accordingly begun by King Charles I to annul the company's charter. Fortunately for the Puritans, the king soon found that he had other more pressing challenges at home and had to recall Parliament. The outbreak of the English Civil War in 1641 further shielded the Massachusetts Bay Company, especially when Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) and the Puritan Independents emerged victorious. Massachusetts now had a friendly government in England that would protect its religious and civil polity. The 1650s proved a golden time for Massachusetts as an independent self-governing commonwealth.

The restoration of Charles II (1630–1685) to the throne in 1660, therefore, was a blow to the people of Massachusetts Bay. However, the second-generation Puritans followed their predecessors' example by attempting to keep the English authorities at bay. The colony accordingly declined the request of Charles II to appoint a governor. They also maintained the fiction that their charter only required nominal allegiance to the crown and that it gave the General Court a parallel authority to

that of Parliament. Hence, when the crown demanded compliance with the Navigation Act Laws of 1660, 1663, and 1673 to control colonial trade for the benefit of the mother country, Massachusetts simply passed a duplicate measure of its own. Clearly this situation could not continue, and in 1684 the crown began proceedings once more to annul the charter of the company. This was effected in 1685. In the future, Massachusetts was to be governed by a royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros (1637–1714), with an appointive council and no representative assembly. Equally distressing to the Puritans was the decision to subsume the colony into a new entity to be called the Dominion of New England. Fortunately for Massachusetts, King James II's (1633–1701) attempts to establish an absolute monarchy on both sides of the Atlantic were overturned by the events of the Glorious Revolution in 1689, which led to accession of William III and Queen Mary to the English throne. Nevertheless, there was to be no return to the old company charter of 1629. Under the new charter of 1691 the crown would appoint the governor. However, the skillful lobbying of Increase Mather (1639–1723), the province's most influential divine minister, ensured that Massachusetts

regained much of what it had previously enjoyed. Not only would the freeholders elect an assembly, but their representatives in turn would nominate the governor's council, reflecting the old company charter whereby the freemen elected the council of assistants. It was this system of government that served the people of Massachusetts until the American Revolutionary War began in 1775.

SEE ALSO *Christianity and Colonial Expansion in the Americas; Empire in the Americas, British; Fur and Skin Trades in the Americas; Religion, Roman Catholic Church.*

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MAU MAU, AFRICA

Mau Mau is the term given to the insurgence that arose in Kenya as early as 1946 but was at its height between 1952 and 1956. The movement was rife in Nairobi, the Central Province, and in the settler provinces of the Rift Valley in Kenya. The effects of the movement were felt worldwide and impacted the postindependence politics in Kenya. At its height, the movement pitched the Kikuyu and the related Embu and Meru in guerrilla warfare against the British.

Mau Mau had economic and social origins arising from the urban squalor in Nairobi, whose population was growing at a very rapid rate without the necessary social services or infrastructure. This led to unsanitary conditions and low wages for the African workers. Another source of discontent lay in the loss of land that pushed many of the Kikuyu people into squatter farming in European farms where wages were extremely low and working conditions poor. Within the Kikuyu community, the rise of capitalism dispossessed the traditionally landless people, the *ahoi,* who were traditional tenants of those who had land. The *ahoi* were forced to seek wage labor in the urban centers and European farms, aggravating the sprawling, poor living conditions in these areas and heightening discontent with colonialism.

As discontent increased among Africans in general between 1944 and 1946, the Kikuyu transformed traditional Kikuyu oaths into a device for forging solidarity against Europeans. The period witnessed escalating violence that drew the attention of the colonial government to what administrative officials referred to as a "subversive organization, Mau Mau." Violence by the so-called Mau Mau reached alarming proportions by the first two months of 1952 during which cattle were maimed and mutilated in settler farms and crops were set on fire. Chiefs and their families and supporters, the African police, and Christians were attacked and killed as agents or as supporters of the colonial government.

On October 20, 1952, the colonial government declared a state of emergency following the assassination of a powerful Kikuyu chief by the Mau Mau. On the same date, African nationalist leaders including Jomo Kenyatta and AchiEng Oneko were arrested and detained. The declaration of the state of emergency forced Mau Mau leaders and Mau Mau adherents into the forests from which they waged guerrilla war against the British and the loyalists.

Both men and women entered the forests, revising some of the traditional gender relations as some women rose to hold positions as Mau Mau generals while men took up cooking responsibilities traditionally associated with women. By 1956, the British forces had stopped the military phase of the Mau Mau movement, especially when they rounded up, screened, arrested, and placed Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru in detention camps. The screenings and detention cut off the Mau Mau from their supply of food, clothing, hiding places, and ammunition. To circumvent arrest, some Kikuyu tried to emulate practices of other cultural groupings; for example, some removed their six lower teeth, a practice associated with the Luo people of Nyanza province, in the hope of passing as Luos. The Mau Mau movement is bound up with various facets of anticolonialism and tied to differently situated African peoples and communities in colonial Kenya. Many scholars and political leaders have interpreted Mau Mau as a nationalist liberation movement, and called Mau Mau freedom fighters. Others have termed it a peasant revolt against landlessness and Mau Mau as land struggle among the Kikuyu, a peasant war emerging out of the growing class struggles among the Kikuyu, or a religious and political movement. The movement, however, forced the British to rethink their policies in Kenya, especially regarding African representation in the governing of Kenya.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism; Britain's African Colonies.*

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Mau Mau Rebels Under Arrest, 1953. *Colonial police escort twenty-seven Mau Mau nationalists to court in Githunguri on April 14, 1953. The men were accused of setting fire to villages in the uplands district of the Kiambu near Nairobi, leading to the deaths of some 150 villagers.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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MEDICAL PRACTICES, MIDDLE EAST

The medical practices of the Middle East have a long history of interchange with the West. In the late medieval world a massive transfer of medical and scientific knowledge took place from the Arab-Islamic world to western Europe, while in the modern colonial period western European states *medicalized* many of the new states of the Middle East. Prior to the nineteenth century most of these places had not been constituted as countries, and much recent work in the history of medicine has concentrated on the imperial use of medicine as a form of repression and cultural subjugation in the creation of nation-states. Almost all of the Middle East—which is seen here as stretching from Morocco in North Africa to Iran—was occupied at some point in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries by imperial, primarily French and British, powers.

While the cultures of the Middle East evidently possessed distinct local medical practices, from the eighth century C.E. onward they all shared a medical culture that was based on three interlinking medical systems, whose composition varied from place to place and over time: Graeco-Arabic medicine, Qu'ranic medicine, and what Kathleen Malone O'Connor refers to as "vernacular medicine."

In the Medieval period Arabs and Persians were enthusiastic translators of Greek scientific knowledge. The term *Graeco-Arabic medicine* refers to the combination of Galenic and Hippocratic medical knowledge with indigenous Arabian medical beliefs, some of which were

borrowed from Indian Ayurveda and other Eastern forms of medicine. Scientific learning was prized and promoted by the state in the Islamic world, which led classic Islamic physician-scholars, such as Ibn Rāzi, Ibn Sina, and Ibn Rushd, to refine and develop Greek medicine. Great emphasis was placed on diet, public health, and the connection between physical and spiritual well-being. This ethical approach to health fused with the growing field of Qu'ranic medicine, which advocated an approach to welfare that drew on the Qu'ran and the *hadith* (sayings) of Prophet Mohammed. In some cases this could involve the use of amulets inscribed with Qu'ranic verses, tinctures formulated from Qu'ranic ink, and prayer, but it also shared a belief in astrological medicine that was present in Graeco-Arabic healing. These treatments were supplemented by "vernacular medicine," which was primarily based upon pre-Islamic herbalism, and the science of pharmacology, which was very well developed in the medieval Arab-Islamic world.

Each of these forms of medicine shared an approach to health that stressed the importance of collective and individual efforts to prevent the spread of sickness, both through public health initiatives (such as hospitals) and the encouragement of righteous living. Arab-Islamic medicine was therefore profoundly holistic and it possessed a strong moral dimension, which is evinced in medieval literatures on medical ethics that discuss notions of justice, such as the question of whether it is acceptable for a doctor to charge for his services.

Many of the techniques and ideas of Arab-Islamic medicine were transferred to western Europe, often through Iberia, in an uncoordinated program of translation that transferred the knowledge generated by the "Golden Age" of Islamic science (1200 to 1600 C.E.). Texts such as Ibn Sina's *Canon of Medicine* became standard medical reference works across Europe, while the holistic ethos of Arab-Islamic medicine deeply influenced some European centers of medical learning, such as Montpellier. By the eighteenth century, however, western Europeans were confident that they had themselves developed a superior medical system. Known as *scientific medicine*, this was characterized by the emphasis on medicine's curative potential, often through surgical procedures, and was associated with Montpellier's great French rival, the Paris school of medicine.

Most Western colonists had little conception that the countries they occupied in the Middle East possessed complex medical cultures, let alone forms of medicine that had in fact played a formative role in the development of European scientific medicine. This European medicine was seen as a tool of progress that would reawaken the "primitive" cultures of the Middle East, and in most imperial ventures doctors played a large part

in both establishing safe living conditions for the servants of the imperial state and in offering medical services that aimed to win over local populations. This process reached its apogee with the so-called *médecins aventuriers* in Morocco, who Maréchal Lyautey declared would "form the front-line of colonialism. In each settlement I will establish a native clinic. . . . Little by little, the gifts of civilisation will calm desires for independence" (Bidwell 1973, p. 16).

In neighboring Algeria, French doctors had played a large part in forging an Algerian state, often representing the only nonmilitary French authority with which Algerians came into contact. The French state promised Algerians a national health-service network that went beyond even the state's responsibility for medical provision in France, but budgetary constraints eventually led to Western medical knowledge being dispersed by competing groups of military, mission, and private doctors. The failure of this promise of universal healthcare, best seen in the tiny numbers of Algerians trained in medical professions, and the hostility of many Algerians toward drugs and vaccinations, which seemed to have little effect against the epidemics and plagues that ravaged the country, led to a disillusionment with Western medicine that was also apparent elsewhere in the Arab-Islamic world. A similarly nuanced approach to the reception of Western medical systems has been observed by Khaled Fahmy in his study of the development of a School of Midwifery in 1830s Cairo. Fahmy demonstrates how such training institutions represented both an extension of socioeconomic opportunity for Egyptian women and the means by which the modern state could gain greater oversight and control of its population. There were, however, states, such as Sudan, where Western medicine was seen in a more benign light, in part through the concerted efforts to recruit local doctors and to solve local problems.

Recent studies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman, Egyptian, and Persian medicine (see Murphey, Sonbol, Ebrahimnejad) have stressed the need to understand the medicalization of the Middle East as a complex process, in which both local and Western parties borrowed from each other, and where there were strong lines of continuity from traditional medical practices. This was especially evident in the case of medical education, where hospital-based training drew on the traditions of the *maristans* (traditional Middle Eastern hospitals) (Sonbol 1991, p. 6). Such education did, however, introduce novel notions of specialization, for whereas traditional Egyptian practitioners had often acted as doctors and herbalists, the Western system of distinctions between pharmacists, surgeons, and physicians became the regional norm (Sonbol 1991, pp. 44–45). With regard to Iran, Hormoz Ebrahimnejad goes so far as to assert that "the

embryo of modernization in nineteenth-century Iran resided in the institutionalization of traditional medicine" (2004, p. 11).

Further illustration of this complex relationship comes in Daniel Panzac's work on the plague in this period. While plagues had been eradicated from western Europe by the eighteenth century, they continued to occur periodically throughout the Middle East. Panzac shows that the management of plagues in the Ottoman Empire was not only a central focus of the gradually more hierarchical exchange of medical knowledge between West and East, but also a major impetus for the establishment of international systems of disease management (in the form of quarantines and *cordons sanitaires*) that were forerunners of twentieth-century international health institutions.

On gaining independence all new states in the Middle East based their new, national medical systems on administrative models borrowed from the West. These systems were, however, much better resourced than had been the case in the colonial period, and in all of the Middle East there have been dramatic improvements in mortality rates and the near eradication of previously endemic diseases such as bilharzia and malaria. From 1950 to 1990, life expectancy rose from 41.8 years to 62.1 years in North Africa and from 45.2 to 66.3 years in West Asia, through a combination of improved nutrition, childhood immunization programs, improved water supplies, and increasing literacy (Barlow 1999, p. 3). As any visitor to a *souk* anywhere in the Middle East will see, Western, allopathic medicine exists alongside a continuing belief in traditional medical practices, such as herbalism, in a synthesis that precedes the contemporary West's interest in integrating scientific and complementary systems of medicine.

SEE ALSO *British Colonialism, Middle East; French Colonialism, Middle East; Literature, Middle Eastern; Western Thought, Middle East.*

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William Gallois

MEKONG RIVER, EXPLORATION OF THE

The mighty Mekong River flows for about 4,180 kilometers (2,600 miles) from its origins in the Tibetan highlands of western China to the South China Sea off the coast of southern Vietnam, passing through China, Burma (Myanmar), Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia. It was first mapped in the 1640s, in part by the Dutch merchant Gerrit van Wusthoff, who traveled upstream from a site near present-day Phnom Penh in Cambodia to Vientiane in what is now Laos. His report noted the severe navigational difficulties that he encountered, and for more than two hundred years, the full course of the river remained unmapped.

In the 1860s, however, soon after France had established its foothold in Indochina, French officials optimistically saw the Mekong as a gateway to the markets of central China. France established its protectorate over Cambodia in 1863, in part to gain access to this potential

source of wealth. Preliminary explorations, echoing van Wusthoff, revealed that the river was not navigable between northern Cambodia and Laos because of daunting waterfalls and rapids. In Laos, moreover, the depth of the river varied sharply between the dry and rainy seasons, often rendering it impassable for shipping. These findings failed to dampen the fervor of the French, who were eager to map the river and to extend their influence into the unmapped and uncolonized parts of Asia.

In 1866 a forty-three-year-old French naval officer, Ernest Doudart de Lagree (1823–1868), who was posted to the Cambodian court, was placed in command of a twenty-two-man expedition. Second in command of the expedition was a fiery, ambitious, and talented naval officer, Francis Garnier (1839–1873), then only twenty-six. Garnier wrote a lively narrative of the expedition in 1869. Louis Delaporte (1842–1925), a talented French artist, also took part in the expedition and later produced an invaluable illustrated account.

The explorers set off confidently from Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City) in June 1866. Their stores included half a ton of rations, 700 liters (about 185 gallons) of wine, and 300 liters (about 79 gallons) of brandy, but no supply of sturdy boots.

After making a side excursion to the recently "discovered" Angkor ruins in northwestern Cambodia, the explorers proceeded north, where the rapids at Sambor in Cambodia and the Khone Falls in southern Laos impeded their progress. Returning to the river after marching around the falls, they proceeded upstream through several Lao-speaking principalities, reaching Luang Prabang—perhaps the first Europeans to do so—in April 1867. By then their supplies were running low, de Lagree was ill, and safe passage through northern Laos, Burma, and western China was by no means certain.

By October 1867, however, the explorers had reached western China. After traveling overland to Kunming, Garnier wanted to turn west to search for the sources of the Mekong, whereas de Lagree, who was seriously ill, argued that mapping the Red River, which flowed into northern Vietnam, would be more feasible and potentially more profitable for France. Leaving de Lagree to convalesce, Garnier attempted to reach the sources of the Mekong, but he was prevented from doing so by mistrustful local rulers. De Lagree died in March 1868, and the expedition came officially to an end. The surviving explorers, taking de Lagree's body with them, sailed down the Yangzi to Shanghai, reaching Saigon in July.

In a little more than two years, the expedition had mapped 6,700 kilometers (more than 4,160 miles) of Asian land and had reached parts of the world that had never been visited by Europeans. The expedition, however, brought no economic benefits to France, and it was poorly reported in Europe. Garnier, eager to salvage some glory for himself and for his country, lobbied for recognition when he returned to France, but only six hundred copies of his sumptuous two-volume account were ever published, while Delaporte limited his account to his travels in Cambodia. The posthumous account by a third explorer, Louis de Carné (1844–1871), was an amateurish production, filled with racialist remarks about the people of Cambodia, Laos, and China.

Francis Garnier became an imperial hero after he was killed in combat outside Hanoi in 1873. A second, condensed edition of his account, published in 1885, was a best seller in France.

SEE ALSO *French Indochina; Travelogues.*

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MELANESIA

Melanesia is a region of the southwestern Pacific Ocean and forms, together with Micronesia and Polynesia, one of the three cultural areas of Oceania. Melanesia includes New Guinea, the Torres Strait Islands of northern Australia, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and the Fiji Islands. The name *Melanesia* derives from Greek words meaning *black islands* and refers to the dark complexions of the indigenous inhabitants.

Human beings have inhabited Melanesia for at least 40,000 years, and Melanesians were among the first peoples to develop agriculture, about 10,000 years ago. Scattered islands and rugged terrain led to the formation of small cultural groups, often isolated from each other, and over 1,000 indigenous languages are spoken in the region. Traditional Melanesian society was not based on a system of hereditary chiefs; instead, individuals became politically powerful through their own actions.

Although the coast of New Guinea was reached by the Portuguese possibly as early as 1512, most historians consider the Spanish expedition of Álvaro de Mendaña (1541–1595) as the first European contact. Mendaña reached what he called the Solomon Islands in 1568. Despite naming the islands after a legendary king of great wealth, the Spanish found no gold and consequently the

islands held little interest for them. The Dutch arrived later and landed in Fiji and New Guinea in 1643. English explorers, including Captain James Cook (1728–1779), visited the New Guinea area in the 1770s at about the same time the French visited Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands.

Western colonization did not really begin until the nineteenth century, and even then was limited by the presence of tropical diseases and the resistance of the indigenous population. Missionaries started arriving around 1839, and by the 1850s the Dutch, British, French, and Germans began claiming parts of Melanesia. The Dutch claimed the western half of New Guinea, whereas the eastern half was divided between Germany and Britain. These countries also split the Solomon Islands, with the British taking Fiji as well. France claimed New Caledonia, Vanuatu, then the New Hebrides, which was jointly ruled by Britain and France. Britain later transferred its holdings in New Guinea to Australia, and after Germany's defeat in World War I (1914–1918), Australia acquired German New Guinea.

European colonialism united disparate ethnic groups under one administration, and imposed European languages, religion, economy, and political systems on top of the indigenous ones. Europeans introduced agricultural plantations using indigenous labor, and some Melanesians were brought to Australia in a form of slavery known as blackbirding. The British also brought laborers from India to Fiji.

Independence came late to Melanesia. Fiji became independent in 1974. The Australian territories in New Guinea became independent as Papua New Guinea in 1975, followed by the independence of the Solomon Islands in 1978 and Vanuatu in 1980. New Caledonia remains a French colony, and the western part of New Guinea is part of independent Indonesia, despite independence movements among the indigenous population. Postcolonial Melanesia has been troubled by ethnic conflicts, such as the recent coups in Fiji and secessionist movements in Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and the Solomon Islands.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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MERCANTILISM

Although the term *mercantilism* encompasses the diverse trade practices followed by European states from the sixteenth until the late eighteenth century, its core assumptions may be summarized: that wealth is an absolutely indispensable means to achieve geopolitical power; that such power is valuable as a means to acquire or retain wealth; that wealth and power constitute the dual ends of national policy; and that these two ends are compatible and, indeed, complementary. English commercial writer Charles Davenant claimed that, in "matters of empire, whoever is the cause of another's advancement is the cause of his own diminuition" (Davenant 1704, pt. 1, p. 205). A nation could not remain, in his view, "unarmed, sit still and suffer another country to enlarge its dominions" (Davenant 1704, pt. 1, p. 205). Mercantilism, then, refers to the collection of policies designed to keep the state prosperous through economic regulation.

EARLY TRADE POLICIES

The keystone of the mercantilist system was the complex network of regulations controlling the trade of colonies with each other and with the mother country, the chief object being to secure monopoly and prevent competitor nations from enjoying the produce of, and trading with, one nation's colonies. As another English seventeenth-century writer, Josiah Child, noted: "If [colonies] are not kept to the rules" then the "benefit of them would be wholly lost to the nation" (Child 1688, pp. 177–178). England's Navigation Act of 1651 set the pace and tone of interimperial trade relations. It represented a genuine departure from past policy. Designed originally to eliminate the Dutch as the principal shippers of English imports, the Navigation Act signaled a new attitude toward government regulation, and put the power of the state squarely behind national economic development. It forbade the importation of plantation commodities from Africa, America, or Asia, except on ships owned and operated by English subjects.

Under the terms of its 1696 amplification, foreign agents or states were forbidden from engaging in any facet of colonial trade, articles could not be shipped from the colonies to foreign nations, and colonial imports were limited to goods shipped from England, thus creating a monopoly. The term *monopoly* was applied to any trade where there was a legal or legally sanctioned restriction on entry. The goal was to free England from its reliance on foreign commodities and to give English manufactures a free hand in its dominions. Every other European empire endeavored to create a closed, monopolistic trading system in order that all benefits of colonization would accrue to itself alone, rendering the empire self-sufficient

and economically independent of the rest of the world. If the attempt by every nation to create a monopoly by excluding the merchants of all other nations from its colonies was one pillar of the mercantile system, the attempt to exclude all merchants other than those of a single privileged company was the second.

After trade legislation, the privileged (sometimes referred to as monopoly or chartered) commercial company was the second mainspring of mercantilism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Companies were forged out of the cooperation of state power and market-oriented entrepreneurship. Their creation entailed the delegation of government authority and property rights to the company in an overseas dominion. In exchange for rights of sovereignty and exclusive economic access to a colonial territory, such companies were required to construct forts and garrisons to protect against the depredations of indigenous inhabitants, to provide naval power and protection from aggression by other European nations, and to conduct diplomatic relations with indigenous rulers. Louis XIV's reforming minister in the late seventeenth century, Jean Baptiste Colbert, had viewed companies as effective in colonial trade where the traffic was not well established and long sea voyages and financial risks were involved. Other nations followed suit and by the end of the seventeenth century the globe was divided into rival empires of trade.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

Just before the turn of the eighteenth century, attitudes toward the mercantilist trading system began to change. Whereas the mercantilists maintained that a nation could develop economically only by outstripping and impoverishing its neighbors in a zero-sum world, new political writers began to rethink trade, the sources of wealth, and the bases of geopolitical power. In France, a group of political economists called Physiocrats contended that all wealth derived from agriculture and argued for the virtues of laissez-faire, or free trade. Two leading Physiocrats, François Quesnay and Marquis de Mirabeau, in their widely circulated 1763 tract *Rural Philosophy*, asserted that nations that adopted agriculture "sooner or later came to enjoy the benefits of society, of union, of population, of good and equitable laws, and of the appropriate arts and skills" whereas the others had "grown old in a state of barbarism" (Meek 1973, p. 110).

Although many of the French economists were connected to the world of imperial administration, Baron Turgot urged Louis XVI to contemplate an unimperial future, calling for the West Indian sugar islands to become independent states, connected to France only by the bonds of identity of origin, language, and customs. More radically, Abbé Raynal urged European nations to relinquish colonial monopoly and to remove "every obstacle…that intercepts a direct communication" (Paquette 2004b, p. 206) between the Americas and all of Europe. Raynal contended that privileged companies never recovered the money and rights advanced to them through the duties they levied. For Raynal, the world historical purpose of commerce was to corrode relentlessly the fences of colonial fiefdoms until it produced a universal society without national boundaries. The trend away from privileged companies in France culminated in the 1769 suspension of the Compagnie des Indes.

It was the Scot Adam Smith who coined the terms *mercantile system*, which he used derisively. In *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), Smith contended that the fundamental error of the mercantilists was their confusion of wealth with money. Since they believed, mistakenly, that a favorable balance of trade was the primary means of acquiring wealth and money, they had been unable to conceive of the advantages to be derived from foreign trade. Similarly, he explained that the exclusion of foreign competition from the colonial trade might indeed have raised profits, but that this apparent advantage was offset by an accompanying rise in prices that subjected the nation to "an absolute and relative disadvantage in every branch of trade of which she has not the monopoly" (Smith 1976, vol. 2, p. 592). The mercantile system, then, "rendered less secure" the long-term prosperity of the colonial power because "her commerce, instead of running in a great number of small channels, has been taught to run principally in one great channel" (Smith 1976, vol. 2, p. 604).

Even before the appearance of Smith's treatise, the British Navigation Acts had been loosened somewhat by the creation of free ports in the British Caribbean in 1766. These were designed, primarily, to allow silver-laden vessels from Spanish ports to enter Britain, essentially making the de facto smuggling de jure. Such a reduction in restrictions was preceded by the Dutch free port at St. Eustatius (1737), the Danish example in St. Thomas and St. John (1763), French experiments in Martinique and Guadeloupe (1763–1765), and the Spanish Caribbean in 1765. The powers wielded by the British East India Company came under similar scrutiny, though the company was not dismantled. British statesman Edmund Burke observed with dismay that it did not seem to be only a company formed for the extension of British commerce, but in reality a delegation of Britain's sovereignty deployed to the East.

This late-eighteenth-century skepticism presaged further attacks on the various components of the mercantile system by the classical political economists of early-nineteenth-century Britain: David Ricardo condemned colonial trade restrictions on free trade grounds, arguing

ABBÉ RAYNAL

Born in Saint-Geniez, France, on April 12, 1713, Guillaume-Thomas-François Raynal is noted for his influential writings on slavery in the New World. Educated by the Jesuits, Raynal initially joined the Roman Catholic order and worked at the Parisian parish of Saint-Sulpice. Abbé Raynal, as he is more commonly known, eventually left the Jesuits and started a writing career, beginning with a popular work on the history of the Netherlands and another on the history of the English Parliament.

In 1770 Raynal published the controversial six-volume *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, which strongly condemned both the Roman Catholic Church and the French government. The fourth volume of the collection criticizes in detail the use and treatment of slaves in the North and South American colonies, and advocates the abolition of the slave trade. Raynal warned European leaders that if the slaves were not freed, bloody revolutions would soon commence, a prediction vindicated shortly thereafter by the Haitian slave rebellion of 1791.

Four years after its publication, the *Philosophical and Political History* was banned by the church, and in 1781 it was burned by the French public executioner, after which Raynal fled the country. Raynal was allowed to return in 1787, and two years later witnessed revolution in France, followed in 1794 by a formal decree eliminating slavery in the French colonies. Raynal died on March 6, 1796.

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that the existence of such exclusive colonial markets neither affected profits nor were necessary for the employment of the mother country's surplus capital. James Mill opposed such colonial monopoly on utilitarian grounds, claming that the mother country was gaining at the expense of the colonies, thereby decreasing the sum of overall public welfare of the empire as a whole.

SHIFTS IN MERCANTILISM

Although the reservations voiced by the Physiocrats and Adam Smith were ascendant after 1760, some European powers clung to, and benefited from, the reinvigoration of the mercantile system. In Portugal, the powerful reforming prime minister, the Marques de Pombal, derided "all business which is done in foreign countries [as] insecure and very contingent" because the "ambition and greed inspired in other countries gives rise to frequent attempts to impede or usurp [that commerce]" (Carvalho e Melo 1986, p. 42). None of these dangers, Pombal reasoned, "threatens commerce which is conducted with colonies," potentially a "secure and perpetual" relation so long as the "exclusion of foreigners" and "care in watching over the colony's commerce and fertilizing it each day more in order to sprout new branches" (Carvalho e Melo 1986, p. 42) were maintained.

Trading companies became the basic building block in his grand design upon his rise to power in 1755 and were realized most fully in Brazil. In creating the companies of Grão Pará and Maranhão, Pombal sought to develop new export commodities (such as cotton and rice) and encourage the growth of colonial manufactures. These companies, which did not survive Pombal's political fall, were abolished in 1778 and 1779 and a freer trade between Portugal and northern Brazil was established. The companies had failed to achieve their economic objectives: Less than one-quarter of the shipments to the colonies were composed of national manufacturers while Portuguese textiles represented only 30 percent of total dispatched to the empire.

In the Spanish Empire, debates over colonial trade monopoly and privileged companies were particularly fierce. From the advent of its dominion in the New World, the Crown had zealously guarded its American dominions from foreign penetration. Until 1720 all ships had to pass through Seville, and between 1720 and 1765, through Cádiz. Foreign commercial ships were, in legislation at least, prohibited from entering Spanish American ports. Furthermore, in an attempt to guarantee markets for Spanish exports, the development of manufactures was strictly forbidden in the colonies. The early-eighteenth-century Spanish political economists, whose thought underpinned the changes that Spain imposed on the structure and functioning of its empire between 1759 and 1808, endorsed monopoly and trading companies: Geronimo Uztáriz attributed Spain's economic stagnation to the composition of its foreign and domestic trade and poor shipping facilities, both of which caused otherwise avoidable outflows of precious metals.

Spain had fallen behind its imperial rivals, but its plight was reversible. This realization unleashed the debate over the viability of Spain's mercantile system: On the one hand, Raynal's Spanish translator implored the reader to resist the French Abbé's siren call of liberty of commerce, warning that it often proved nothing but a chimera. On the other hand, in his 1794 preface to *Wealth of Nations,* Smith's translator mocked Britain for having granted trading companies sovereign power and the right to maintain garrisons and fortifications in overseas dominions. The so-called free trade decrees of 1765 and 1778 did away with some of the regulations constricting Spanish colonial commerce, represented the death knell of the Royal Havana Company, and seemed to prefigure a Smithian or physiocratic embrace of freer trade. Yet foreigners were still legally excluded from Spanish entrepôts and trading companies persisted: Less regulated trade did not prove to be the anticipated remedy for the deep-seated structural malaise brought on by belated industrialization and colonial undersupply. By the 1780s, such shortcomings of the new approach prompted the Crown to experiment with a combination of freer trade and regulated companies. A Philippines Company was empowered to conduct trade between Manila and the entire empire, as well as exclusive right to import slaves into Venezuela. In addition, widespread smuggling and Creole discontent conspired to render unworkable the mercantile system by the eve of Spanish American independence in 1808.

Although the trend was toward freer trade, it was hardly an inexorable and irreversible movement. Even in Britain, the old allegiance to the Navigation Acts, the bulwark of the mercantile system, persisted and even outpaced newfangled economic liberalism. One prominent writer accused Smith of not merely opposing monopoly, but favoring the "dismemberment of the empire" (Paquette 2004a, p. 200). Even when free trade was adopted in one area it sometimes proved to be a powerful inducement for protection in another, and the languages of these different systems mingled in the mouths of political writers and policymakers. Older views about the role of the state in international trade remained, as did the goals of economic self-sufficiency and the avoidance of reliance on foreign suppliers: In the aftermath of the American Revolution, English politician Lord John Sheffield famously remarked that "freedom of commerce is not a power granted to merchants to do what they please." Only after 1820 would liberal notions of wealth, trade, and empire fully take hold. When they finally did, they would underpin a new, nonmercantilist conception of colonialism: the imperialism of free trade.

SEE ALSO *Enlightenment Thought.*

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G. B. Paquette

MERCENARIES, EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

The most renowned mercenaries (soldiers hired into foreign service) in colonial Asia were those hired by both sides of the momentous military campaigns during China's Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864). As the most devastating civil war in human history, in which at least 25 million lives were lost, the Taiping Rebellion took place in the aftermaths of the Opium War, which ended with China's agreement to open its door to Westerners who subsequently flocked to China's coastal regions in search of adventure, profit, and Christian converts. Unsatisfied with their gains, the Western governments took advantage of the crisis faced by the ruling Qing dynasty and in the midst of the Taiping Rebellion dispatched a significant number of troops, military and naval, to force new, more conciliatory treaties upon the Qing court. Consequently, there was a large community of foreign nationals, both military and civilian, in China to be hired as mercenaries in the epic campaigns.

The Taiping rebels had 104 Western mercenaries in their service. The American J. I. Roberts for a while was the Taiping rebels' top adviser in charge of foreign affairs. On the Qing side, the desperate court in 1861 formed an Ever-Victorious Army, a bona fide mercenary military unit, to be recruited, trained, and led by an American adventurer from Salem, Massachusetts, Frederick T. Ward. Motivated primarily by lucrative financial reward, Ward vigorously worked to expand the Ever-Victorious Army, openly luring British and French expeditionary force soldiers to desert their units and join his mercenary army. Many answered his call, which displeased the British and French military officials.

Ward was killed in battle in 1862, at a time when his mercenary army had grown to 3,000 strong. The Qing court chose Henry Andrea Burgevine as Ward's successor. But the opportunistic Burgevine soon switched sides to the Taiping rebels for higher service fees. Eventually, a deeply religious Charles George Gordon, who came to China in 1860 to invade Beijing for more favorable treaties from the Chinese government, resigned his commission as an artillery major from the British Army and became the last commander of the Ever-Victorious Army until its successful ending in late May 1864. It was Gordon who made the mercenary unit a meaningful modern fighting force. Other well-known mercenaries during the late Qing period include the Frenchman Prosper Giquel, and two Brits, Sir Samuel Halliday McCartney and Horatio Nelson Lay.

The most legendary mercenary adventure in Asia in the twentieth century is the American Voluntary Group, popularly known as the Flying Tigers, that Claire Lee Chennault commanded for the Chinese cause against the Japanese aggression in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

SEE ALSO *Taiping Rebellion.*

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Maochun Yu

MEXICO

SEE *New Spain, the Viceroyalty of*

MEXICO CITY

Mexico City, once the dominant city in the Aztec Empire, became one of the most important cities in the Spanish Empire and, undoubtedly, in the history of global colonialism.

First founded as Tenochtitlán in 1325, the city fell in August 1521 to Spanish conquerors led by Hernán Cortés (ca. 1484–1547). Destroyed by the conquest, Tenochtitlán was not immediately selected as the site of the conquerors' new settlement; however, the strategic and symbolic advantages of the site outweighed its disadvantages, and within months the reconstruction and repopulation of the city were underway. The city was soon designated a center for imperial secular and clerical administration. In 1535 Tenochtitlán became the capital of New Spain, the first viceroyalty to be created in the Americas. In 1547 Mexico's bishopric was recreated as an archdiocese. In 1571 the city received a tribunal of the Holy Office (the holy office of the inquisition, charged with policing Catholic orthodoxy and, increasingly, the behavior of the faithful).

By the end of the sixteenth century, then, Mexico City exercised spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over a vast area comprising much of Central America, the Caribbean, and even the Philippines. The viceregal capital also acted as an important financial center and a conduit for the bullion that issued from the mines to the north of the city after the mid-1540s. A significant amount of this silver flowed through the city to the port of Veracruz and on to Spain. However, much also remained in the churches and merchant houses of New Spain's capital, fueling both local ostentation and,

through lending activities, the continued economic growth of the region.

Throughout the colonial period, Mexico City would act as a centripetal force throughout the Spanish-speaking world, attracting both wealth and a disproportionate number of settlers. With an estimated population of 170,000 on the eve of Mexican independence in 1820, Mexico remained the largest city in Latin America and one of the colonial world's major centers throughout its colonial history.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish.*

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MICRONESIA

Micronesia is a region of the central Pacific Ocean. It forms, together with Melanesia and Polynesia, one of the three cultural areas of Oceania. Micronesia includes the islands of Guam and Nauru, and the Mariana, Caroline, Marshall, Gilbert, and Line islands. The name *Micronesia* derives from Greek words meaning "tiny islands." Most of these islands are atolls, or low coral islands fringing a partially enclosed lagoon.

Human beings have inhabited parts of Micronesia for at least five thousand years. Though Micronesia extends over a vast area, its people are excellent sailors and discovered and settled nearly every island in the region well before Europeans arrived. Traditional Micronesian society was based on a system of hereditary chiefs, with individuals divided into nobility and commoners.

The first European to visit Micronesia was the Portuguese Fernão de Magalhães (1480–1521), better known in English as Ferdinand Magellan. Employed by the king of Spain, Magellan entered the Pacific from the southern tip of South America and reached Guam in 1521.

Though Spain laid claim to Guam in 1565, it did not establish a settlement there until the mid-1600s. As in other parts of Oceania, European colonialism really began in the nineteenth century. Though Spain was a weak colonial power at this time, it still controlled Guam, as well as the Mariana and Caroline Islands, though British and American traders and missionaries had become active on these islands. Britain claimed the Gilbert Islands and the nearby island of Banaba, while Germany claimed the Marshall Islands and Nauru.

After Spain's 1898 loss in the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired Guam and Spain and sold the Marianas and the Carolines to Germany. Germany lost all its colonies after its defeat in World War I, with the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls going to Japan, and Nauru being administered by Australia. Japan settled large numbers of its citizens in Micronesia, but lost these colonies after its own defeat in World War II; its Micronesian empire was transferred to the United States.

The small size and remote location of Micronesia's islands did not make it an especially attractive place for European colonialism. Export crops were largely limited to copra, a form of dried coconut used for its oil, and the islands of Nauru and Banaba were also important as sources of phosphate fertilizer. Micronesia was of strategic importance, given its location between the United States and Japan, the two naval powers of the Pacific, and both countries militarized islands under their control.

Today Micronesia is a mix of colonies, semicolonies, and independent states. The Gilbert Islands became independent in 1979 as the Republic of Kiribati, and Nauru is also an independent republic. Guam and the Northern Marianas are still colonies of the United States, while the Marshalls and Carolines are in "free association" with the United States, meaning that the United States maintains certain political rights in those places. The Caroline Islands were split into Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia, the latter consisting of the four states of Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae.

SEE ALSO *Federated States of Micronesia; Marshall Islands; Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Michael Pretes

MINAS GERAIS, CONSPIRACY OF

This conspiracy, known in Brazilian history as the *Inconfidencia Mineira*, took place in Minas Gerais in 1788 to 1789, and involved members of the region's wealthy and cultured elites, most of them Brazilian-born. It occurred at a time of difficulties in the region's economy, connected to the decline of its previously opulent gold mining industry, and of resentment toward the Portuguese government for its oppressive system of taxation, especially the onerous tax on gold. However, while the conspiracy began as a protest against the policies of the metropolitan government, it became an anticolonial movement. Its intellectual authors, many of whom had studied at the Portuguese university of Coimbra or in France, were inspired by the American Revolution and dreamed of following its example by eliminating Portuguese rule, making Minas Gerais independent, and installing therein a republican form of government. Although it was thwarted before being put into operation, the conspiracy is generally considered the first attempt to overthrow the colonial order in Brazil.

The conspiracy failed when, at the start of 1789, Joaquim Silvério dos Reis went to the governor of Minas Gerais and reported to him a conspiracy against the colonial government. The governor, the viscount of Barbacena, and the viceroy of Brazil, Luis de Vasconcelos e Sousa, ordered an investigation, in which the leading suspects were duly imprisoned, tried, and found guilty. In April 1791 the new viceroy, the Count of Resende, presided over a trial at which eleven conspirators were sentenced to the gallows and seven others banished to Africa. The only one executed was Joaquim José de Silva Xavier, a junior army officer who had been very active in plotting rebellion, and who was known as "Tiradentes" (Toothpuller), a name that is sometimes given to the movement. He was hanged, beheaded, and quartered in Rio de Janeiro on April 21, 1792. The sentences of the others were commuted to banishment through a pardon granted in October 1791, which became public under the agreement of April 18, 1792.

The mainspring of the plot was the decline in gold mining in Minas Gerais in the second half of the eighteenth century, a decline that generated tensions of all kinds. It led among other things to a steady rise in the number of *quilombos* (settlements of runaway slaves) and of poor freedmen. This process was aggravated by the incessant growth of Minas Gerais's debt to the Royal Treasury and the imminent collection of the *derrama*— the tax assessed on the inhabitants' income, paid by the captaincy into the Royal Treasury. A new dimension to political protest came, however, from the successful overthrow of the colonial order in British North America in 1776 to 1783. The North American experience offered a new model to those who opposed Portuguese policies and sharpened perusal of Enlightenment writings like those of the *abbé* Raynal, the contemporary French critic of the European colonial system.

The conspirators' plans envisaged an end to control by the metropolis and an alternative form of government, either a republic or a constitutional monarchy; they also had schemes for improving economic life that included the removal of constraints on diamond mining, establishment of a mint and a gunpowder mill, and promotion of local initiative. On certain points there was disagreement, however. Some favored a general emancipation of the slaves, as they believed the new freedmen would be eager to defend the new regime; others feared the resultant loss of labor in the fields and mines. Yet others desired freedom only for slaves born in Brazil, not for the great majority who were born in Africa.

The principal actors in the conspiracy came from the upper echelons of regional society. According to the final report of the official investigation, the principal landowners, cattle breeders, mine owners, contractors, judges, and military officers of the region joined the movement, in addition to some of the prominent Brazilian intellectuals of the time. Among the conspirators were the poet Cláudio Manoel da Costa; Tomás Antonio Gonzaga, a poet and magistrate of Vila Rica; Inácio Alvarenga Peixoto, magistrate and landowner; the army officers Francisco de Paula Freire de Andrade, military commandant of the captaincy, and ensign Joaquim José de Silva Xavier; the clerics Luís Vieira da Silva, owner of one of the colony's best libraries, Carlos Correia de Toledo, and Oliveira Rolim; the young José Álvares Maciel, who had studied in Europe; and the contractors and merchants João Rodrigues de Macedo and Domingos de Abreu Vieira.

The Minas conspiracy was for many years ignored or mythologized, and historians have treated it in very different ways. The first mention of the episode occurs in the English writer Robert Southey's *History of Brazil*. Southey belittled the conspiracy, characterizing it as merely the first appearance of revolutionary ideas in Brazil and repudiating any similarity to the independence movement in the British colonies of North America. In the *História Geral do Brasil* (1854–1857), Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagem, the quasi-official historian of the empire during the reign of Pedro II, disparaged the plot. Concerned with stressing his era's continuity with the colonial period, he played down Brazil's conflicts with Portugal, especially in connection with the Bragança dynasty. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in a reaction against the acclaim showered on Tiradentes by the Republic (established 1889), Capistrano de Abreu attributed scant importance to the Minas Conspiracy in

his chapters on colonial history, stressing its parallels to the Pernambuco uprisings of 1710 to 1711 or 1817. However, the discovery of new documents allowed Joaquim Norberto de Souza e Silva to offer a new interpretation of the movement in his *História da Conjuração Mineira* (1873), emphasizing Tiradentes's deeply mystical religious ardor. The Minas Gerais historian Francisco Iglesias later also upheld the importance of the movement, stressing that use of the term "conspiracy" was appropriate.

However, the most original contribution to the subject comes from Kenneth Maxwell. On the one hand, Maxwell paid great attention to the influence of European politics on the plot. On the other, he argued that the Minas Conspiracy was based more on economic than ideological issues and reconstructed the complex panorama in which the conspiracy arose, by analyzing internal divisions within the colonial administration, disputes between elites and administration, and the unique character of Tiradentes's career.

More recently, Laura de Mello e Souza has argued that the conspiracy was part of a tradition of protest in Minas Gerais that resurfaced throughout the nineteenth century. Examining common elements among the dissenting movements of the captaincy—the *Emboabas* war (1707–1709), the Pitangui (1717) and Vila Rica (1729) rebellions, the Curvelo "conspiracy" (1761)—she proposes a reconsideration of the Minas conspiracy as an intertwining of different protests against crown regulations, while downplaying its anticolonial character.

SEE ALSO *Brazilian Independence; Rio de Janeiro.*

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Carmen Alveal

MINING, THE AMERICAS

Although a complex mosaic of factors underpinned Spanish imperialism in the Americas, there is abundant evidence that for the *conquistadors*—as for the monarchy that licensed their expeditions—the quest for gold was of fundamental importance. The tone was set at the outset, with Christopher Columbus's log entry for October 13, 1492, describing his first encounter with native Americans:

> I was attentive and sought to learn whether they had gold and I saw that some of them wore a small piece suspended from a hole they have in the nose. And I was able to understand by signs that, going to the south there was a King who had large vessels of gold and who had a great deal of it.

Cuba, located by taking this southward course, yielded little immediate treasure. Gold nose ornaments and bracelets were found in northern Hispaniola, however, as well as a river, promptly named "River of the Gold," "all full of gold, to such an extent that it was a marvel." For the next two decades, the economic life of Hispaniola was underpinned by gold. This was obtained not from mines but, first, from accumulated native treasure, and, as these stocks diminished, from placer deposits in riverbeds panned by native conscripts. The conquests of Panama and Costa Rica similarly provided access, by looting and barter, to the artifacts, and to a lesser extent the placer deposits, of more advanced native societies that for centuries had been accumulating gold objects produced by the sophisticated technique of lost-wax casting. Remittances of gold to Spain reached an early peak in 1511 to 1515, and, after a brief fall reflecting the rapid decline of the native labor force in the islands, boomed from the early 1520s as the conquest of Mexico yielded much treasure. In 1520, for example, Hernán Cortés sent objects worth 32,400 pesos to Charles I, which he described as "so marvelous that considering their worth and strangeness they are priceless." The unsentimental sovereign had them promptly melted down for their bullion value.

The subsequent conquest of Peru (1532–1533), where Francisco Pizarro found an enormous stock of decorative and even utilitarian gold and silver objects, produced even greater riches. Many of these treasures were not "Incan" in a strict sense, but the products of earlier cultures whose craftsmen had been masters of advanced hollow-case casting and soldering for at least 2,000 years. Pizarro melted down virtually everything he could get his hands on, producing at Cajamarca alone—in 1533, from Atahualpa's ransom—13,420 pounds of gold and 26,000 pounds of silver. The sack of Cuzco, in November 1533, revealed incredible treasures, including

life-size animal and human gold figures, all destined for the melting pot. On every occasion that treasure was distributed, scrupulous care was taken to set aside the one fifth due to the crown. The first consignment of Peruvian booty—part of the Cajamarca yield—reached Seville in 1534 in the custody of Hernando Pizarro (Francisco's half-brother), who returned to his native Extremadura to recruit more men for the Peruvian adventure. As men flowed one way, the bullion that fired their imaginations continued to pour in, giving a significant boost to the volume and value of trade in each direction. One significant feature was that silver, which had represented less than 1 percent of the value of bullion reaching Spain in the 1520s, began to rival gold in the 1530s. Indeed, it exceeded gold by a ratio of 7 to 1 in terms of volume, although the greater value of gold (10 to 1 in this period) allowed the latter to retain its supremacy, at least in the short term.

By the late 1530s, despite the continuing subjugation of regions with large treasure stocks—for example, New Granada (modern Colombia)—the more far-sighted settlers realized that the bonanza of native gold was drawing to an end, and that in the future bullion would have to be secured by the development of mining. By the second half of the sixteenth century, New Granada was emerging as the major gold-producer in South America, particularly as miners invested in the purchase of black slaves to replace the diminishing native labor force in Cáceres and Zaragoza. This early boom fizzled out in the 1620s, but gold production increased in New Granada from the late seventeenth century, as new deposits were opened up. Calculating actual production is virtually impossible, but what is certain is that exports of gold to Spain reached an annual average of two million pesos by the late eighteenth century. Chile, Mexico, and Peru also emerged as significant producers of gold—responsible for about two million pesos a year between them—but were overshadowed from the 1690s by Brazil, where the discovery of gold in the rugged interior sparked off a gold rush in Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Matto Grosso. The boom lasted until the 1750s, drawing thousands of settlers from the coast, and estimated total production in the eighteenth century reached thirty million ounces (roughly the same as that yielded by the California gold rush of the nineteenth century). In Spanish America, by contrast, silver mining reigned supreme, following the beginning of the exploitation of fabulously rich deposits at Potosí in Upper Peru (modern-day Bolivia) in 1545 and Zacatecas (in Mexico) in 1548. All production figures are to some extent "guesstimates," but what is certain is that in the period 1500 to 1650, registered trade conveyed 181 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver from America to Spain. Small amounts of copper were also exported, and more was mined for local use, but

significant exploitation of this metal and of tin would not occur until the late nineteenth century.

CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SILVER MINING, 1550–1700

During the Habsburg period Spanish America's preeminent mining center was Potosí, standing at an altitude of over 4,000 meters (13,123 feet) in the mountains of Upper Peru. In 1550 to 1554 alone, it yielded no less than thirteen million pesos, outstripping neighboring Porco (where the Incas had mined silver), and other Andean centers including Castrovirreina, Oruro, and Cerro de Pasco (in production from 1555, 1606, and 1630, respectively). Its rich surface ores—in the first two decades some had a silver content as high as 50 percent—were smelted in ovens known as *guayras*, and by 1556 the crown was receiving over 450,000 pesos as its fifth. Revenue remained at this level until 1567, when a temporary recession was caused by the working-out of the rich surface ores—yields had fallen to 2 percent by 1570—making smelting uneconomical, particularly because of the high costs of obtaining fuel from distant forests. Registered output fell back sharply from ten million pesos in 1565–1569 to 6.4 million in 1570–1574 (a five-year period during which Zacatecas produced slightly more), reducing the profits of both the miners and the crown. However, the crisis was only temporary, for in 1571 the refining process that extracted silver from ore by amalgamation with mercury was successfully introduced at Potosí, permitting silver production to expand to forty-seven million pesos in the 1570s and sixty-four million in the 1580s. The royal fifth yielded more than a million pesos a year in the period 1579 to 1634, before the onset of a gradual, if uneven, decline in the second half of the century. In the period 1550 to 1629 registered production at Potosí totaled 371 million pesos, compared with 90 million at its nearest rival, Zacatecas.

Potosí's preeminence resulted from three factors. The first, and most obvious, was the abundance of ores yielding sufficient silver to make mining profitable, despite their falling value after the boom of the first two decades. Unlike the Mexican mining centers, Potosí also enjoyed a guaranteed supply of mercury from Huancavelica (in central Peru), where production of the precious liquid metal began in 1564. Getting the mercury to Potosí was not easy—it either had to be carried by mules and llamas along 1,200 kilometers (745.6 miles) of mountain tracks 5,000 meters (16,404 feet) high or shipped down the coast to Arica for an equally difficult overland journey—but the required annual supply of 5,000 *quintales* (hundredweight) was guaranteed. The miners of Mexico, by contrast, were almost entirely

How the Indians Mine Silver from the Rock. *This engraving, rendered circa 1600 by Theodor de Bry, was based on published accounts of New World mining activities by the sixteenth-century Spanish missionary José de Acosta.* © **STAPLETON COLLECTION/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

dependent on shipments from Seville of mercury from the Spanish mine of Almadén (and occasional supplies from Huancavelica), the regularity of which was often affected by conflicts in the Atlantic between Spain and other maritime powers. Consequently, Mexican miners, and the merchants upon whom they relied for capital, were more reluctant than their Peruvian counterparts to invest in the extraction of ores in times of uncertainty, because only those of high grade were worth processing by smelting when mercury was unavailable. Potosí's third, and most decisive, advantage was the system of draft Indian labor, the *mita*, implemented in 1573 by viceroy Francisco de Toledo, which provided for the delivery of thousands of natives to work in its mines and refining plants. By 1578 the annual draft had been fixed at over 14,000, one-seventh of the adult male population of a series of provinces selected by Toledo. Despite subsequent revisions downward to 4,000 a century later, as disease and migration took their toll on the dwindling native population of the contributing provinces, the system gave the Potosí miners a guaranteed supply of fixed-price labor. Some of the Europeans allotted quotas of Indians were actually able to receive substantial incomes without mining or refining any silver, by agreeing with native community leaders that cash compensation might be sent to them instead of laborers. The *mita* system, which also supplied a smaller number of conscripts to the Huancavelica mercury mine, theoretically reconciled the notional "freedom" of the native population with the crown's desire to provide the mining industry with a subsidized labor force. In reality it resulted in widespread and systematic abuse of the

conscripts, many of whom either died from overwork or mercury poisoning or were prevented from returning to their communities at the end of their year of service at Potosí.

The rapid increase in Potosí's output in the last quarter of the sixteenth century resulted in a parallel growth in bullion remittances from Peru to Spain, from nearly five million pesos in 1571–1575 to a peak of twenty-four million in 1591–1595. In the latter period a further ten million arrived from Mexico. Enormous though they were, these remissions did not represent total production, for some silver remained in America to finance local trade or for manufacture into jewelry, some was diverted to Asia in return for Chinese silks shipped through Manila to Acapulco, and an incalculable amount lubricated contraband trade. The first two decades of the seventeenth century witnessed the onset of what would become by mid-century a sustained fall in silver remissions to Spain, reflecting to some degree gradual falls in production at Potosí and Zacatecas. At Potosí, for example, the fifth yielded one million pesos for the last time in 1649, falling to 800,000 in 1659, 624,000 in 1669, and 622,000 in 1679. By 1700 it brought in 434,000, and it continued to slide until 1736 when, in an attempt to revive the industry, the crown halved the tax to a tenth. This measure promptly reduced the revenue to a mere 183,000 pesos, but thereafter tighter fiscal controls coupled with an increase in silver output gradually raised the yield to 400,000 by 1780. Production difficulties in both Mexico and Peru, reflecting increasing problems in maintaining adequate supplies of labor (because of native depopulation) and mercury (because of frequent international conflicts), were partly responsible for the decline in the volume and value of transatlantic trade in the late Habsburg period. However, the fundamental cause was not economic decline in America. Rather, as France, England, and the Dutch Republic seized Caribbean islands and engaged in contraband and direct attacks on Spanish shipping both in the Caribbean and in the Pacific, a growing amount of private silver was retained in America to finance regional and contraband trade. At the same time, the bulk of the crown's diminishing taxation revenue was diverted into expenditure on defense. In Peru, for example, total crown revenue in 1653 was 3.7 million pesos, of which 490,000 was spent on defense costs and 1.7 million was remitted to Spain. In 1686 to 1690, by contrast, average annual revenue had fallen to 3.1 million pesos, but defense costs had multiplied threefold, to 1.3 million pesos a year, and thus remittances to Spain averaged a mere 150,000. A similar trend can be seen in Mexico, which by 1700 was providing 3.9 million of Spanish America's total bullion production of 8.3 million pesos. Although output at Zacatecas, which accounted for 40 percent of total

Mexican production in the seventeenth century, fell by half in the second quarter of the century, and the industry as a whole was depressed in 1635 to 1690 (mainly because of a shortage of mercury), the fall in output was much less severe than the downward curve in official transatlantic trade. There, too, a greater proportion of silver was being retained to pay for a more sophisticated defensive-administrative apparatus, and to finance the creation of an economic infrastructure that was becoming more developed than that of Spain itself.

MINING IN THE BOURBON ERA (1700–1810)

Registered bullion output increased fourfold in Spanish America in the eighteenth century, with Mexico recording an increase of 600 percent and Peru (including Upper Peru, which was transferred to the new viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776) an increase of 250 percent. In Mexico the first surge forward occurred in the first three decades, with output rising from 3.9 million pesos in 1700 to an average of 10.2 million in the 1720s. It grew more modestly to an average of thirteen million in the 1750s, and then declined (to an average of 11.9 million in the 1760s) before recovering to 17.2 million in the 1770s. Thereafter, the spectacular growth continued, with production averaging 19.4 million in the 1780s and 23.1 million in the 1790s, a level maintained in the first decade of the nineteenth century (22.7 million a year), before the onset of insurgency in 1810 reduced output in 1810–1814 to a mere 9.4 million a year. The record year was 1804, when Mexico registered 27 million pesos (two-thirds of all American production) and the single mining center of Guanajuato produced as much silver as Peru and Upper Peru combined.

In South America total output declined in the first quarter of the eighteenth century (from 6.4 to 3.5 million pesos a year), before the onset of a steady increase to a high point of 10 million pesos a year by century's end. By then Potosí was producing about 3 million pesos a year (as it had in the 1650s). Potosí's primacy was under threat, however, from the central Peruvian center of Cerro de Pasco, where output grew rapidly in the last quarter of the century—partly because merchant capitalists based in Lima invested there rather than at Potosí, following the separation of the latter from the viceroyalty of Peru. In Mexico, too, long-term investment by prominent merchant families was far more important in promoting growth than the attempts made by the crown in the 1780s to promote technical innovation and acquaint miners with new processing and engineering techniques. The Spanish mining specialist Fausto de Elhuyar succeeded in establishing a School of Mines in Mexico in 1792, while his brother Juan José had some success in introducing new technology in the Mariquita

silver district before his death in 1796. However, the expedition to Peru and Upper Peru led by the Swedish scientist Thaddeus von Nordenflicht in 1788–1810 achieved little, partly because the conservative mining community reacted with hostility to his attempts to persuade them to adopt expensive new machinery for the amalgamation of their ores.

The bulk of Spanish America's mining production during the boom period of the late eighteenth century—over 20 million pesos a year, representing 62 percent of registered output—continued to be remitted to Spain, with the balance being consumed within the American economic system. According to some estimates, about half as much again of official production escaped registration and taxation, disappearing into the increasingly complex channels of contraband trade established primarily in the Caribbean and the Río de la Plata by traders from England and British America. Whether by these informal routes or by reexport from Spain to pay for the manufactured goods required in America that peninsular industry was unable to provide, most American bullion ended up in the countinghouses of Britain, Holland, and other European countries, feeding the increasing international demand for the silver required for trade with Asia. In relative terms, the importance of treasure imports into Spain diminished in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, from an average of 76 percent of the total value of goods arriving from America to an average of 56 percent. This shift was due to the gradual liberalization of trade during the reign of Charles III, which promoted the production and export of agricultural goods—mainly sugar, hides, cotton, coffee, and indigo—in parts of Spanish America hitherto regarded by the crown as of secondary importance, precisely because of their inability to provide significant quantities of precious metals. Nevertheless, the boom in American silver production meant that the volume of bullion reaching Spain continued to grow. Trade in all commodities came to an abrupt standstill in 1796, with the outbreak of what turned out to be prolonged hostilities between Spain and Britain, which in the commercial sphere led Charles IV to grant permission in 1797 for Spanish American ports to trade with neutral ships. When the crown withdrew that permission in 1799, the emerging agricultural regions, notably Venezuela and the Río de la Plata, began to demand genuine free trade in order to preserve their newfound prosperity, gradually realizing that they would first have to win their political independence in order to secure commercial freedom. The majority of the inhabitants of silver-producing Mexico and Peru, by contrast, remained loyal to the royalist cause in 1810.

SEE ALSO *Potosí.*

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John Fisher

MISSIONARIES, CHRISTIAN, AFRICA

When the Jesus movement moved from Palestine to the Greco-Roman world Africa became one of the major centers of Christianity, before the Islamic incursion in the seventh century, which disrupted the growth of African Christianity.

EARLY CONTACT WITH AFRICA

When the Portuguese first made contact with Africa in the fifteenth century, they were in search of four things. Number one, they were in search of a sea route to the spice trade in the Far East because Muslims controlled the land route through the Levant and the breadbasket in the Maghrib. Second, the Portuguese wanted to participate in the lucrative Trans-Saharan gold trade. Third, they initiated the "Reconquista" project to recover Iberian lands from the Muslims. Finally, they sought to reconnect with the mythical Christian empire of Prester John for the conversion of the heathens. The Portuguese monarch secured papal bulls, granting him powers to appoint clerical orders in the shoe-string empire discovered between 1460 and1520, stretching from Cape Blanco to Java. But Portugal was a small country and lacked the manpower to control and evangelize large territories. They occupied the islands and coastal regions of Africa, and traded from their *feitoras* (trading posts). Cape Verde Islands became the center of missionary enterprise and a refueling depot. Iberian Catholicism was a religion of ceremonies and outward show, formal adherence supplanted strong spiritual commitment. Court alliances used religion as an instrument of diplomatic and commercial relationship.

A missionary impact that insisted upon the transplantation of European models remained fleeting, superficial, and ill-conceived. Evangelization succeeded among the *mestizo,* mixed-race, children of the traders. Incursions into the kingdoms of Benin and Warri (part of present-day Nigeria) soon failed as the Portuguese found pepper from India more profitable to trade in. The only enduring presence of Christianity was in the Kongo-Soyo kingdoms (in present-day Angola), lasting until the eighteenth century.

In this region, some of the indigenous population was ordained to the priesthood, especially the children of Portuguese traders and some of the servants of white priests; however, the force of the ministry weakened with the changing pattern of trade, internal politics, and the disbanding of the Jesuits. A charismatic indigenous response to Iberian Christianity was manifested in the popularity of Vita Kimpa, a girl who claimed possession by St. Anthony and was martyred. Celebrated cases such as the conversion of the Monomotapa, the chief of Mashonaland in present-day Zimbabwe, were soon overshadowed by the counter-insurgence of the votaries of the traditional cults.

Iberian presence on the East African coast was dogged with competition from Indians and Arabs. The thirteen ethnic groups of Madagascar warred relentlessly against the Portuguese, while the Arabs of Oman recaptured the northern sector. Finally, other European countries challenged Portugal for a share of the lucrative trade that had turned primarily into slave trading. Memories of Iberian missionary exploits of yesteryear are broken statues and a syncretistic religion, *Nana Antoni,* in Cape Coast.

MISSIONARIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

In the eighteenth century, twenty-one forts dotted the coast of West Africa because of intense rivalry; some had chaplains, many did not. These were poorly paid with shoddy trade goods. The Dutch and Danish experiments that employed indigenous chaplains (Quaque, Amo, Protten, Capitein) equally failed. The gospel bearers enslaved prospective converts. In the next century, abolitionism and evangelical revival catalyzed the revamping of old missionary structures and the rise of a new voluntarist movement. Spiritual awakenings emphasized the Bible, the event of the cross, conversion experience, and a proactive expression of faith. Evangelicals mobilized philanthropists, churches, and politicians against the slave trade, to be replaced by treaties with the chiefs, legitimate trade, a new administrative structure, and Christianity as a civilizing agent.

Various groups of black people campaigned for abolition: in America, liberated slaves became concerned about the welfare of the race and drew up plans for equipping the young with education and skills for survival; Africans living abroad, like Ottabah Cuguano and Olaudah Equiano, wrote vividly about their experiences; and entrepreneurs like Paul Cuffee (1759–1817), a black ship owner and businessperson, created a commercial enterprise between Africa, Britain, and America.

Motives for abolition varied: religion, politics, commerce, rational humanism, and local needs each played a role. In England, the Committee of the Black Poor complained about the increasing social and financial problems caused by the number of poor liberated slaves. In America, those who fought on behalf of the British forces in the American Revolution (1775–1781) were relocated in Nova Scotia. They complained about their excruciating conditions. They had absorbed the liberal constitutional ideals of individual enterprise, personal responsibility, equality before the law, and freedom to practice one's religion as the Republicans against whom they had fought. In the West Indies, "Maroons" had successfully rebelled against their slave owners and established communities of free people.

In 1787 the British government founded Sierra Leone as a haven for liberated slaves, but the colony nearly foundered because of inhospitable climate, poor soil, and attacks from local chiefs. In 1792, the Nova Scotians were dispatched to Sierra Leone, followed by the
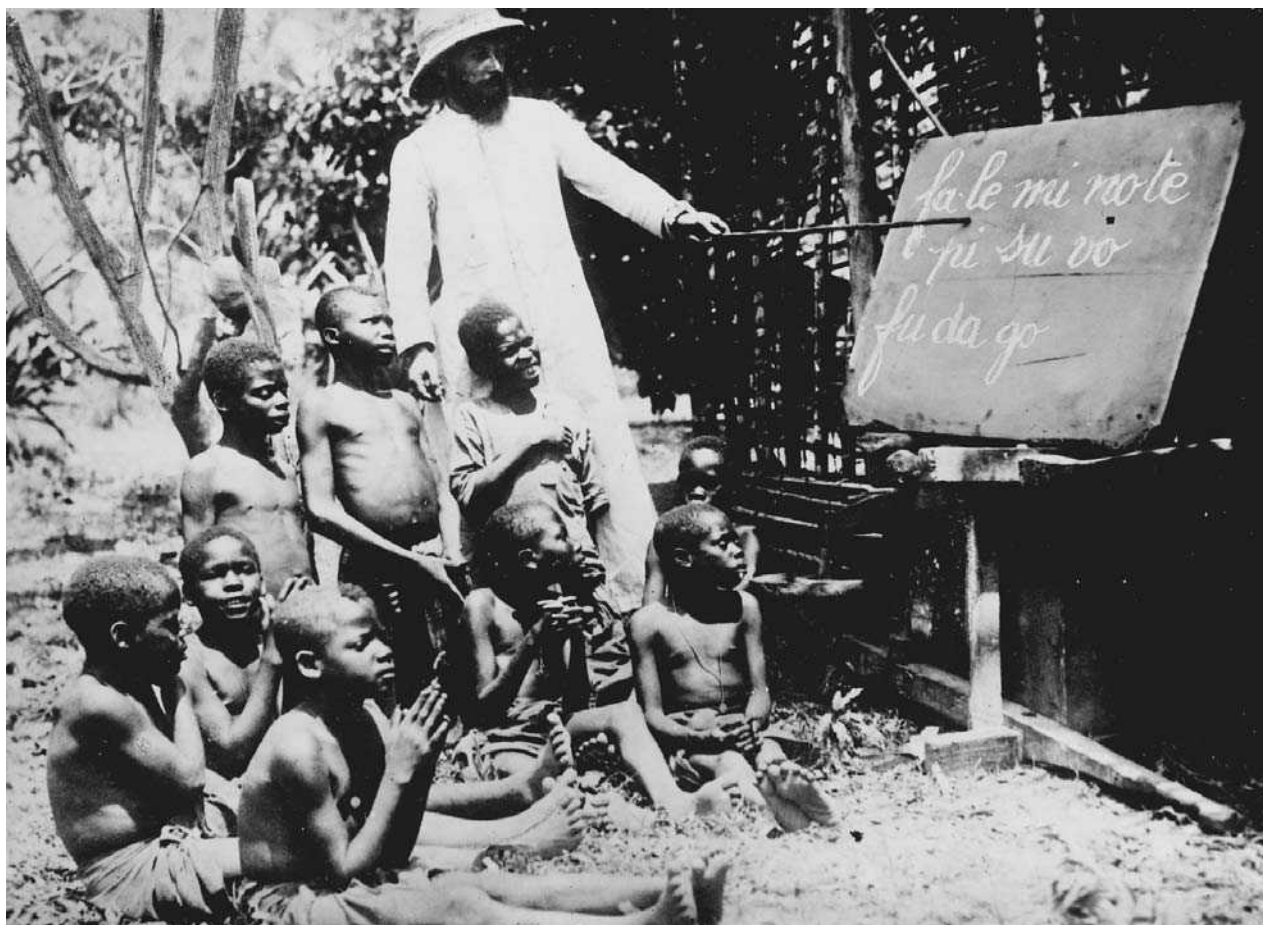
Reading Lesson in the Congo. *A class of boys learns to read the local language in 1930 at the Jesuit school of Kwango in the Belgian Congo.* ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Maroons in 1800. They arrived with their own Baptist and Methodist spiritualities before any British missionary society was founded, and with a clear vision to build a new society under the mandate of the gospel that avoided the indigenous chiefs, who had been compromised through the slave trade. They set the cultural tone of industry and caused a mass evangelization of thousands of freed slaves in Sierra Leone between 1807 and 1864.

These freed slaves became agents of missionary enterprise throughout the west coast, serving variously as educators, interpreters, counselors to indigenous communities, negotiators with the colonial agents, preachers, traders, and leaders of public opinion in many West African communities. Others served in the Niger Mission. Samuel Adjai Crowther, made a bishop in 1864, signified their achievement. Furthermore, the American Colonization Society recruited enough African Americans to found Liberia in 1822, and from this period until the 1920s African Americans were a significant factor in the missionary enterprise to Africa.

African Christianity exploded because of an increase in the number of missionary bodies, men and women voluntarily sustained by all classes of society in various countries. The appeal of the gospel increased with education, translation of the scriptures into indigenous languages, and charitable institutions such as medical care and artisan workshops. These forces domesticated the message and equally changed the character of Christian presence.

As America warmed to foreign missions in the 1850s, it brought enormous energy, optimism and vigor, and human resources. The reasons included availability of technological power, civil and religious liberty at home, and other racial theories such as chosenness, covenant, burden, responsibility, civilization, manifest destiny—ideas that linked missions to the imperial ideology. The Roman Catholics revamped their organization and fund-raising strategies for missions in such a way that the rivalry with Protestants influenced the pace and direction of the spread of the gospel.

However, these changes coincided with new geopolitical factors: competing forms of European nationalism had changed the character of the contact with Africa from informal commercial relations into formal colonial hegemony. The Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 partitioned Africa and insisted on formal occupation. It introduced a new spirit that overawed indigenous institutions and sought to transplant European institutions and cultures. Collusion with the civilization project diminished the spiritual vigor of the missionary presence and turned it into cultural and power encounters. This explains the predominant strategy of the missionary movements in southern Africa of forming enclaves and tight control of ministry that spurned the cultural genius of the people. The Catholic missionary presence in the Congo colluded with the brutality of King Leopold until an international outcry in 1908 forced him to sell the colony to Belgium. The abusive Portuguese presence in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, and Cape Verde Islands would later provoke an anti-clerical and Marxist response after the forced decolonization.

Indeed, the dominant aspect of the story became forms of African Christian initiatives, hidden scripts, and resistance to the system of control. First, malaria-bearing mosquitoes killed many white missionaries, compelling the recruitment of West Indian blacks for missions. Second, as missionaries sowed the seed of the gospel, Africans appropriated and read the translated scriptures from an indigenous, charismatic worldview. Native agency became the instrument of growth, giving voice to the indigenous feeling against Western cultural iconoclasm and the control of decision making in the colonial churches. Using the promise in Psalm 68:31 that Ethiopia shall raise its hands to God, Ethiopianism became a movement of cultural and religious protest. It preached emancipation and the hope that Africans would bear the burden of evangelization and build an autonomous church devoid of denominations and free of European control.

REVIVAL IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the twentieth century, a network of educated Africans was woven across West Africa to evangelize and inculturate an African Christianity. Typical of their ideology was *Ethiopia Unbound* by the Gold Coast lawyer Casely Hayford and *The Return of the Exiles* by Wilmot Blyden of Liberia. David Vincent rejected his English name, reclaimed the Yoruba name Mojola Agbebi, wore only African clothes, and left the white religious establishment by founding the Native Baptist Church without foreign aid. Products of missionary enclaves in Southern and Central Africa did the same; some were attracted to the black ideology and charismatic spirituality of the American African Methodist Episcopal Church. Racial tension thickened as World War I (1914–1918) approached. Both World War I and World War II (1939–1945) intensified African confidence, quest for education, and charismatic responses to the gospel. Four types of spiritual movements were prominent in the postwar eras, with Pentecostalism gaining prominence in the mid- to late twentieth century.

Christianity Adapted to the Local Culture. Often a diviner from the traditional religion appropriated some aspects of Christian symbols and the Christian message to create a new synthesis that was able to respond to the needs of the community. In seventeenth-century Kongo, Kimpa Vita started as an *nganga*, traditional diviner, a member of the *Marinda* secret cult, to claim possession by a Christian patron saint, St. Anthony. People perceived her as an *ngunza* or Christian prophetess; but the authorities executed her as a witch. Nxele and Ntsikana achieved an identical status among the Xhosa in the nineteenth century in spite of their differences. Nxele preached about one God for the whites and another for the blacks, and explained the massive European migration into the southern hemisphere as a punishment for killing their God's son, a potential danger for the Xhosa. He turned his half-digested Christianity into a resistant religion. Ntsikana advised his people to ignore Nxele's militant notions but apply the gospel to cure the moral challenges in the primal religion, and build an organized, united community so as to preserve the race in the face of the incursions of land-grabbing Europeans. Ntsikana's spirituality could be detected in the rich language of his hymns retained in Methodist hymn books. Religious revivalism contested the political threat by the religion of invading white immigrants.

Prophet-Driven Christianity. A prophet emerged from the ranks of the Christian tradition emphasizing the ethical and pneumatic components of the canon to intensify the evangelization of the community or contiguous communities. Sometimes, the tendency was to pose like an Old Testament prophet sporting a luxurious beard, staff, flowing gown, and the cross. Some would-be prophets inculturated aspects of traditional religious symbols or ingredients of the culture, and supplanted the indigenous worldview with the Christian. The examples include Wade Harris, whose ministry started in 1910; Garrick Braide, who operated between 1914 and 1918; Joseph Babalola, who left his job as a driver in 1928 in West Africa; and Simon Kimbangu, whose ministry lasted through one year, 1921, in the Congo. Each was arrested by the colonial government and jailed: Harris remained under house arrest until death; Braide died in prison in 1918; Kimbangu's death sentence was

commuted to life imprisonment and exile at the intervention of two Baptist missionaries. He died at Elizabethville in 1951. Babalola was released through the plea of some Welsh Apostolic agents.

The Indigenous Church. A wave of African indigenous churches arose all over Africa at different times before World War I and especially during the influenza epidemic of 1918. Dubbed as *Aladura* in West Africa, *Zionists* in Southern Africa, and *Abaroho* in Eastern Africa, some caused revivals, others did not; but they tended to emerge from mainline churches by recovering the pneumatic resources of the translated Bible. They deployed traditional Christian religious symbols. Soon differences appeared based on the dosage of traditional religion in the mix: the nativistic forms were neopagan; the vitalistic used occult in the quest for power; the revivalists clothed primal religion in Christian garb; the messianic leader presumed to be one or the other of the Trinity. Sunday and Sabbath worshippers emerged among them. Scholars note their creativity and enduring contributions to African Christianity. They served as political safe havens for the brutalized Africans.

Charismatic Movements. Sometimes charismatic movements arose within churches challenging doctrine, polity, liturgy, and ethics, and those churches seeking to enlarge the role of the Holy Spirit within their faith and practices. Hostile church leaders often excluded the attackers who wanted to form new churches or ministries, while charismatic movements remained within the churches. Some were short-lived revival movements; others became permanent. Examples include the Ibibio Revival that occurred within the Qua Iboe Church in eastern Nigeria in 1927; the Kaimosi revival that occurred within the Friends Africa Mission/Quakers in western Kenya in 1927; the Balokole revival that swept through the Anglican church in eastern Africa from 1930; and the Ngouedi revival that occurred among the Swedish Orebro Mission in 1947 and resulted in the Evangelical Church of Congo (EEC).

The Pentecostal Movement. Excluded members of charismatic movements birthed contemporary Pentecostalism in Africa. The young people, nicknamed as *aliki* in Malawi, began to conduct large revival meetings in the 1960s but especially from the 1970s in many African countries. They traveled from one place to another, denouncing with fire and brimstone sermons the sinfulness and evils of everyday urban life. The phenomenon became even more pronounced in the 1980s. They challenged the predominance of either voodoo or Islam or Roman Catholicism. Later, the movements in various countries linked through the activities of the students'

organization, FOCUS (Fellowship of Christian University Students), and the migrations of students within the foreign-language educational programs.

Most revivals occurred during the period between 1914 and 1950 when missionary control reigned supreme, colonial power and white settlers colluded, and labor problems and racial exploitation predominated. Charismatic religiosity provided a survival technique for Africans in the midst of the disquiet of those years and stamped African Christianity with an identity that contested missionary control and its monopoly of Christian expression.

CHANGES IN THE MID- TO LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the same period of the early to mid-twentieth century, many religious forms flourished. The mainline denominations engaged in strong institutional development with schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions; evangelized the hinterland areas; essayed to domesticate Christian values by confronting traditional cultures; and, in the Kikuyu case, triggered a rebellion that had enormous consequences. Education enabled many people to access newspapers and magazines and remain connected with Asia and Europe. A number of cultic and esoteric religious organizations advertised their wares in magazines and newspapers. It became the pastime of the literate few to scour newspapers and magazines for advertisements and mail orders for amulets, charms, rings, and other cultic paraphernalia from Asia to ensure success in examinations, gain promotion, and ensure security in the competitive and enlarged horizon of urbanity. Freemason and Rosicrucian lodges dotted the urban capitals of various countries.

Islam expanded more in the wake of improved transportation and commercial opportunities created by colonialism than many jihads would have accomplished. Since most of the African population still lived in the rural areas, traditional religion predominated many countries. Certain forces challenged missionary Christianity in Africa: the two world wars weakened missionary resources and encouraged black nationalism. The decolonization process that followed ineluctably produced new state ideologies that challenged the missionary heritage; religious nationalism compelled the mission churches to indigenize their structures and message. Missionary response to nationalism was informed by individual predilections, the negative racial image of Africans, and some liberal support. Regional variations abound as those in the settler communities responded with fright and the bulwark of apartheid laws.

The wind of change exposed the weak roots of the missionary infrastructure: few indigenous clergy, a

dependency ideology, undeveloped theology, poor infrastructure, and above all little confidence in indigenous leaders. From the 1950s, some hurried to train indigenous priests and to ally with nationalists, because the educated elites were products of various missions and their control of power could aid their denominations in the virulent rivalry for territory. This strategy entangled Christianity in the politics of independence.

Matters went awry when the elites grabbed the politics of modernization, mobilized the states into dictatorial one-party structures, castigated missionaries for under-developing Africa, promoted neo-Marxist rejection of the dependency syndrome, and seized the instruments of missionary propaganda such as schools, hospitals, and social welfare agencies. The implosion of the state challenged the churches, but the failure of the states produced a rash of military coups and regimes, abuse of human rights, and economic collapse. Poverty ravaged many African countries. The militarization of societies intensified interethnic conflicts and civil wars. Refugee camps filled to the brim. Natural disasters such as drought in the Horn of Africa worsened matters. Part of the problem could be traced to weak leadership, and part to external forces that used the continent as fodder in the cold war, patronized dictators, exploited the mineral resources, and manipulated huge debts that have burdened and crippled many nations permanently.

African Christianity grew rapidly against the backdrop of poverty and the legitimacy crisis. As civil society was decimated, Christianity remained the survivor. Christian leaders were chosen in one country after another to serve as the presidents of consultative assemblies that sought to renew hope and banish the pessimism that imaged African problems as incurable. Other developments include: (1) African Christian theologies from the mid-1970s enabled a critique of inherited theologies; this sustained a black revolution against apartheid in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe; and (2) the charismatic movements that exploded in the 1970s, and have continued to change shape in every decade, absorbing American prosperity preaching in the 1980s, and reverting to traditions of holiness and intercessory prayer in the 1990s. This form has a "fit" that answers to questions raised within the primal worldviews; it provides mechanisms for coping with economic collapse; it revitalizes and sets missionary message to work with inexplicable power of the Holy Spirit.

The missionary movement has charismatized the mainline churches, flowed from urban centers into rural Africa, engaged the public space, and experimented with new forms of ministerial formation. A third development is the rise of Christian feminist theology, challenging the churches to become less patriarchal. Through many

publications and programs, churches are being compelled to ordain women and increase their participation in decision-making processes. Contemporary Africa resembles the early Christianity in the Maghrib.

SEE ALSO *Berlin Conference; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions; Religion, Western Presence in Africa.*

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Ogbu Kalu

MISSION, CIVILIZING

Studies of Western colonial history focus on the consequences of Europe's expansion into Africa and the Americas. Atlantic historians examine the impact of transporting domesticable livestock to the Americas, the forcible spread of Christianity to Indians, the impact of European diseases on Amerindians, the ceremonies that Europeans employed to indicate that newly discovered lands belonged to their kingdoms, and the contributions of Africans transported to the New World. African historians focus on the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) and investigate European encroachments into African territories. Europe's colonization of America occurred without as much pretense and formality as its carving of Africa.

The Spanish exploration of America started with the expedition in 1492 of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506). Amidst the chaos that Columbus's voyage brought, one result was certain; when the Spaniards arrived in America, they ran roughshod over numerically superior Amerindian armies and changed their lives forever. One explanation for this lopsided victory is the Indians' lack of literary development and therefore inability to understand global methods of warfare, surprise attacks, or diplomatic deception. Without technological achievements, the European conquerors enjoyed a distinct advantage over the virtually defenseless locals. Basically, the Europeans understood how to manipulate inexperienced and nonworldly peoples. Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) brought a European army of 168 men to attack an Incan army consisting of eighty thousand soldiers. Pizarro's superior experience in warfare and

deception allowed the miniscule army of terrified Europeans to capture Atahualpa (ca. 1502–1533), leader of the Incas, and therefore scatter and dismay the enemy's battalions.

Equally important to explaining the Europeans' success is that when Columbus, Pizarro, and Hernando Cortés (ca. 1484–1547) arrived, they inadvertently transmitted devastating diseases to the Amerindian populations. The prior isolation of the Amerindians contributed to their susceptibility to contracting the lethal smallpox virus. Consequent of the sudden impact of disease, many native populations became divided and faced civil war. Epidemics caused massive depopulations of people who could have been soldiers able to ward off the European intrusions. The status of the native medical professions had been relatively ineffectual, and doctors stumbled over finding remedies for what remains today a deadly virus. In a sense, Amerindians simply lacked the technologies that would have helped them fight back.

After the United States removed the British from North America, European powers started searching for fresh lands and subjects to impose on culturally and to exploit economically. Precipitated by the discovery of new African lands in the 1880s, European interest in Africa increased radically. Between 1874 and 1877, the Welsh-born journalist and explorer Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904) uncovered the terrain of the last remaining uncharted river basin in Africa, within the Congo region.

King Leopold II (1835–1909) of Belgium founded the International African Society in 1876, after which he invited Stanley to assist in researching, acquiring, and uplifting the archaic African territories. Portugal, France, England, and Belgium simultaneously scrambled to formulate a distinct Congo state under their direction. The European powers wheeled and dealt the Congo region callously. Portugal signed an agreement with Great Britain on February 26, 1884, intended to strangle the Congo's access to the Atlantic Ocean. This pattern of dominating and shifting foreign territories eventually led to each major world power possessing a portion of African land.

In November 1884 German chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) called together fourteen Western nations, including Russia and the United States, to discuss the future of Africa and to divide and conquer the continent at a peace table. The Berlin Conference officially shifted the European focus from the Americas to Africa. Bismarck's avowed motive for holding the Berlin Conference—scientific exploration—differed drastically from what occurred once negotiations broke down and centered on carving spheres of influence in Africa. Bismarck sought to oversee Germany's expansion and

to demonstrate Germany's ever-growing authority to negotiate the outcome of world affairs. Unfortunately, for indigenous populations numbering over one thousand, each Western power demanded a slice or a chunk of African territory without regard to the impact of artificially dividing territories on a generic map.

The series of conferences, often termed the "Congo Conferences," concluded on February 26, 1885. The result of the conferences was the signing of the Berlin Act. One major problem with the Western powers signing the act had been their division of African territory despite the ambassadors' lack of knowledge about the linguistic and tribal boundaries of indigenous populations. This separation threatened to arouse hatred and to cause warfare among distinct populaces. Ironically, although the Europeans referred to the creation of African spheres of influence in the Berlin Act, the slave trade became internationally prohibited. At the conference, France and Belgium ultimately received control of the Congo region to establish "democratic" Congolese states. France embarked on a program of massive African colonization after the signing of the Berlin Act. Additionally, every nation consented that in order to receive recognition as possessor of an African territory, a Western power would have to demonstrate tangible control over the terrain and population.

By 1895, French government officials had recognized their possession of African territories as an opportunity for rejuvenating the empire. France's unstable Third Republic (1870–1940) promulgated the ethnocentric idea that the French were the most civilized and enlightened people in the entire world. The British also issued ethnocentric declarations asserting their superiority based on pseudo-scientific phrenological experiments. From a political perspective, the Third Republic's noble ideals became a pretext for spreading French business and culture into the African interior. Improvements in European science and technologies allowed French policies to take hold.

French penetration into Africa became enabled by the steam engine that powered freighters, and by the construction of railways in Africa's interior. The Berlin Act stipulated the opening of the Congo and Niger rivers to all nationals. Technological innovation transformed the Congo, Niger, Senegal, and Gambia rivers into navigable and easily passable waterways. These advancements allowed trade ships to maneuver freely inside of Africa's interior regions. Medical advancements provided cures for many of the perilous diseases afflicting French workers in Africa. With the advent of vaccinations, the discoveries of Louis Pasteur (1822–1895) and Robert Koch (1843–1910), and the knowledge that mosquitoes spread yellow fever and malaria, suddenly carving spheres of influence in Africa seemed attainable and highly lucrative.

In order for the French people to accept their nation as a colonial power, racial doctrines were disseminated throughout the country. The French had learned the consequences of colonial rebellion from the bloody Haitian independence movement, and the British had learned the serious consequences of tyrannical governance from the American colonies. Despite these lessons, French explorers still viewed Africans as dark savages mired in barbarism and anarchy, and as incapable of leaving their ancient customs behind.

Because of the growing demand for raw materials, for manpower, and for economic expansion, between 1895 and 1935 French colonial administrations entrenched themselves in several African nations. These territories included: Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Niger, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), French Sudan (now Mali), Tunisia, Morocco, and Dahomey (now Benin). One major consequence of French colonial administrative policies was the rebellions that developed as backlashes against imperial rule in Africa and the Americas. Racist policies of assimilation caused significant bloodshed on both sides and symbolized the exploitive nature of European-African colonialism.

SEE ALSO *Berlin Conference; Scramble for Africa.*

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Jonathan Jacobs

MISSIONS, CHINA

Though earlier missionizing in China had met with little success, during the sixteenth century Catholic missionaries succeeded in establishing Christianity as a permanent minority religion. From the beginning there was a link between colonialism and Christian missions in China, as power and profit mingled with spirituality and proselytizing. In 1517 the first Portuguese ships arrived in search of trade, casting anchor at the riverfront of Canton. They proceeded to terrify the Chinese populace by firing their cannons in salute and were then driven a hundred miles to the south, where they established the colony of Macao sometime around 1557. This colony became the base of early missionary operations in China.

Infused with the spirit of the Counter Reformation, Portuguese merchants frequently made room on their ships for Catholic missionaries, many of whom were members of the newly formed Society of Jesus. These Jesuits, as Society members are called, became the leading Catholic missionary force: 920 members of this remarkable group served as missionaries in China between 1552 and 1800. By almost any standard, China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the greatest country in the world, so the Jesuits soon realized that missionizing in China, unlike in Latin America or South India, required accommodation rather than forced conversion. This led the highly educated Jesuits, many of whom came from eminent European families, to cultivate their closest counterparts in China. These were the Confucian literati or scholar-officials. In appealing to this group, they attempted to forge a Confucian–Christian synthesis. Other missionary orders, most notably Franciscans, toiled in the provinces among the common people.

As leaders in the exploratory voyages of the early sixteenth century, Portugal dominated the eastward route to China. This Portuguese monopoly (*padroado*) is reflected in the fact that more than one-third of the 314 Jesuits in China during the premodern period of the mission were Portuguese. The Italian city-states provided 99 Jesuits, including the most famous China missionary of all, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), whose respect for Chinese culture endeared him to the Chinese. The second-largest contingent of Jesuits (130) sent to pre-1800 China was provided by the French, who refused to submit to the Portuguese monopoly. The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (or the Propaganda) was established by Pope Gregory XV in 1622 in order to reduce these troublesome nationalistic and interorder religious rivalries.

Initially the Chinese showed some degree of receptivity toward the missionaries, and this led to the baptism of approximately 300,000 Christians out of a population of 150 million during the early seventeenth century. With the fall of the native Ming dynasty and the conquest of China by the Manchus in 1644, however, the cultural atmosphere became more conservative and it is believed that in the eighteenth century the number of Christians in China declined by one-third. With a decline in the conversions of eminent literati, the Jesuits began focusing on the Manchu court in an attempt to

convert the emperor and powerful officials. This effort, however, met with only limited success. Additional damage to the mission in China was caused by Rome's dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773 (it was not reestablished until 1814).

As the Catholic mission flagged, Protestants entered the field on the ships of the emerging Protestant colonialist powers. The movement was led by Anglo-Saxon Evangelicals from Great Britain and the United States who sponsored missionary societies, notably, the London Missionary Society (LMS; founded in 1795), the Church Missionary Society (founded in 1799), and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (founded in 1810).

The first Protestant missionary to serve in China was Robert Morrison of the LMS, who worked in Macao and Canton from 1807 to 1834. Unlike the Catholics, the Protestants emphasized the translation of the Bible into Chinese. By 1839 European colonialist nations like Great Britain had grown powerful enough to inflict humiliating defeats on a stagnating China. The Chinese were forced to open treaty ports to both colonialist traders and Christian missionaries.

The most famous Protestant missionary in China was the Englishman James Hudson Taylor, who arrived in 1854 and led the movement to penetrate the Chinese mainland. Taylor forged the creation of the China Inland Mission (CIM), which became the largest sponsor of Protestant missionaries in China. After World War I, the United States replaced Great Britain as the primary sponsor of Protestant missionaries in China.

Around 1900 the CIM's emphasis on evangelism began to be challenged by the Social Gospel movement led by the Young Men's Christian Association. This was a movement fueled by faith in modern science, with an emphasis on education, medicine, famine relief, and public health. The period 1900 to 1914 saw rapid growth in Protestant missionizing, with the number of Protestant missionaries peaking in the 1920s at 8,000, serving a total population of almost 500 million. However, the great age of missions in China was ending, and in the 1920s two indigenous movements began to challenge the missions in a way that foreshadowed the missions' end. One was Chinese nationalism, which found expression in the Christian Three-Self movement (the three "selfs" being self-government, self-support, and self-propagation). Combining love of country with love of church, this was a reaction against the belief of Western missionaries that Chinese culture was irreconcilable with Christianity, and against their refusal to treat Chinese Christians as equals. The other was the emergence of indigenous evangelical groups, such as the Little Flock, led by Watchman Nee (Ni Duosheng), and the

Matteo Ricci and Convert. *The Catholic presence in China was established in the late sixteenth century primarily through the work of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Ricci (left) is shown with a convert and colleague in this mid-seventeenth-century illustration from a Chinese manuscript.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/ GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

True Jesus Church, founded by Barnabas Tung in 1909 or 1910.

The missionaries' penetration into China provoked a powerful resentment that exploded in the xenophobic Boxer Rebellion of 1900, during which hundreds of missionaries and Chinese Christians were killed. In 1950 the new Communist government of mainland China expelled most foreign missionaries, though the link between foreign missionaries and colonialism was exploited for propagandistic purposes as late as the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976. Because foreign mission boards and missionaries had always been reluctant to relinquish control of the Chinese churches to Chinese Christians, the missionaries' expulsion by the Communists turned out to be a blessing in disguise for the development of an indigenous Christianity in China. Although many scholars believed that Christianity in China had been eradicated by the Communists, the

churches simply went underground and in fact continued to flourish.

SEE ALSO *Boxer Uprising; Catholic Church in Iberian America; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions; Religion, Western Perceptions of World Religions; Religion, Western Presence in the Pacific.*

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D. E. Mungello

MISSIONS, IN THE PACIFIC

The relationship of Christianity and colonialism in the Pacific Islands has varied. At different times and in different places Christian missionaries have been defenders of the independence of indigenous governments, supporters and opponents of imperial expansion, willing partners and critics of colonial administrations, and backers of nationalist and independence movements.

Christianity was brought to the Pacific Islands by missionaries from Western Europe. From the 1660s Spanish Roman Catholic priests, from their base in the Philippines, began missionary work in several island groups of the North Pacific. In the South Pacific, missionary activity was dominated by evangelical Protestantism. The first permanent mission was commenced by British missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS), which sent its first agents to eastern Polynesia in 1797. During the nineteenth century, many other branches of Western Christianity established missions in the Pacific Islands. These included Anglicans, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, French Reformed, Lutherans, and Seventh-day Adventists.

The great majority of Protestant missionaries of this period were British and American; Roman Catholics were mainly French. Having already been exposed to
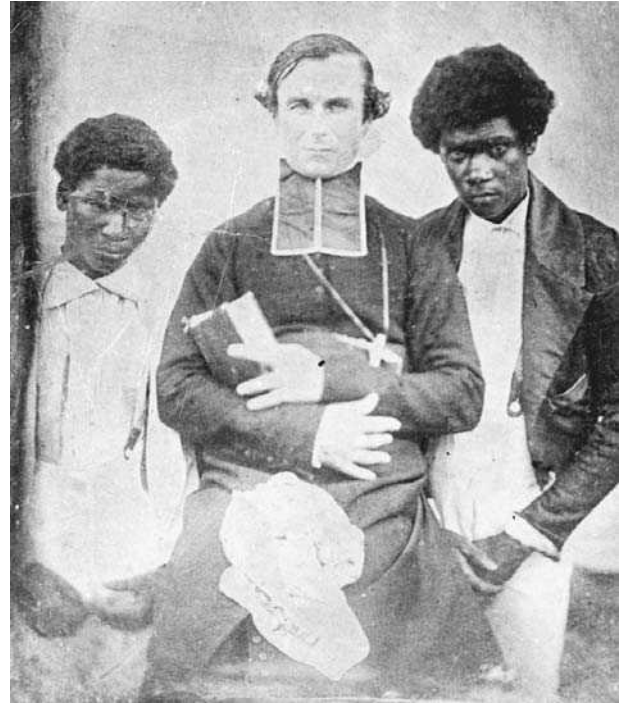
Missionary and Converts in Tahiti, Circa 1845. *The London Missionary Society sent its first agents to eastern Polynesia in 1797, and during the 1800s many other branches of Western Christianity established missions in the Pacific Islands. This missionary posed for a photograph with two Tahitian converts in French Polynesia around 1845.* HENRY GUTTMANN/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Western trading contact, the islanders embraced Christianity, largely by choice and for reasons that seemed valid to them at the time. Through the agency of Pacific Island teachers, Christianity spread rapidly in the eastern and central Pacific (Polynesia and Micronesia). In each island group, the first mission to introduce Christianity usually received the support of the majority of the population. The evangelization of the more populous and fragmented societies of the southwest Pacific (Melanesia) was a much slower process and, in the island of New Guinea, is incomplete at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

With the exception of Australia, Christianity was planted in the region before the extension of European colonial rule. In Australia, the founding of the first convict colony in 1788 was accompanied by the introduction of British Christianity and the beginnings of missionary work, on a small scale and initially with little success, among the Aboriginal people.

In the Pacific Islands, the early Protestant missionaries supported independent indigenous governments. Seeking to create Christian societies, they encouraged

converted island chiefs to promulgate codes of law that combined indigenous custom with the ideals of evangelical Christianity. In some island groups, such as Tonga and Hawaii, missionaries assisted in the creation of monarchies with a Western-style constitution and machinery of government. When indigenous governments proved unable to deal with aggressive Western powers or to provide political stability, missionaries began to favor annexation by their respective countries. Because of this they were widely seen as trailblazers of empire. In New Zealand, for example, Protestant missionaries played an important role in gaining acceptance of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), through which the Maori tribes accepted British sovereignty and New Zealand became a white settler colony.

Between the 1840s and the 1890s almost every island group in the Pacific was brought within one of the Western colonial empires: Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. Missionaries did not oppose imperial expansion in principle. Despite tensions, they usually cooperated with colonial governments, especially those of their own nation, and colonial administrators often encouraged their subject peoples to accept Christianity. Missions were almost entirely responsible for the provision of primary education and medical services in island villages. Missionary paternalism fitted well with the authoritarian rule and limited expectations of colonial governments, but sometimes missionaries were critical of government policies that they regarded as unjust or harmful to the islanders.

After the end of World War II in 1945, the Protestant and Anglican missions moved slowly toward their goal of creating self-sustaining island churches with an indigenous ministry. This process paralleled moves by Western colonial powers in the postwar years toward decolonization. In every island group, these missions had evolved into self-governing churches before the achievement of political independence in the 1960s and 1970s. The Roman Catholic missions, committed to a celibate and Latin-educated priesthood, moved more slowly toward the indigenization of their leadership.

In each island group, the churches often helped to create a sense of national identity. Their schools and theological colleges produced many of the first generation of political leaders. In the Anglo-French condominium of the New Hebrides (since 1980 the independent state of Vanuatu) and the French overseas territories of French Polynesia and New Caledonia, the Protestant churches were deeply involved in independence movements.

As newly independent Pacific Island states assumed responsibility for village education and health services, the older churches began withdrawing from these areas, which in turn reduced their need to rely on overseas funding. They turned their attention toward rural development, social services, and the creation of a theology that was based upon indigenous religious concepts and ways of thought. For the first time, they were also seriously challenged by such bodies as the Mormons, Baha'is, and Pentecostals.

Almost all Pacific Island political leaders claim a Christian affiliation, as have the leaders of the armed coups that brought down several postindependence governments. In many island groups, large sections of the dominant churches have formed a comfortable relationship with ruling elites, but within the churches there are also radical voices that challenge the status quo and campaign on such issues as political corruption, social justice, and the protection of the natural environment.

SEE ALSO *Religion, Roman Catholic Church; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions; Religion, Western Perceptions of World Religions; Religion, Western Presence in the Pacific.*

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David Hilliard

MITA

Meaning "turn" in Quechua, the word *mita* designated, in the Inca Empire, a system of temporary labor imposed upon the indigenous communities. It applied to rotating or intermittent work performed for the public interest, such as the construction of ways and fortresses, the harvest of Inca lands, the tending of the pasture of the llamas and vicuñas (an animal similar to the llama, but with

wool that is of higher value than that of the llama), and the exploitation of gold and silver mines.

In contrast to taxes the Inca were required to pay in exchange for their residence, the mita entailed long-distance displacements of newly conquered populations. These men and women were moved to other regions, where they were forced to work. They were called *mitimaes* or *mitayos*, which means "foreigners." While the majority performed hard labor, some worked as craftsmen and defenders of the frontiers.

The duration of the services and the age of the workers were strictly regimented by the *ayllus* (the basic social entity of the Inca Empire, the "familiar clan"). The ayllus and the fruits of the mita or products derived from mita labor were distributed among the poorest people and regions to compensate everyone's needs and balance their economic situation with that of the richest regions of the empire.

From 1552 onward, the Recopilación laws justified the mita as a compulsory work service that would benefit the Spanish colonists, who had experienced a decline in workers in the mining industry. Supported by the Spanish king, the mita entailed a predetermined minimum salary, which was applied to all men over twenty years of age and below fifty.

The Spanish would then adopt the mita and implant it for the exploitation of gold, mercury, and silver, and for the development and cultivation of tambos, postal services, land, textile factories, public works, and domestic service.

When the viceroy Francisco de Toledo visited the mines of Potosí in 1573, the mining entrepreneurs, claiming a decrease in silver production, convinced the viceroy that mining productivity levels would only reach previous levels if forced labor could be provided. Gold and silver mining produced precious metals, essential to mercantilism and the world economic circuit.

Toledo decided to establish the mita, compelling the surrounding regions to provide Potosí with yearly rotating drafts of forced Indian labor at low wages. The viceroy intended the mita as temporary provision until the Indians voluntarily returned to the mines. According to the system, each displaced Indian would work for one week, followed by two weeks of rest, during the course of a year.

The mita was controversial since its introduction, and especially as wages became increasingly lower and the working conditions deteriorated. Specifically, the toxicity of the cinnabar dust and extreme working conditions in the Huancavélica mine contributed to an increased mortality rate.

Thousands of Indians escaped from their lands because the obligation to serve was based on territorial circumscriptions and not on personal status. Because the abandonment of the mines could lead to economic collapse, Spain was reluctant to abolish the mita. Finally, in 1812, Las Cortes de Cádiz abolished the system.

SEE ALSO *Inca Empire; Mercantilism; Mining, the Americas.*

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Cristina Blanco Sío-López

MODERN WORLD-SYSTEM ANALYSIS

On the surface, world-system analysis, as eloquently formulated by the American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (b. 1930) in the 1970s, appears deceptively simple. Wallerstein's world-system analysis is a grand narrative of world historical development from the sixteenth century to the present, with boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. The world-system is dynamic and constantly evolving, with "conflicting forces which hold it together by tension, and tear it apart as each group seeks externally to remold it to its advantage" (Wallerstein 1974, p. 347).

Wallerstein's modern world-system is specifically a capitalist world economy with *capitalism* defined as "the *endless* accumulation of capital" (Wallerstein 2004, p. 24). Using a metaphor that recalls the theories of Scottish economist Adam Smith (1723–1790), Wallerstein defines the *world-system* as a geographical division of labor. While the basic linkage is economic, the system is reinforced by political and cultural factors.

THE TRIPARTITE WORLD-SYSTEM

Wallerstein's world-system divides the nations and areas of the world into three units, designated *core, peripheral,* and *semiperipheral* (in the past some areas remained external to the system). These normative units are systemic and relational within the capitalist world economy. All parts of the system are dependent upon and interact

with each other; any change in the system will impact upon the system as a whole.

Core nations dominate the economic structure of their historical time and strive to maintain or expand this authority. One fundamental element of a core nation is the ability to produce and distribute products. Another characteristic is a strong state machinery linked to a unified national culture. The state supports economic influence wielded by private businesspeople, merchants, and financial institutions, which play a vital role in core nations. Culture often serves as an ideological justification for dominance. The state also provides military force to protect and expand economic interests. Contemporary core nations dominate high technology, financial institutions, and high-profit industries. Within the context of the world-system, core nations compete among themselves for economic advantage.

Peripheral areas or nations (often colonies from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries and defined as underdeveloped or semideveloped for a brief time in the twentieth century) serve the interests of the core nations. Peripheral areas provide agricultural products, luxury goods, raw materials, and cheap sources of labor. At times peripheral areas gained prominence, serving as key geographically located posts to protect trade routes between the core and the periphery. Peripheral areas are dependent upon core nations and have often been a source of conflict between core nations. Core methods of domination range from various forms of colonialism to anticolonial imperialism and economic dependency.

Last in the tripartite world-system are semiperipheral nations and areas. These serve as intermediate trading areas between the core nations and the peripheral areas. They also have small manufacturing sectors, geared to either local or international trade, and some capital accumulation.

Historically, some areas remained external to the world-system either by choice or neglect. By the twentieth century virtually every region on the globe had been consolidated into the modern capitalist world-system.

A closer examination of the three components of the world-system reveals the complexity of this analytical framework. Core, periphery, and semiperiphery are, in Wallerstein's apt phrase, "a relational concept." What binds these three units into a system is interaction that generates an ever-changing systemic dynamic. While there is an economic hierarchy of core, periphery, and semiperiphery, the actions of one have an impact upon the others. Moreover, while the defining structural process remains constant, the individual parts of the system change over time.

One reason is the changing nature of the products of significance in the world economy. An example is the indigo industry, which was, for a brief period, an important product in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century world economy. More broadly, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, agricultural production dominated the economic world-system. By the late eighteenth century manufactured goods were the product of choice, and since the last decades of the twentieth century high technology production characterizes the core nations.

Within this paradigm, world-system analysis stresses dynamic interaction and change. Core nations can become semiperipheral or even peripheral nations. One classic example is Spain, which devolved from a core nation in the sixteenth century to a semiperipheral nation in the eighteenth century.

Conversely, a semiperipheral area can rise, over time, to core status. In the case of Atlantic North America, the colonies developed from external (the pre-Columbian period) to peripheral (the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries). After independence the United States evolved from a semiperipheral nation (the eighteenth to midnineteenth centuries) to a core nation (the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries) and recently to hegemonic power (the late twentieth century).

One historical dynamic is the competition of core nations for advantage in the world-system economically, politically, culturally, and often militarily. Wallerstein identifies several struggles between core nations that result in warfare reverberating around the globe. Importantly, peripheral areas and semiperipheral areas are not passive participants in the system. In many cases they strive to rise in status and often rebel, at times successfully, against the power and control of the core nations and the hegemon. This creates policy disputes over strategy and tactics within the core nations. In the late eighteenth century, for example, Spanish diplomacy toward the rebelling British colonies was caught between the desire to weaken the power of England and the fear that the colonial rebellion would set a precedent for Spain's own colonies.

HEGEMONY

One other important concept plays a crucial role in the world-system: *hegemony*. During various historical times, one core nation accumulated sufficient power to dominate the other core nations. According to Wallerstein, *hegemony* "refers to those situations in which one static combines economic, political, and financial superiority over other strong states, and therefore has both military and cultural as well as economic and political power" (Wallerstein 2004, p. 94). Because of its superior means of production and distribution, strong financial institutions that lend credit to both domestic industry and externally to peripheral and semiperipheral areas, and

the financial prowess to support military action, the hegemon dominates the world-system.

Wallerstein identifies three periods of hegemonic domination in the modern world: the United Provinces (Netherlands) in the mid-seventeenth century, Great Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, and the United States in the mid-twentieth century. In each of these cases, the hegemon, from a position of dominant economic power, advocated freer trade. The economic, military, and, at times, ideological burdens of maintaining a position of superiority, however, threaten the hegemonic power, which must pour resources into retaining its dominant position in the world-system.

Wallerstein's argument that the Dutch were the first hegemonic power, due to their application of science to agricultural production and their dominance over sea distribution, has generated lively scholarly debate. The idea of hegemony, moreover, has influenced the study of twentieth-century U.S. diplomatic historiography, particularly in interpreting the relationship between the United States and Latin America. Historians Thomas J. McCormick and Thomas Schoonover, for example, have applied world-system theory to examining the means of U.S. hegemonic control and the rivalry between the United States and other core powers.

INTELLECTUAL ANTECEDENTS

World-system analysis arose during the 1970s, primarily through the writings of Immanuel Wallerstein. Wallerstein identifies four intellectual antecedents that emerged between 1945 and 1970 as promulgating the emergence of world-system theory: (1) the study of Latin American history, contemporary politics, and foreign relations, from which arose the conceptualizations of core/periphery and *dependency theory;* (2) the Marxian idea of an "Asiatic mode of production"; (3) the historical debate about the transition from feudalism to capitalism; and (4) the scholarship of Fernand Braudel and the Annales school of historiography.

Latin American scholars strove to understand the economic and social structures of their region and its relationship to the United States. As succinctly stated by the nineteenth-century Mexican statesman Porfirio Diaz (1830–1915): "Poor Mexico. So far from God and so close to the United States." Emphasizing informal imperialism, *dependency theory* focuses on the subjugation by core nations of peripheral and semiperipheral economies through new forms of domination, such as financial coercion (dollar diplomacy) and, at times, military action. Since the 1940s international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund, have been created by core powers to continue this dependency. Any

economic development was primarily in the service of the core nations.

Second, the "Asiatic mode of production" stresses the role of large, bureaucratic, and autocratic empires in the world-system. For example, during the Cold War, China regulated its economy to combat the capitalist world-system.

A third contribution to world-system theory was the debate on the timing and nature of the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Did internal factors within individual nations, such as consolidation of political power under a strong central government, or external factors, such as the expansion of trade, take precedence in the emergence of capitalism?

Finally, Wallerstein pointed to the scholarship of French historian Fernand Braudel (1902–1985) and the Annales school of scholars that he inspired. The Annales school emphasized *total history.* Rejecting disciplinary constraints, total history sought to capture the spirit of particular historical ages. This approach provided, according to Wallerstein, a theoretical framework for shaping world-system analysis. Braudel's work introduced two ideas that influenced Wallerstein's theory. First, Braudel's multidisciplinary approach to the interaction of nations provided a method for understanding history. Second, Wallerstein's theory was influenced by the Annales school's notion of *longue durée* (the long duration), which maintained that historical trends must be studied over long periods of time.

From economics, Wallerstein appropriated the theory of the Kondratieff Wave to explain economic fluctuations within the world-system. Nikolai Kondratieff (1892–1938), a Russian economist, postulated that cycles of upward and downward swings, approximately fifty years each, fluctuate in the world economy between expansion and contraction. Wallerstein takes careful note of the complexity of this theory (i.e., some elements of the economy prosper during periods of retraction and others suffer during expansion cycles). Wallerstein's reliance on the Kondratieff paradigm has generated criticism from scholars who question the validity of the Kondratieff Wave theory.

COLONIALISM IN THE WORLD-SYSTEM

Wallerstein dates the origins of the world economy to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Determining the date of any historical movement is always an intellectual arena for dispute, and, as noted above, Wallerstein's timeline for the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism has become part of a longstanding historiographical debate. During this transition, technological and political changes allowed for the expansion of capitalism. Areas such as the Americas, which were external to

the European economic sphere, became accessible and, over time, were consolidated into the world-system. Stronger state governments, advances in sailing techniques in the "era of exploration," and the maturation of economic institutions all combined to incorporate the entire globe.

The subtitle of Wallerstein's first volume on the development of the modern world-system is significant: *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (1974). Not only does he date the advent of the modern world-system in the sixteenth century, but he emphasizes the idea that capitalism can be applied to agricultural economies. During this time, mercantilism, that is, the economic nationalism revolving around trade, became the preferred European state policy.

Colonialism is one form of interstate relationship within the capitalist world-system. Colonialism emerged as a political method of incorporation of external areas. Wallerstein argues that "incorporation into the capitalist world-economy was never at the initiation of those being incorporated. The process derived rather from the need of the world-economy to expand its boundaries" (Wallerstein 1989, p. 129). A colony serves the economic interests of a core nation. It can be a source of needed raw materials for the core, such as the production of indigo in the North American colonies or silver in Spain's Latin American colonies; a source of luxury goods; a market for goods manufactured in the metropole; or any combination of the three.

Colonies also served as way stations for commerce on the trade routes that linked the world-system and as bases to protect the trade routes or disrupt the commerce of rival core powers. At times, a colony can also be one part of a broader trade system, such as the various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century triangular trade routes. One example is the India-China-Britain triangular trade of the eighteenth century. Britain purchased tea from China, which was paid for with Indian raw cotton, and later with opium imported into China. In turn, Britain curtailed Indian domestic production of finished cotton goods and encouraged the Indian merchants to import British cotton manufactures.

Incorporation into the world-system induced changes in the economic, and even cultural, patterns of the peripheral and colonial areas. The nineteenth century saw the famous competition of European core powers for colonies in Africa and the Middle East.

Colonialism took several forms between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries, ranging from settler colonies to political control by a small group of core citizens over a large native population. While economic factors were central, the creation of colonies was buttressed and sanctified by the religious and ideological worldview of the core nations. This worldview included racism, which justified dominance and often made peripheral populations feel culturally inferior. Both Catholic and Protestant colonizers sought to expand their religious spheres of domination.

Competition between core powers to consolidate areas external to the world-system was the catalyst to colonialism. At first, European powers competed for control of precious raw materials (i.e., the fabled gold and silver of the Americas and the fisheries and pelts on and off the coast of North America). Soon agricultural goods, such as sugar from the Caribbean and tobacco, indigo, and, later, cotton from North America, became valued imports to the core powers.

As labor-intensive agricultural products became more important, the transport and trade of a labor force became an increasingly vital factor in the world-system and a source of rivalry between core powers. The west coast of Africa was incorporated into the world-system as a source of slaves, making the slave trade a central component in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century world economy and an integral part of the famous Atlantic triangular trade network between Africa, the Americas, and Europe.

Struggles between core powers, and their attempts to maintain a balance of power without any one power achieving hegemony, resulted in wars on the European continent. These wars expanded into the colonies. Treaties terminating such conflicts reflected the significance of the world-system. The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, for example, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), gave England access to the slave trade dominated by the Spanish.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, policymakers in the major European core nations—England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands—realized that conflicts in the peripheral colonial areas were as important toward maintaining the balance of power within the world-system as wars on the continent. In the late 1750s, for example, the Duc de Choiseul (1719–1785), French minister of foreign affairs, wrote to Charles III, king of Spain (1759–1788) and of Naples and Sicily (1735–1759): "The King [of France] believes that it is possessions in America that will in the future form the balance of power in Europe, and that, if the English invade that part of the world, as it appears they have the intention of doing, it will result therefrom that England will usurp the commerce of the nations, and that she alone will remain rich in Europe." Until the early nineteenth century, France and Spain fought to deny England hegemony.

IMMANUEL MAURICE WALLERSTEIN

Born in 1930, American sociologist Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein is best known for the development of *world-systems theory*—a comprehensive theoretical framework and methodology for the study of social change in the context of the global system of nations. World-systems theory has reshaped the sociology of development and has made Wallerstein one of the discipline's single most influential scholars.

Wallerstein's career began at Columbia University, where he served as an instructor (1958–1959), assistant professor (1959–1963), and associate professor of sociology (1963–1971). He then moved to McGill University in Montreal, serving as professor of sociology from 1971 to 1976. Wallerstein joined the State University of New York at Binghamton in 1976, where he was a distinguished professor of sociology until 1999, at which time he was named professor emeritus. In 2000 Yale University appointed Wallerstein as a senior research scholar. In addition, he has served as director of the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations since 1976, and has written and edited many books.

Wallerstein maintains that a new form of Western colonialism, neocolonialism, pursued mostly by the United States and various multinational corporations, has replaced old forms of colonial domination with indirect domination achieved through economic and political means. Examples of methods used to obtain indirect domination include the provision of economic aid, as well as monetary and trade policies.

In a slightly adapted version of the introductory essay to *The Essential Wallerstein* (New Press, 2000), posted on Yale University's Web site in 2006, Wallerstein explains: "World-systems analysis allowed me to range widely in terms of concrete issues, but always in such a way that the pieces might be fit together at the end of the exercise. It is not that world-systems analysis enabled me to 'discover the truth.' It is rather that it enabled me to make what I considered to be plausible interpretations of social reality in ways that I believe are more useful for all of us in making political and moral decisions. It is also that it enabled me to distinguish between what are long-lasting structures and those momentary expressions of reality that we so regularly reify into fashionable theories about what is novel, as for example, the enormous recent production concerning so-called 'globalization.' "

In a careful study of India, Wallerstein traces the colonization of the Mughal Empire, which ruled much of the Indian Subcontinent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The decision to incorporate India as part of the British Empire illustrates the dynamics of the globalization of the world-system and the conflicts between the core powers. Contributing to Britain's decision to colonize was competition with France, which also sought Indian riches.

Demonstrating the linkage between private business and government in the world-system, three actors participated in the colonization of India: the British East India Company, the British government, and individual traders. In the mid-eighteenth century, a debate arose in England over the economic costs of colonialism (i.e., whether the costs of colonial rule outweighed the trade advantages). This debate, in one form or another, occurred in all core colonial powers until the demise of formal colonialism.

Within world-system analysis, colonies are not passive participants. In virtually every colony, antisystemic forces disputed colonial status. Responses ranged from petition to revolution and warfare. Beginning with the British North American colonies and the Spanish and French colonial empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, anticolonialism gained momentum. The successful anticolonial rebellion against the French in Haiti in 1804, moreover, reinforced a racial fear of slave rebellions into the consciousness of European powers and the United States.

By the late nineteenth century, anticolonial rebellions were occurring worldwide, and in the twentieth century, core nations realized that the costs of colonialism outweighed the advantages. By the twenty-first century, formal colonialism was essentially a relic of the past. While many colonies rebelled against colonial status, most did not reject the basic structure of the capitalist world-system. Ultimately, core nations found new methods of controlling the economies of the newly independent nations in the periphery and semiperiphery. These methods included economic coercion and military intervention.

GLOBALIZATION

In the 1990s the idea of *globalization* entered into public discourse. World-system and globalization theory stress a global economic interaction, but *globalism* and *globalization*

are not synonymous terms. Globalization is one form of core domination in the world-system. Both globalism and globalization emphasize a global perspective in understanding the world economy and take into account private business as an important element in the dynamics of the global economy. However, Wallerstein asserts that in globalization theory, "the pressures on all governments to open their frontiers to the free movement of goods and capital is unusually strong" (Wallerstein 2004, p. 93).

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, Wallerstein observes that the modern world-system is in crisis, which he defines as difficulties that cannot be resolved. Several factors contribute to this crisis. First, the revolutions of 1968, demonstrations by students throughout the Western world who organized to condemn both United States hegemony and the collusion of the Soviet Union, challenged the fairness of the world-system, and these challenges have continued in antiglobalization activism.

Second, less and less of the earth's population live in rural areas, which were, for centuries, a prime source of cheap industrial labor; hence, the costs of production have risen. Even the current trend of "runaway factories" (corporations moving their production facilities to peripheral areas with cheap labor) is not secure, because corporations and governments must pay the high costs of moving and often the expense of maintaining political stability in these areas. Wallerstein suggests that a choice exists between constructing a new world-system based on the same hierarchical privileges of the old system, or constructing a new more democratic and equalitarian system.

SEE ALSO *Anti-Americanism; Hegemon and Hegemony.*

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Martin Haas

MOLUCCAS

In the history of the Moluccas (a group of islands in present-day Indonesia), three regions are to be distinguished: the North Moluccas, with its sociopolitical center in the small islands of Ternate and Tidore off the west coast of Halmahera; the South Moluccas, with its center in the Banda Islands; and the Central Moluccas, with its center in the island of Ambon and three adjacent small islands off the southwest coast of Seram.

Ternate and the adjoining islands were the natural habitat of the clove tree, while the Banda Islands were the natural habitat of the nutmeg tree, producing nutmeg and mace. Until the sixteenth century the production of cloves, nutmeg, and mace remained restricted to these islands. From ancient times, cloves, nutmeg, and mace had been much sought-after spices for which extremely high prices were paid in the markets of Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. In the course of time, foreign traders found their way to the Moluccas, also called the Spice Islands. Javanese merchants were almost certainly the first to do so, followed by traders from South Asia and the Middle East and, finally, in 1512, by the Portuguese.

By the end of the fifteenth and into the early part of the sixteenth century in Ternate-Tidore and in the Banda Islands, trade contacts with the distant outside world went hand in hand with the introduction of Islam. Furthermore, state formation occurred in the North Moluccas, resulting in the beginning of the sixteenth century in four principalities: Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo, and Bacan. Of these, Ternate and Tidore were the most important. Ternate and Tidore were well-matched rivals, and continuously opposed each other; Ternate usually had the backing of Bacan, whereas Jailolo sided with Tidore.

No state formation occurred in Banda. In the sixteenth century, Bandanese society comprised more than twenty villages without a central authority. Bandanese village chiefs, usually known as *orang kaya* (literally, "rich men"), every now and then waged war on one another, but conferred with each other when common interests vis-à-vis foreigners came into play. Banda did exhibit a kind of supravillage order. The villages were organized into two mutually opposed groupings: the Uli Lima, or League of Five, and the Uli Siwa, or League of Nine. Each village belonged to either the League of Five or the League of Nine, and the villages were distributed in such a way as to make for a dual territorial division. The two leagues regarded each other as opponents.

The same clear-cut order of villages existed in the Central Moluccas. Before the sixteenth century, the Central Moluccan islands, with a relatively uncivilized population, were unimportant. However, because Ambon was an intermediate station in the sailing route

between Banda and Ternate-Tidore, the Ambonese came in contact with foreigners. As a result, early in the sixteenth century the villages of Hitu, the northern peninsula of the island of Ambon, began to cultivate cloves. At about the same time, Islam found acceptance in Hitu.

Such was the situation in the Moluccas when the Portuguese arrived in the early 1500s, the first Europeans to reach the region.

THE PORTUGUESE

After Afonso de Albuquerque (ca. 1460–1515), the governor of Portuguese India, conquered Malacca (Melaka) in 1511, he immediately sent three ships to the Moluccas. Consequently, the inhabitants of Banda, Ambon, and Ternate had become acquainted with the Portuguese by 1512. The crew of one of the Portuguese ships did not return to Malacca, but at the invitation of the ruler of Ternate settled on that island. The Ternatans were impressed by the knowledge, skills, and arms of the Portuguese and invited them to establish a permanent trading station in Ternate.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards also showed interest in the Moluccas. In 1521 two Spanish ships managed to reach Tidore via the Pacific. The Tidorese, being afraid that the Ternatans in cooperation with the Portuguese would dominate the clove trade, welcomed the Spaniards. Although the Spanish ships stayed in Tidore only for a short time, the Ternatans and Portuguese felt threatened by a potential alliance between the Tidorese and the Spaniards.

Amongst other concerns, the possibility of Spanish–Tidorese cooperation induced the Portuguese in 1522 to construct a fortress in Ternate. Eventually the Portuguese also established trading stations and forts elsewhere in the Moluccas, but until 1575 these were subordinate to the fortress in Ternate.

Portuguese authorities pursued a dual purpose in the Moluccas: (1) purchasing large quantities of cloves, nutmeg, and mace for the benefit of the Portuguese Crown, while pushing as many competitors as possible out of the market; and (2) aiding the Catholic Church in its missionary activities, in particular in areas where the progress of Islam could be checked. The building of forts served this dual purpose. Trade was conducted from the forts, which at the same time served as military bases that could provide protection to those amongst the native population who had chosen to embrace Christianity.

The policies pursued by Lisbon in the Moluccas were hampered by deficient political, administrative, and military organization, by lack of dedicated servants of the crown, by lack of manpower and other resources, and by long lines of communication. Portuguese authorities in Goa (on the west coast of India), the Portuguese headquarters in Asia, sent a series of commanders to the Moluccas for terms of three years. The commander had to recruit his own subordinates to sail with him to Ternate. A large number of those who enlisted for service in the faraway Moluccas were regarded as the dregs of Portuguese society in Asia. Once in the Moluccas, most of the Portuguese tried to become as rich as possible by private trade, to the detriment of the crown that they were supposed to serve. Control from distant Goa was highly ineffective.

Some of the Portuguese serving in the Moluccas never returned to Goa. Instead, they started families in the Moluccas with local Moluccan women or with imported slave women. They supported themselves, in part, through private trade, buying spices from the local population and selling them to the agents of the Portuguese Crown or to Asian traders if they offered to pay more. Slaves belonging to these Portuguese households tended gardens and did some fishing, thus supplying the day-to-day livelihood of the household. Slaves also grew spices for their masters. The resident married men, called *casados,* became the backbone of the Portuguese presence in the Moluccas. Some *casados* also became advisors to Moluccan rulers.

The Portuguese were unable to realize their agenda in the Moluccas by exercise of power alone, but they could take advantage of rivalries and chasms in Moluccan society. Thus, in Ternate, when Ternatan and Portuguese interests conflicted, there were always ambitious Ternatans who were willing to enhance their position in Ternatan society by means of Portuguese assistance. Moreover, the alliance with the Portuguese provided the principality as a whole with opportunities for political and military ascendancy within Moluccan society.

Tidore and Jailolo tried to counter the effects of the Portuguese presence in the area by entering into an alliance with the Spanish, who, from 1527 to 1534 and 1544 to 1545 were once again upon the Moluccan stage. This tactic had little effect, however, because the Spanish at that time were unable to maintain their position in the region. The Ternatan-Portuguese ascendancy was used to bring the kingdom of Jailolo to its knees, and in 1551 Jailolo was finally overwhelmed by combined Ternatan and Portuguese forces.

In Ambon, the Portuguese capitalized on the tension between the League of Five and League of Nine. Initially, the Portuguese were on friendly terms with the Muslim villages of the League of Five in Hitu. But in the 1530s the Portuguese angered the Hituese, who sought support from Muslims in Java and Ternate. The Portuguese in their turn made allies of the pagan villages of the League of Nine, which due to the efforts of Jesuit missionaries

had gradually converted to Christianity. Thus, the long-standing antagonism between the League of Five and the League of Nine turned into a conflict of Muslims versus Christians. Facing a surging tide of Muslim Hituese, in 1575 the Portuguese started construction on a fort in Leitimor, the southern peninsula of the island of Ambon. This fort eventually became the nucleus of the city of Ambon, the present capital of the Moluccas.

The Portuguese never built a trading station or fort in Banda. But regularly, usually once a year, a Portuguese ship would visit Banda to purchase nutmeg and mace in competition with other traders.

Conflicting interests and Portuguese contempt for Islam prevented the formation of long-lasting and close cooperation between the Portuguese and their most valuable ally, Hairun, the sultan of Ternate (1535–1570). In 1570 Hairun was stabbed to death by order of the Portuguese commander Diogo Lopes de Mesquita, who considered Hairun an obstacle to the Portuguese expansion in the Moluccas. The murder of Hairun by the Portuguese led to a permanent rupture. The Ternatans thereafter seized every opportunity to attack the Portuguese, who were finally forced to surrender their fortress in Ternate in December 1575. They withdrew to Ambon, where they had shortly before begun construction on the fort in Leitimor. After 1575 the fort in Ambon served as the European base of power in the Moluccas.

After the Portuguese had been chased off Ternate, the sultan of Tidore, Gapi Baguna (at least 1571–1599), fearful of political and military domination by the Ternatans, invited the Portuguese to establish a military post in Tidore. This way he hoped to divert the clove trade from Ternate to his own island. In 1578 the Portuguese built a fort in Tidore, thereby reestablishing themselves in the North Moluccas. But they were never to regain their former position of power there.

THE DUTCH UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY (VOC)

In 1599 Dutch ships appeared in the Moluccas. The Dutch presented themselves as opponents of the Portuguese, and Portugal's Moluccan enemies, all Muslims, gave the Dutch a warm welcome. The Bandanese, Hituese, and Ternatans signed contracts agreeing to supply their spices at good prices to the Dutch, while the Dutch promised to support the Moluccans against their Portuguese enemies. But only after the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, or United East India Company) was founded in 1602 in the Netherlands did the Dutch obtain a firm footing in the Moluccas. In 1605 they succeeded in capturing the Portuguese forts in Ambon and Tidore, thereby bringing the role of the Portuguese in the Moluccas to an end.

The VOC was both a commercial company and a military power. In Asia, the company could enter into contracts, erect fortifications, and administer subject territories on behalf of the Dutch Republic.

Soon the VOC recognized the unparalleled opportunities the Moluccas offered: the Moluccan Islands were the sole producers of precious cloves, nutmeg, and mace; and they comprised a limited territory with a small population (in the relevant spice-producing regions no more than about 100,000 people in total), making the Moluccas easy to control. Here was a chance to force the population to produce spices in a limited territory exclusively for the VOC. The VOC would thus have a monopoly of the sale of these spices in the Asian and European markets.

With such a monopoly the profits would be driven up because the VOC as the sole buyer of the spices could maintain low costs, while as the sole supplier the VOC could enforce high prices in the world market. However, the prevention of smuggling was crucial for the maintenance of this monopoly. The monopoly required that the Moluccas be closed to all free trade, and the VOC took care that its employees did not engage in spice trading. Within fifty years this program was realized.

At first, the Spaniards tried to thwart the Dutch by conquering from Manila in 1605, with the help of Tidore, the former Portuguese fortress on the west coast of Ternate and by erecting a garrison in a fort in Tidore. To protect themselves and their Ternatan allies, the Dutch constructed a fortress in 1607 on the east coast of Ternate. The Dutch and the Ternatans were unable to drive the Spaniards from Tidore or from the western and southern half of Ternate, but they succeeded in bringing about conditions under which the costs of the Spanish strongholds in the Moluccas exceeded the benefits, with the result that Spain voluntarily withdrew from the Moluccas in 1663.

The English also caused problems for the Dutch. English ships began appearing in the Moluccas in 1604, but in 1623 the VOC, using all the forces at its disposal, pushed the English altogether out of the region.

The greatest resistance that the VOC encountered in enforcing its monopoly came from the Moluccans themselves. To achieve its goals the VOC behaved unscrupulously in the Banda Islands. Because the Bandanese continued to sell their nutmeg and mace to anyone who offered higher prices, the VOC conducted a military campaign against the Bandanese in 1621 and broke all resistance. Survivors were shipped into slavery to Batavia, and only a small number of Bandanese escaped the Dutch by taking refuge on faraway islands. The VOC divided the conquered land into parcels that were given in hereditary tenure to Dutchmen, who exploited the

land with slave labor. Until the nineteenth century the tenants were obliged to deliver their nutmeg and mace at prices fixed by the VOC.

The Dutch action in the Banda Islands caused shockwaves elsewhere in the Moluccas. In Banda, the VOC had shown that it was capable of doing anything to safeguard its interests.

Subsequently, the Dutch, not without difficulty, had everything their own way in Ternate and Ambon. Having broken all overt and covert resistance, and having managed to keep away all Asian traders from the Moluccas, the Dutch signed contracts from 1652 to 1657 with the rulers of the North Moluccas in which the Moluccans conceded that they were subordinate to the VOC. The North Moluccan rulers also promised to entertain no relations with other nations or rulers; to keep out all foreigners; to offer no asylum to enemies of the VOC; to neither carry on trade in or cultivate spices; to assist with the tracking down of spice trees; to supply goods and render services to the VOC as its subjects; and to recognize the VOC's right to construct fortifications where it deemed necessary.

At the same time, the population of Ambon and three adjacent small islands was obliged to grow a quantity of cloves as stipulated by the VOC and to supply this to the company at a fixed price. Hence, on these four islands a cultivation system was introduced under the strict supervision of the VOC, which was to supply the entire world market with cloves. The village chiefs were instrumental in the implementation of this system. The company assured itself of their cooperation by paying them 10 percent of the price paid to the producers coming under their authority. The village chiefs were also expected to ensure that villagers rendered services due to the VOC. These services imposed a heavy burden on the villagers.

In taking over the Portuguese authority in Ambon in 1605 the VOC inherited a number of native Christians. They had been allies of the Portuguese, but for the Dutch they were subordinates who were obliged to grow cloves and perform *corvée* services just like Muslims. The Christian villagers were granted minimal education and pastoral care.

In the North Moluccas, the main objective of the VOC after 1657 was to isolate the principalities of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan as much as possible from the outside world. The character of the European settlements in the area developed from that of trading posts to that of guard posts for the prevention of the growing and smuggling of cloves. Within this system of indirect rule, however, the Dutch failed to exercise effective control over Tidore because they neglected to establish a garrison there. Tidore and its dependencies were nominally under Dutch authority, but in reality this principality mostly managed to escape Dutch oversight.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the VOC's power was definitely waning, and the company was increasingly confronted with such problems as piracy and the rise to power of Nuku, a prince of Tidore who in 1779 had been passed over for succession. Prince Nuku subsequently decamped to the areas east of Halmahera, where he rallied many supporters to his cause. Together with British private traders operating from India, he became involved in spice smuggling. Eventually, in 1797, he succeeded in conquering Tidore with his fleet and with the assistance of two English ships.

BRITISH INTERREGNUM

Soon after the French Revolution broke out in 1789, Britain and France went to war with each other (the Napoleonic Wars, 1793–1802, 1803–1814). The Netherlands became a satellite state of France and had to pay a price in Asia. In 1796 Ambon and Banda passed into British hands, and in 1801, with the support of Nuku of Tidore, the British took control of Ternate.

The British maintained a system of compulsory cultivation and delivery of spices, but at the same time young clove and nutmeg trees were transplanted to other British colonies. In the long run, therefore, the Moluccas would no longer be the sole producer of cloves, nutmeg, and mace.

In 1803 the Moluccas again fell into Dutch hands. Extremely bad times followed for the Moluccas as the islands were put in a state of defense against the British. In various ways, the population was more heavily burdened than ever before.

In 1810 Ambon, Banda, and Ternate fell again in British hands. After the hardships of the foregoing years, the second British interregnum (1810–1817) was a relief for the Moluccas. The British resident, William Byam Martin (1811–1817), demonstrated a sincere interest in the well-being of the population and displayed an aversion to the use of force. The spice monopoly was maintained, but without its excrescences. For the Moluccans, the British administration in every respect compared favorably with the Dutch administration.

After the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, the Moluccas were handed over once again to the Dutch in 1817. Disappointed with the return of the Dutch, rebellion broke out in the Ambon Islands, and it took the Dutch six months to quell the uprising.

DUTCH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The return of Dutch rule did not imply a simple reversion to the former situation of the VOC period. The
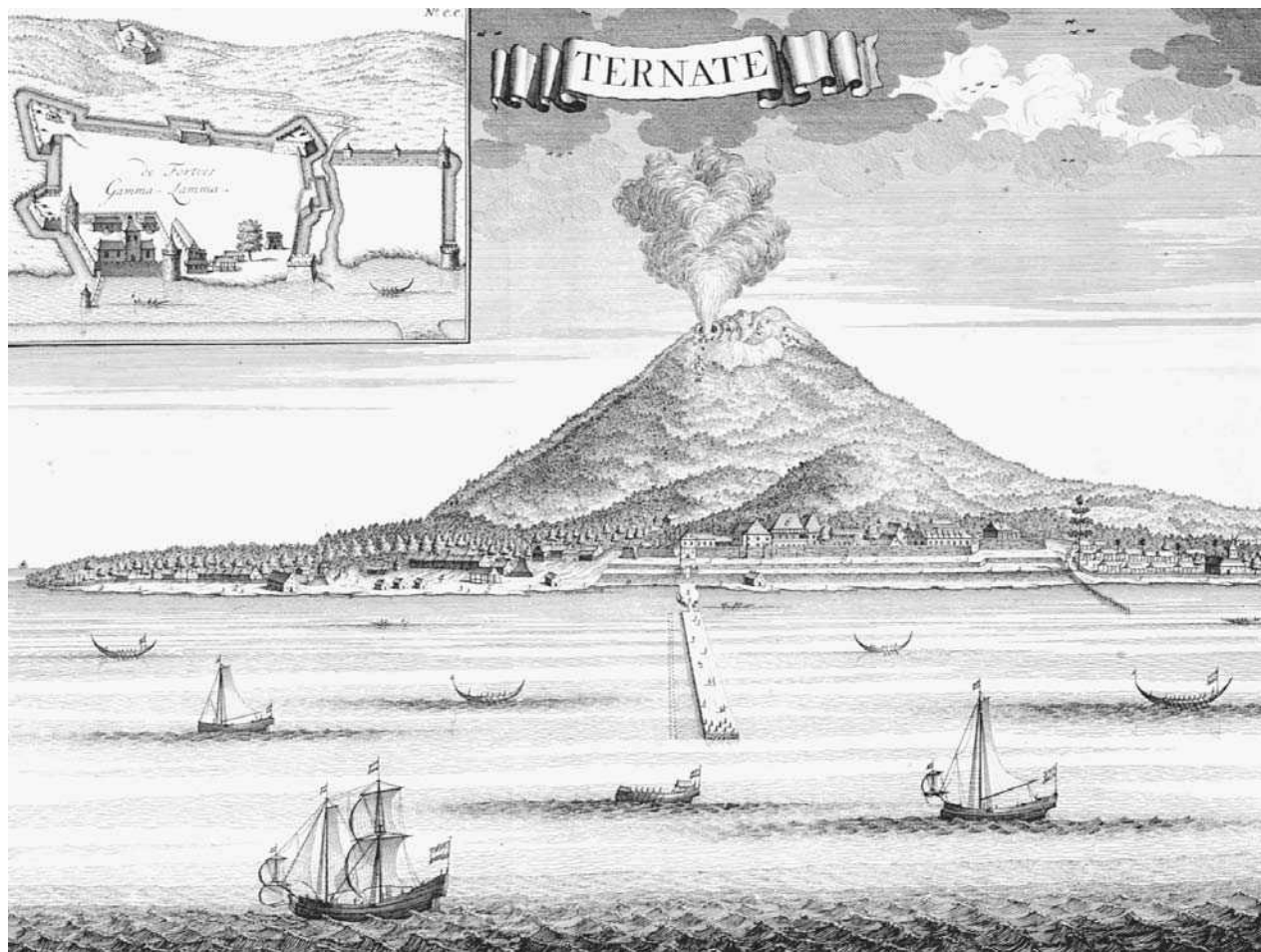
Ternate. *This engraving from the 1740s shows an eruption of Mount Gamalama on the island of Ternate in the North Moluccas in Indonesia. A nearby Dutch fort appears in the inset on the upper left.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Dutch monopoly on the world supply of cloves, nutmeg, and mace had completely broken down. This development had important consequences for the Moluccas. Although the system of compulsory cultivation of spices continued for the time being, there was in effect no longer any policing of the prohibition on the cultivation of cloves beyond Ambon. As the production of cloves, nutmeg, and mace beyond the Moluccas rose, the prices for these products on the world market fell, with the result that the Dutch government began to take losses on the spices it was obliged to purchase in Ambon and in Banda, and the monopoly on clove and nutmeg production was officially lifted on January 1, 1864. In the nineteenth century, after the Moluccan spices lost their former high value on the world market, the Moluccas became an economically undesirable area.

With the new colonial government, direct involvement in production and trade was no longer the first matter of importance. As the nineteenth century progressed, the emphasis became more on good government in support of the advancement of private trade and commerce. With the expansion of the colonial state, administration became more and more an end in itself. The result for the Moluccas was that an interest was now also taken in parts of the larger islands of Halmahera, Seram, and Buru and in the southern islands, which had never had any economic value to the Dutch. Efforts were made to place those islands wholly under Dutch authority and under regular colonial rule. This aim was realized in the twentieth century.

Early in the nineteenth century, there was also a clear break with the previous VOC period in the areas of church, mission, and education. The VOC had never shown any interest in missionary activities, but from 1814 onward, missionaries, first under the protection of the British and then under the protection of the Dutch, made their appearance again in the Moluccas, for the first time since the Portuguese left in 1605.

Another important development was that in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries the educational system was gradually extended in the Central Moluccas. Although the separation between schools and churches made it possible for Muslims to take advantage of the educational facilities, it was almost exclusively the Ambonese Christians who benefited from them. Thus the extension of education increased the social distance between Christian and Muslim Ambonese.

As the colonial state's need for Indonesian officials increased and the educational system in Ambon came to offer more and more training facilities, the number of Ambonese taking up positions as officials in the colonial government grew. Other Ambonese found employment with the church, with the missions, in the educational system, in health care, and with private companies. Men with only an elementary-school education could enlist in the colonial army, which especially after 1875 made systematic attempts to recruit Ambonese soldiers. This eagerness of Christian Ambonese to serve in the colonial apparatus or in the Dutch private sector, within and outside the Moluccas, remained strong until the end of the colonial period. The Moluccas, and in particular Ambon, was transformed from a supplier of spices to a supplier of personnel for the Dutch.

The prewar nationalist movement advocating Indonesian independence did not pass by Ambonese society. From the early 1920s onward this movement drew supporters from among better-educated Ambonese emigrants. The majority of them, however, still expected a perpetuation of the colonial system and desired little more than an improvement in social opportunities for Ambonese within this system. On the Ambonese islands themselves, the chiefs of both Christian and Muslim villages were conservative and on their guard against anything likely to undermine their authority. Hence, they tried as much as possible to counter all forms of political activity in their villages in cooperation with the Dutch administrative apparatus.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, missionaries operating in Halmahera were assiduous in pointing out the detrimental effects of Ternatan and Tidorese rule on the local population in the North Moluccas. They became advocates for the suppression of the influence of autonomous principalities and for improvement in the administrative control of the colonial government. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was an acceleration in the dismantling of authority exercised by the autonomous governments. From 1907 to 1910 the principalities of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan were forced to sign away their formal independence, and the self-governing territories were thereby incorporated more closely into the colonial state. This was a formal ratification of a process that had begun earlier and paved the way for the subsequent remodeling of the formal autonomy of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan according to the norms of the colonial state.

Although part of the pagan population of Halmahera embraced Christianity, in the North Moluccas the level of education did not surpass elementary school. Thus the development of the North Moluccas lagged far behind that of the Central Moluccas, and the nationalist movement gained no foothold there.

The South Moluccas, with the exception of the Banda Islands, had always been of marginal significance, and remained so in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

WORLD WAR II AND DECOLONIZATION

The defeat of the Dutch by Japan in 1942 dealt Dutch prestige a serious blow. When the Dutch returned to the region in 1945, it looked as though the old regime would be reestablished. Large numbers of Christian Ambonese again entered the service of the Dutch colonial apparatus as officials and soldiers.

The end of colonial rule in 1949 caused few problems in the North and South Moluccas. The Central Moluccans reacted differently. In Ambon, the transfer of power led to the proclamation of an independent Moluccan Republic in April 1950. But the uprising got no support outside the Central Moluccas, and the Moluccan Republic, dominated by Ambonese Christians, was short-lived. From 1950 to 1951 the Indonesian army crushed the rebellion, although hard-core rebels continued fighting a guerilla war in Seram until 1965.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; Empire, Dutch; Empire, Portuguese; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Chris F. van Fraassen

MOMBASSA

SEE *Colonial Cities and Towns, Africa*

MONEY IN THE COLONIAL AMERICAS

Money, as it is understood today, originated three thousand years ago in China, where coins known as *cash* were introduced to represent the tools and lengths of cloth previously used for exchange. The practice spread in the ancient world as a number of Greek states adopted coinage, and in 285 B.C.E. the Romans began to produce their famous *denarius*.

As the power of Rome spread, its coins replaced primitive tribal "tool" currencies—in Britain, for example, iron bars—establishing a tradition that resulted in all of Europe having adopted a monetary regime based upon silver coins by the Middle Ages. In Spain the regular minting of gold coins, too, began in the fourteenth century, and the Lisbon mint began to produce the gold *cruzado* in 1457 from gold obtained by barter in West Africa.

Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) carried this monetary tradition with him to the New World in 1492. During the first three decades of Spanish exploration and settlement a variety of Old World coins circulated in the Caribbean. The most important were the *maravedí* (the smallest unit of Spanish account currency) and the *real* (a unit worth thirty-four *maravedís*), particularly after 1497, when Queen Isabella I (1451–1504) approved currency regulations making the standard unit of account the *peso de oro* worth 375 *maravedís*. Her regulations also specified the bimetallic relationship between gold and silver as 1:10, although this ratio was frequently adjusted and by the eighteenth century became 1:16.

Gold, derived from both treasure and alluvial deposits, was much more abundant than silver in the Caribbean and Central America. However, the conquest of Mexico and Peru not only increased the volume of gold bullion in circulation, but also made available vast quantities of silver, first as booty and by midcentury from mining. At Cajamarca, for example, the ransom given to Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) by the Inca ruler Atahualpa in 1533 yielded 6,087 kilograms (13,420 pounds) of gold and 11,793 kilograms (26,000 pounds) of silver (one fifth of which—the *quint*—was sent to Spain for the king).

As the magnitude and wealth of the mainland territories became clear, King Charles I (1500–1558) of Spain ordered in 1535 the creation of the first American mint in Mexico, beginning the production of America's first silver coin, the peso of eight *reales*, known to posterity as the *piece of eight*. Santo Domingo was granted a mint in 1542, and others opened shortly thereafter in Lima (1565), La Plata (1573), Potosí (1574), and Panama (1580), followed in the seventeenth century by Santa Fe de Bogotá (1620) and Cuzco (1697). The expansion of the frontiers of empire in the eighteenth century, coupled with a dramatic increase in silver production, led to further mints opening in Popayán (1729), Guatemala (1731), and Santiago (1743). Later still, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, several more mints were established in Mexico, Venezuela, and New Granada, partly in response to the movements of armed forces during the independence period.

During the almost three centuries that coins were minted in Spanish America, there were several significant attempts to standardize coinage and its production. From 1729 all mints were under direct crown control. More significantly, during the reign of Charles III (1716–1788), a sustained campaign was mounted to call in old coins, many of which were clipped and defaced, for replacement by the ubiquitous peso.

A number of mints, notably those in Peru and New Granada, produced gold as well as silver coins, as did mints in Brazil, where major gold finds from the late seventeenth century inaugurated the "golden age" (1690–1750) and the establishment of mints in Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais (literally, "General Mines"). By the mid-eighteenth century peak, they were processing over 3,000 kilograms (6,614 pounds) of gold a year, as gold replaced sugar as Brazil's principal export to Portugal (and indirectly to Britain) before production began to fall.

In Spanish America, by contrast, the late colonial period saw Mexico and Peru exporting record quantities of silver—up to thirty million pesos a year—to Spain. Although no longer as important as in the 1580 to 1630 period, when bullion accounted for 80 percent of the value of exports to Spain, it continued to dominate transatlantic trade (56 percent of its value), as well as lubricating complex networks of regional trade in the Americas and beyond. Chinese silks and porcelain, for example, entered Mexico and Peru, via Manila, in large quantities in exchange for silver.

In addition to registered trade, from which the crowns of Spain and Portugal derived customs dues as well as the *quint* (lowered to a tenth in Spanish America

in 1736 to stimulate mining output), vast but unquantifiable quantities of unregistered gold and silver entered the channels of contraband trade, particularly in the Caribbean, where Jamaica (British from 1656) traded extensively with the Spanish islands and the northern coast of South America. Given Spain's perennial inability to supply either slaves or manufactured goods in the quantities and at the prices required by increasingly sophisticated Spanish-American consumers, ships from British America also began to penetrate this market in the seventeenth century.

British America, like Brazil, had been largely ignored by Spain because of the failure to find there either easily assimilated natives or precious metals. The early British settlers in Virginia, too, were disappointed that gold did not materialize, despite assiduous prospecting. Economic salvation came, of course, in a different guise, with the introduction in 1614 of tobacco from Trinidad; by 1620, 22,680 kilograms (50,000 pounds) of tobacco had been shipped to England for sale at high prices.

Given the scarcity of currency, and the fact that the few silver coins that trickled in from Spanish America were too valuable for small purchases, the early colonists adopted tobacco as the first legal currency in 1619. A century later "tobacco notes" became legal tender in Virginia, and "rice notes" were introduced in South Carolina. The first mint was established in Boston in 1652, producing mainly small silver coins (shillings, sixpences, and threepenny pieces), and other states soon followed this example.

After independence, Vermont and Connecticut began to issue copper cents, thus beginning the dollar system (the word *dollar* is derived from the German *thaler*, which the Massachusetts authorities had recognized in 1642 as worth five shillings, like the Spanish peso). And so began the monetary empire of the United States.

SEE ALSO *Mercantilism; Mining, the Americas.*

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John Fisher

MONGOLIA

In 2005 Mongolia was home to 2.5 million people on a 1.5-million-square-kilometer (972,445-square-mile) landlocked high plateau, averaging 1,580 meters (almost 1 mile) above sea level. The country has thick forests and mountains in the north, but 90 percent of the land is arid steppes and deserts, unsuitable for farming. It traditionally has been occupied by migrating herders of sheep, goats, cows, horses, and camels, living in a harsh, dry climate. The country's population is quite homogeneous. Nearly 90 percent are of Khalkha Mongol, with the largest minority being Kazakh Turks in the west. Not included in this modern definition of Mongolia are large populations of Mongols in China (Inner Mongolia) and Russia (Buryatia and Kalmykia), who number another 6 million.

Mongolia traces its origins to the election of a young warrior named Temujin, who in 1206 was elected in a *kuriltai* (council) as Khan. Temujin chose the mystic name of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan, which perhaps means "universal or great khan." This great military leader established the Mongolian Empire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the largest empire in world history. It stretched from Siberia, Korea, and China to Afghanistan and North India through Tibet, Central Asia including the Silk Road cities, Russia, Turkey, and Iraq to the borders of Egypt and Germany. The Mongols promoted trade, art, and cultural exchange throughout the empire, which is why historians call this period of history Pax Mongolica.

Chinggis reorganized his nomadic warriors to establish a political-military system totally loyal to him. Then he turned against the Jin Empire in North China, where his army developed siege techniques to attack fortified cities. Chinggis devastated the Jin capital (modern Beijing), but the subjugation of China was completed only by his grandson, Kubilai, who in 1279 became the emperor of a new Mongol dynasty called Yuan. Chinggis himself spent much time fighting the Qara Khitai (Western Liao or Tangut) state over the next twenty years.

The murder of Mongol envoys in 1218 in the Muslim Central Asian state of Khawarism was the defining reason that the Mongolian Empire expanded westward from East Asia into the Middle East and Europe. Chinggis, with a nomadic army of 200,000, wiped out the country. He sent small detachments of Mongol cavalry west to defeat the Georgians. These crossed into Russia, through the Crimea and Ukraine. The Khan also made a political-religious alliance with Tibetan Buddhists, which initiated more than 700 years of cultural and religious connections between the two peoples.

MONGOLIA

Huyten Pk.
14,350 ft.
4374 m

Ulaangom

Olgiy

Dund-
Us

Dörgön
Nuur

Uliastay

Altay

Bayanhongor

Ulaan-Uul

Bööntsagaan
Nuur

Atas Bagd
8,842 ft.
2695 m.

Nemegt Uul
9,081 ft.
2768 m.

Gaxun Nur

Uvs
Nuur

Hövsgöl
Nuur

Slyudyanka

Ozero
Baykal

RUSSIA

Kyakhta

Sühbaatar

Darhan

Hulun
Nur

Tesiyn

Mörön

Selenge

Erdenet

Bulgan

Orhon

Tsetserleg

Arvayheer

HANGAYN NURUU

Ulaanbaatar

Tuul

Ondörhaan

Onon

Kerulen

Choybalsan

Tamsagbulag

Baruun-Urt

Mongolian
Plateau

ALTAY MTS.

HIMALAYAS

EDRENGIYN NURUU

GURVAN BOGD UUL

Buyant-Uhaa

Dalandzadgad

GOBI DESERT

Nel Mongol
(Inner Mongolia)

DA HINGGAN LING

Badain Jaran Shamo

Hohhot

Beijing

CHINA

Mongolia

N
W E
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Chinggis died in 1227, dividing up his empire between his four sons.

His son Ogedei was elected Great Khan. He expanded the empire further into Russia, Korea, China, Iran, and Syria. He built the empire its first sedentary capital called Karakorum in the heart of the Mongol homeland steppe. This capital was visited by Western writers such as John of Plano Carpini, William of Rubruk, and Marco Polo. During the imperial period the Mongol rulers in the four major parts of the empire usually came to promote the religion and arts of the peoples they ruled. This was particularly true in Islamic and Buddhist countries.

In West Asia the Mongol Ilkhans remained in power only until 1335. However, Mongol rule—"the Golden Horde"—persisted in Russia until 1502 when it was destroyed by the Muscovite state, but did not embrace Russian Orthodoxy. The Mongols' administrative practices greatly influenced Russia, and often this heritage, also known as Tatar, is credited with explaining Russia's distinctive culture from that of other European nations.

When the Mongols were deposed in China in 1368 by the Ming dynasty, they returned to the Mongol steppe in disunity. In the late 1500s they became Tibetan Buddhists, which impacted greatly on Mongol culture. In the seventeenth century the Manchu people made an alliance with the Mongol nobles to conquer China and establish the Qing dynasty. Over three centuries the alliance disintegrated into full political and economic domination. With the fall of Manchu rule in China in 1911, Mongolia was able to establish a weak autonomous government under a Buddhist religious leader with strong ties to Republican China.

In 1921 Mongolia underwent a communist revolution with the aid of Siberian Bolshevik forces, and

became a loyal Soviet satellite from 1924 to 1990. In 1990 the country experienced a peaceful democratic revolution, and in the twenty-first century seeks to develop its rich mineral and animal resources through free market and democratic institutions.

SEE ALSO *China, After 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945.*

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Alicia J. Campi

MONROE DOCTRINE

The Monroe Doctrine was enunciated by President James Monroe (1758–1831) in an annual message to the U.S. Congress in 1823. The main concern of Monroe and his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), was the future of Hispanic America. Hispanic America had struggled for independence from Spain, and new republics sprang up from Mexico to Chile, influenced in part by the examples of French and U.S. republicanism. The United States welcomed the emergence of the new republics in most respects; but the absolute monarchies in Europe, notably Russia and the briefly resurgent monarchical regime in France, looked askance at the creation of the new states and sought to isolate them diplomatically.

While the United States began the process of recognizing the Spanish American republics in 1822, France in 1823 urged Spain to reimpose the power of the House of Bourbon in Spanish America. A program of reconquest backed by the Holy Alliance (Russia, Prussia, and Austria) and endorsed by the Vatican was a matter of deep anxiety in Spanish America, the United States, and Britain, which was aiming to establish strong commercial ties with the fledgling republics. Indeed, the British

foreign secretary, George Canning (1770–1827), even proposed that Britain and the United States should together warn Spain and France against intervention. Adams, meanwhile, had a secondary anxiety: the drive of Russia to extend its influence along the Pacific coast of North America from Alaska to California, then still part of Mexico.

The Monroe Doctrine amounted to a statement that the United States would treat any attempt to extend European influence in the "New World" as a threat to its security. This was, in effect, an assertion that the Western Hemisphere was closed to European colonization, whether by powers like Russia with new expansionist aspirations or by old colonial powers like Spain, which aimed to recuperate colonies lost in the wars of independence. The immediate impact of the Monroe Doctrine was limited, both because the powers of mainland Europe were too preoccupied with events closer to home to put up a united front in the Americas, and because Spain was too debilitated by the effects of warfare at home and in the former colonial empire to launch a project of reconquest.

Enjoying some support from the British, the most formidable naval power of the century, the Monroe Doctrine remained in place. It was insufficient, however, to prevent brief interventions in the 1860s by Spain in Santo Domingo and France in Mexico. There were two reasons for this: the weakness of the U.S. Navy, which was smaller than the Chilean navy; and deep divisions in the United States, which culminated in the American Civil War (1861–1865). Only after the consolidation of the frontier in the West and the assertion of the United States as a major naval power in both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans could the Monroe Doctrine be applied without British support.

The final defeat of Spain in the Caribbean and the Pacific during the War of 1898 meant that the United States could now assert an ascendancy in northern Latin America and the Caribbean and consolidate U.S. influence in southern South America. Complemented by the Roosevelt Corollary, enunciated by President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) in 1904, the Monroe Doctrine was used by successive U.S. administrations to justify interventions ostensibly designed to preempt European, especially German, invasions of small nations, usually to collect outstanding debts. Thus the Monroe Doctrine provided the main rationale for a sequence of interventions in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, and the port of Veracruz (Mexico) during the next three decades. These interventions achieved the goal of forestalling European involvement at the expense of awakening widespread and, in some countries, sustained nationalist movements.
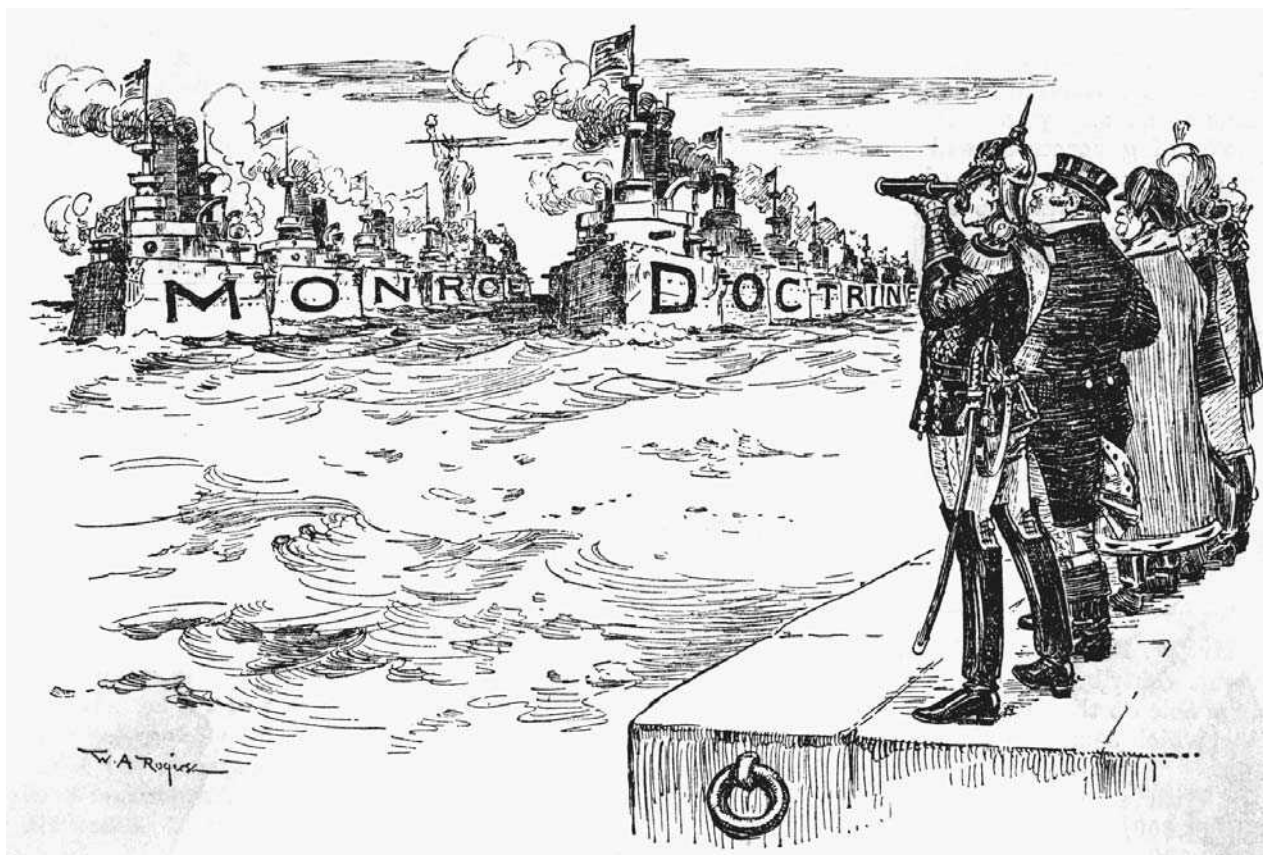
European Potentates Observe Naval Might. *This cartoon, in which figures representing the countries of Europe observe the naval power of the United States, appeared in the* New York Herald. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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Christopher Abel

MUHAMMAD 'ALI
1769–1849

Muhammad 'Ali was an energetic and ambitious Ottoman governor of Egypt from 1805 to 1848. During his long career he managed to augment Egypt's wealth, introduce long-lasting changes to its society, and embark on an expansionist policy that gravely threatened the Ottoman Empire. Due to European opposition, however, the mini-empire he had founded had to be dismantled; in exchange, the Ottoman sultan granted him hereditary rule of Egypt and the Sudan.

Said to be of Albanian origins, Muhammad 'Ali had been a tobacco merchant when in 1801 he joined an irregular military force dispatched to Egypt by the Ottomans to evict the French army, which had occupied the country three years earlier. Following the French evacuation, Muhammad 'Ali seized effective control of Cairo and forced the sultan in Istanbul to appoint him officially as governor of Egypt with the title of Pasha (1805).

Muhammad 'Ali moved fast to centralize control by inviting many friends and relatives to settle in Egypt and by appointing them in key positions within the provinces. He then initiated a radical overhaul of the agricultural sector. Aware of Ottoman attempts to dislodge him from Egypt, he attempted to raise troops from the Sudan in 1818. When these attempts proved unsuccessful, he started conscripting peasants from the Egyptian countryside (1820–1821) and soon appointed European

Muhammad 'Ali. *Considered the founder of modern Egypt, Muhammad 'Ali is often depicted as a strong man who stood up against Western imperialism.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

officers to train them. He also founded many schools, factories, and hospitals to serve this army. Using these well-trained troops he grudgingly lent a helping hand to the sultan in his fight against the rebellious Greek insurgents. After initial successes, a combined British, French, and Russian navy sank the entire Egyptian and Ottoman fleet in October 1827.

Following the Greek debacle, the Pasha resolved not to get embroiled in the sultan's struggles. In 1831 he even invaded Syria to establish a buffer area between his power base in Egypt and the sultan's in Anatolia. His troops faced ineffective resistance and soon crossed into Anatolia and gravely threatened Istanbul. Alarmed at his vassal's surprise advance, the Ottoman sultan sought help from Britain, and when this did not materialize he turned to the Russians who were only too eager to interfere in Ottoman affairs. In time, the British saw the Pasha's bid for independence and expansionist policies as undermining the peace in Europe and seriously threatening their interests in Asia. In 1840 they convened a European conference in London that forced the Pasha to withdraw from Syria, southern Anatolia, Crete, and Arabia. Finally, in 1841 the Ottoman sultan issued a rescript ordering

him to reduce the size of his army, but also bestowed on him the hereditary rule of Egypt and the Sudan.

For the remaining years of his reign Muhammad Ali devoted all his energy to domestic policy. After his death in 1849 the governorship of Egypt was passed on according to the 1841 rescript to the oldest male member of Muhammad 'Ali's family, but in 1867 Ismail, his grandson and third successor, managed to change the conditions of hereditary rule to maintain the governorship in his own line. When the British occupied Egypt in 1882 they kept members of Muhammad 'Ali's family as titular governors of Egypt under the titles first of khedive (1882–1914), then sultan (1914–1923), then king (1923–1952). In 1952 a military coup lead by Gamal Abd al-Nasir forced King Farouk, the last of Muhammad 'Ali's descendants, to abdicate the throne, and in 1953 the monarchy was abolished and Egypt was declared a republic.

Dubbed as the "Founder of Modern Egypt," Muhammad 'Ali is often depicted as a strong man who stood up against Western imperialism. Having imperial designs himself, however, it is probably more correct to see his legacy as changing Egypt's relationship with the Ottoman Empire, instituting long-lasting socioeconomic changes in Egypt, and establishing a dynasty that ruled over Egypt and the Sudan for 100 years.

SEE ALSO *Egypt; Empire, Ottoman; Empire, Russian and the Middle East.*

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Khaled Fahmy

MULTATULI (EDUARD DOUWES DEKKER)
1820–1887

In his novel *Max Havelaar of de koffieveilingen der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* (Max Havelaar or

the Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company; 1860) the Dutch writer Multatuli offered a critical description of the colony of the Netherlands Indies (present-day Indonesia). This novel hails as the most important work of Dutch literature, and Multatuli as the most important Dutch author.

Multatuli (literally, "I have sustained a lot") is the pseudonym of the eccentric Eduard Douwes Dekker, who was born in Amsterdam in 1820 and died in Nieder-Ingelheim, Germany, in 1887. Dekker entered the service of the Dutch colonial government in 1839 in Batavia (present-day Jakarta), worked in faraway parts of the archipelago, and rose to a high administrative post.

In 1856, shortly after his appointment as assistant resident of Lebak in west Java, Dekker became involved in an official conflict. The controversy related to the exploitation of the native population, which was being ill-treated by its own leaders, and the manner in which Dutch authorities attempted to deal with this problem. Dekker advocated immediate radical action. His superiors, however, were convinced of the importance of the role of traditional leaders as representatives of Dutch authority toward the native population, and they held dear to their circumspection and tact. They refused to arrest chiefs before inquiries were made or to criticize them openly. To Dekker their attitude exemplified weakness and ignorance. Dekker resigned his post after the highest Dutch authority in the region, the governor-general, ruled against him.

Back in Europe, Dekker, using the name Multatuli, wrote an idealized autobiography in *Max Havelaar,* drafting what became a self-portrait. With this work, Multatuli revealed himself to be a phenomenal stylist and a writer with strong powers of persuasion. In opposition to Havelaar—presented as the ideal administrator who is available to the population day and night and who allows himself to be led by his conscience—Multatuli places the fictitious figure of Batavus Droogstoppel. Droogstoppel, a comical character, is a coffee broker who has become rich because of the colonial system; a hypocritical smooth talker who is only interested in his own benefit, Droogstoppel is a personification of the worst aspects of Dutch colonialism.

In a peroration, Multatuli dedicates the book to King Willem III (1817–1890). The message of the book is twofold: (1) the population of the Dutch East Indies deserve better treatment, and (2) Max Havelaar (in actual fact, Dekker) must be rehabilitated. If the Dutch government would not buy into Multatuli's program, it would face a moral defeat, rendering the Netherlands nothing more than "a pirate state on the sea, between Eastern Friesland and the river Schelde" (Multaluti 1982, p. 319).

Apart from his trouble in Lebak, Multatuli also describes Havelaar's (and Dekker's) earlier career. At the age of twenty-two, he was assigned to an independent administrative position in Natal (Sumatra), but he was not successful. Dekker was suspended from this post in 1844 on suspicion of fraud; eventually Dekker's bookkeeping was proved to be poor, but no evidence of fraudulent intent was found. Nonetheless, Dekker had to live down the bad reputation incurred in Natal, and he served in lowly jobs for years. He would only work at a higher level again in 1848 to 1851, when he served successfully in Menado (Sulawesi) as the first secretary under a progressive resident. Dekker was promoted to assistant-resident of Ambon, but after a few months he contracted an obscure disease, and had to return for a time to the Netherlands, where he remained from 1852 to 1855.

Although Multatuli tells the story of Havelaar, rather than Dekker, in *Max Havelaar*, broadly speaking Multatuli's narrative is historical. The author does, however, see things from his own perspective. Thus, Multatuli represents the Natal incident as the revenge of a superior toward whom Havelaar had not shown adequate meekness. His direct superior in the Lebak affair is represented as a ridiculous figure, and the governor-general—from that time on Multatuli's greatest enemy—is depicted as incompetent and lazy.

As an author, Multatuli's power was foremost in the field of literature—in his style, his imagination, and his lively sense of humor. His writing raised a number of social issues, and he pleaded for innovation in many areas. He insisted, for example, on equality and challenged—albeit with a paternalistic attitude—discrimination against Jews, Eurasians, and women. Multatuli is considered the Netherlands' first feminist writer. He also took up the cudgel for the Dutch worker, whom he referred to as "*de witte slaaf*" ("the white slave"; *Volledige werken* 3, p. 119).

Multatuli also questioned traditional relationships of authority, and the validity of values that had been passed down from earlier generations. Although Multatuli was not the first atheist in the Netherlands, he did eventually become the most discussed. His alter ego, Dekker, a trendsetter until the end, was the first Dutchman to opt for cremation.

Multatuli's political ideas were less modern. He wanted to abolish the Netherlands' recently introduced parliamentary democracy and return to absolute monarchy, with the king as an enlightened despot. For the Dutch East Indies, Multatuli advocated enhanced enforcement of the colonial laws, which he believed would radically improve the lives of the native population. Only later did he suggest a revolution, although not a

revolution that would bring Indonesians to power in Indonesia. He imagined an independent empire called Insulinde, where the government would stay in European hands—for example, those of Eduard Douwes Dekker.

Multatuli's books earned much admiration, not only from lovers of literature, but also from freethinkers, socialists, and anarchists. Others, however, sharply denounced his work and personal character. It has been reported that in later years new colonial administrators traveled to the East Indies with copies of *Max Havelaar* in their suitcases. The more ethical policies that governed Dutch colonial politics at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the goal of making the interests of the population of the Dutch East Indies prevail over those of the Netherlands, were influenced by Multatuli. To this day, Max Havelaar is an icon for humanity, ethics, conscientious actions, and self-sacrifice, particularly in the relations between developed and developing countries.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism, East Asia and the Pacific; Empire, Dutch.*

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Eep Francken

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The Society of the Muslim Brotherhood is an international Islamic political and social welfare organization that was founded by Hasan al-Banna' (1906–1949) in

Hassan al-Banna'. *The Egyptian social and political activist and founder of the Muslim Brotherhood.* **AFP/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

1928 as a means of resisting British imperial influence in Egypt. Al-Banna' was a schoolteacher in Ismailia, where there was a large British presence due to the city's location on the strategically important Suez Canal.

Al-Banna' became convinced that the way to throw off imperial rule was through renewed adherence to Islamic principles expressed in the Sharia, the Islamic legal tradition. The Brotherhood thus helped Muslims establish social welfare programs for the poor, the creation of medical clinics, food distribution centers, and primary schools. In addition, it encouraged land redistribution, unemployment payments, unionization, and the replacement of foreign investment with local. They promoted Islam as an alternative to Western materialism, claiming that it offered spiritual comfort and social justice.

In the 1930s the group branched out into Syria and, in 1939, became a recognized political party in Egypt. In the 1940s, as economic conditions worsened and the masses became increasingly alienated from Egypt's rulers, the Brotherhood's membership swelled to 500,000. The Brotherhood's activities came to include violence against foreigners, their businesses, and their supporters. The government responded by suppressing them.

In 1948 members of the Brotherhood were implicated in the assassination of Prime Minister Mahmud

Fahmi al-Nuqrashi (1888–1948). In 1949 the Brotherhood issued pamphlets that called for "Muslim rule"; shortly after they were distributed, an unidentified man shot al-Banna'. Many Egyptians believe that the government workers who took al-Banna' to the hospital were instructed not to treat him; they consider his murder to be politically motivated. In 1952 members of the Brotherhood helped to overthrow the pro-British monarchy and establish a republic.

Collusion with the new government ended with an attempted assassination of President Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) in 1954. Thousands in the Brotherhood were imprisoned as a result, including the editor of the Brotherhood's journal—*Sayyid Qutb* (1906–1966). Qutb's ideas had a profound influence on the Brotherhood's ideology and attitude toward the West. The West's adoption of the secularist separation of church and state, he argued, had caused "spiritual schizophrenia." Westerners segregated spirituality from their daily lives and, in his view, alienated themselves from life's real meaning. Most troubling to him, however, was the West's attempt to impose their beliefs on Muslims through imperialism.

Qutb wanted to bring spirituality back into daily life by creating a government and social structure based on Sharia. He believed that Muslims were obligated to fight those who prevented the establishment of this government, that their mission was religiously legitimate as jihad, and that those who died in this fight were not truly dead, for their influence lived on.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Brotherhood produced several splinter groups that embraced Qutb's radical call for action. One of these assassinated President Anwar al-Sadat (1918–1981) in 1981; another became the Palestinian group known as Hamas in 1988. The mainstream Brotherhood has become more moderate since the 1990s; members seek to influence government policy through democratic processes. In Egypt, several members have held office as independents, while the Brotherhood now functions as an opposition party in Jordan.

SEE ALSO *Egypt; Islamic Modernism.*

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Indira Falk Gesink

N

NAGASAKI

The history of Nagasaki, Japan, has been inexorably tied—both positively and negatively—to European expansion and Western colonialism. The founding of the port of Nagasaki was directly related to the initial wave of European expansion into Asia. Portuguese explorers rounded the tip of Africa and sailed into Asia just after the turn of the sixteenth century in search of trade goods and opportunities to proselytize. By 1511 they had established fortified stations at Mozambique, India, and Malacca (in present-day Malaysia), and in 1555 they finally built a base at Macao in southeastern China.

By this time, Portuguese traders had already reached Japan. In 1543 Portuguese sailors had drifted ashore at a small island south of Kyushu. Six years later, Jesuit missionaries went to Japan in an effort to convert as many Japanese as possible to Catholicism. The Jesuits exhibited early proselytizing successes in Japan. Part of this success was attributable to the promise of the annual Portuguese China Ship coming from Macao to ports in Japan, where the local daimyo supported Christianity. At the time, the Ming government of China had banned foreign trade, thus allowing the Portuguese an opportunity to control the silk-for-silver trade between China and Japan as third-party intermediaries.

In 1571 a permanent home for the Portuguese China Ship was established at Nagasaki, a heretofore small fishing village with a shallow harbor that had recently been dredged by the Jesuits. A port town was constructed at Nagasaki to handle the needs of foreign trade and to serve as a haven for harassed Christians in Japan.

Christian churches were built on the former sites of Buddhist temples and by the end of the first decade, the local Christian daimyo, unable to protect Nagasaki against attacks by non-Christian daimyo and desirous of the benefits of Western trade, agreed to donate the port town to the Jesuits. The Jesuits administered the town until 1587, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), the military ruler of Japan, issued an edict calling for the expulsion of Christian missionaries and the destruction of all Christian churches in Nagasaki. Some churches were torn down, but the expulsion order was not enforced. After bribing the necessary officials, the missionaries were able to continue their work, albeit with more discretion. Hideyoshi, while condemning the missionaries, appreciated their role as interpreters and intermediaries in Western trade, and did not want to jeopardize this profitable venture.

Nagasaki was made a public territory, with Japanese officials coming to the town from time to time, but, in actuality, foreign missionaries and local Christian merchants continued to handle day-to-day administrative concerns and foreign trade. Spanish Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian missionaries from Manila soon joined the Jesuits in Nagasaki and proselytizing efforts expanded. They were followed in 1609 and 1613 by Dutch and English traders, who established themselves on the island of Hirado, just north of Nagasaki.

For a short time, the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and British traded side by side, but Japanese government crackdowns on Christianity and poor business decisions by the English resulted in the departure of all but the Dutch from Japan by 1639. In 1641 the Dutch were

forced by Japanese officials to move from Hirado to the manmade island of Dejima in Nagasaki Harbor. At the same time, Japanese leaders imposed a maritime prohibition policy *(sakoku)* on its own people, prohibiting them from leaving the country and restricting foreign trade to a few designated merchants.

Later in the seventeenth century, both the Portuguese and English tried to reestablish trade relations with Japan but to no avail. The policy remained in effect and all foreigners who strayed into Japanese waters were taken to Nagasaki, where they were imprisoned until they could be deported. Christianity was strictly prohibited upon punishment of death; therefore, all remaining Japanese Christians went underground with their beliefs.

By the early nineteenth century, the Russians, English, and Americans were all knocking on Japan's door, but Japanese officials refused to alter the country's maritime trade policy until forced to do so by Commodore Matthew Perry (1794–1858) and his armed American fleet in 1853 and 1854. Perry's forced opening of Japan, along with the British defeat of China in the Opium War a decade earlier, represented the beginning of the second phase of Western imperialism in Asia.

A commercial treaty followed in 1858, which opened three Japanese ports, including Nagasaki, to foreign trade and residence in July 1859. Landfill was brought in from neighboring islands to fill in the eastern side of the harbor, and a foreign settlement was constructed. The Russians, who later used Nagasaki as a winter port for its Asiatic Fleet, lived in a separate area across the harbor. Soon the settlements were filed with missionaries, sailors, merchants, and government officials. The latter were needed because extraterritoriality—the right to try westerners according to Western law—was a provision of the new treaties. Also included in the treaties were a "most-favored nation" clause and the right of Western nations to determine tariff duties on most Japanese goods. Nagasaki remained a designated treaty port until the so-called Unequal Treaties were revised in 1899.

Even though Nagasaki became a free port in 1899, the number of westerners in the city continued to grow until the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). It was also at this time that Nagasaki became renowned as the setting of Giacomo Puccini's (1858–1924) famous opera *Madama Butterfly* (1904), which came to represent to some the West's colonial attitude toward East Asia.

From 1905, however, Nagasaki's fortunes began to decline, and by the end of World War I most European and American merchants had left and fewer warships called at the port. This left only a limited number of missionaries and government officials to cope with the rising influence of militarism, as Japan itself became an ever-stronger imperial force in the struggle for East Asia and the Pacific.

Nagasaki was spared from much of the conventional bombing that most Japanese cities suffered during World War II, but on August 9, 1945, a 10,000-pound (4,536-kilogram) plutonium bomb was detonated over the city, killing more than seventy thousand people. A week later, the war was over, and by September American occupation officials had arrived to take control of Nagasaki. American officials stayed until 1952, when Japan regained its independence. Since this time, Nagasaki has depended on Mitsubishi Shipyards and historical tourism to support its economy.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Japanese; Japan, Colonized.*

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NASIR, GAMAL ABD AL
1918–1970

Of an Upper Egyptian family and the son of a postal clerk, Abd al Nasir was educated in Cairo and graduated as an officer from the military academy in 1938. He served in Sudan and later with distinction in the Palestine War in 1948–1949. In late 1949 Nasir formed a group calling itself the Free Officers who seized power in the early hours of July 23, 1952. Composed of young officers with a broad nationalist program, the new regime, although fronted by General Muhammad Naguib (1901–1984), was effectively led by Colonel Nasir. A contest with Naguib for power in March 1954 saw Nasir consolidate his position, serving as prime minister from 1954–1956 and president from 1956, a position he effectively held until his death.

Gamal Abd al Nasir. *The Egyptian president (center) was greeted by cheering crowds when he returned to Cairo from Alexandria in 1956 after his announcement that he had nationalized the Suez Canal Company.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Under Nasir's leadership the revolution sought to transform Egyptian society. In 1953 political parties were dissolved and a republic established. Thereafter, political life was restricted to a series of government parties, the most important being the Arab Socialist Union set up in 1962. Nasir tolerated little political opposition and particularly repressed Communists and Muslim Brothers, many of whom served long terms in prison. Committed early to land reform, the regime went on to embrace an economic program of state-sponsored industrialization, nationalization, and public employment. Initially successful, these policies produced substantial inefficiencies by the late 1960s.

On the international stage, Nasir played a leading role in the non-aligned movement formed at the Bandung Conference in April 1955. His decision to nationalize the Suez Canal on July 26, 1956 led to the Suez crisis and war with Britain, France, and Israel. A Czech arms deal in 1955 had already signaled Nasir's move away from the West, and the Soviet decision to finance the dam reinforced this trend. After the diplomatic triumph of Suez, Nasir adopted a strong Arab nationalist and pro-African foreign policy.

In 1958 Egypt and Syria merged to form the United Arab Republic, although the union lasted only three years. Nasir's revolutionary call to the Arab world led him into conflict with both conservative Arab monarchies and progressive republics, but he continued to be an inspiring figure to the Arab masses during the 1960s. Following a game of diplomatic brinkmanship in June 1967, Israel launched a surprise attack and inflicted a stunning defeat on Egypt. Nasir immediately offered his resignation but, after massive public demonstrations, resumed office and pursued

less radical policies. He died suddenly on September 28, 1970.

A charismatic, inspiring third world leader, personally charming if somewhat reserved, Nasir spoke in the language of the people and was passionately committed to the welfare of ordinary Egyptians and the cause of Arab unity on his terms. Many of his policies were repudiated by his successor, Anwar Sadat (1918–1981), but Nasir's memory remains revered by many in the Arab world. His legacy has been kept alive by journalist and personal confidant Mohamed Hassanein Heikal (b. 1923) and a Nasserist Party operates in Egypt based on his political ideals. Nasir's *Philosophy of the Revolution* provides an important statement of his early political thought.

SEE ALSO *Egypt.*

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NATIONALISM, AFRICA

Nationalism, a universal human construct, has been studied extensively because of its resiliency as a major societal force. The literature on nationalism is complex, conflicting, inchoate, contradictory, and at times paradoxical, sentimental, and perplexing. It is not surprising that because of its multifaceted nature and manifestations, nationalism has become notorious for its indefinability. Although nationalism has universal properties, it also exhibits unique characteristics that are determined by historical forces—political, sociocultural, and economic.

Nationalism is such a powerful force in human affairs that even those who regard it as an unmitigated disaster created by human genius have themselves sometimes resorted to nationalistic sentiments, perhaps in moments of frustration and weakness, to make their points. The truth is, like it or not, nationalism will never fade away. The fad of internationalism, regarded by some as a more progressive and rewarding movement, is increasingly becoming a forlorn hope.

This entry is a modest effort to present the meaning and dimensions of nationalism in modern Africa. This restriction in no way supports the views of those who argue that modern African nationalism is a phenomenon that started after 1935 and that Africans learned it from the colonizers. The antecedents of the movement are as old as African history itself. However, its modern manifestations, no doubt complicated by the impact of Europe, are more relevant to contemporary Africa.

MEANING

Generally, European colonial administrators and early Western scholars did not fully understand, and could not appreciate the existence of, African nationalism as a major political and socioeconomic force. Thus, Lord Milverton's (Arthur Frederick Richards, 1885–1978) view, expressed in 1956, that African nationalism was "just the craving for power by a small group of individuals," reflected a general European sentiment on the subject (Kohn 1965 [A], p. 9).

When by the 1960s the regaining of African independence had become a fait accompli, two British imperial historians, John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, embellished the same sentiment rather flamboyantly but equally incorrectly. For them, the majority of Africans who were "peace loving" and "good natured" saw colonialism as a good thing and generally welcomed it. The few who resisted it were atavistic and backward-looking individuals who were engaged merely in "romantic, reactionary struggles against the facts, the passionate protest of societies which were shocked by a new age of change and would not be comforted" (Robinson and Gallagher 1962, p. 640). The authors were, however, perceptive enough to recognize that these earlier movements differed from the later and "defter nationalisms" that "planned to reform their personalities and regain their powers by operating in the idiom of the westernizers" (Robinson and Gallagher 1962, p. 640).

Several later Western scholars continued to argue that African nationalistic resistance was directed against the cruel forms and seamier aspects of the European presence and not against colonialism as such, and that individuals and groups resisted colonialism for selfish motives and not because of any nationalistic impulses. Recent historiography, however, shows that African resistance movements were a natural reaction against the imposition of alien rule; that they were propelled by a desire to protect African sovereignties; and that when they failed to do so, the advocates of resistance resolved to regain their independence by conciliation, force, or both.

Modern African nationalism, then, began as an attempt by African nationalities to not submit to European rule during the scramble for Africa. When that failed, the nationalities, now grouped under new

multination states created by colonialism, reorganized under the leadership of the new, more radical Western-educated elite (the nationalists) to terminate colonial rule. And when that succeeded, the nationalists began to wrestle with the difficulties of solidifying the multination states that they inherited.

In the final analysis, modern African nationalism was initially a response to European political, socioeconomic, and biological imperialism. It was, in the words of K. A. Busia, "a demand for racial equality" that "is its most conspicuous attribute" (Kohn 1965 [A], p. 13) or in those of Ndabanigi Sithole, "a struggle against white supremacy" (Kohn 1965 [A], p. 13). Even so, what is most fascinating is the movement's later hardheaded pragmatism, which, having grudgingly accommodated the European presence, moderated its anticolonial posture and used the framework provided by the colonizers to attempt to construct a developmental synthesis. It is hoped that this synthesis will make Africa more relevant in a competitive and even callous modern world.

Indeed, as Godfrey Uzoigwe wrote: "The genius of African nationalism … is its superb pragmatism which enabled it to beat Europeans at their own game and allowed them to depart with honor. African nationalism triumphed over colonialism because it won the game of collaboration" (Uzoigwe 1975, p. 383). In other words, African nationalists won the support of grassroots people and that of other elitist and resisting groups who, hitherto, had been passive toward colonialism. Once that happened, European colonizers had no group with whom to do business except African nationalists, whom, generally, they resented. Even in those parts of Africa where the colonizers had depended on the support of prefabricated European collaborating groups—Algeria, Kenya, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Africa—it was becoming clear by the 1960s that the game was up and that it was time to create an exit strategy. It was to the credit of Africa's victorious nationalists that there was no attempt to humiliate the westernizers.

DIMENSIONS

Modern African nationalism may be profitably studied under three broad categories that, paradoxically, conflict with one another: *micronationalism*, *mezzonationalism*, and *meganationalism*.

Micronationalism. This is the nationalism of Africa's original, pre-twentieth-century nationalities, however, they may have evolved by the time of the European scramble, partition, and conquest of Africa at the close of the nineteenth century. These nationalities, which earlier scholarship erroneously called *tribes* but which recent scholarship describe as *ethnic groups*, are estimated

to number about three thousand. They ranged from the ancient empires, kingdoms, and societies of the Nile Valley and the Horn of Africa, which have been in existence for thousands of years, to those of Africa south of the Sahara, which trace their origins back hundreds of years.

Micronationalism demanded the complete loyalty and devotion of all citizens—not always successfully due to the existence of contentious issues that influenced the nature of their relationships—because of supposed common origins expressed in consanguinity, culture, language, religion, history, historic charters, geographical contiguity, or a combination of all or some of the above. Once consolidated, a nationality, usually made up of independent communities, became apprehensive and suspicious of stranger elements. This attitude accounted, perhaps, for the absence of the notion of naturalized citizenship in Africa.

Some scholars regard the later multination states created by colonialism as the best paradigm for studying modern Africa, since the so-called original nationalities as presently constituted are fictitious. They are regarded as fictitious because, being creations of European colonialism, they do not deserve to be regarded as original African nations. Admittedly, in several areas European boundary-making, during and after the partition, did tinker with the territorial integrity of Africa's original nationalities, but it did not completely erase their essences. After all, these nationalities were in existence long before the coming of Europe, and were functioning on the bases of historic charters, social structures, political cultures, and pan-associations that bound them together. These nationalities were thus distinguished from their neighbors, and cannot be said to be fictitious colonial creations. It is important to note that African countries today are faced with the problem of nationalities of varying intensity, some of maximum severity (as in Nigeria), some of medium severity (as in Uganda), and some benign (as in Ghana).

It was these original nationalities that challenged the European conquest during the phase of primary resistance, the aim being the prevention of colonization. This first stage of European confrontation with the African nationalities and communities was largely complete by the first decade of the twentieth century. The confrontations, lost by the African nationalities, have been well studied. Being attempts by resisters to protect their lands and sovereignties, it is incorrect not to regard them as expressions of nationalism. The resistances took various forms and were not always physical. There were, for example, groups like the Baganda in present-day Uganda who used cooperation with the invaders to cut deals for themselves in the colonial dispensation. There

were also those like the Banyoro, also in Uganda, with whom no deals were possible. However, both cooperators and resisters were incorporated by the colonizers into larger territorial states, often with new names invented to encompass the new aggregations that became the current multination states.

The failure of the primary resistance movements, far from signaling acceptance of foreign domination, was followed in many of the new states by secondary resistance movements. These movements used guerrilla-style hit-and-run tactics, or, as in the case of the Banyoro, passive resistance to continue to oppose foreign domination. By the 1920s these revolts were also mostly over. Colonialism had become a fait accompli.

However, between the 1920s and the regaining of independence, Africa's defeated nationalities regrouped in the urban areas of the new nations to form voluntary ethnic organizations. These organizations enabled individuals to adjust to changes brought about by colonialism and, more importantly, to create a niche for themselves in the sociocultural, political, and economic arithmetic of their new countries. To be sure, they were not yet in the business of seeking the overthrow of colonialism, especially before the 1950s. There were, indeed, groups like the Hausa-Fulani of northern Nigeria that for a period in the 1950s opposed the regaining of independence by Nigeria because of fear of southern Nigerian domination after independence.

And even after independence was regained, the resiliency of Africa's original nationalities was apparent. The result, in part, is the chaos that Africa is experiencing today. The 1963 charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now called the African Union (AU), included clauses affirming the inviolability of the colonial boundaries and requiring that member states not interfere in the internal affairs of other states. These clauses were an admission that the new nations had not yet solidified and that the forces of micronationalism were strong and needed to be curbed. Africa's postcolonial history shows that the forces of micronationalism, far from being curbed, are more resilient than ever. The effort to dismiss them as "tribalism" has so far failed to gain serious traction. All over Africa, devotees of the original nationalities are bent on receiving what they perceive to be their fair share of the "national cake." That is why ideology tends to count less than ethnicity in the final analysis, and why it matters from what group the president of an African country comes.

Mezzonationalism. This is the nationalism of the new multination states that were created by colonialism. Mezzonationalism challenged colonialism at three levels: political, economic, and sociocultural.

Politically, mezzonationalism may be seen as a subtler continuation of the earlier secondary resistance movements that failed to stop the consolidation of colonial rule. Initially, adherents of this form of nationalism used constitutional means to challenge the absolutism, the flaunted omniscience, the vaunted omnipotence, the arrogant arbitrariness, and what mezzonationalists regarded as the vengeful character of the colonial state. They were encouraged by the aftermath of several crucial developments that occurred during the climax of colonialism (1914–1945). These included World War I, the rise of Soviet Communism, Italian Fascism, German Nazism, the Great Depression, and World War II. The goal of mezzonationalism was to regain not the independence enjoyed by Africa's pre-European nationalities but an independence that eventually would be based on the continent's new multination states.

Before 1945, there was no concerted effort to overthrow colonialism. Indeed, as C. R. L. James (1901–1989) indicated, such a thought was not contemplated by himself, George Padmore (1903–1959), or Jomo Kenyatta (ca. 1899–1978) as they met in London in the 1930s to ponder the fate of Africa. In short, they did not believe that by the 1960s most African states would have become independent. Colonial protests, therefore, before 1945 sought greater participation in colonial governance and the general amelioration of the colonial state.

In the interwar years (1918–1939), African nationalists were emboldened by clauses in the Treaty of Versailles that expressed the new notion of colonies as a "Sacred Trust." They were also encouraged by President Woodrow Wilson's (1856–1924) fourteen points, which eloquently endorsed the right of small nations to self-determination. The interwar period further witnessed the resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa and the rise of settler nationalism in various parts of Africa. These European collaborators with colonialism demanded and got generous concessions from their respective governments, concessions that further ignited African nationalist protests.

Another major impetus in the development of African nationalism during this period was Italy's unprovoked invasion and occupation of Ethiopia in 1935, an aggression that united Africa and its diaspora more than any other event. The complacent attitude of the European countries and the League of Nations toward this invasion gave Africans food for thought.

The Atlantic Charter of 1941, between the United States and the United Kingdom, also encouraged this new form of nationalism in Africa. By this charter British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) and U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt

(1882–1945) declared on behalf of their countries to "respect," after their victory in World War II, "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." And yet in November 1942 Churchill declared that he was not prepared to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. African nationalists retorted that if it was wrong for Germans to control and govern the French, it should also be wrong for Europeans to control and govern Africans, but this view made no impression on the Allied powers. This hypocrisy helped to demonstrate to African nationalists that Europeans had no intention of leaving Africa soon.

The aftermath of the war, especially the creation of the United Nations (UN), changed that perception. The charter of the UN, which replaced the discredited League of Nations, was anticolonial; it replaced the "mandated territories" of the League of Nations with "trusteeship territories." Further, each colonial power was required, despite stiff opposition, to make annual reports on each of their colonies to the UN. In addition, colonial peoples could send delegations to the UN to air their grievances. A major aspect of the aftermath of World War II was, indeed, the weakening of colonialism and the colonial system. This was the reverse of what happened after World War I. While the colonial powers and colonialism emerged stronger after World War I, they emerged very much weakened after World War II. In fact, colonialism was in decline globally. African nationalists, aware of these developments, worked diligently after 1945 to build greater political consciousness among the African masses. Once they were able to do so, it became clear that the days of colonialism were numbered.

Economically, the role of nationalists in Africa was limited. They were, however, able to use the economic difficulties that Africans faced during this period to try to win the masses to their side. The post–World War I economic boom was short-lived. The years 1921 and 1922 witnessed an acute economic crisis, followed by an unprecedented economic boom from which the African colonies also benefited. The ten years of boom, burst, and boom (1919–1929) were followed by the Great Depression (1929–1933), which affected the colonies most adversely.

Africa's nationalists capitalized on this adversity. Their diatribes resonated well with the masses because it had become clear that the economic policies of the colonizing nations were not geared toward African economic development. The colonizers' policies: (1) discouraged industrialization and the acquisition of Western managerial skills; (2) maintained low capital investment in the continent, with the exception of South Africa; (3) encouraged the export of African raw materials at prices determined by the colonizers, and the importation

of European manufactured goods at prices also arbitrarily determined by the colonizers; (4) made use of forced labor, often undisguised, to ensure that Africans participated in the colonial economy on terms favorable to the colonizers; and (5) encouraged land alienation, the plantation economy system, low-wage labor, unfair taxation, and blatant exploitation by the European commercial companies. The reality was that the colonial economy, as an extension of the economy of the respective colonial powers, had either destroyed African economies or transformed and subordinated them. This led to African unrest expressed through strikes and boycotts of foreign stores. Of course, the African nationalists carefully ignored the beneficial aspects of this economy because they were in the business of convincing and galvanizing Africans to change from passivism to activism in their fight to undermine colonialism.

Socioculturally, mezzonationalists realized, unlike the colonizers, that African colonial society was not a blank slate upon which Europeans wrote whatever they pleased. Mezzonationalists refused to accept the notion that the relationship between Africans and their colonizers amounted to the relationship between the exiled nobleman Prospero and his brutish servant Caliban in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (ca. 1611), a relationship between gods and lesser mortals. It is true that the colonial period witnessed what may be described as the triumph of Albinism, that is, white supremacy, a euphemism for racialism, which was engaged in the "noble" goal of the "civilizing mission." The clear implication, of course, was that what was African was inferior and uncivilized and what was European was superior and civilized. The great mission, therefore, of the colonial enterprise at the sociocultural level was to rid Africans of the seamier side of their cultures, which the westernizers believed had degraded them, and to gradually regenerate the Africans through the process of westernization.

African nationalists saw clearly the dichotomy between theory and practice, and they denounced the underlying philosophy behind the colonizers' mission. In short, that philosophy was regarded by them as unadulterated racism. That was why Busia and Sithole described racism and white supremacy as the major forces that characterized African nationalism. That was why mezzonationalism opposed racial segregation, whether of the Afrikaner apartheid variety or of the other varieties, however nuanced they might have been. That was why African nationalists preached the ideal of Negritude, the beauty of being black, and mocked the "been tos"— those who after a fleeting acquaintance with European culture in an European country returned to their own countries and began to dress, talk, and carry themselves in a comical effort to out-Europe the Europeans. Some African nationalists stressed cultural purity, but where

that was not possible, they stressed the boycott, or as Nigerian activist Mazi Mbonu Ojike (1914–1956) put it rather felicitously, to "boycott the boycottables." And some, who may be described as cultural maximizers, hoped for a cultural synthesis of the best of the old (African) and the new (European).

Throughout the colonial period, these views notwithstanding, there was a continuity of African institutions—which some nationalists exploited as a counterweight to colonial culture. The colonial society, then, was characterized by three cultures—(1) Western, which acted as the superstructure; (2) African, which acted as the substructure; and (3) mixed, that is, culture practiced by those who were no longer at ease because, having been unable to fully assimilate European culture or fully abandon African culture, had found themselves in a morass of cultural and intellectual confusion. In fairness to mezzonationalism, it generally acknowledged the beneficial aspects of Western education, Western Christianity, Arab Islam, and particularly the role that Christianity played, unwittingly, in the development of nationalism. But it also noted the complications that these forces had brought with them, their hypocrisy, and their tendencies toward a suffocating, totalitarian holism that blinded them to some of the noble and beneficial aspects of African cultures.

African mezzonationalism used a variety of media to articulate grievances. These included newspapers and periodicals, literary output in the African languages, student unions, ethnic unions, youth leagues and youth movements, trade and labor unions, and political party organizations. Notable among these media was the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA), formed in 1920 by Casey-Hayford (Gold Coast) and Dr. Akinwade Savage (Nigeria). Members of the NCBWA were gentlemen and constitutionalists, and their movement flourished between the 1920s and 1930s before it was overtaken by events. Since the NCBWA was elitist and purely urban, its impact was limited because of lack of popular appeal. Generally, the pace of African anticolonial movements accelerated after 1945.

Mezzonationalism faced three major obstacles. The first was the colonizers' counterpoise intended to undermine it. When it became clear that the momentum generated by Africa's nationalist movement had become irreversible, European colonial governments began to create what they described as a "responsible middle class" to whom political power would be "safely" transferred—that is, those whom they trusted to protect their interests after independence. They also decided to slow down the process of decolonization by giving way in small steps. And most importantly, they adopted the usual and effective tactic of divide and rule.

The divide-and-rule tactic became very purposive when the colonizers discovered that the ethnic unions and trade unions, which had merged to form political parties, had also developed conflicting agendas. The trade unions, for example, supported the faction that was in alliance with conservative trade unions in the colonial countries against those who were allies of radical unions funded by socialist countries. The trade unions also succeeded for a while in using traditional rulership and indirect rule to curb the aspirations of the Western educated elite; when that tactic collapsed by the 1930s, they turned to ethnicity and settler nationalism to achieve the same goal.

Mezzonationalism's second obstacle was created by micronationalism. This was a major concern, but as the anticolonial movement gained strength after 1945, the ending of colonialism seemed to take precedence over all else. The admonition of Ghanaian statesman Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), "Seek ye first the political kingdom," seemed to have had a particularly strong appeal. Even so, in negotiations leading to the transfer of power, efforts were made to protect not only minority interests but also those of the micronationalities. There was, at least, a temporary unity that obscured real problems that were soon to arise in the postcolonial state. The great achievement of micronationalists, mezzonationalists, and the colonizers was their ability to construct an acceptable modus vivendi before colonial rule was officially terminated.

The third obstacle to mezzonationalism was that posed by white settlers. Nationalistic settlers demanded independence from their respective metropolitan governments in the fashion of South Africa in 1910, promising to look after the interests of the majority of nonwhite Africans, just as white South Africans had promised but conspicuously failed to deliver. African nationalists were aware that the successive South African governments, far from being sanctioned for their deliberate failure, were supported by European and American governments for a variety of essentially selfish and, sometimes, racist motives. It is in this context that the nationalist armed struggles that characterized the 1960s and early 1970s should be understood.

The arrogant and generally racist settlers were apparently unaware of, or unconcerned about, the absurdity of their position. They believed that while it was right for them to govern themselves in Africa as a minority group and wrong to be governed from Europe, it was right and proper for them to govern the African majority. Indeed, Rhodesian prime minister Ian Smith (b. 1919) and his Rhodesian Front had the confidence to declare the independence of white Rhodesians unilaterally in 1965 and were shocked when their action was universally

Kwame Nkrumah, 1957. *The Ghanaian nationalist Kwame Nkrumah was carried on the shoulders of triumphant Ghanaian officials after he became the first leader of independent Ghana in 1957.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

condemned. When they were forced to face reality by a combination of nationalist armed struggle and international pressure, Smith saw it as a betrayal; his memoirs, interestingly, are titled *The Great Betrayal* (1997).

In Kenya, although the Mau Mau Revolt of the 1950s was a military failure, it was the catalyst that made possible the independence of Kenya in 1963. In North Africa, the brutal ebullition of the French-Algerian *colons* (settlers) was suppressed by a combination of the armed struggle of Algerian nationalists and the government of French president Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970). In Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, independence had also to come through armed struggle and international pressure. This was the case in Namibia and South Africa as well.

Mezzonationalism took longer in these countries than in the others to regain independence—and had to resort to long-drawn armed struggle to do so—because the settlers, although a minority, were nevertheless strong enough militarily and numerically to deal effectively with

African nationalist armed resistance. But even so, not even the strongest and most numerous of the settlers—in South Africa—were strong enough to halt and reverse the awesome march of African nationalism.

Meganationalism. The interests of this type of nationalism are regional, continental, and biological. Inevitably, these interests conflict with one another, as well as with those of micro- and mezzonationalism. The issue of whether meganationalism can be legitimately regarded as *nationalism* may be a nice point, but since this form of nationalism was and still is a powerful expression of anticolonialism, protection of geopolitical and economic interests, and racial solidarity, its credentials as a nationalistic movement are as good as any other.

Regional nationalism in Africa manifested itself in the creation of such regional geopolitical blocs as the Brazzaville Group (moderate and pro-French), the Monrovia Group (moderate and largely English-speaking), and the Casablanca Group (radical and
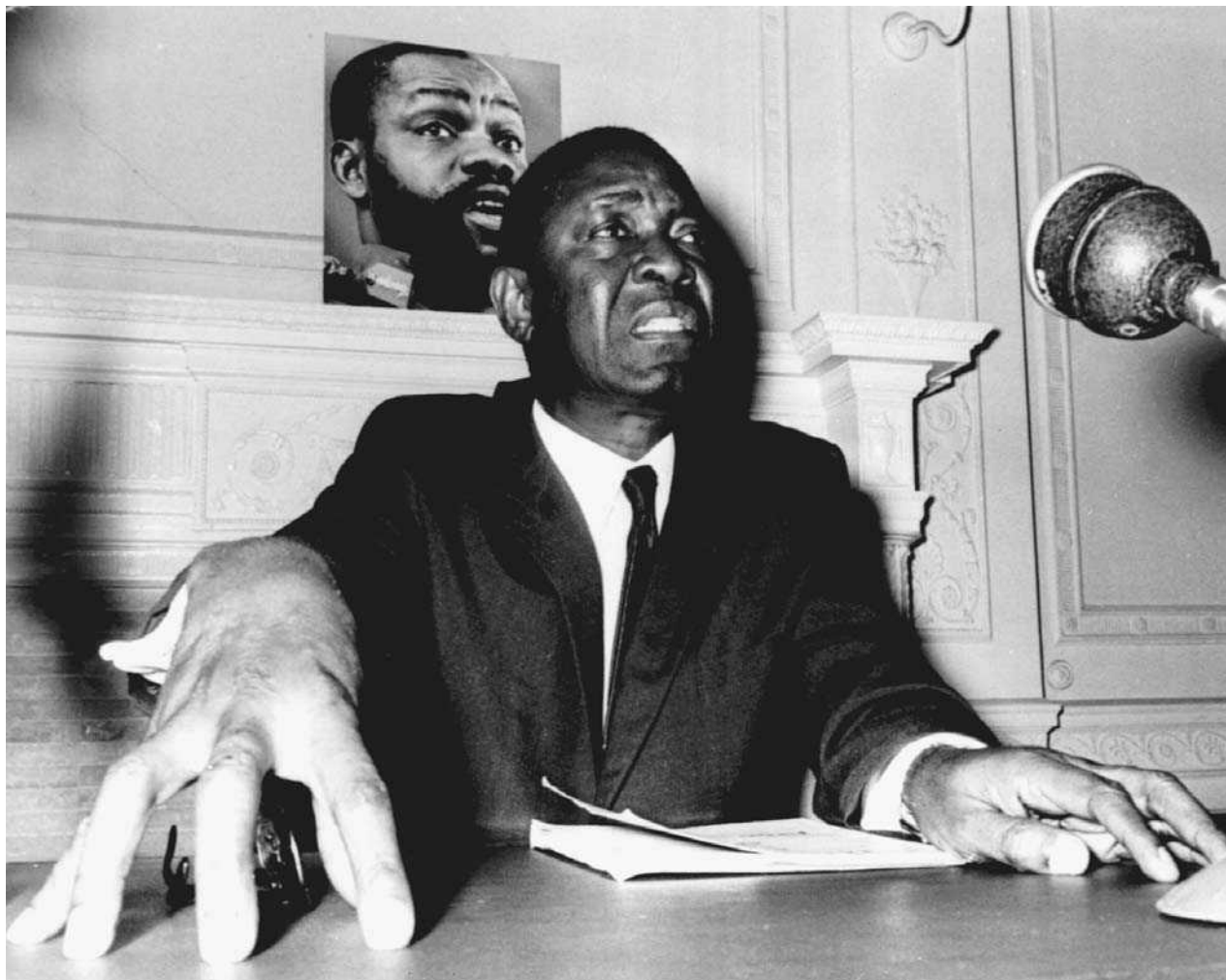
Nnamdi Azikiwe. *Nigerian statesman and nationalist leader Nnamdi Azikiwe answers questions at a news conference in London in August 1968. Azikiwe served as president of Nigeria from 1963 to 1966.* **AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

opposed to the moderates). These groups, however, had one thing in common: the unity of African states as a powerful force against neocolonialism and as a positive organization for African political, economic, and socio-cultural development. They differed on how this goal could be best achieved. Unfortunately, this division sometimes degenerated into incivility and name-calling. Self-designated moderates castigated self-designated progressives and radicals as "socialists," "communists," "militants," and "dictators;" and the so-called radicals dismissed the so-called moderates as "sluggards," "traditionalists," "feudalists," "stooges," and "agents of imperialism." Western ideological and intellectual divisions thus became major factors in the development of meganationalism.

Continental nationalism, epitomized by the OAU, was not isolated from these divisions. It is to the credit of meganationalism that the OAU was formed at all. The most important exponents of continental unity included Nigerian president Nnamdi Azikiwe (1904–1996, popularly called "Zik of Africa") and Kwame Nkrumah. The OAU charter, modeled on that of the UN charter, continues to guide the relationships between African states and between Africa and the rest of the world. It is a document remarkable for its tameness. It had to be so because it had to take into account the interests of mezzonationalism and the continent's international geopolitical imperatives.

The OAU suffered from other difficulties. It was handicapped by the economic and military relationships of some of its members with the former colonial rulers. In addition, the organization was torn by ideological differences within its ranks. And, in spite of the declaration of nonalignment and positive neutrality, by

nonaligned nations meeting in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 in an effort to stay out of the Cold War, there was a perplexing but, perhaps, understandable inconsistency in the postcolonial foreign policies of African states, especially during the Cold War, with moderates generally supporting the former colonial rulers and radicals generally supporting the socialist countries of Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

Biological nationalism is a form of nationalism that exhorts people, in the famous appeal of Prussian statesman Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) to the German people, to "think with your blood." The assumption is that consanguinal (blood) relationships, based on some vague common ancestry, should take precedence over other interests. So long as people have been imbued with that state of mind, it did not much matter how pure or watered down the blood is. Thus, proponents of settler nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and the Arab League—all expressions of biological nationalism—were appealing to their supporters to think with their "bloods."

The nationalism of Pan-Africanism and the Arab League (an organization of Middle Eastern Arabs and North African nations founded in March 1945) are discussed here in biological terms because of their emphasis on racial solidarity—Pan-Africanism perhaps more so than the Arab League. It is true that the formation of the OAU de-essentialized the racial factor, which has been its cornerstone, by limiting membership to independent African states. The result was the inevitable sidelining of black Africans in the diaspora, who founded and led the Pan-Africanist movement until the 1950s, and the inclusion of North Africans, who emphasize their cultural and consanguinal relationships with Arabia.

It was not surprising that the sixth Pan-African Congress, which met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in 1974, did not fare well. Since then, efforts to revive the movement have been unsuccessful. The new Pan-African movement, which aims to bring race back to the forefront and has produced what it calls its "Black Agenda," has largely been ignored. What is clear is that Pan-Africanism, whether of the old or new variety, faces a serious dilemma because of its inherent contradictions. First, it has failed to reconcile the tensions between the continental unity ideal and the demands and realities of national independence. Second, it has been unable to articulate how a movement in a continent comprising six different racial groups could be taken seriously if it is concerned with the interests of one race, which it purports to stand for the whole. Third, it has been unable to find a proper role for Africans in the diaspora all over the world, to whom the Pan-African movement genuinely wishes to appeal.

The Arab League, too, faces contradictions. First, it is estimated that about 70 percent of so-called Arabs inhabit the African continent and yet the focus of the Arab League is not Africa but the Middle East. Second, North Africa faces a major crisis of identity created largely by European colonialism. The Arab League's biological nationalism is, in part, a response to the European impact. But this crisis has become exacerbated as Arabism, Pan-Africanism, and Westernism compete for the allegiance of North Africans.

The third contradiction within the Arab League is the paradox represented by the Egyptian political leader Gamel Abdel Nasser (1918–1970). On the one hand, he contributed much toward the struggle for the independence of Africa; on the other hand, more than anyone before him, he emphasized the Arabness of Egyptians and of North Africans. Before Nasser, "Egyptians," writes Peter Mansfield, "did not regard Egypt as an Arab state at all" but as "primarily" and "African" state whose "interests … were localized in the northeast of the continent" (Mansfield, 1969 pp. 114-115). For Nasser's successors in Egypt, and for other North African leaders with the notable exception of Libya's Mu'ammar Gadhafi (b. 1942), Africa seems to be a gigantic footnote to their interests in the Middle East, their formal participation in African organizations as African states notwithstanding.

SUMMARY

To summarize, meganationalism, in all its manifestations, is basically a reaction against European domination and racism. With the regaining of independence, its anti-imperialistic rhetoric has become considerably moderated. The emphasis now is on the reinvention of Africa in such a way that it will achieve the ultimate goal of economic and political unity. Such unity will enable the continent to attain a level of economic growth, military strength, and intellectual achievement so that it can become a force for good in world affairs.

Mezzonationalism, too, has moderated its anti-imperialistic tone. But, having replaced the colonizers in government, the African leadership has become much burdened by its inheritance. Africa's leadership inadequacies, coupled with the mess left by the colonizers, has led African governments to pursue policies that have galvanized the forces of micronationalism, which are now threatening the corporate existence of many African countries. The conclusion, then, is that it is important to revisit the crucial role of micronationalism in the future political, economic, and sociocultural development of African countries. The new approach will no longer be premised on ethnicity as an unfortunate, backward-looking, and divisive force, but rather on its positive attributes, because diversity in unity is preferable to a nebulous and chaotic unity.

SEE ALSO *Anti-colonial Movements, Africa; Assimilation, Africa; Decolonization, Sub-Saharan Africa; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Pan-Africanism.*

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G. N. Uzoigwe

NATIVE AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS

In 1492 Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) set sail to find a western overseas passage to Asia and to carry the cause of Christendom to its far shores. When his ships reached what he thought was Asia he named the people he met *Indios* and reported that they were suitable to be commanded to work, plant, and support Spanish colonies. The people that Columbus brought into being, the Indians, however, did not really exist, for the people had their own ideas about whose land it was and what kind of people they were. In many ways the story of contact between Native Americans and Europeans involves the latter's attempts to subject the native people to their rule, whereas the former sought to maintain their own independence and integrity in the face of the invasion of the Americas.

Just two years after Columbus's landfall, the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) granted Portugal much of present-day Brazil and assigned Spain the remainder of the Americas. In the late 1490s and early 1500s adventurers, petty nobles, and plain folk left Spain to find their fortunes in the Caribbean. The islands of Cuba, Jamaica, and Hispaniola proved most attractive where local Arawaks and Tainos helped adapt the newcomers to their surroundings. But the Spaniards wanted gold and silver, not maize and cassava, so they forced the native people to dig for treasure they hoped would make them rich. Precious metals proved hard to find, however, and the native people suffered terribly.

Contact with the Arawaks and other nations prompted a wide-ranging debate in the Vatican and in the courts and universities of Spain. To questions about whether or not the so-called Indians were men or beasts,

The Indians Pour Molten Gold into the Mouths of the Christians. *This engraving, rendered in the 1590s by Theodor de Bry, was included in de Bry's edition of* La historia del mondo nuovo (The History of the New World) *by Girolamo Benzoni, originally published in 1565.* © STAPLETON COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) decreed in 1493 that they were capable of conversion to Christianity, and in 1537 the papal bull, *Sublimis deus*, asserted that they were rational people fully capable of understanding the Christian faith. Against popes and royal officials, however, any number of conquerors and landowners argued that native people were little better than animals suited only for hard labor on plantations and in mines.

Word of fabulous wealth to the west of Cuba spread. In 1519 Hernan Cortés (1484–1547) followed the rumors to the coast of present-day Mexico. He and his 400 soldiers marched inland and became embroiled in the politics of the city-state of Tenochtítlan, which, with the support of neighboring cities Texcoco and Tlacopan, governed much of modern Mexico through networks of trade and tribute. The arrival of Cortés, however, offered an opportunity to those leaders who chafed under Tenochtítlan's rule. Cortés exploited their intrigues ably and built for himself a powerful network of allies as he marched inland to challenge Tenochtítlan's ruler Moctezuma II (1466–1520).

On his arrival in Tenochtítlan Cortes seized Moctezuma and attempted to govern through him. To the crowds who feared that the gods had abandoned their great city, Moctezuma counseled patience. Cortés's efforts to smash local temples and to erect crosses to Jesus and the Virgin Mary, however, exacerbated tensions, and, after the Spaniards massacred a number of people at a holy celebration, the Mexicans attacked. Cortés sent Moctezuma out to calm the people but a

stone hurled from the crowd struck and killed him, leaving the Spaniards with neither their hostage nor any leverage. Cortés led his men through a harrowing retreat out of the city and into the arms of his allies in Tlaxcalan, and by the middle of 1521 Cortés was ready to return with Tlaxcalan's support. Meanwhile a smallpox epidemic had swept through Tenochtítlan and decimated the people. By August Cortés was in possession of the city and the vast networks of tribute and alliance that it commanded, and he doled out towns and territories to the soldiers who had served in his command and to his allies to maintain their support.

Taking his cues from Cortés, in 1532 Francisco Pizarro (1475–1541) took a small party of horsemen and foot soldiers from his base in Panama to invade the Incas, whose territory stretched 3,000 miles down South America's western edge. When the invaders arrived, the empire was in the throes of civil war because two men, Huascar (d. 1532) and Atahualpa (1502–1533), were battling to succeed Huayana Capac (d. 1535) as emperor, who stepped down in 1525. As they marched toward the Andes, Pizarro's troop received an invitation to meet with Atahualpa, who thought they might be useful in his struggle with Huascar. The meeting was tense. Some 40,000 Inca warriors surrounded the group of Spaniards. Sizing up the situation, Pizarro seized Atahaulpa in a bloody affray. For eight months Pizarro ruled the empire through Atahaulpa but ordered the emperor killed when word of a plot to overthrow the Spaniards reached his ears. Each side in the civil war sought to enlist Pizarro, and as the various ethnic groups that had been gathered under the empire sensed their opportunity to throw off the Inca yoke, they, too, turned to the Spanish for assistance. Like Cortés, Pizarro relied on the fractured and hierarchical political system of the people he faced to facilitate his conquest.

Just as Cortés inspired the conquest of Peru, so did his example drive the conquest of the Mayas. In 1527 one of Cortés's captains, Francisco de Montejo (1479–1553), landed on the Yucatan peninsula where Montejo ordered the ships destroyed to ensure the men's devotion to the conquest he was planning. Owing to the independence of the various Maya cities, there was no one leader for Montejo to capture or kill. Instead, it took years for the Spanish to prevail. Disease, famine, and drought, however, worked where warhorses and arquebuses did not, and in 1542 Maya resistance began to yield to the Spanish invasion.

Other conquistadores moved into what is today the southern United States. Francisco Vazquez de Coronado (1510–1554) set out in 1540 with several hundred men to find the golden cities of Cíbola, but instead he found fields of maize and people who were happy to send him

on his way with indications that Cíbola was just a little farther east. Coronado reached the grassy prairies of present-day Kansas before he realized there was no Cíbola and returned to Mexico in 1542. Hernando de Soto (1500–1542) had a similar experience in the American south when he landed in Florida in 1539 and spent the next few years searching in vain for precious metals and great cities like had been found in Mexico and Peru, only he died in 1542 as it dawned on him that his quest had been in vain.

The Spanish aspired to govern the peoples they conquered in ways that resembled the feudal order of Europe. The Crown organized settlers in what was called the republic of Spaniards, who enjoyed various rights of citizenship, property, and life, whereas beneath them lived and toiled the republic of Indians, who served as a kind of New World peasantry. Both Cortés and Pizarro relied on an institution known as the *encomienda* that enabled Spaniards to own a village's or several villages' labor and to command various levels of tribute in maize, cacao, cotton, or cattle and horses. The coercive and feudal aspects of the *encomienda*, however, had close analogues in the societies they had conquered. From the Incas to the people Coronado and Soto met, leaders appropriated tribute, typically either foodstuffs or more specialized prestige items, from the people they governed. Village leaders would then hand over a portion of their tribute to regional leaders who would then pass goods on to the highest leaders in the land. But if the notions of hierarchy and tribute that made Spanish and aboriginal notions of social organization and government remarkably similar, the coercive power of the Spanish was of an altogether different order.

While the Spanish created a hybrid feudal and aboriginal network of chiefly power and payment of tribute to rule their colonial societies, the Portuguese battered the aboriginal populations of Brazil into submission in order to enslave them. The process began in 1532 when the Portuguese established a permanent settlement called São Vicente. So long as the trade in tropical wood remained the primary meeting point between the invaders and the native people, relations were relatively cordial. But the Crown required that the colony pay its own way, so when the small fort was built so, too, was a sugar mill, and sugar cane brought from the Madeiras Islands was planted shortly thereafter.

From São Vicente a number of other settlements spread and by the mid-sixteenth century sugar plantations were Brazil's mainstay. In the absence of settlers willing to do the work and with African labor costing more than planters were willing to spend, landowners took on the Crown and the Vatican to argue for the right to enslave the native people. Under pressure to make a

Wars between Native Americans and Europeans in North America

War	Date
First Powhatan War	1609–1611
Second Powhatan War	1622
Pequot War	1636
Third Powhatan War	1644–1646
Apalachee 'Revolt'	1647
King Philip's War	1675
Bacon's Rebellion	1676
Pueblo 'Revolt'	1680
Franco-Iroquoian War	1690s
King Williamm's War	1689–1697
Queen Anne's War	1702–1713
Yamasee	1715
King George's War	1743–1748
French and Indian War	1754–1763
Pontiac's 'Rebellion'	1763

These wars, rebellions, and revolts constitute many of the important and well-known Euro-Indian conflicts. Euro-Amerindian conflict from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century was almost endemic. There were thousands of attacks, raids, rebellions, and wars during these centuries.

THE GALE GROUP.

profit, the Crown relented and thousands of people found themselves forced to toil in the sugar fields under pain of death. There was no accommodation of aboriginal governance and no respect for the nations' autonomy—only hard labor for the profit of the empire.

Fisherman's tales and the ongoing search for the passage to Asia led the French into the present-day St. Lawrence River in 1534. Instead of China Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) found a bustling trading fair at Tadoussac and important allies at a town called Stadacona. On a second voyage the following year he pushed further up the river to a series of dangerous rapids just past the town of Hochelaga, the site of present-day Montréal. He and his men wintered at Stadacona before returning to France to raise interest in founding a colony. The settlement Cartier founded near Stadacona in 1541 collapsed, however, because of cold and famine, and it would be a long time before the French braved the shores of the St. Lawrence.

When they did return some seventy years later, diseases had decimated the land. The aboriginal population was neither large enough nor concentrated enough to allow for a Spanish-style conquest. Instead, the French had to use trade with far-flung populations to build relationships and alliances. In 1603 various Algonquian-speaking peoples and their Huron trading partners agreed to make a place for Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635)

and the French, and they connected the French to a vast trade network that reached from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes to the Hudson Bay. In 1608 Champlain founded Québec where Stadacona had once stood to give the French a permanent foothold in the trade, and while the town succeeded as a trading post, it was less attractive as a destination for settlers.

The men who conducted the fur trade on behalf of France, the *coureurs de bois*, as well as the voyageurs, who transported the furs and other goods by canoe, extended the empire's reach up the network of lakes and rivers of the mid-continent. The good relations they cultivated with people enabled France to deploy small garrisons and settlements, such as outposts like Detroit and Michilimackinac on the Great Lakes and Cahokia and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi River, to secure their claims to the empire. At the same time Jesuit and Recollet missionaries followed the traders into the country to convert France's important trading partners to Catholicism. Indeed it was the fur trader Louis Jolliet (1645–1700) and the priest Jacques Marquette (1637–1675) who opened the Mississippi River to France in 1673 that made possible the settlement of Louisiana in 1699.

As in Canada, so in Louisiana, too, did French leaders adopt a policy of alliance with the native people. Pierre Le Moyne (1661–1706), *sieur d'Iberville*, founded Biloxi in 1699, and the friendships he crafted through exchange of gifts and ritual smoking of tobacco enabled the French to build outposts at Mobile, and, in 1718, New Orleans. The local people, too, saw advantages in their relationship with Iberville. English slave raiders who worked among the Chickasaws to the north had preyed on the Choctaws for years. When Iberville came and offered guns and ammunition, the Choctaws became fast friends of the French.

So long as the French settlements were confined to the coast and to New Orleans, the trade relationship effectively maintained a large system of alliances until the 1720s when the French sought to duplicate the tobacco plantation economy that was generating such profits in the English colonies. As settlers encroached upon land that belonged to the Natchez, the Natchez plotted to drive them back. The fatal blow came on November, 28 1729, when most of the area's settlers were killed. Some months later a small French force from New Orleans backed by a large party of Choctaw warriors arrived to find the Natchez huddled inside of two forts with a number of women and slaves that they had captured. Choctaws brokered a solution by convincing the Natchez to hand over the captives and allowing the Natchez to escape across the Mississippi River. Although the brief war spelled the end of the Natchez nation, French expansion in Louisiana also stalled.

While Champlain was founding Québec, the English were building a permanent colony in Virginia. The Powhatan nation saw in English cloth, tools, and guns a source of great power and sought to use gifts of food to enlist the English as allies. The Virginians, led by John Smith (1580–1631), in some ways accepted their new role and Smith became recognized as a Powhatan leader. The English, however, did not want to be partners; they wanted to be conquerors, and so what good relations had been built unraveled as settlers encroached on Powhatan land and abused the people.

The Powhatans struck back in the hopes of teaching the unruly settlers a lesson, and from 1610 to 1613 small raids and ambushes brought terror to the countryside. Things changed when the tobacco economy took off. The settlers began to seize land in earnest and to threaten Powhatan survival. In response a war leader named Opecancanough (1554–1644) organized an uprising that aimed to drive the English back into the sea. On March 22, 1622, his warriors killed nearly 500 settlers, one quarter of the settler population, and over the following year took another 500 lives. The English responded by using trade to forge alliances with nearby nations and by burning Powhatan towns and fields, ambushing the people, and cutting off all contact. For ten years the hostilities simmered and ended only with Opecancanough's recognition of English power.

Lessons learned in Jamestown made English colonization different from both the hierarchical policies of the Spanish and the strategy of trade and alliance-building developed by the French. Instead, the English, while always maintaining trading relationships, preferred to prevent any kind of social connection. Where both the Spanish and the French recognized native people as members of their colonial societies, to the English such people were always undesirable outsiders, and it was the English who developed what we know today as the reservation where they isolated native people from the flow of colonial life.

The English experience in New England offers the clearest example of their exclusionary policies. A local Wampanoag leader named Massasoit (d. 1661) enlisted the newcomers on his side against his native rivals, and he provided them with maize and other food to get them through the first winters. In spite of the Puritan governors' official policies of drawing stark boundaries between settlers and native people, trade ties laced across the countryside to tie all kinds of people together in relationships, some of which, particularly in the 1630s and 1640s when immigrants from England flooded the countryside, ended in violence.

The Pequots were the first to feel the crushing tide of settlers and the colony's leaders were anxious to make war on a people they saw as in league with the devil.
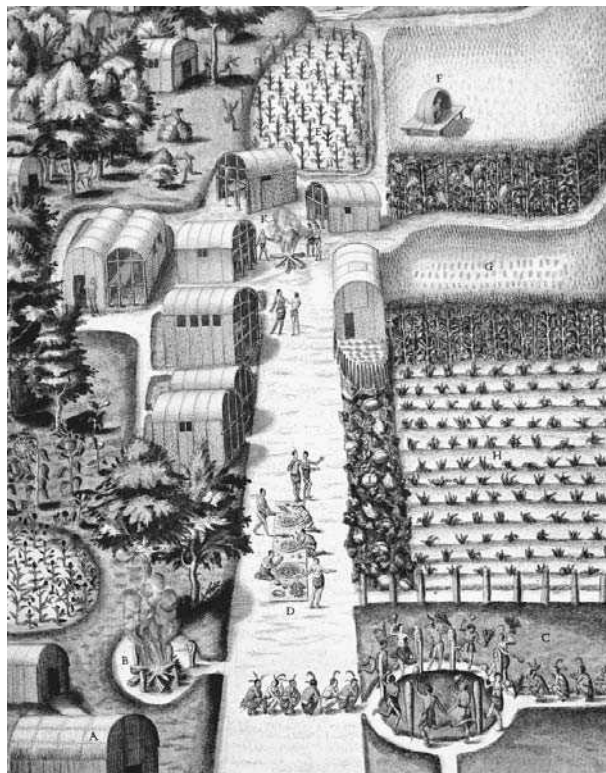
The Town of Secota. *This engraving of Secota, Powhatan town in present-day Virginia, was rendered by Theodor de Bry and published in 1590. The image is based on a watercolor by John White, an early European settler in Virginia.* © **ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

When a trader turned up dead, the governor accused the Pequots of the murder and dispatched a small force to kill every male Pequot they could find. After the force returned to Boston, the Pequots struck back and killed nine settlers. Narragansetts and Mohegans, who thought they could improve their standing in the Puritans' eyes by fighting on their side, helped the colonials surround the main Pequot town in May 1637. While the warriors launched fire arrows into the roofs of the homes, the settlers shot down all who fled the flames. At the end of the day nearly 1,000 Pequots lay dead. The New Englanders rounded up what few survivors they could find and sold them into slavery in the West Indies.

Expansion continued apace and threatened the land of those who had formerly fought for the Puritans. Metacom (1639–1676), whose father Massasoit had originally helped the settlers get on their feet, regretted the loss of land and the abuse that he saw happening to the Wampanoags and Narragansetts. After three Wampanoags were hanged on charges of murder in 1675, Metacom, or King Philip as he was known to the colonists, ordered a series of retaliatory raids. Farms

burned and families perished before militias from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island surrounded Metacom's town. Other defeats followed, Metacom was killed and dismembered, and the survivors were again sold into slavery.

The wars of conquest that characterized the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of course, did not mean that all first nations came under European control right away. Indeed, the different patterns of colonization followed by the Spanish, the French, and the English, and the different patterns of resistance offered by native people across the Americas meant that free native communities experienced quite different histories depending on where they were located. In Mexico, for example, the Yaquis, who lived near the Zacatecas silver mines of northern Mexico, struggled to balance their place in the republic of Indians with their own desire for autonomy and independence. In the aftermath of a devastating smallpox epidemic, they asked Jesuits to settle among them in the 1620s. The priests reorganized the Yaquis and concentrated what had been eighty scattered settlements into eight principal villages. But Jesuit control of surplus agricultural produce spurred many Yaquis to migrate abroad in search of work in the mines or on ranches. In 1740 a rebellion against the Jesuits and those Yaquis who worked closely with the Spanish was crushed, but the continuing exodus of Yaquis from the villages caused the Crown to expel the Jesuits in 1767 and restore to the Yaquis a measure of self-government and independence.

French losses in European wars meant that the English often confronted native people who were unaccustomed to the harsher nature of English colonization. After the Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of Spanish Succession in 1713, England obtained from France what is today Nova Scotia. A subsequent treaty granted the Mi'kmaq people rights to use the land while at the same time making them subjects of the Crown. The presence of the French in Canada, however, enabled the Mi'kmaq to have access to firearms and supplies, and so rather than conquer them as they had done to native people elsewhere on the continent, the English sought trade ties with the native people that were orderly and mutually beneficial. The more tolerant approach taken by the English in this case reflected both the power of the Mi'kmaq as well as the perpetuation of a French-style model of contact and coexistence.

In the present-day United States, the English pattern of exclusion and isolation continues unabated. Whereas some nations took up arms to fight the United States, particularly under the leadership of the Shawnee war leader Tecumseh (1768–1813) in the early nineteenth century, the Cherokees sought to accommodate the demands of Euroamerican culture in order to make a safe place for themselves. After becoming dependent on the deerskin trade and losing land to settlers, the Cherokees invited missionaries to build schools so that their children could learn to read and write to better defend the nation's interests. Leaders also reformed the nation's laws to bring them into conformity with Anglo-American norms, and in 1827 a Cherokee constitution modeled in part on the federal constitution created an elected assembly, a supreme court, and an elected executive officer. Such changes enhanced the Cherokee's ability to resist their expulsion from their homeland in northern Georgia and eastern Tennessee, and their victory in a U.S. Supreme Court case in 1832 offered hope that they would retain a measure of their sovereignty. The federal government, however, pursued its plans to remove the Cherokees to Oklahoma, which it accomplished in 1839.

In some ways what happened to the Cherokees in 1839 was analogous to what happened to the Incas in 1532. Contact and colonization were ongoing processes that, while varying from time to time and from place to place, often ended in similar ways. But it is important to recognize the differences, for just as there were no real Indios to greet Columbus, it is also difficult to generalize about the very complicated history of contact between native people and Europeans in the Americas.

SEE ALSO *Encomienda.*

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James Taylor Carson

NEGRITUDE

Negritude is an African diasporic, self-affirming idea that evolved into an artistic and cultural movement and later became a lightening rod for controversy and ideological disputes. The (re)valorization of the black world, the affirmation of the humanity of black people, and the glorification of the richness of black culture had antecedents in the works of earlier thinkers and scholars such as Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912), Martin Delany (1812–1885), and W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), and writers of the Harlem Renaissance such as Claude McKay (1890–1948) and Langston Hughes (1902–1967), who reclaimed "blackness" with pride, reinvested it with positive meanings, and rejected the negativity heaped on it by racism, slavery, colonialism, and imperialism.

The strong argument for a rethinking and revaluing of black identity and culture grew in the nineteenth century among black intellectuals and precursors of black nationalism and Pan-Africanism, such as Blyden, who were responding to the biological racism of European writers and philosophers, such as G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) from Germany, that placed blacks outside of historical progress and development.

The redefinition of black identity and the celebration of black heritage picked up steam early in the last century and jelled into a cultural movement of the 1920s, the Harlem Renaissance, which grew in New York City but had a profound impact beyond the United States, particularly in the Caribbean and Europe, where it fueled the activities of a group of young black students from the colonies. A member of the group, Aimé Césaire (b. 1913) of Martinique, wrote a dissertation on the Harlem Renaissance.

Post–World War I (1914–1918) Europe witnessed a gathering of blacks from the French Caribbean and West Africa who fought alongside French and African-American soldiers in World War II (1939–1945). In the early 1930s, they founded journals and other publications as outlets for their political, cultural, and artistic works—the moderate, proassimilationist *Revue du monde noir* (Review of the Black World, 1931) was followed three years later by the radical, antiassimilationist, and proliberation review, *L'Etudiant noir* (The Black Student), founded by Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001) of Senegal, and others.

These activities morphed into a cultural and artistic movement of reaffirmation of black identity and heritage that took its name, *negritude*, from Césaire's 1939 poem "Cahier d'un retour au pays natal" (Notebook of a Return to My Native Land). Césaire's conceptualization of the term *negritude* was imbued with the historical context of a black world whose unity is "measured by the compass of suffering." But as the movement evolved,
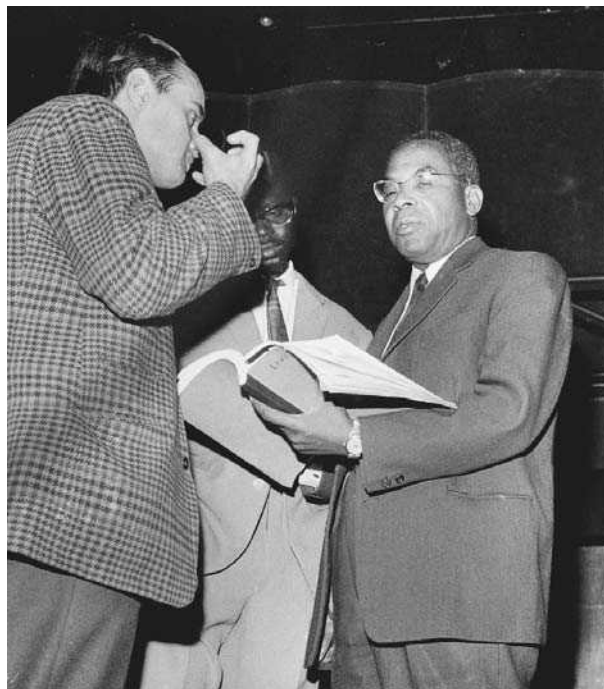
Aimé Césaire. The Martinican writer and politician attends a rehearsal of his 1966 play Une saison au Congo (A Season in the Congo) *in Paris in October 1967.* ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

some of its proponents invested the concept with new meanings. Senghor for one gave the concept an ontological base that is anchored in black essences. The biologism that was injected into the concept caught on with French intellectuals and artists who championed African art and culture, in particular Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), whose preface to Senghor's 1948 poetry collection presented negritude thinking as the black man's descent into self in search of essences.

Senghor's ontological positioning of the idea of negritude became even more controversial when he went further to engage in a comparative analysis that assigned emotion to the black man and reason to Europe. This racialized dichotomy earned Senghor some criticism from black Francophone intellectuals and writers (e.g., Stanislas Adotevi) that became even more acerbic in the writings of intellectuals from Anglophone Africa, including Nigerian author Wole Soyinka (b. 1934), South African author Ezekiel Mphahlele (b. 1919), and others.

SEE ALSO *Assimilation; Decolonization, Sub-Saharan Africa; Nationalism, Africa; Pan-Africanism.*

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Obioma Nnaemeka

NEOCOLONIALISM

Neocolonialism is what the Marxist theorist and economist Harry Magdoff called quite simply "imperialism without colonies" (1972, p. 144). It has also been referred to as "informal imperialism," "the imperialism of free trade," and particularly in the context of Latin American history, "dependency." Neocolonialism can generally be defined as the ability of a powerful state to secure economic, strategic, and other benefits from a weaker state without possessing or directly governing it in any formal, legal, or institutional form as a colony.

The concept of neocolonialism has been widely employed since the 1970s in historiography to describe and explain the policies and behavior, primarily, of Great Britain and the United States in specific parts of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From the time of its invention in the 1950s, however, this historical concept has been and remains controversial among scholars of imperialism and colonialism. Those who adopt the concept of neocolonialism believe it is useful in explaining an apparent anomalous historical development: that the essential characteristics of imperialism can exist without possession and control of a territorial empire. Critics of the concept, on the other hand, argue that there is an important difference between territorial colonialism and the political and economic influence or even dominance of a strong state over a weaker one. "Informal imperialism" creates more problems than it solves," writes Winfred Baumgart. "If subjected to logic it creates no clear border line. It is synonymous with any form of dependence and it is therefore unacceptably vague" (1982, p. 6).

Reference to any asymmetrical relationship between a strong and a weak state using the terminology of imperialism since the mid-twentieth century has more polemical than descriptive power. For some time now, Western colonialism has been widely assumed to be, and depicted as, morally wrong and evil in academic and popular literature, as well as in documentaries for television and in feature films. Those scholars, political activists, and statesmen who have employed the term *neocolonialism* during the past several decades have been, for the most part, ideological radicals influenced by the strong theoretical currents of Marxism, structuralism, dependency, and postcolonialism more than their critics who have followed a more empirical approach.

There was scattered criticism of British and American "exploitation" and "bullying" in securing trade agreements, taking over important sectors of the national economy, and cozying up with or strong-arming local elites and their governments in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The related ideas of neocolonialism, informal empire, and dependency emerged in academic and political discourse in the era of decolonization after World War II (1939–1945). It is interesting to note that while these ideas and concepts appeared almost simultaneously during the postwar era of decolonization, they actually developed in isolation of one another, from different historiographical and theoretical traditions.

INFORMAL IMPERIALISM

Let us begin with the British and the concept of *informal imperialism.* By the early-to-mid nineteenth century, the British state possessed the military power and financial resources to seize, conquer, or annex more territories and peoples and expand its already worldwide colonial empire. In a number of different cases, however, British statesmen opposed the assumption of new colonial annexations. John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson in their seminal article "The Imperialism of Free Trade," published in 1953, challenged the mid-Victorian view that the new policy that favored trade over rule was anti-imperialist. Gallagher and Robinson argued that although the means may have changed, the ends were the same. For the British state and merchants, the rule was: "Trade with informal control if possible; trade with rule when necessary" (Gallagher and Robinson 1953, p. 13).

H. S. Ferns (1953) and later Peter Winn (1976) adopted this model to demonstrate Britain's "informal empire in Argentina and Uruguay. The Gallagher and Robinson model stimulated considerable interest and research regarding British influence in many parts of the world. With respect to China, D. K. Fieldhouse noted that the two Opium Wars of the nineteenth century were excellent examples of the imperialism of free trade. These wars demonstrated that "where economic considerations were allowed to predominate and where an indigenous political structure could provide the essential framework of order, economic forces did not necessarily lead to formal empire" (1973, pp. 476–477). Robinson and Gallagher (1961/1981) directed their research to Africa and the Victorians and explained, this time, how the British imposed formal rule on territories

that previously had been under informal control. Their argument, in this case, was strategic rather than economic. The British Crown sought to protect the routes to India round the Cape and through the Suez Canal.

In the nineteenth century, Great Britain was the "superpower" of the age. In 1815 the British state had concluded a "hundred years' war" with France over the balance of power in Europe, control of North America, maritime supremacy in the Atlantic, and more. By mid-century, the British Empire had some 40,000 British troops stationed in India and a force of 200,000 Indians in arms. The British Indian army was deployed not only in India and Afghanistan, but also in garrisons from the Red Sea to China. The total strength of the British army in 1848 was only 130,000 men. This meant that in most colonies, local settlers and natives were recruited into military service to man the posts in Quebec, New Zealand, Cape Town, Jamaica, and Peshawar on the Northwest Frontier.

Also by midcentury, the British Royal Navy had 129 warships serving exclusively its foreign stations and guarding the world's main shipping routes. This overseas navy was divided into seven squadrons for the key regions necessary to dominate the high seas: North America, South America, the West Indies, the East Indies, Gibraltar, Cape Colony, and West Africa. By the nineteenth century the Royal Navy had expanded its responsibilities to not only protect British merchant shipping but the merchant marine of all peaceful countries. British warships escorted unarmed trading ships through war-torn regions and during the 1860s cleared out the pirates in the China Sea. In 1851 the Royal Navy had bases at Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Bombay, Trincomalee, Seychelles, Mauritius, Calcutta, Singapore, Hong Kong, Sidney, the Sandwich Islands, Valparaiso (Chile), the Falkland Islands, Cape Town, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Ascension, Trinidad, Jamaica, Antigua, Bermuda, Halifax, and Newfoundland.

The first steam-powered battleship ever built was a Royal Navy ship put into service in 1844. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Royal Navy created ironclad steam-powered battleships with enormous guns and self-propelled torpedoes, true behemoths—*Warrior* (1860), *Devastation* (1871), *Inflexible* (1875), *Dreadnought* (1879), and dozens more with names like *Invincible, Indomitable,* and *Indefatigable.* The designer of the *Inflexible* wrote: "Imagine a floating castle which the progress of invention in artillery has finally driven us to resort to" (quoted in Herman 2004, p. 459). This navy did indeed rule the waves and police that era's new world order.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the British superpower, particularly in the first decades following the defeat of France, used its military and

commercial power and influence for a number of purposes. One of these was to bring an end to the Atlantic slave trade. Britain abolished its own trade in slaves in 1807, and after the defeat of Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) at Waterloo, Belgium, in 1815, Britain exercised its considerable influence in trade treaties with Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and other countries to reduce or end their slave trades. These treaties generally gave the British Royal Navy the right to enforce the terms of the treaties. As a result, warships were maintained on the African coast and in the West Indies to inspect cargo ships suspected of carrying slaves. In the 1830s Britain abolished slavery in its American plantations and liberated more than 600,000 Africans and New World blacks. The British abolition influenced the French, who freed the slaves in their Caribbean colonies, Martinique and Guadeloupe, in 1848.

Lord Palmerston (Henry John Temple, 1784–1865), as foreign secretary in the 1830s and 1840s and prime minister of Britain from 1855 to 1865, endeavored to shut down the Atlantic slave trade, bring an end to human slavery, and open the world's markets to free trade for the benefit of both Great Britain and, he believed, the less fortunate peoples of the world. Palmerston, and "Palmerstonianism," accepted the idea that commerce was more important, and more moral, than colonialism. When he rejected the annexation of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in the 1840s, Palmerston declared: "all we want is trade and land is not necessary for trade; we can carry on commerce very well on ground belonging to other people" (quoted in Lynn 1999, p. 108).

Palmerston, however, was not opposed to the annexation of new colonies when they were deemed necessary. The Palmerstonian approach is clearly what historians have in mind when they refer to the "imperialism of free trade." Under Palmerston, British consuls, goods, investments, merchant colonies, fashions, and even sports became influential in Latin America, the Ottoman Empire, West Africa, Persia, and China. British cultural influence expanded significantly when more than twenty-two million English, Welsh, Irish, and Scottish men and women left home between 1815 and 1914 and sailed for the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, Egypt, and who knows where.

The British state and statesmen took actions in the hope of economic gain, strategic advantage, and moral progress without knowing the long-term outcome of their endeavors. The nineteenth-century British superpower sought economic penetration and political influence not only in the new nation-states of Latin America but in the crumbling empires of the Ottomans and the Chinese, and the generally weak and divided coastal

states of tropical Africa. The British exercised more power in these regions, particularly in Egypt, which became a protectorate due to the strategic significance of the Suez Canal.

Britain, the first power to do so, followed by France, Germany, Russia, Japan, the United States, and Italy, established a system of international treaties, which the Chinese called *capitulations*, that opened specific Chinese ports to foreign trade, imposed a free-trade regime at these ports, and gave foreigners legal privileges and immunities in these ports. By 1878 there were six so-called treaty ports in China. The treaty port system did not fully open the interior of China to foreign trade, and thus the promise of an unquenchable market was never realized. The system did encourage China to promote industrialization in the 1890s, and it fueled the fire of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Humiliation at the hands of foreigners promoted nationalism and revolution and finally led to the abrogation of the treaties in 1943. Compared to Latin America, British trade with China by the late nineteenth century, and with the Ottoman Empire and tropical Africa, was a pittance.

This first age of commercial and financial globalization was made possible, to a considerable extent, because of the Pax Britannica, a long peace supervised by a great power willing to sustain a stable and open international order using its military and financial resources. As a result, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the volume of world trade more than doubled. During the second half, the volume of world trade increased by a factor of ten times. In 1827 Britain exported £50 million (British pounds) in goods, most of which went to the United States and western Europe. Four decades later the value of British exports had reached £180 million (with about £50 million going to the "captive markets" of the British Empire—India, Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Singapore, and New Zealand). In the new age of globalization, Britain sold more of its cottons, woolens, and steam engines to the "free markets" of the United States, Europe, and Latin America. Britain's largest customer was still the United States at £22 million. Latin America purchased £12 million worth of goods, while tropical Africa imported less than £9 million.

By 1890 Great Britain had more registered shipping tonnage than the rest of the world combined. By 1913 the total value of British commerce was £1,294 million, with £525 million in exports and £769 in imports. On the eve of World War I (1914–1918), Great Britain had a nominal trade imbalance quite contrary to the economic nostrums of the day, which demanded that industrial nations export their surplus manufactures and maintain a trade surplus in order to avoid the perils of overproduction, declining profits and wages, labor

unrest, and worse. One is reminded of the persistent trade imbalances of the present-day superpower, the United States, and the heretical idea that free trade regimes may over time be more likely to promote world development (however unevenly) at the expense of tax-payers, workers, and consumers at home.

Latin America offers an excellent testing ground for the arguments for and against "informal imperialism." After Gallagher and Robinson's groundbreaking article in 1953, a number of scholars focused on making the case of Britain's informal empire in Latin America and in specific countries of Latin America. In the nineteenth century, British consuls, merchants, financiers, and others invaded the ports and backlands of Latin America. A flood of cheap British textiles in the 1820s, it is claimed, destroyed the infant industrialization of the region. British exports to Latin America increased from £5 million in the 1840s to £55 million by 1913. (British imports from Latin America, primarily basic foodstuffs, fibers, and minerals, were valued at £76 million in 1913, or nearly 140 percent the value of Britain's exports.) British investment in Latin America increased from £30 million in 1826 to over £80 million by 1865 and £1,180 in 1913. These monies built railroads, docks and warehouses, processing plants, public utilities, and refurbished mines.

Gallagher and Robinson and the "informal imperialism" thesis pursued by other historians was quickly subsumed in a scholarly dispute that has continued to this day under different terms and concepts. H. S. Ferns (1960), a Canadian historian who at first embraced "informal imperialism" as a model for Latin America, turned around a few years later in a research monograph to argue that Great Britain did not have the power to force Argentina to pay a debt, or a dividend, or to export or import any particular commodity. The commercial relationship between Argentina and Great Britain, Ferns concluded, resembled one of mutual advantage more than informal imperialism.

Ferns and other historians of Argentina demonstrated that that country had the most diversified exports and sustained a high level of export expansion, which translated into national economic growth for several decades. By 1913 Argentina was the wealthiest country in Latin America (as measured by per capita gross national income) and one of the wealthiest countries in the world with a real income higher than Austria-Hungary, Finland, Portugal, and Italy. The countries of Latin America that participated most intensely in the international economy—Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba, and Chile—also had the highest national incomes.

Thirteen other Latin American countries also adopted similar export-led growth models, but these

economies produced modest, and in a number of cases quite poor, results in terms of growth and development. The problem is often attributed to the failure of the model, which in turn is portrayed as the critical element of Latin America's era of neocolonialism. It is difficult to escape from the conclusion, writes economic historian Victor Bulmer-Thomas, "that any model adopted by the thirteen countries … would have shown a poor rate of return. Political instability, administrative incompetence, poor transport systems, lack of capital, shortages of labor, and the small sizes of internal markets would have overwhelmed any conceivable alternative to export-led growth in the nineteenth century" (Bulmer-Thomas 1994, p. 153).

MARXIST THEORIES OF NEOCOLONIALISM

Also beginning in the 1950s, another approach to neocolonialism appeared, this time in the literature of the scholarly and activist left. The Marxist economist Paul Baran (1957) argued for the first time in Marxist literature that the capitalism of the advanced industrial countries was responsible for the impoverishment of the third world. Contrary to the analysis of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), as well as that of V. I. Lenin (1870–1924), Baran proposed that poverty was not the inevitable condition of human beings, but had been introduced into the third world by capitalism via colonialism and neocolonialism.

As Harry Magdoff (1972) would note later, a common feature of all Marxist approaches is the understanding that imperialism survived decolonization intact. Unlike the "informal imperialism" thesis, which focused on the power of the imperial state to control or favorably influence trade, the Marxist theory of neocolonialism assumes that imperial control continues through foreign (capitalist) investment. Thus when we look at mid-to-late nineteenth-century Latin America, British and then U.S. investment in railroads facilitated the production and exchange of primary products—unprocessed raw materials and foodstuffs—transported to port cities, and not the creation of an integrated national market. The "insidious" aspect of foreign investment, from the Marxist point of view, is its seductive appeal to local elites to remake their values to conform to those of the capitalist investors, entrepreneurs, and merchants from Britain and the United States.

The prominent African anticolonialist leader, Marxist theorist, and first president of independent Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), applied the concept of neocolonialism to independent Africa in his book of the same name in 1965. "The result of neocolonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than the development of the less developed parts of the world," wrote Nkrumah. "Investment under neocolonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world" (1965, p. x).

DEPENDENCY THEORY

By the 1960s and 1970s, a third model of neocolonialism had appeared in the scholarly literature. This model came to be called *dependency theory,* a sweeping historical and analytical explanation of economic development and underdevelopment that derived from the structuralist theories elaborated by Raúl Prebisch (1901–1986), who headed the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America in the 1940s and 1950s. In contrast to the idea of informal imperialism (which charged that control of trade was more important than control of territory) and contrary to the Marxist notion of "imperialism without colonies" (which held that capitalist investment was the instrument for enriching the industrial countries and impoverishing all of the rest), dependency theory claimed a radical inheritance from Marxism but focused the neocolonial connection on patterns of unequal trade.

The Spanish and the Portuguese in their colonial empires in the Americas first set the pattern of unequal trade through mercantilist decrees and monopoly trading systems that required their American colonies to produce and export primary products, luxury foodstuffs, and minerals in exchange for more valuable manufactured goods from Europe. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Great Britain, and increasingly the United States, replaced the old colonial powers and dominated Latin American markets. Although the commercial relationship was less than grand in the first half of the nineteenth century, business picked up during the last several decades of the century. Latin American countries, as a result of the rise of stable governments and collaborating elites, the growth of foreign demand, increased foreign investment, and the ability of Latin American producers to increase production of coffee, sugar, wool, cotton, nitrates, copper, and more, became part of the new globalized world order of the late nineteenth century. Latin America's role was to produce primary commodities for the factories and consumers of the industrialized countries of western Europe and the United States and, in turn, to purchase the manufactured goods of these nations and indefinitely put off their own industrialization.

It is difficult to find a textbook on Latin American history today without the obligatory chapter or section on "neocolonialism." Benjamin Keen's perennial *A History of Latin America* (5th ed., 1996) has long had a chapter entitled "The Triumph of Neocolonialism," which refers to the era 1870 to 1914. John Charles

Chasteen, in his concise history of Latin America, *Born in Blood and Fire* (2nd ed., 2006), calls his chapter on the period 1870 to 1930 simply "Neocolonialism." These textbook authors, and many others, employ dependency analysis, Marxist theory, and informal imperialism explanations in their narratives regarding how "despite many transformations, neither Latin America's subordinate relationship to European countries nor its basic social hierarchy—created by colonialism—had changed" (Chasteen 2001, p. 180).

Neocolonialism, the unhealthy alliance between foreign governments, financiers, merchants, and entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and collaborating Latin American governing officials, bureaucrats, landowners, and military officers (the so-called comprador elites) on the other, is given as the explanation for all the ills of late nineteenth-century Latin American societies: that is, authoritarian dictatorships or presidencies; small, powerful oligarchies; latifundia and the decline of peasant landholding; the rise of debt servitude and the decay of the standard of living for most rural families; and national economies tied to one or two commodity exports that were vulnerable to fluctuations, and therefore the cycles of boom and bust that most national economies suffered during the age of the "neocolonial order."

Dependency theory was popular and influential in academia and in progressive activist circles in the 1970s and 1980s. During this same period, critics of the approach went to the archives and tested the theory. Over time, in books and articles, the key components of dependency theory were undermined and discredited. "Once the disjuncture between radical theories and archival realities became evident," writes Rory Miller, "historians found themselves in a cul-de-sac" (1999, p. 446). An almost discouraged Florencia E. Mallon asked: "What is a progressive scholar to do? If we continue to commit to emancipatory, bottom-up analysis and yet can no longer simply ride one of our various Marxist or Marxian horses into the sunset, what are the alternatives?" (1994, p. 1491). The alternative she suggested, and one that many have taken up in Latin American studies, is *postcolonialism* and a turn from the political and economic to all things cultural. Thus, in a recent collection of essays, Gilbert M. Joseph notes that "today, with theories of imperialism and dependency under attack and the once-discredited diffusionist model recycled (yet again) in 'neoliberal' form by the managers of the 'New World Order,' Latin Americanists across a variety of disciplines and a new generation of historians of U.S. foreign relations (once known as 'diplomatic historians') are challenged to study the region's engagement with the United States in innovative ways" (Joseph et al. 1998, p. 4).

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Scholars and political activists have viewed and studied Great Britain and the United States quite differently through the prism of neocolonialism. The most striking difference between the two powerful modern nation-states and their histories is that Great Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had a vast colonial empire and exercised what some scholars and anticolonial leaders believed was and is "informal imperialism" through unequal treaties, investments, powerful consuls, the threat and occasional use of gunboats, and so on. The United States, on the other hand, despite picking up a few scattered islands at the end of the nineteenth century, never followed the western European model in creating a serious and substantial overseas colonial empire. The question for scholars, progressives, and radical activists, then, was not about "informal imperialism" (a concept invented specifically for Britain to contrast "informal colonies" from formal colonies). Since the United States did not have a real colonial empire, the question was more fundamental regarding the nature of the United States. Was the United States an empire or not?

The United States was created in an anticolonialist revolution in 1776 against the British Empire, and American statesmen and public opinion have long expressed anticolonial sentiments. In *The Federalist*, Alexander Hamilton (1755/57–1804) noted that:

> The world may politically, as well as geographically, be divided into four parts, each having a distinct set of interests. Unhappily for the other three, Europe, by her arms and by her negotiations, by force and by fraud, has, in different degrees, extended her dominions over them all. Africa, Asia, and America, have successively felt her domination. The superiority she has long maintained has tempted her to plume herself as the Mistress of the World, and to consider the rest of mankind as created for her benefit. (Hamilton 1787)

But no longer, proclaimed Hamilton, would this stand. "Let Americans disdain to be the instruments of European greatness!"

During the nineteenth century, the United States was an expansionist, and at times aggressive, state that acquired contiguous territory within the continental boundaries of North America. American constitutional law provided for the full and equal incorporation of new territorial acquisitions, thus continental expansion did not create western colonies but, in time, new self-governing states with representation in Congress and full citizenship for their settler population. This continental expansion was imperial if not colonial. The American state

used military force, bribes, and other means to defeat and remove the indigenous peoples from their lands and resettle them on much smaller and poorer "reservations." From 1835 to 1836, American settlers to the Mexican province of Tejas (in fact, Coahuila y Tejas) rebelled, defeated the Mexican Army, and established the breakaway Lone Star Republic. Ten years later, an American president annexed Texas and used a border incident to invade and defeat Mexico and annex nearly one-half of its national territory, the most important being the fertile valleys, gold fields, and seaports of California.

When presented with opportunities for overseas annexations, the United States generally turned away, with the early exception of Alaska, which was considered a "folly" at the time. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, as the United States began to grow into an economic powerhouse, American capital investment began to increase in Mexico, Cuba and other Caribbean countries, Central America, and Colombia. American-financed railroads reaching into Mexico brought American merchants, manufactures, planters, settlers, and missionaries to Mexico, and, in turn, they carried Mexican cattle, copper, cotton, silver, coffee, rubber, and much more to the United States. By 1910 Americans owned 130 million acres in Mexico, or 27 percent of the land.

The Mexican petroleum industry was dominated by two foreign interests, the California oilman Edward Doheny (1856–1935), who brought in Texas oilmen and Standard Oil, and the British oil magnate Weetman Pearson (1856–1927). Mexico's primary export industry, mining, by the early twentieth century was in the hands of American and British investors. Americans held over 80 percent of the capital in the mining industry and owned outright seventeen of the thirty-one largest mining enterprises in the country. British investors held nearly 15 percent of the total capital and operated ten of the largest mines. "By 1910 more than 40,000 Americans resided in Mexico" (Hart 2002, p. 272). By 1913 total U.S. investment in Latin America had reached $1.6 billion, which was still far below total British investment in the region at $5 billion.

In 1898—America's "imperial moment"—the administration of President William McKinley (1843–1901) responded to a bloody crisis in Cuba, went to war with Spain, and seized Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Spanish Philippines. A great debate immediately ensued between "imperialists" and "anti-imperialists" in Congress, the press, and across the United States regarding what course the country should take. The imperialists argued that history had determined that all great nations were imperial states and needed colonies like Cuba for resources, markets, the outward thrust of power, and so on. The anti-imperialists claimed that overseas colonization was anti-American, and on the key issue, Cuba, they won. The U.S. Congress voted to give the Cuban people their independence after a short military occupation. Congress in 1898 also annexed the Hawaiian Islands, and President McKinley determined that the Philippine people were not ready for self-government. In 1903 the United States obtained the rights to build and defend a canal across the new nation-state of Panama, which became the most important strategic point in the defense of the United States.

Over the next thirty years the United States intervened repeatedly in the internal affairs of Caribbean and Central American nations in an attempt to maintain peace and order, collect international debts, prevent European intervention, protect American business interests, promote democracy and good government, and—incidentally—improve public health and sanitation. Several countries, such as Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, became protectorates, were occupied by the U.S. Marines for years at a time, and had their armies and national guards trained and created by the United States from which, in some cases, presidents and dictators often arose.

These "Yanqui [Yankee] Years" (1898–1933) have often been pointed to as America's "imperial detour." By the 1920s, with Latin American governments increasingly critical and angry, and the Republican governments of the decade coming to realize that military interventions were expensive but did not really create any kind of long term stability, the U.S. State Department issued the Clark Memorandum in 1930. This statement, prepared by Undersecretary of State Joshua Reuben Clark Jr. (1871–1961), repudiated the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine of 1905, which declared that only the United States could enforce the collection of debts owed to foreigners in the Western Hemisphere. At the same time, the Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) administration began to withdraw troops from Nicaragua and Haiti. When Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) was inaugurated president in 1933, he called for a "good neighbor policy," which, at the next Pan-American Conference, meant that the United States supported the nonintervention resolution of the Latin American members.

For a considerable number of historians, theorists, and political activists, the Yanqui Years have no significance. For most progressives and radicals, whether they are Marxists, dependency theorists, postcolonialists, Indian rights activists, antiglobalization activists, or international Zapatistas, the United States has been an empire from its very founding. As Gilbert Joseph points out, to argue that the United States briefly had an empire "is to perpetuate false notions of 'American exceptionalism'

and to engage psychologically in denial and projection. Such arguments also ignore structures, practices, and discourses of domination and possession that run throughout U.S. history'' (Joseph et al. 1998, pp. 5–6). The United States was born, the historian Howard Zinn (2003) reminds us, of an invasion of America, massacres of Indians, and a powerful drive born in civilizations based on private property. This empire, from Jamestown to Baghdad, has no justification and no good deeds on its record.

The idea of an American imperium became an increasingly important subject of serious debate and writing in the decades following World War II and again in the decades following the end of the Cold War. In both eras, the idea of an American empire was fueled by unparalleled military and economic strength, seemingly unbounded cultural influence, and the more than occasional American covert and overt interventions overseas to remake the world in the image of itself. In both eras, domestic and international discussion of an American empire focused on the good it did (using its power to maintain a liberal global order) and the bad (supporting unpopular dictatorships, undermining populist regimes, and fighting the wrong wars in Vietnam and Iraq). The contributors to these debates extended beyond the radical left to include establishment liberal politicians, conservative and neoconservative intellectuals, foreign policy experts, diplomatic historians, and government officials.

By the end of the 1960s, Americans, and much of the rest of the world, had had enough of American imperium. The Richard Nixon (1913–1994) administration began withdrawing U.S. combat forces from South Vietnam, negotiated an ''honorable peace'' with the North in 1973, and removed all American forces from the county that same year. Two years later, Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia, fell to the Khmer Rouge, a repressive Communist organization, and Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) fell to the North Vietnamese army. During the 1970s, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) raised the price of petroleum while Americans waited in line to fill up their gas tanks, North Korea captured an American spy ship, the United States returned the Panama Canal to Panama, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and radical students in Iran took American embassy officials hostage. By 1980 Americans, at any rate, did not see themselves in any imperial manner.

At the end of the Cold War, however, the age of the unipolar hyperpower was at hand. Although the United States cut its defense expenditures during the 1990s, its military budget was still greater than all of the military budgets of the next fifteen most powerful states combined. By 2000 the U.S. military budget reached nearly

$300 billion, a figure that paid for ten active army divisions, three active marine divisions, nine thousand M1 Abrams tanks, thirty active and reserve air wings, eleven aircraft carriers deployed in nine carrier battle groups, a garrison of some 100,000 troops in Europe, and about the same number of troops in South Korea and Japan. To begin to put some of these numbers in comparison, the U.S. Marine Corps had more troops and combat power than the entire army of Great Britain, France, or Italy.

The end of the Cold War nuclear standoff favored democratization and economic liberalization, but it also brought unscrupulous nationalism, ethnic cleansing, related wars, and a new wave of terrorism. In an increasingly disorderly world, some historians, public intellectuals and even government officials offer the suggestion that the United States, following the example of Great Britain in the nineteenth century, needs to accept its place in history, assume its imperial burden, and ''export its capital, its people and its culture to those backward regions which need them most urgently and which, if they are neglected, will breed the greatest threats to its security'' (Niall Ferguson, quoted in Urquhart 2003, pp. 8–9).

Radicals and neoconservatives who deplore or welcome the idea of an American empire mistake ''the politics of primacy for those of empire,'' according to Joseph S. Nye Jr. (2003, p. 70). In the run-up to the Iraq war in 2002 and 2003, the United States could not obtain the votes of Mexico and Chile for a second Security Council resolution at the United Nations. When the time came for the invasion of Iraq, the parliament of Turkey refused to allow its territory to be used as a second front for the Fourth Infantry Division of the U.S Army, severely disrupting the Pentagon's battle plan.

The United States has been largely unsuccessful in sharing the postwar burden of funding reconstruction and bringing in European or other allies to assist in training Iraqi troops and police. When these limits to Washington's power are highlighted, the debate often returns to definitions. In this day and age, ''empire,'' we are reminded, is a metaphor. All empires, historian Anthony Pagden argues, involve the exercise of imperium or sovereign authority, usually acquired by force. Had there been an American imperium, the parliamentarians of Turkey would not have had any choice but to agree to the request of the Pentagon. Pagden also notes that in order to survive for very long, all empires have to win over their conquered populations. ''An Empire,'' he writes, quoting the Roman historian Livy (ca. 59 B.C.E.–17 C.E.), ''remains powerful so long as its subjects rejoice in it'' (Pagden 2005, p. 48). The parliamentarians of Turkey not only refused the Pentagon's request because

they could, they did so because they considered American policy in the second Gulf War illegitimate.

In the postcolonial and post–Cold War era, American army and marine divisions, air wings, and carrier battle groups can deliver unbelievable lethal force. American loans, trade concessions, and military assistance can be very tempting. In the final analysis, however, Washington, D.C., is not Rome or London. When a powerful state called upon a weaker allied state to provide a favor, the concept of neocolonialism (or the metaphor of "empire") would predict that Chile would vote with the United States in the United Nations and that Turkey would allow the Fourth Infantry Division to enter Iraq from the north. These predictions would have been wrong.

SEE ALSO *Boxer Uprising; Capitulations, Middle East; China, Foreign Trade; Chinese, Imperial Maritime Customs; Egypt; Empire, British; Empire, United States; Extraterritoriality; Hegemon and Hegemony; Imperialism, Cultural; Imperialism, Free Trade; Imperialism, Liberal Theories of; Imperialism, Marxist Theories of; Modern World-System Analysis; Nkrumah, Kwame; Open-Door Policy; Postcolonialism; Treaty Port System.*

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Thomas Benjamin

NEOCOLONIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

The term *neocolonialism* is used by some authors to describe the relationship of nominally independent countries in Latin America with *metropolitan* or *developed* countries from independence in the 1820s to the present. These authors, often referred to as the *dependency analysts*, stress a continuum whereby Latin America was kept in a condition of economic and, often, political subordination, and

its resources were—or so it is claimed—organized in such a way as to promote the interests of developed countries rather than to assure the development of poor ones.

In the half-century after independence, the dominant international power, the United Kingdom, played a controversial role in the continent. The dependency analysts stress, with varying degrees of subtlety and insistence, that British "informal imperialism" replaced Iberian formal empire. They argue further that Latin American governments opened up markets to an influx of British manufactured imports, which served only to sabotage nascent cottage and artisan industries that could otherwise have served as stimuli to a transition to factory industrialization. In other words, Latin American elites, who embraced fashionable ideas of free trade that were rooted in prevailing assumptions that both partners in an international trading relationship benefited equally, were deceived. There was, in practice, no such equality, because Britain enjoyed the advantages of greater experience in international business, control of shipping lines, and a flourishing shipbuilding industry, and could threaten to use the Royal Navy when challenged. A system of international trade, reinforced by commercial treaties that were a precondition of diplomatic recognition of independent nations, was geared to British needs.

This argument is rejected by liberal authors. Some argue that Latin America enjoyed no opportunities for industrialization and development in this period. The region was a marginal component in the international economy of little sustained interest to the British. Indeed, factory industrialization was barely an option for Latin America, owing to shallow markets, an absence of cheap, accessible coal deposits, and costly internal communications. Latin American authors, in particular, contend that deep-seated rigidities, notably the interaction of *latifundios* (vast landed estates) geared more to prestige than to profit, and *minifundios* (small, nonviable plots), aborted possibilities of significant growth in agriculture, and precluded the emergence of both a surplus for reinvestment in factory manufacturing and significant rural markets for industrial products.

The consolidation of the world economy between circa 1870 and the global depression (1929–1933) brought considerable growth to Latin America, associated with the export of foodstuffs, minerals, and later oil. The continent was the recipient of a substantial injection of foreign capital and new technology, as well as a considerable influx of European immigrants. According to dependency analysts, this was a period in which international economic relationships were revised in such ways as to guarantee continued subordination of Latin America to the major industrialized countries, which came to include the United States, and, less important

Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. *President Chavez delivers an address in Guayaquil, Ecuador, on July 26, 2002. Chavez is a vocal opponent of neocolonialism: he often refers to U.S. foreign policy in Latin America as "North American Imperialism."* © REUTERS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

to Latin America, Germany and France. For the first time, Latin America was exposed to new capitalist practices, especially the consolidation of U.S. corporate business in agriculture, mining, oil, and banking. While not uniform in their diagnoses, dependency analysts placed a heavy stress upon the sharpening of social and economic inequalities during these decades.

Foreign capital, technology, and skilled management were concentrated in the external sector, and domestic capital was lured by it, frequently leaving the sector producing food staples for domestic consumption—cereals, beans, poultry, vegetables—starved of capital, credit, and technology. Latin American allies of foreign firms in both the state and domestic business cooperated in practices that perpetuated low incomes and little welfare for majorities of the population, while an excessive proportion of profits in powerful foreign-owned businesses was repatriated to the developed countries. Small countries, especially in the Caribbean and Central America, where monocrop export production operated

by U.S.-based enterprises was dominant, were vulnerable to unpredictable shifts in the price and demand for their export commodities, which played a part in fostering political instability. This, in turn, provided the United States with pretexts for naval interventions.

The progressive erosion of economic independence and the emergence of distorted, lopsided economies where balanced growth was impossible condemned Latin America to the "deepening" of underdevelopment, so that its economies served European and U.S. needs, rather than those of most of its own citizens. What dynamic diversification was bought about by external linkages, through, for example, greater access to borrowing from Wall Street in the 1920s, tended to benefit domestic minorities and foreign business at the expense of the regions and sectors where capitalism lacked dynamism.

Liberal authors held a radically different view. They claimed that Latin America enjoyed considerable benefits from the normal forces of the market and of competition, and, that, far from being exploitative, foreign connections brought new, tantalizing opportunities for Latin American entrepreneurs and taxable wealth that consolidated and modernized Latin American states. The incipient transnational firms engaged in communications, sugarcane milling, and meatpacking supplied an invaluable example to Latin American businessmen of how business could be organized so as to lower the costs of production and explore economies of scale. Thus Latin America was the fortunate beneficiary of a long period of "export-led growth" and of the cumulative effects of small technical changes that promoted output and productivity. Latin American nations did not achieve a transition to "developed" status, because the opportunities for one did not exist.

The 1930s and early 1940s were decades of considerable flux, in which Latin American statesmen and businessmen were compelled to reappraise their priorities. Historians debate how far international capitalism withdrew from Latin America during these years, and how far they represented a mere hiatus in its advance. Some dependency analysts argued that the combined crises of the depression and World War II (1939–1945) provided the leaders of the continent with new opportunities to reorient its economies along inward-looking lines.

Some of this writing flies in the face of the empirical evidence. Ad hoc manufacturing growth and extemporized responses to acute problems of unemployment and incomes during the depression crisis are over-easily confused with coherent and consistent strategies of industrialization and development from within, which were impossible in countries where economic instability went hand in hand with a high turnover of incumbents in political office. Yet dependency analysts and their critics
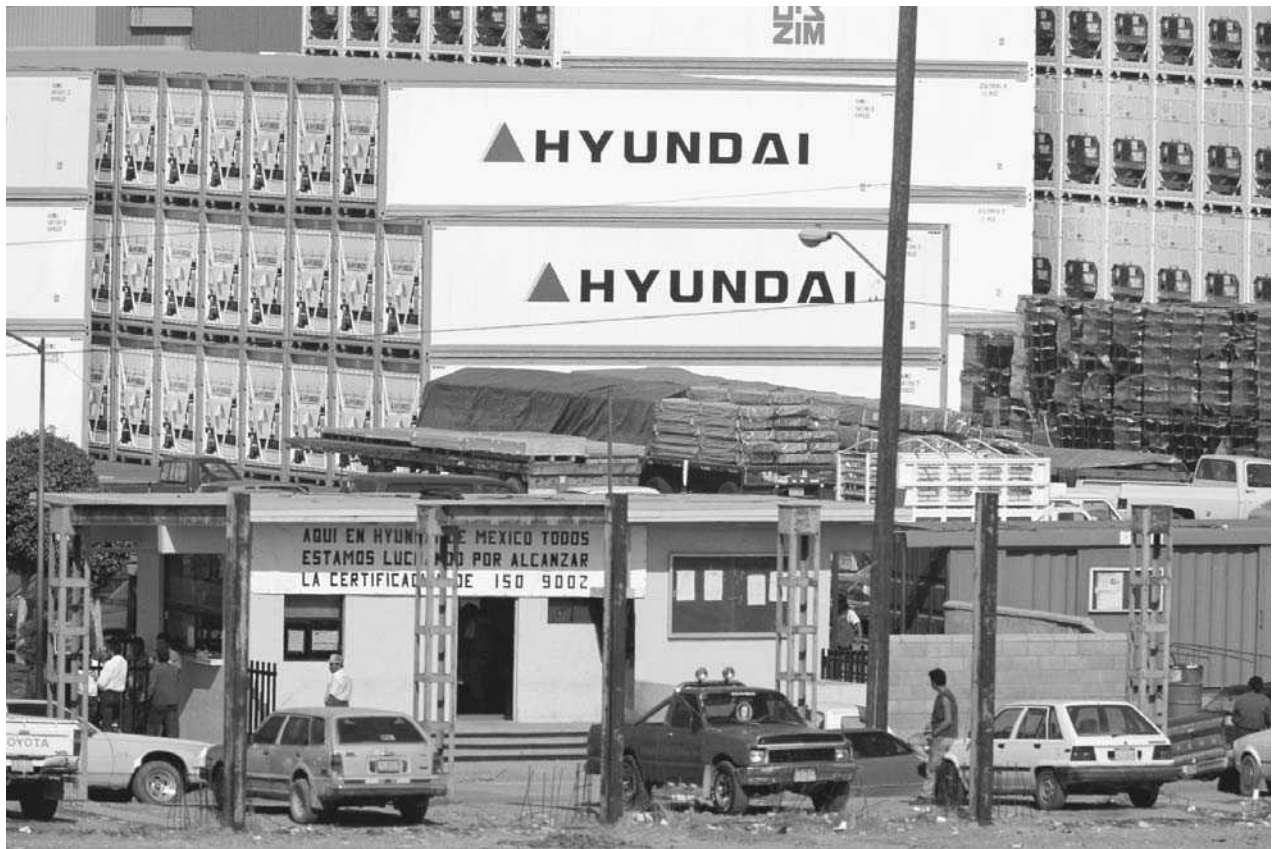
Hyundai Plant in Mexico. *This Hyundai factory in Tijuana, Mexico, is a maquiladora,* a special manufacturing facility established by the Mexican government for trade with the United States and other countries. *Maquiladoras* are usually located just a few miles past the U.S.-Mexico border. © **STEVE STARR/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

converge in seeing this period as critical to the understanding of contemporary Latin America. Most agree that a paucity of investigation at national, sectoral, regional, and workplace levels precludes more than a shallow interpretation of these decades. What was manifest, however, was that sustained crisis in Europe meant that the external ascendancy, economic and political, of the United States across the continent was undisputed.

SEE ALSO *Neocolonialism.*

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Christopher Abel

NETHERLANDS MISSIONARY SOCIETY

In the seventeenth century the Dutch, under the colors of their East India Company (VOC, 1602) and West India

Company (WIC, 1625), gained a foothold in Southeast Asia, Africa, and America. Everywhere they brought the Reformed Church with them. For two centuries the two companies paid all expenses of church life in their dominions, but the close ties between church and state also prevented the Christian faith from expanding beyond the boundaries of the Dutch possessions. In Southeast Asia during these centuries Protestantism was adopted by indigenous populations only in Ceylon and in eastern Indonesia, where the island of Ambon was the main center. The large congregation of Batavia (present-day Jakarta) consisted mainly of Europeans and Eurasians. The military power of the VOC was occasionally used to protect Christian populations from their enemies, mostly Muslims, but not for spreading Christianity.

This situation was changed by political, cultural, and religious developments in Europe toward the end of the eighteenth century. The WIC and VOC were liquidated and their overseas possessions were taken over by the Dutch state (1791, 1799). At the same time, in the Netherlands as elsewhere in Europe, the separation of church and state was effectuated (1796). The Netherlands Reformed Church (NRC) could have taken advantage of this turn of events by starting missions in its own right, unhampered by a state pursuing its own interests. But it was weakened by the separation, and by a reorganization (1816) that encroached upon its reformed character and brought about a century of confessional strife. Consequently in the Netherlands, as in other European countries (Great Britain, Germany, and France), this task was taken up by missionary societies. Inspired by activities of the Moravian Brothers and following the lead of the London Missionary Society, in 1797 a number of Dutch pastors and laypeople founded the Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap (NZG, Netherlands Missionary Society).

The Netherlands Missionary Society was of an ecumenical nature, but throughout its history members and leadership were mainly Dutch Reformed. During the first half of the nineteenth century it was the only missionary society in the Netherlands, but between 1847 and 1859 the strengthening of confessionalism led to the foundation of a number of sister organizations. At home, these events were accompanied by passionate polemics, but in the mission field the various societies respected each other. After 1900, Society director Dr. J. W. Gunning (1862–1923) made overtures to the other societies that had their roots in the NRC. This led to increasingly close cooperation and ultimately to the merging of these societies into the Mission Board of the NRC (1951).

MISSIONARY WORK OVERSEAS

The beginnings of work overseas were slow. Between 1795 and 1815 the Netherlands, being in the sphere of influence of revolutionary and Napoleonic France, was almost continuously at war with England and consequently cut off from its overseas possessions. When peace came it left Holland with only the Indonesian Archipelago, the territory of modern Indonesia. After a short spell of activities in former Dutch possessions like Ceylon and South Africa, Dutch missionary work concentrated upon this area. But because the mission was not broadly based in Dutch society, the Netherlands Missionary Society and its Dutch sister societies were not able even to adequately serve the Netherlands Indies. The German Rhenish Mission Society (RMG) and (at a later stage) the American Christian and Missionary Alliance had to lend support, occupying a number of areas left vacant by the Dutch missionaries.

Society missionaries arrived in the Indies from 1814 onwards. During the first decades they were employed by the government to minister to the existing Protestant communities, who at that time numbered 40,000. Gradually the government organized these communities into the Protestant Church of the Netherlands Indies. This left the missionaries free to work among non-Christians. For the first time in Dutch mission history, systematic mission work was started among Muslims (East Java, 1848). In addition, the Society started work in North Celebes (Minahasa, 1831), East Sumatra (1890), and Central Celebes (Poso, 1892). At the time, the last mentioned region did not yet belong to the Dutch sphere of influence. The same was the case with a number of mission fields served by other societies, like Batakland (North Sumatra, 1857) and New Guinea (1855). These statistics point to another difference between the nineteenth-century Dutch missions and the Reformed Church in the preceding centuries: the Netherlands Missionary Society and other societies did not hesitate to establish mission posts in territories not (yet) administrated by the colonial government. In the case of Batakland, this did not prevent the RMG mission from prospering, whereas in New Guinea, Central Celebes, and other regions conversions were extremely few until colonial law and order was established.

MISSIONARY THEORY AND PRACTICE

Throughout the nineteenth century the missionaries' attitude toward non-Christian religions and non-Western culture was rather negative. Islam was viewed as the greatest enemy of the Christian faith; tribal religions were considered to be the result of a degeneration process. In this paradigm, "dark(ness)," "blind(ness)," and "sunk low" were the words most frequently used in describing the religious and moral state of the people evangelized. Consequently no elements from indigenous religion or culture were incorporated into church worship; newly

converted were told to keep away from traditional feasts as well as from cultural expressions like music and dance; in haircut and dress they were urged to follow Western customs as much as the tropical climate could permit.

The emphasis on personal conversion denied the collectivistic nature of traditional society. However, the missionaries' view on religion as a matter of the heart caused them to use the local language, at least when working among language communities of a sufficient size. This policy contrasted with that pursued by the Reformed Church during the preceding centuries and by the established Protestant Church, which almost exclusively used Malay, as well as with that of present-day Indonesian churches, which increasingly adopt the national language, Indonesian, in worship and church organization. The missionaries not only preached the Gospel in the vernacular, but in many cases they also were the first to reduce it to writing and publish grammars and dictionaries, all in preparation of the Bible translations, which were to be the crown of their linguistic studies.

Toward the turn of the century missionary theory, and increasingly missionary practice, began paying more respect to indigenous culture. In the face of the refusal of the indigenous population to convert on the terms set by the mission, A. C. Kruyt (1892–1932 in Central Celebes) and other missionaries embarked on a new course. During the first decades of the twentieth century, Dutch and German missions no longer ignored or suppressed indigenous culture, but endeavored to study it and to conserve it in a purified form, that is, after having eliminated the elements that were considered pagan. In this way a (rather artificial) Christian culture was created. Language was viewed as a core element of this culture, and linguistic studies were intensified. Because the motives for using the vernacular were not only religious, but also ideological, not only Islam-tinged Malay but also Christian Dutch was discouraged. In this way the missionaries cut their flock off from developments in the outside world: from Indonesian nationalism, of which Malay was an important vehicle, and from higher education, which during the colonial era was only taught in the Dutch language. The negative effects in the field of politics and economics were felt after Indonesia became an independent state.

The relationship between the Netherlands Missionary Society (indeed the Dutch mission in general) and the colonial state and ideology was rather ambivalent. The missionaries often denounced injustices done to the population among whom they lived and whose language they spoke. On the other hand, the missionary societies depended on the colonial state for permission to work in a given region; in most fields mission work bore fruit only after pacification; in Muslim regions it would have been simply impossible without government protection (which was often only grudgingly given). From 1900 onward mission activities in the fields of education and medical care were generously subsidized. Despite their harsh criticism of colonial policy, the missionaries shared the conviction of the superiority of Western civilization, which served as a justification for the colonization of non-Western peoples.

Because the colonial government hardly created structures that could become the nucleus of an independent Indonesian state, the mission only reluctantly set up church structures that would enable Christian communities to function independently. In both cases the reason given was that Indonesians were not yet mature enough to staff such structures. In this respect a new course was set by Hendrik Kraemer (1888–1965). He persuaded the missionaries to grant autonomy to local and regional churches. In this way a number of churches in West and Central Indonesia became independent before an independent Indonesian state came into being. In most of East Indonesia, however, when World War II came and the Dutch missionaries were interned, there were not even Indonesian ministers authorized to administer the sacraments, nor was there a church organization. Here the churches became independent after the state.

CONCLUSIONS

When the Netherlands Missionary Society first entered the territory of present-day Indonesia, in 1814, there were approximately 40,000 Protestant Christians in that region, less than 1 percent of the total population. In 1942 this number had grown to 1.8 million Christians, or 2.5 percent, of whom only 100,000 belonged to the churches that had come into being on the four mission fields served by the Netherlands Missionary Society. (In 2000 these numbers were approximately 16 million and 600,000, besides approximately 5 million Catholics.) Among these, one-half (33,000) of those converted to Christianity from Islam. Moreover, in the 1870s the Society had surrendered its most promising mission field, the Minahasa, to the Protestant Church. The NZG was important not on account of its size, but because during the 150 years it was in the vanguard of Dutch missions as regards to the quality of the education of its missionaries and the theoretical reflection on missionary practice.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; Dutch West India Company; Religion, Western Presence in East Asia; Religion, Western Presence in Southeast Asia.*

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Th. van den End

NEW CALEDONIA

New Caledonia (Nouvelle Calédonie) is a French overseas territory in the Southwest Pacific located between Australia and Fiji. It is 18,575 square kilometers (7,172 square miles) in size; the area comprises a main island (Grande Terre), the Loyalty Islands (Iles Loyaute), and several sparsely populated atolls with a total population of 213,769 (42% native origin [Kanak]; 37% European origin [Caldoche]). Natural resources include nickel (providing about 25% of the world's supply) and large-scale export crops such as coffee.

Captain James Cook sighted Grande Terre and dubbed it New Caledonia in 1774. British whalers and sandalwood traders soon followed, bringing diseases such as smallpox, dysentery, and leprosy that devastated the local population. As trade expanded in the region so did the number of missions, further eradicating local practices and traditions. French Marist missionaries arrived in 1843, and under the pretext of protecting the native peoples—when in reality it was to counteract British influence in the region—Napoleon III annexed New Caledonia in 1853.

Desperate to replace their failed penal colony of Guiana, the French began deporting convicts to New Caledonia in May 1864 and political exiles associated with the Paris Commune in 1871. By the time deportation was halted in 1897—in an effort to hasten free colonization—nearly 21,000 convicts had been exiled. As increasing numbers of free settlers arrived, native villages were displaced to make way for cattle grazing, which led to numerous revolts against French rule, all of which were violently repressed.

In 1956 New Caledonia's status changed from a colony to an overseas territory and Kanaks were given the right to vote the following year. This did not forestall political radicalization, however, and increasing demands for land reform and independence sparked a wave of violence between Kanaks and Caldoches in the mid-1980s. This unrest prompted France to grant New Caledonia a unique status somewhere between an independent country and overseas department. Thus, a fifty-four-member territorial congress elected by popular vote is responsible for taxation, labor law, and health, while the French Republic retains authority over foreign affairs, justice, and the treasury. Vote on a referendum for independence will occur in 2014.

SEE ALSO *Empire, French.*

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Stephen A. Toth

NEW FRANCE

The name *New France* was first applied to the northeastern portion of North America in a map prepared by the explorer Giovanni da Verrazano (1485–1530). It reflected the overseas ambitions of Verrazano's master, King François I (1494–1547), as well as the presence of Breton and Norman fishermen in the coastal waters of the region. The French navigator Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) staked a claim to the Saint Lawrence River in 1534, and later in the sixteenth century French and Basque fur traders established regular relations with the native peoples of the region. Only at the time of Samuel de Champlain (ca. 1570–1635), however, were year-round French settlements established, first in Acadia (present-day Nova Scotia) in 1604 and then in "Canada" (now Quebec) in 1608.

Through the first half of the seventeenth century, New France consisted of a few small posts owned by the Company of New France and allied to indigenous nations from whom the settlers purchased beaver and other furs. In 1663 King Louis XIV (1638–1715) dissolved the company and took over direct rule of New France, reorganizing colonial administration along the lines of a French province. France then provided Canada with a substantial injection of soldiers, settlers, and capital, with the result that the colony soon developed a European aspect, with the towns of Quebec and Montreal bracketing agricultural settlements along the banks of the Saint Lawrence.

The flow of immigration was numerically modest and almost exclusively French and Catholic; immigrants, drawn from across the western half of France, were mostly poor, predominantly male, and disproportionately urban in origin. A census in 1681 numbered the French-Canadian population at 9,742; by the end of French rule in 1760, it had risen to approximately 76,000.

Through the seventeenth century the French fully occupied only a small territory along the Saint Lawrence and around Port Royal in Acadia, but French influence extended over a vast and growing portion of the continent.

Quebec, the Capital of New-France. *This view of Quebec, rendered by the American engraver Thomas Johnston in 1759, was probably based on a map published in 1718.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Fur traders and missionaries traveled inland along canoe routes that led through the Great Lakes and into the Mississippi watershed. Cavalier de la Salle (1643–1687) reached the Gulf of Mexico from Canada in 1683, establishing a French claim that would later be followed up with the founding of Louisiana on the Gulf of Mexico in 1699.

New France's inland empire, enveloping the British colonies by the early eighteenth century, was French only in a very special and limited sense, for this was really Indian territory, largely beyond the control of French sovereignty, law, and culture. A few hundred French maintained a degree of influence thanks, in part, to their commercial role making European goods available to avid native customers. Equally important—and inseparable from the economic connection—was the central role they played in the alliance system that emerged in the interior as tribes sought to maintain a common front, first against the Iroquois and later against the British.

By the early eighteenth century, it was becoming evident that, on purely mercantilist principles, the North American colonies were far less valuable to France than its booming sugar plantation possessions in the West Indies. After a disastrous attempt to finance colonial development through private investment, Louisiana became synonymous with speculation and waste. Canada, where settlers were free of direct taxation, generally cost the crown more than it produced by way of revenue from the fur trade. And Acadia, on the exposed Atlantic shore, proved impossible to defend in the long run.

The imperial logic shaping policy toward New France was of a different order in the eighteenth century—strategic rather than economic—and it had everything to do with the growing Anglo–French rivalry. The great arc of French territorial claims, from the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, through the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico, was designed

at least in part to keep the much more populous and economically viable British colonies hemmed in along the seaboard. Taking the form of a great alliance system connecting hundreds of native nations to the French crown, this larger New France represented a valuable military resource in times of war.

Throughout its history, New France was intermittently at war, first with the Iroquois League between 1609 and 1701. In later struggles, against the Fox of the Great Lakes and the Natchez and Chickasaws of Louisiana, the French seemed determined to exterminate entire enemy nations, effectively giving the lie to any notion that France's approach to empire was entirely benign.

After 1689, the intensifying rivalry between Britain and France embroiled the North American colonies increasingly in Europe's dynastic struggles. Though the Anglo-American side enjoyed an immense superiority in numbers and economic power, the French-Canadians were more thoroughly militarized and, in the case of the fur-trade veterans, skilled in wilderness travel; furthermore, they could usually count on support from their network of native alliances. Accordingly, New France specialized in the techniques of "*la petite guerre*" (small guerrilla war) with parties of Indians and Canadian militia raiding vulnerable outposts on the frontiers of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. Ruthlessly targeting civilian settlers, this strategy succeeded for a time in keeping the enemy off-balance, but it contributed to a growing determination on the part of the British to defeat and utterly destroy New France.

After a series of French victories early in the Seven Years' War (1754–1763 in America, where it was known as the French and Indian War), Britain was persuaded by her American colonies to mount a major assault aimed at conquering Canada. With the Europeanizing of the struggle, Canada's native alliances and frontier raiding traditions became a marginal factor. While the navy sealed off approaches to the Saint Lawrence, a huge (by colonial standards) British and American army launched a three-pronged attack. While one force headed west to capture inland posts before doubling back toward Montreal, a second army made its way straight north along the heavily fortified Lake Champlain corridor. Meanwhile, a third, amphibious, army sailed in from the east to lay siege to Quebec in 1759. The famous battle on the Plains of Abraham brought a dramatic conclusion to the eastern campaign, but New France's fate was sealed, not so much by a single clash of arms, but by the relentless and convergent advance of three overwhelming forces. The British attackers met at Montreal, and there the governor of New France surrendered on September 8, 1760.

With the end of New France confirmed by the peace settlement at Paris in 1763, the French Canadians found themselves uneasy subjects of a Protestant monarch. The transition was more difficult for the native nations of the western interior, who lost much of the leverage they had maintained in a context of contending empires; without the support of the French alliance, they had reason to dread the onslaught of British settlers.

SEE ALSO *Company of New France; Empire in the Americas, French; Quebec City.*

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Allan Greer

NEW SPAIN, THE VICEROYALTY OF

After a decade of conquest, exploration, and administrative turmoil, Spain created the viceroyalty of New Spain in 1530 in order to centralize its control over the territories of the Aztecs, Mayas, and other indigenous groups of Mesoamerica, while curbing the evolution of powerful local fiefdoms among the conquistador class. This move coincided with efforts by the nascent Spanish monarchy to unite the Iberian kingdoms and counter the power of the nobility and municipal government in the metropolis. Bureaucratic control from Spain evolved in fits and starts throughout the Habsburg period (until 1700) as the viceroyalty expanded to include all of today's Mexico, the Caribbean, most of Central America, the Philippines, and the western, southwestern, and southeastern United States.

In theory, the elaborate bureaucratic hierarchy radiated power downward from the king to the Council of the Indies, the viceroy, the *audiencias* (judicial and administrative tribunals), provincial administrators called governors, *corregidores* or *alcaldes mayors,* and municipal councils. In practice, however, this chain was often broken or circumvented under the Habsburgs, the ruling dynasty

in Spain that began with Charles V in 1518 and continued through 1701. The Harsburgs' continental entanglements, distant from America in an era of slow sailing ships, and lack of capital and coercive power forced them to impart a good deal of latitude to colonial officials and elites who were in turn expected to maintain social control and remit a modicum of revenue to the crown.

In essence, a weak colonial state governed informally through mechanisms that rewarded New Spain's elites by allowing them to exploit indigenous peoples and maximize profit. Tribute, paid by Indians in commodities and labor through the institution of *encomienda*, became partly monetized in silver coinage and eventually passed from the control of conquistadors to the crown through middle-level officials called *corregidores* who took a share of the tribute they collected and extracted other resources from native communities.

Officially, however, the viceroy and other colonial officials were charged with ensuring fairness to the natives; in many cases, they executed this responsibility through an evolving body of protective legislation for these "wards" of the state. Laws were more easily disregarded by lower officials whose livelihood depended upon extracting resources from the natives, particularly in areas distant from the seat of government in Mexico City. For example, Spain never exercised much control in the northern regions of the viceroyalty; even the establishment in 1776 of a special administrative jurisdiction, the Provincias Internas, did little to bring the area under effective domination.

The civil bureaucracy had a counterpart in the Catholic Church, where spiritual conquest by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits played a key role in justifying conquest and incorporating Indians into the Spanish orbit. The only Spaniards theoretically permitted to live in native communities, these missionaries performed the work of conversion while they imposed Spanish practices in economic activities and daily routines. This major acculturation effort was carried out in villages, either in Mesoamerican communities that predated the conquest or in pueblos created by relocating more dispersed or demographically low populations.

The humanistic efforts of the early church to provide education and social services gradually gave way to less zealous, more avaricious priests who, along with *corregidores*, conspired to extract resources from the natives. Some clerics played a broker role, defending their flocks either out of common interests or altruism. Scholars debate the nature and extent of conversion, as well as the degree of blending of religious traditions, but by the end of the colonial period, native practices and beliefs were greatly transformed by Catholicism.

Even the most benevolent activities of the clergy could do nothing to stem the steep population decline of the Indians that resulted from epidemic diseases brought by the invaders. The rates of demographic decline varied somewhat by region and ecology, but they ranged as high as 90 percent over the first hundred years of Spanish rule. This demographic fact coincided with imperial humanitarian efforts to check extreme exploitation of Indians. In addition to outlawing Indian slavery, the crown legislated an end to the *encomienda* by the mid-sixteenth century.

Facing new extractive pressures, Indian villages used or modified Spanish institutions—*cofradías* (confraternities) and *cabildos* (town councils)—to keep resources in their communities. And through these institutions, preconquest indigenous nobility (in the cases of the Nahuas in central Mexico, Mixtecs and other groups in Oaxaca, and Mayas in southern Mexico) continued to exercise power in the Indian sphere, at least for a while. Indigenous leaders or *caciques* served as another broker between their communities and Spaniards, walking a fine line between satisfying Spanish demands and mitigating abuses to their people. Although New Spain experienced no large-scale indigenous rebellions against colonial rule, opposition played out on multiple levels throughout three centuries of Spanish rule, as illustrated by occasional uprisings in peripheral areas populated by semisedentary groups, village riots against abusive officials, and everyday forms of resistance, such as pilfering and work slowdowns.

No longer able to squeeze labor and tribute from *encomienda*, Spaniards turned first to agriculture and from the 1540s to silver mining in Zacatecas and other areas north of Mexico City. Agriculture remained the chief economic activity throughout the colonial period, although silver dominated exports. Agricultural estates (haciendas) came to dominate the production of wheat, cattle, sheep, and sugar, while Indian villages produced corn for the market, along with other mainly subsistence crops. The Spanish landlord class devised new means of acquiring labor, coerced and free, from Indians, and they imported African slaves. Haciendas and villages (albeit with considerable regional differences) coexisted in a kind of synergy that allowed Spaniards to profit modestly in a chronically weak domestic market and Indian villages to preserve some autonomy and land.

Strict mercantilist policies governed silver mining and transatlantic trade; although Spain never achieved monopoly control, New Spain's silver was the motor that sustained the Habsburgs' ill-fated imperial ventures. In the seventeenth century, however, silver exports from New Spain declined. Scholars still debate the nature of this seventeenth-century "depression," but most agree that
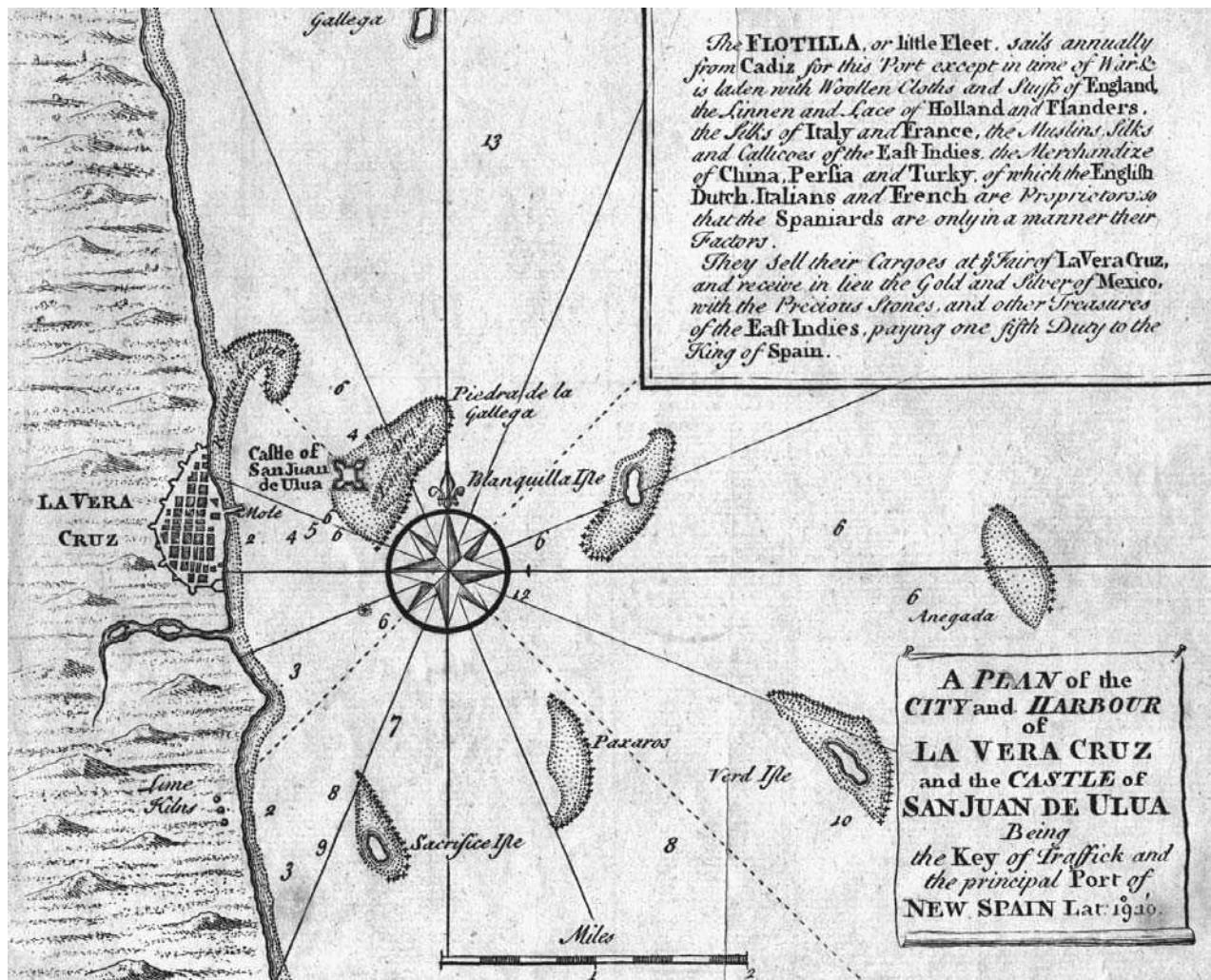
The City and Harbour of La Vera Cruz, circa 1750. *This plan of Veracruz and the Castle of San Juan de Ulua describes the city as "being the key of traffick and the principal port of New Spain." Founded by the Spanish in the sixteenth century, Veracruz remains one of Mexico's most important ports.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

silver production did not decline significantly, leaving open the question of what happened to the retained bullion. Did it fuel domestic, intercolonial, or Pacific trade, or did it go into conspicuous consumption? Regardless, it did not promote any profound transformation in New Spain's agrarian-based economy, and the triad of *hacendados* (proprietors of haciendas), miners, and merchants continued to monopolize wealth and power in the colony.

Over time, the Spanish, Indian, and African worlds commingled to produce biological and cultural *mestizaje*. This mixing, however, took place within an increasingly stratified patriarchal society based on race, class, and gender divisions, in which Spaniards born on the Iberian Peninsula *(peninsulares)* or in New Spain *(criollos)* lived in urban (thus civilized) spaces, and dominated politics, economic activity, and society. At the same time,

a rich baroque culture developed, blending artistic and musical traditions of the various ethnic groups.

Habsburg rule in seventeenth-century New Spain was characterized by (1) local oligarchic control of limited markets in an agrarian economy that functioned largely in the tributary mode described by Eric Wolf (1959); (2) declining silver remittances to the metropolis; and (3) forms of social control flexible enough to keep Indians, mixed groups, and blacks in their place without excessive force.

The Bourbons, a French royal family who claimed the Spanish crown in the eighteenth century, focused their sights on a more lucrative prize. They became determined to extract more wealth from New Spain by stimulating mining production, creating a more efficient

bureaucracy to collect taxes, and appropriating a share of the Catholic Church's immense assets in money and rural and urban properties. These measures resulted in some success in channeling capital to the metropolis, but they were limited by persistent mercantilist structures in trade and manufacturing. In fact, metropolitan Spain never moved beyond its primarily agrarian economy and narrow tax base.

Nor did a profound capitalist transformation unfold in New Spain's agrarian economy, where domestic relations of production did not change. Market demand grew along with demographic recuperation as the Indian population doubled in the eighteenth century while non-Indian numbers tripled. Rising land values and a fall in real wages accompanied these processes. Landowners in the most dynamic regions moved aggressively to appropriate village lands, provoking protests, lawsuits, and even peasant riots. Social tensions escalated throughout the colony, exacerbated by epidemics and subsistence crises, as the Bourbons sought to limit Creole political participation, local autonomy, and popular forms of cultural and religious expression.

The crown responded with militarization and more repressive responses to opposition, upsetting the balance or "moral economy" often achieved in the give-and-take of Habsburg rule. Even elites became alienated by progressive royal usurpation of assets they had controlled, and by the imposition of peninsular bureaucrats to replace Creoles. Spain's increasing involvement and expenditures in European warfare at the end of the eighteenth century further strained Bourbon legitimacy in the eyes of the colony. Creole patriots celebrated their distinctive natural history and mixed heritage in writings that extolled the Aztec past and the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's own saint.

Napoléon Bonaparte's (1769–1821) temporary removal of the Bourbon king in 1808 provoked a complex chain of events in New Spain. A popular uprising that began in 1810, directed against *peninsulares* and advocating the abolition of tribute, attracted thousands of lower-class peasants and workers. The uprising was put down by elites—not only *peninsulares* but also Creoles shocked by the prospect of a genuine social revolution. Only when Creoles decided that they could retain their power and property without provoking social upheaval did they opt for an independent Mexico in 1821. Their dominance, however, did not end the cultural resistance of rural ethnic and peasant communities to the state at the local level.

Spain had the great fortune to be one of the pioneering European empires, but its misfortune was that it acquired this empire before the emergence of the modern centralized state. Slow and difficult communication, lack of central military and bureaucratic control, and no modern coercive or persuasive means of establishing legitimacy and nationalistic beliefs hampered imperial rule. The Habsburg government had to adapt to these circumstances and, often reluctantly, did so. The crown issued voluminous laws, but these were more like exhortations, expressing what the crown would ideally want, than prescriptions. The two Habsburg centuries saw the durability of a shifting unwritten contract between the crown and colonial elites in which the latter had the tacit freedom to extract as much as they could, while honoring the legitimacy of church and state, and acknowledging that both deserved a share of the surplus produced.

The Bourbons, great error was a premature desire to create a modern, central, and dominant nation-state based on closer ties between peninsular Spain and its American colonies. They meddled constantly in previous understandings and introduced technological improvements, but never had the courage or the means to change basic social relations or modes of production. This paradox alienated sectors of the elite, and the Bourbons gradually sowed the seeds of a loss of legitimacy and the movements for independence.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Encomienda; Government, Colonial, in Spanish America; Haciendas in Spanish America.*

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Susan M. Deeds

NEW YORK

New York, or New Amsterdam as it was called for the first forty years, was founded by the Dutch West India Company in 1625 as the political and commercial center for its colony of New Netherland. The settlement, however, lacked any obviously profitable enterprise except the export of furs, and growth was slow. By 1630 there were still only three hundred inhabitants in the entire colony.

Development was also restricted by the company's monopoly over the economy and political life. New Amsterdam was governed by an unelected mayor chosen by the senior company official, the Director General. Some liberalization occurred in the economic sphere after 1639, which encouraged a trickle of immigrants to the town, though most were not of Dutch descent, being Scottish, Flemish, Walloon (from southern Belgium and adjacent parts of France), and in a few cases Jews. Some Africans also arrived, mostly as slaves, so that New Amsterdam from its earliest days was a multicultural society. By 1660 the city had a population of thirteen hundred.

The conquest of New Amsterdam by the English in 1664 resulted in few immediate changes. Affairs remained in the hands of a small elite who controlled not only the commerce of the town but most of the land outside. The city could not in any case flourish while its hinterland remained open to attack from the French and from Indians, and its divisions and weakness were cruelly exposed during the Glorious Revolution of 1689, when the city and province were split by factional disputes during the governorship of Jacob Leisler (1649–1691).

As a result, emigration to the area remained modest. Nevertheless, a healthy trade in flour and wheat developed, so that after 1700 New York's merchants were able to challenge the hegemony of Boston for the North American coastal and Caribbean trades. Commerce also stimulated other activities, and by the middle of the eighteenth century the city had twelve thousand inhabitants. However, New York's greatest period of expansion began with the conquest of Canada in 1760, which finally removed the threat of invasion. With its fine harbor and access to the interior, the city rapidly caught up with Philadelphia as the most important center for finance, commerce, and immigration in English-speaking North America.

SEE ALSO *Dutch West India Company; Empire in the Americas, Dutch; Thirteen Colonies, British North America.*

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Richard Middleton

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand is an island country in the South Pacific, within the Polynesian cultural region. New Zealand is about two-thirds the size of California. The country consists of two main islands of varied topography, with high mountain ranges, volcanoes, and agriculturally productive plains. The capital is Wellington, and Auckland is the largest city.

The indigenous Polynesian inhabitants, the Māori, arrived in New Zealand about one thousand years ago, probably from the Tahiti area. They brought a typical Polynesian culture, as well as many important food plants. Within a few hundred years they were well established on the warmer North Island, with many villages and forts. The colder South Island received only limited settlement.

The first European to sight New Zealand was probably the Dutch explorer Abel Janszoon Tasman (ca. 1603–1659) in 1642, but finding the Māori hostile he did not land. It was not until 1769 that the British captain James Cook (1728–1779) explored the islands, landed, and met the Māori. Within the next seventy years both the British and French established small settlements

and traded with the Māori; missionaries also arrived and had complex effects on the indigenous population.

The British government, prompted by unregulated settlement and French and American interest in the region, formally concluded a treaty with the Māori to annex New Zealand and join it to the New South Wales colony in Australia. The Treaty of Waitangi, signed by Māori leaders in 1840, granted the British sovereignty but guaranteed Māori land rights. In practice, however, the treaty favored the settlers, and the Māori gradually lost control of most of their territories.

British settlement continued apace during the nineteenth century, and settlers came to outnumber the Māori. Māori resistance to the loss of their lands culminated in a series of wars between the Māori and settlers in the 1860s. Disagreements among the Māori resulted in the British gaining the upper hand, and peace was fully restored in 1881. By then the country was already self-governing.

British society in New Zealand came to resemble that of the mother country, with a pastoral, wool-based economy and British political institutions replacing indigenous ones. New Zealand sent troops to support the British in World War I (1914–18), giving the country a sense of its own distinctiveness. After World War II (1939–45), New Zealand became a colonial power in its own right with the acquisition of the former German colony of Samoa, as well as other Polynesian territories. Immigration to New Zealand from other parts of Polynesia and from Asia also began to change the cultural makeup of the society.

Since the late 1960s, there has been a resurgence of Māori cultural pride and a revival of the Māori language. The Māori name for New Zealand, Aotearoa, meaning "the land of the long cloud" (but technically referring only to the North Island), is now frequently used. Māori have also pressed for restoration of lands illegally seized during the colonial era and for financial compensation. The New Zealand government is now negotiating a series of settlements with Māori groups. Some of these claims, such as that of the Ngāi Tahu on the South Island, have already been settled, and claimants have received land and resource rights and financial compensation.

SEE ALSO *Black bird Labor Trade; Empire, British, in Asia and Pacific; Exploration, the Pacific.*

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Michael Pretes

NKRUMAH, KWAME
1909–1972

Kwame Nkrumah, the first head of state of independent Ghana, was born on September 21, 1909, in Nkroful in what was then the Western Province of the Gold Coast, later to become Ghana. He was a Pan-Africanist, a nationalist, and a crusader for decolonization whose political ideologies and cultural canons not only empowered Ghanaians, but also molded the antiracist and anticolonial ideas of other Africans, including those in the diaspora.

Nkrumah was the prime minister of Ghana from 1957 to 1960 and the president from 1960 to 1966. No matter how he is assessed, there can be no doubt that he was a visionary whose ideas and achievements were far ahead of his time. Indeed, so long as there is a history of African nationalism and decolonization to be told, Nkrumah would forever remain the great frontispiece that unfolds that epic.

Nkrumah was self-disciplined and lived an ascetic life. His father was a goldsmith and his mother was a trader. He attended the local Catholic primary school in Half Assini, his father's community, then qualified in 1926 to attend the Prince of Wales College at Achimota, near the colonial capital of Accra. Having being trained as a teacher at Achimota, he taught at a Catholic primary school and later became the headmaster of a school in Axim, near his place of birth. Nkrumah inspired his students by forming literary clubs and academic societies for them.

In 1935 he traveled to the United States to study. He earned a bachelor of science degree from Lincoln University in 1939 and a bachelor of theology from Lincoln Theological Seminary in 1942. In 1945 he obtained master of science degrees in education and philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania. He also took courses at the University of Pennsylvania toward a doctoral degree in philosophy, but moved to London in 1945 to study law. Overall, Nkrumah was a dedicated intellectual devoted to the cause of African liberation. A voracious reader of socialist and Marxist literature, Nkrumah wrote some fifteen books that diagnosed the African condition with timeless prescriptions.

Nkrumah's sojourn overseas is crucial to understanding his maturation as a Pan-Africanist and a vigorous

anticolonialist. While in the United States, he experienced firsthand a systemic racism that shaped his views about white domination. He experienced acute poverty, and did several menial jobs to survive. He also acquired organizational abilities when he joined the African Students Association, which sought to empower black students.

Nkrumah sharpened his oratorical skills by preaching in African-American churches and speaking at gatherings. Involved in the West African National Secretariat in London, he became acquainted with the larger quest among Africans for decolonization. He also joined the socialist and Marxist clubs and attended lectures on political ideologies, especially socialism, at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Nkrumah became involved in the Pan-Africanist movement under the authoritative leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). Nkrumah served as a co-secretary of the last major Pan-African meeting, held in Manchester, England, in 1945, and, with the West Indian socialist and anticolonialist George Padmore (1903–1959), Nkrumah drafted the declaration of decolonization that was issued by the conference. He also interacted with future African leaders, including Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda (1898–1997), Kenneth Kaunda (b. 1924), Jomo Kenyatta (1891–1978), Joshua Nkomo (1917–1999), Juluis Nyerere (1922–1999), and countless others. These undertakings and peer associations convinced Nkrumah about the need for African liberation. By 1947 he had helped produce a number of Pan-Africanist publications, including the *African Interpreter*, *New African*, and *Pan African*, using them to agitate for African liberation.

During the post–World War II period, revolutionary nationalism gripped Africans as much as it had shaped the consciousness of peoples under European imperialism. In the Gold Coast, nationalism crystallized into the formation of a political party known as the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), led by Dr. J. B. Danquah (1895–1965). The leadership of the UGCC invited Nkrumah to become the general secretary of the party. As a result, Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast on December 10, 1947, establishing a turning point in African nationalism and liberation. On January 20, 1948, Nkrumah was appointed the general secretary of the UGCC.

In 1948 several ex-servicemen, protesting for end-of-service benefits, were shot and killed, leading to several days of anticolonial protests throughout the Gold Coast. Panic-stricken, the British colonial government passed the Riot Act on March 1, 1948, with Governor Gerald Creasy declaring a state of emergency. Eleven days later, Nkrumah and other leaders of the UGCC were arrested

and sent to the faraway Northern Territories, where they were detained until April 12, when Creasy bowed to popular demands and released them.

Within a year, ideological problems arose between Nkrumah and the UGCC. Nkrumah wanted to shift the reformist and elitist bent of the UGCC toward a path of revolutionary politics that would involve and empower the masses to seek the complete overthrow of colonial rule. Nkrumah also wanted immediate self-government, unlike the UGCC, which favored a gradual pace toward independence. Consequently, on June 12, 1949, Nkrumah broke away and formed the Convention People's Party (CPP).

The CPP used a series of strategic nonviolent actions, including strikes, boycotts, and protests, which Nkrumah referred to as "Positive Action." He also established the *Evening News,* a newspaper that became the voice of the party, enabling the CPP to engage in populist politics. The CPP was a broad-based party: it successfully recruited women, rural dwellers, and the youth, groups that had been marginalized by the elitist posturing of the UGCC. Nkrumah's formation of the Committee of Youth Organization (CYO) on February 26, 1949, energized young people throughout the country who embraced his populist ideas.

Meanwhile, the outcome of the 1948 revolution forced the British government to rethink the political future of the Gold Coast. It appointed A. K. Watson to investigate the revolution and make recommendations. After a thorough investigation, the Watson Commission recommended that a constitution be drafted as a prelude to independence. The drafting of the constitution was chaired by Justice Henley Coussey, a highly respected jurist of the Gold Coast High Court.

On November 7, 1949, the Coussey Committee released its constitutional report. Nkrumah found the committee's work to be woefully inadequate because its prescription for self-government was limited. Disappointed, Nkrumah organized a nation-wide strike, scheduled for January 1, 1950. Fearing the whirlwind of populist action being unleashed by Nkrumah, the colonial government arrested about two hundred CPP and CYO leaders.

Even though Nkrumah was in prison, the CPP won a landslide victory in municipal council elections held in 1950 in the principalities of Accra, Cape Coast, and Kumasi. Consequently, Governor Noble Arden-Clarke freed Nkrumah and others, and Nkrumah became the leader of government business in a government dominated by Africans. Nkrumah became the prime minister in 1952. He led the Gold Coast to independence in 1957, attaining a republican status in 1960.

Apart from his role as the agent of Gold Coast independence, Nkrumah championed the liberation of the continent by organizing a series of Pan-African meetings in Accra. These were attended by future African leaders, including Robert Mugabe (b. 1924) of Zimbabwe. Nkrumah wanted to unify the continent into a sovereign state. But the emergent neocolonialism and exclusivist nationalism of some African leaders derailed his ideal of a united Africa. All the same, he was able to forge organic political unity with Guinea in 1959 and Mali in 1960; he was also instrumental in the formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963.

Clad in kente cloth and a *batakari* smock, powerful symbols of Ghanaian culture, Nkrumah's ideas of cultural renaissance incubated the popular ideologies of "African personality," "Black is Beautiful," and "I am Black and Proud"; indeed, he inspired the empowerment and re-conscientization of blacks all over the globe. Apart from his autobiography, Nkrumah wrote a number of books that deal with the postcolonial political economy of Ghana and Africa as a whole and offer a cultural prognosis of the African condition in the context of neocolonialism. That Nkrumah's Ghana became a site of political pilgrimage in the 1960s is not in dispute. Overnight, his political magnetism attracted stalwart pilgrims, including W. E. B. Du Bois, Malcolm X (1925–1965), and Martin Luther King (1929–1968), to Ghana.

Nkrumah is also the "father" of Ghana in the sense that he provided Ghana with infrastructure that no Ghanaian leader has been able to match. Without Nkrumah's foresight, Ghana would be a provincial backwater today. Nkrumah built several industries based on the country's natural resources. To harness the rapid industrialization of a newly independent Ghana, he built the industrial township of Tema and the dam at Akosombo to supply power and water. Numerous roads were constructed to link different parts of the country, and the country's colonial-era railway system was improved to facilitate the transportation of produce, especially cocoa, from the interior to the coastal ports.

Nkrumah also built hundreds of educational institutions, including elementary schools, secondary or high schools, teacher training colleges, technical schools, and research institutes for the sciences and humanities. He established two new universities—the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and the University of Cape Coast—and expanded the University of Ghana. In order to make education universal in Ghana, Nkrumah provided free education for the inhabitants of the Northern Region, an area that had suffered from underdevelopment during the colonial period. Nkrumah also established scholarships for overseas higher education to train personnel to assist in the country's educational endeavors. In addition, adult and civic education were introduced nationwide to complement literacy and the civic duties of the citizenry. Mobile vans fitted with public-address systems also disseminated information on public health, etiquette, and social mores.

Historians disagree on the events that led to Nkrumah's overthrow. Certainly, his political demise was due in part to his authoritarian tendencies, including his declaration of a one-party state and the imprisonment of his political opponents. This tendency is best exemplified by Nkrumah's response to his opponents efforts immediately after independence in 1957 to either kill him or remove him from power. Nkrumah used state instruments to marginalize them, an action that troubled a section of the Ghanaian population. In addition, his internationalization of Pan-Africanism, his outspoken championing of socialism, and his political flirtations with the Soviet Union at the peak of the Cold War helped bring about his political downfall.

On February 24, 1966, a group of elite officers of the Ghanaian armed forces and police—sponsored by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)—staged a coup while Nkrumah was in Vietnam attempting to broker peace between warring Vietnamese factions. After the coup, Nkrumah lived in exile in neighboring Guinea, where he spent his time writing about anti-colonialism and neocolonialism. Afflicted with cancer, he sought medical help in Romania, where he died in 1972.

SEE ALSO *Pan-African Congress; Pan-Africanism.*

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Kwabena Akurang-Parry

NORTH AFRICA

The modern historiography of North Africa is dominated by controversy over European colonization in the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which has colored the view of the past 3,000 years. Beginning with the French capture of Algiers in 1830, this colonization was the second such wave in modern times. The first began with the capture of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 1415; it followed on from the Reconquista, the annexation of Muslim Spain by the Christian kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon that was completed in 1492 with the fall of Granada to the newly united kingdom of Spain.

By 1492 the Portuguese were in possession of Ceuta and Tangier, together with Arzila and Larache on the Atlantic coast of northern Morocco. By 1515 they had occupied Agadir, Agouz, Safi, Mazagan, and Azemmour on the coast of southern Morocco, whereas the Spaniards had taken Melila, Mers el-Kébir, Oran, Bijaya, and Tripoli along the Mediterranean coast, and garrisoned the port of Algiers; Tunis was captured in 1535. By 1575, however, only Mazagan remained to the Portuguese in southern Morocco, whereas Spain had lost everything east of Oran. By 1700 Tangier, Arzila, and Larache had been evacuated; Mazagan, Mers el-Kébir, and Oran would be evacuated as well by 1800. By 1830 only Ceuta and Melila were left to Spain.

The motives of Portugal and Spain were various. In the case of Portugal, crusading zeal served the purpose of trade, as the Moroccan ports became links in the chain that led to sub-Saharan Africa and the Indies. In the case of Spain, such zeal served the purpose of defense against the counter-crusade of Muslim pirates operating out of North Africa. Both the Iberian conquests and the piracy were symptomatic of the weakness of central government by the Wattasids, Ziyanids, and Hafsids, the dynasties ruling Morocco from Fez, western Algeria from Tlemcen, and eastern Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripolitania from Tunis. Lack of control of their largely tribal territories exposed the coast to invasion while leaving resistance to the people. It was through such resistance that the political vacuum was eventually filled, in Morocco by a Mahdist movement that reunited the country under the Saadian dynasty. Along the Mediterranean coast, the feat was performed by pirates from the Ottoman Aegean. ʿAruj (d. 1518), his brother Barbarossa (d. 1546), and their successors not only drove the Spaniards from Algiers, Bijaya, Tunis, and Tripoli, but as admirals of the Ottoman fleet, conquered the region for the Ottoman Empire. By the end of the sixteenth century the modern political divisions of North Africa had been established with the formation to the east of Morocco of three Ottoman provinces ruled from Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, all three were effectively independent under rulers of Turkish origin.

This enduring political achievement, that stemmed from the conflict with Spain and Portugal and provided the framework for the subsequent colonization of North Africa by France, Italy, and Spain, meanwhile, introduced 200 years of dependence upon Europe, both as an enemy and as a trading partner. As an enemy, Christian Europe provided rich pickings for state-sponsored piracy in the Mediterranean, where the so-called Barbary corsairs ran a profitable business in raids upon European shipping and European coasts for captives held to ransom and goods that were frequently sold back to European merchants. In Morocco, the expulsion from Spain in 1610 of the Moriscos, Muslims whose forcible conversion to Christianity had never been accepted as genuine, led to the creation of a pirate base at Salé, from which the so-called Sallee rovers operated in the Atlantic as far as the British Isles and Iceland. By the eighteenth century, however, such piracy was increasingly regulated by diplomacy, whereby various flags were exempted from attack in return for tribute. Growing numbers of European merchants were represented by consuls, whereas North African Jews with European connections acted as agents for the sultans, deys, beys, and pashas—the rulers of these so-called Barbary states. Morocco's capitals were inland and, for many years under the ʿAlawite dynasty that succeeded the Saadian in the middle of the seventeenth century, trade with the infidel was restricted. But in 1760 the port of Mogador (now known as Essaouira) was created for the export of grain to provide the sultan with much-needed revenue.

North Africa thus lay on a frontier between two civilizations. In the eyes of Thomas Shaw (1694–1751), chaplain to the English consulate at Algiers in the 1720s, the Ottoman provinces were quite well governed, but socially and economically reminiscent of the primitive world of the Bible. Scientifically they had fallen far below the standards of mediaeval Islam, whereas Roman civilization was a thing of the past. William Lempriere (d. 1834), traveling from Gibraltar to Marrakesh in the 1780s, saw mainly desolation and despotism. These themes acquired a fresh significance in the nineteenth century, when the sense of European superiority was translated into conquest and colonization. The bombardment of Algiers by the British fleet in 1816 was a statement that piracy could no longer be tolerated, and that the North African states were no longer free to act in defiance of Europe. In relation to Europe, however, their rights were at a discount. When the dey of Algiers sued the French government for payment of debts outstanding from the supply of grain to France in the 1790s, the case gave rise to a diplomatic incident. In 1827 the flicking of the French consul with the flywhisk of an angry dey became the justification for the French capture of Algiers in 1830. As an expedient to keep the government

of Charles X (1757–1836; King of France 1824–1830) in power it failed; but as a triumph of civilization over barbarism it became the justification for the conquest and colonization of the dey's dominions under the new name of Algeria.

Whatever it meant in practice, this notion of a civilizing mission sustained the French Empire in North Africa almost to the end. It depended upon a definition of the barbarism it was designed to overcome, a mental exercise that began in 1830 and continued down to 1950. Blame for the perceived backwardness of the region was variously apportioned between the Turks and Oriental despotism in general, Arab nomads who had ruined the agriculture of Roman Africa, and Islam—a religion that had stupefied the population. The thesis found its final expression after World War II (1939–1945), when the formation of the French Union generated a series of publications to which Eugène Guernier (b. 1882), editor of *L'Encyclopédie Coloniale et Maritime*, contributed *La Berbérie, l'Islam et la France*. This was a history of North Africa in which the native inhabitants, the Berbers, of the same race and customs as the Spaniards, and thus completely different from the Arabs, had profited from Roman civilization and Christianity, but succumbed to poverty and superstition under Islam; the task of France had been to return the land and people to the European fold.

Guernier's version of North African history is a colonial myth. The state of affairs in 1830, however, remains contentious: a comparatively prosperous economy and society going its own way in its own time; a backward economy and society structurally unable to progress; or one whose natural development had been inhibited by a long history of confrontation with external enemies. What is important is not the weakness of the states created in the sixteenth century, but their durability. Over the centuries their governments had taken increasing control of their territories and inhabitants while becoming ever more firmly identified with their societies. It was this structure that the French took over and adapted.

They did not do so without destruction. Like the Portuguese and the Spaniards before them, the French in Algeria encountered the opposition of tribal peoples left without central government by the removal of the Turkish elite. Within ten years, confrontation had escalated into war for the interior of the country with the Mahdist leader Abdelkader (1808–1883), whose defeat and final surrender in 1847 was only accomplished by a huge army and the ruthless devastation of the countryside. Invasion of the mountains of Great Kabylia completed the conquest in 1857, but major revolts down to 1871 entailed further loss of life and livelihood. In 1848

Alexis deTocqueville (1805–1859) declared that the country had been depopulated and its civilization ruined.

However true, his statement was an attack on the policies of the monarchy of Louis Philippe (1773–1850, King of France 1830–1848) by a partisan of the Second Republic, symptomatic of a conflict over Algeria that continued under the Second Empire and the Third Republic. In that conflict, the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity mingled with the concept of a colony of settlement by immigrants from the mother country and the alternative vision of a colony of exploitation by capital investment and technical assistance. The battle over these principles was waged between Paris, the army, and the settlers within the framework of the Constitution of 1848, which declared Algeria to be an integral part of France and subject to its laws. Within that framework, the slogans of assimilation and association acquired different meanings. In principle, the assimilation of the country into the departmental and communal structure of government in France required the integration of the conquered population into the French nation; but for the settlers it applied only to themselves as citizens distinct from native subjects. To the Saint-Simonians in the army under the Second Empire, believing in progress through technology, association meant partnership with the native population; but to the settlers it meant apartheid.

The outcome was a series of compromises that favored the settlers after the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870. The native population was given the vote in local elections on a limited franchise with minority representation; most, however, were placed in so-called mixed communes under administrators rather than mayors. As Muslims they were declared to be subjects and not citizens unless they agreed to live entirely under French as distinct from Islamic family law, while as subjects they were penalized by a special criminal code. A further anomaly was the continued separation of Algeria from France under a governor-general, reinforced by the creation of a representative assembly of the settlers in 1903. As full citizens, this pursued their civilizing mission at the expense of the indigenous majority, acquiring land for the production of wine and grain and raising taxes for their own benefit. The Muslim population was increasingly impoverished. Attempts by Paris to rectify a system so out of line with metropolitan France came to nothing.

Saint-Simonianism may have failed in Algeria, but the ideal of association lived on in a second generation of imperialists who believed in the creation of a French empire to compensate for defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1971. In a climate of international rivalry, they acquired Tunisia in 1881 and Morocco in 1912, but on terms very different from Algeria. So, too, was the

political philosophy. The occupation of Tunisia, ostensibly to regulate the country's debts and prevent tribal incursions into Algeria, was followed in 1883 by the establishment of a protectorate over a theoretically sovereign state in which a French resident-general directed the government on behalf of the bey. In Morocco, the French gained control of the finances of the country by the Act of Algeciras (1906) before establishing a French and Spanish protectorate by the Treaty of Fez in 1912. A French resident-general was installed together with a Spanish commissioner for a Spanish zone along the Mediterranean coast, and a Committee of Control for Tangier. In Tunisia the first resident, Paul Cambon (1843–1924), set out to complete the reform of government begun by the beys and their ministers over the past fifty years, by inviting the Tunisians to participate in the modernization of their country. In Morocco the struggle of the sultans, defeated by France at the Battle of Isly in 1845 and by Spain at Tetouan in 1860, to bring the tribal people of the mountains and the desert under their administration, while losing control of foreign trade to European merchants and consuls, was taken over by the new French resident, Marshal Louis-Herbert-Gonzalve Lyautey (1854–1934). Although, as in Algeria, this meant a campaign of conquest that culminated in a major war in the Spanish zone in 1926, Lyautey aimed to win the support of the Moroccans by promotion of the sultan as the embodiment of state and society. In both Tunisia and Morocco, this combination of separate statehood with paternalism was a victory for association over assimilation.

The partition of Morocco between France and Spain extended into the Sahara, where Spain was allocated the tiny enclave of Ifni and a narrow strip to the north of a line that fixed the Moroccan frontier at 28° N. To the south along the coast was the Spanish Sahara, while to the east was an immense extension of Algeria that began with the occupation of the oasis of Touat in 1900 and ended with that of Tindouf in 1934. Morocco was thus excluded from the Sahara, although its southeastern frontier with Algeria remained undefined. Meanwhile the Italians invaded Libya in 1911. Resistance in what had been an Ottoman province since 1835 was nevertheless so fierce that by 1921 the Italians had conceded autonomy to the Sanusiyya order in Cyrenaica, and constitutional representation in Tripolitania. Such liberalism was terminated in 1922 by the Fascists, who for the next ten years fought the Sanusiyya in Cyrenaica before undertaking a program of settlement by land distribution on the French model.

Ironically, by the 1930s the French had abandoned such a program not only in Algeria, but in Tunisia and Morocco, where it had been introduced in the 1900s and 1920s. The economy of the three countries now depended upon the export of wine, grain, and olive oil, together with phosphates and iron ore. But the economies of scale required by the overseas market had put an end to the original vision of a countryside densely populated by European farmers. The settler population of Algeria, now native to the country, had moved into the cities, leaving their original smallholdings to be amalgamated into large estates. The result, said Jacques Berque (1910–1995), was a land without people, and in the case of the Muslim population, a people without land. Across North Africa that population was outgrowing its means of subsistence, leaving the countryside for work in France, and like the settlers, crowding into the cities. This transformation of society was the background to the advance of North Africa to independence.

Agitation started in Algeria and Tunisia before World War II in Morocco during the 1930s. It began as an extension of the French debate over assimilation and association, but ended with a demand for independence. In Tunisia and Morocco it called on the protectorate to prepare the nation for eventual independence in the spirit of association; in Algeria it called for citizenship in the spirit of assimilation. But in 1934 the Destour or Party of the Constitution founded by the Young Tunisians in 1920 was eclipsed by the Neo-Destour, a mass party aiming at immediate independence. In 1943 the Moroccans followed suit with the Istiqlal or Independence Party. In pursuit of assimilation, the Young Algerians concentrated on the question of citizenship, against the demand by Islamic scholars in the 1930s for the association of the Muslim population with the French on equal terms. But both demands were overtaken by the formation in 1936 of the Algerian People's Party, which, like the Neo-Destour, called for independence.

The French treated this agitation as the work of an unrepresentative minority of basically loyal subjects. But the transformation of traditional society accomplished by colonization gave the new nationalists new supporters, and their movements continued to grow. In Algeria assimilation was gradually implemented with an extension of the franchise leading up to the concession of citizenship in 1947 and its final introduction in 1959. Reprisals for the killing of Europeans at Setif in 1945, however, escalated into war after the outbreak of rebellion in 1954. The impatience of extremists and the military reaction to their terrorism cut short the slow but steady progress toward a peaceful compromise. It precipitated the end of French Algeria in 1962, when the Europeans refused counter-assimilation into an independent Algerian nation, and left *en bloc*. The war likewise cut short French resistance to the independence of Tunisia and Morocco, which became sovereign in 1956.

At independence, the French version of North African history gave way to a nationalist account of liberation from oppression, rapidly clouded by the disappointment of conflicting hopes for democracy, socialism, and Islam under the rule of autocratic kings and presidents. In Algeria dissatisfaction with the performance of the one-party state culminated in Islamist terrorism during the 1990s, but in slow progress toward plural democracy in the only country to have had some experience of representative government throughout the colonial period. Stability has nevertheless been maintained by regimes working through parliamentary institutions to complete the modernization of government in the colonial period, and provide a secure framework for national politics. In Libya, where Britain took over from Italy after World War II, the monarchy set up by the United Nations in 1950 relied on British and American assistance until 1969, the military coup of the anti-Western Colonel Muammar Gaddafi (b. 1942) and a more lasting constitutional experiment in nation-building.

Even in the case of Libya, however, the ties with Europe have been unbreakable. Not only has Europe remained North Africa's main trading partner, taking oil and gas from Algeria and Libya and sending tourists to Morocco and Tunisia, but since independence the flow of immigrants from Europe into North Africa has been reversed by the emigration of North Africans to Europe to escape the poverty of a rapidly growing population. The problem of assimilation has thus been exported to metropolitan France and its neighbors, whereas North Africa has benefited in receiving remittances from these émigrés, from technical assistance and trade agreements. Economic growth, however, has yet to outstrip the rise in population, which poses a problem for Europe as well as North Africa. But while North Africa might welcome association with the European Union, the sense of a cultural barrier remains, and Europe has yet to agree on a constructive approach to removing it.

SEE ALSO *Missionaries, Christian, Africa; Nationalism, Africa; North Africa, European Presence in; Scramble for Africa.*

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Michael Brett

NORTH AFRICA, EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN

Africa, located between Europe and Asia, has been of strategic importance to world powers throughout history. Additionally, the Red Sea was an important artery of commerce and a highway for the spread of ideas. European presence in North Africa dates back to the invasions of Alexander, Caesar, and Ptolemy during Greco-Roman times. Closer to our time, European presence in North Africa dates to the fifteenth century, when Spain established a hold on the North African coast and occupied Mellila (1494) and Ceuta (1580). Spain again invaded Morocco in 1859–1860. European presence in the nineteenth century altered the status quo and history of North Africa.

European presence in North Africa impinged on the practice of Islam, African tradition, and various forms of social practice. It resulted in conflict between local peoples and colonial administrations. Resistance to colonial domination exacerbated racism and discrimination against Muslims. Not surprisingly, a disparate group of North Africans (both religious and secular), led by an educated elite, revolted against the European presence. Resistance was sustained and fierce, especially in reaction to the exploitation of labor and resources, racism, and control over North African economies.

EUROPEAN POLICIES

Europeans controlled the most fertile land in North Africa. In Algeria, for example, 26,153 European families owned 2,345,666 hectares (5,796,375 acres) of land, while 630,732 Muslim families farmed 7,349,100 hectares (18,160,361 acres). Despite revolts in Kabylia (1871) and other areas (1880s), French colonists increasingly displaced Algerians from the coastal plains and valleys to the Algerian highlands and steppes. The French also imposed a 3 percent direct tax on Algerians, who did not benefit from tax revenue despite harsh punishments for late payments. In addition, North Africans were subject to the *indigenat* laws, which required Muslims to carry passes.

Nationalist agitation began before the onset of decolonization, but accelerated after World War II. The various European powers recruited over 160,000 North and West Africans to fight in the war. France's defeat in 1940 and the Allied invasion of North Africa in 1942 weakened the aura of French invincibility and emboldened nationalists. In the Maghreb—Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia—agitation for independence intensified after 1942. The nationalist struggle was long, violent, and bloody, as the substantial, often violently racist European populations were determined to stay in power at any cost.

ALGERIA

France invaded Algeria in the time of Charles X (1830) and that invasion culminated in a long, brutal war that Frantz Fanon chronicles in his classic *Wretched of the Earth* (1961). The European population in North Africa helped supply France's wartime needs during World War I and maintained its political control after World War II. By 1940, Europeans owned 2.7 million hectares (5.94 million acres) of land as compared to the 1.6 million hectares (3.5 million acres) they had owned in 1890. European immigrants, who made up 2 percent of the population, controlled one-third of all profitable agricultural land. Generally, both settlers and metropole largely ignored Algerian demands for equal rights, and whatever limited land reforms the French government initiated were blocked by the powerful Algerian settler population.

Different Algerian leaders advocated different approaches to decolonization. Ferhat Abbas (who from 1922 to 1926 published articles denouncing colonialism) favored federation with France. However, when Sheikh Ahmed Ibn Badis (founder of a nationalist reformist religious movement in 1928) died in 1940 and Massali al-Hajj (leader of the Parti du Peuple Algérien) was imprisoned, Abbas became more militant.

Ferhat Abbas sent appeals (such as the *Manifesto of the Algerian People*) to Marshal Pétain (governor-general of Algeria, 1941) and the American envoy, Richard Murphy, demanding agrarian reform, education, participation in government, and independence. France's Fourth Republic initiated some limited reform but the French administration in Algeria thwarted all efforts.

Charles de Gaulle's initiatives of March 1944, which aimed to give equal rights to Algerians, curtail discriminatory legislation, and open up civilian and military careers to all, were resisted by the French settlers. Frustration led Algerians to form new organizations, such as the Friends of the Declaration of Independence (Amis du Manifeste de la Liberté or AML, founded in Sétif in 1944), to carry on the nationalist struggle. In 1945 the Algerian Peoples' Party (Parti du Peuple Algérien or PPA) rejected federation with France and from May 1, 1945, anti-French demonstrations occurred in Sétif, leading to serious clashes on May 8, 1945. The brutal tactics police used to suppress the demonstrations incensed the crowds, which attacked Setif's armed garrison. Disturbances spread to Annaba, Gulma, and parts of Oran, and in reprisal the French bombed villages by air and sea. Abbas and other leaders were blamed for the disturbances and arrested and Sétif became the symbol of the Algerian nationalist struggle.

In 1945 Algerians secured the right to elect thirteen representatives to the French Constituent Assembly. The following year, Abbas, freed from jail, organized the Democratic Union for the Independence of Algeria (Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien or UDMA), which sought to make Algeria a republic federated with France. The UDMA won eleven out of thirteen seats in France's Constituent Assembly. Also in 1946, Massali al-Hajj launched another party, the Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties or MTLD), to agitate for an Algerian national assembly and French withdrawal from Algeria. The Fourth French Republic responded to nationalist demands by passing the Algerian Statute (1947), which gave fiscal but not political autonomy to Algeria.

Mohamed Belouizdad, Ahmed Ben Bella, and others formed the Organisation Secrète (Secret Organization or OS) in 1948, to protest electoral fraud in the Algerian assembly elections and the repression of Algerian leaders. The OS advocated militant action against colonial rule. Ben Bella and other OS leaders were arrested after an attack on the Oran post office, but Ben Bella escaped and fled to Cairo. In 1954 the revolutionaries formed the Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action (the Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action or CRUA), to work toward Algerian independence. On

October 10, 1954, CRUA was renamed the National Liberation Front (Front de la Libération Nationale or FLN); under that name, it became the most potent force for Algerian freedom.

The FLN attacked targets in Algeria, destroyed infrastructure (police stations and barracks), and detonated bombs in Algiers. The French government arrested MTLD and FLN leaders and launched punitive raids against the "rebels."

In 1956 a group of liberal Europeans and FLN representatives met to declare a truce and to pledge to protect civilians. In July of that year, the FLN absorbed the Algerian Communist Party and made Casbah an important military base. In both Algeria and Cairo, the FLN intensified its independence struggle, tying down the huge French army in Algeria. After six more years of conflict, the Evian Agreements of May 1962 ended the Algerian war for independence.

TUNISIA

Following the 1930 Eucharistic Congress at Carthage (organized by Carthage's archbishop, Monsignor Lemaître, to celebrate a century of French/Catholic activity in Algeria), nationalist stirrings in Tunisia began to intensify. Habib Bourguiba, Mahmud Matiri, and other leaders of the Destour (Liberal Constitutional Party) launched the newspaper *L'Action Tunisienne* to spread their nationalist message. After *L'Action* was banned on April 27, 1933, Bourguiba and other leaders formed the Neo-Destour party in 1934. This was suppressed by the French colonial administration and Bourguiba was imprisoned for his role in disturbances at Bordj Le Boeuf.

In January 1938, the Neo-Destour and the General Confederation of Tunisian Workers (Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens or CGTT) organized riots in Bizerte. Police killed 112 and wounded 62 and arrested Bourguiba and other leaders, thus stifling nationalist activity.

In 1942 the new Tunisian ruler, Munsif Bey, rekindled nationalist hopes when he received nationalist leaders in his palace and demanded the establishment of a consultative assembly with a Tunisian majority. After German troops arrived in Tunisia later that year, Munsif Bey formed a new government with Neo-Destour sympathizers (chief among them Muhammad Shanniq). However, Free French authorities deposed the bey as an Axis supporter after the Allies retook Tunis in 1943.

After Bourguiba was released by the Germans in 1943, he returned to Tunisia and issued a proclamation denouncing Italian fascism. In March 1945, Bourguiba secretly left Tunisia for a North African and North American tour to seek support for the nationalists. A year later, police broke up the Congress of August 23, 1946,

organized by Destour, Neo-Destour, and the Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail (UGTT) to coordinate nationalist activities. When demonstrations, strikes, and violence continued, the French in July 1947 asked Mustafa Ka'ak to form a new Tunisian government (with himself as prime minister), in which French and Tunisian ministers would share power. But co-sovereignty became problematic soon after its implementation because the French insisted on holding on to de facto control. Prime Minister Shanniq and other Tunisian ministers went to Paris in October 1951 to demand Tunisian independence; when the French resident-general, Hautecloque, demanded the Shanniq government's dismissal, riots broke out in Tunisia on January 15, 1952. Bourguiba was arrested on January 18, 1952, and in March, Shanniq and other Tunisian ministers were also arrested. The frightened bey appointed two successive prime ministers (in March 1952 and March 1954) who were amenable to French demands, but this was unacceptable to the nationalists, who dismissed any form of compromise after January 1952. The Neo-Destour party formed a united front with the UGTT to fight police actions, but most Neo-Destour leaders were arrested.

Tunisian guerrillas attacked settlers, and in turn the Red Hand, a settler terrorist organization, attacked Tunisian political leaders. When the Red Hand assassinated Farhat Hashdad on December 5, 1952, the violence that ensued eventually forced the French government to begin the process of granting autonomy to Tunisia. The French concluded an agreement with Bourguiba on April 22, 1955, but several Tunisian leaders denounced it because it ensured French control over Tunisia's foreign affairs, army, police, and senior administrative posts, as well as sectors of the economy. In June 1955, Bourguiba returned from France to Tunisia and on March 20, 1956, the French agreed to grant Tunisia independence. The Neo-Destour Party won eighty-eight of ninety-eight assembly seats in the March 25, 1956, election and on July 25, 1957, the assembly abolished the monarchy and declared a republic with Bourguiba as head of state.

MOROCCO

In Morocco, economic depression increased support for anticolonial and nationalist demands, especially after 1934. The Great Depression and the attendant hunger and unemployment hit Moroccans hard. Even affluent merchants and professionals found themselves marginalized by French settlers and businesses. From its creation, Allal al-Fasi's Committee for Action (formed January 1937 to champion Moroccan independence) was constantly harassed by the government. Appropriation of Moroccan lands and French plans to divert the Sebu River's waters

ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In 1830, during the reign of Charles X, the French invaded Algeria, beginning a more than 130-year-long occupation of the North African country. French settlers moved to the country and began farming much of the available arable land, displacing native Algerians in the process. A highly profitable colony, Algeria was largely controlled by the French colonialists, known as *colons,* both economically and politically. Though limited actions were taken in the first half of the twentieth century to include more Algerians in the administration of the country, these efforts were largely seen as ineffectual.

Lacking a meaningful voice in their own country, many Algerians looked to overthrow the French-supported government; eventually, various opposition leaders joined forces to create the Front de Libération Nationale. In late 1954 Algerian rebels began to attack French installations, but their efforts were soon redirected toward attacking French civilians, in hopes of gaining more attention, beginning with the Philippeville massacres in which 123 people were killed. French forces in turn killed over 1,000 Algerians, setting off a spiral of new violence throughout the country. France quickly responded by sending in nearly 500,000 troops, who by early 1958 were generally in control of the country. But world opinion soon began to side with the oppressed Algerian population and many in France became tired of

the military operation and the loss of so many young soldiers. As the Fourth French Republic vacillated, at times negotiating with the rebels and at other times conducting serious campaigns against them, French colonists and the military, both determined in their opposition to Algerian independence, threatened to attack the French mainland. These threats, while they were not carried out, contributed to the collapse of the Fourth Republic.

With little hope for diplomatic or military resolution, in 1960 De Gaulle proposed a referendum in France to allow the citizens of Algeria the opportunity to vote on independence, which passed the next year with three-quarters approving the measure. Feeling betrayed, the French colonists and the military again sought to overthrow the government, but this time were stymied. On July 1, 1962, Algerians voted for independence, which was granted two days later by Charles De Gaulle. According to the Evian Accords, which formally settled the war, French colonists were given the option of receiving Algerian citizenship or returning to France; thousands decided to return to the mainland. In return for promising to aid the Algerian government financially, France won access to oil fields in the Sahara, an arrangement that kept French influence in Algeria alive long after the country's independence.

angered nationalists, who staged violent demonstrations. The French occupied the *medina* (the Muslim quarter) of Fez, surrounded Qaraouiyine University, and forced nationalist leaders like Allal al-Fassi and al-Wazzani into exile.

Even with the arrest and exile of its leaders, nationalist opposition continued. A new nationalist movement developed, composed of Abderssalem Bennouna and Abdel Khaled Torres's National Reform Party and the Maghreb Unity Party (based in the French zone) of Mekki Nacri. Nationalists in northern and southern Morocco began to work together after the beginning of World War II. France's defeat in 1940, the landing of British and American troops in 1942, and the destruction of the pro-Vichy (pro-Nazi) French administration in Morocco all strengthened the nationalist cause. At the same time, a restrictive war economy caused untold hardships.

Nationalist agitation in Morocco only increased under the inflexible administration of the Gaullist French resident-general, General Puaux. By December 1943, a coalition of merchants and professionals had founded the Istiqlal (Independence) party. Istiqlal collected signatures for an independence manifesto that it submitted to the French, American, British, and Soviet governments on January 11, 1944. The nationalists, referring to the Atlantic Charter and Moroccan support against the Vichy regime, demanded Moroccan autonomy under Sultan Mohammed Ibn Youssef.

The sultan secured General Puaux's retirement and the eventual return from exile of nationalist leaders like Allal al-Fasi and al-Wazzani. In exchange for his signature on several French reform decrees that he (and Istiqlal) had opposed, Ibn Youssef won French, and later British, consent for a trip through the Spanish zone to

visit Tangier. This visit, the first by a Moroccan sovereign since 1899, was met with popular acclaim in the French zone. In a speech to Moroccan notables, French and Spanish officials, and the diplomatic community (on April 10, 1947), the Sultan emphasized the need for reform in Morocco rather than delivering the expected platitudes concerning French rule.

By 1951 a National Front had unified rival parties and gained support from the Arab League, Egypt, and the United Nations. In large towns workers resorted to strikes and violence, while in the countryside, peasants supported demands for reform. Trade union activity began in earnest in Casablanca, though unions were prohibited. Abderrahim Bouabid and Tayyib Bouazza started to organize a national trade union movement in 1949, but news of the murder of Ferhat Hashdad (a Tunisian trade union leader) led to riots instead in Casablanca. On December 8, 1952, the local French administration deposed Sultan Ibn Youssef and replaced him with Ben Arafa. Nationalists interpreted the French action as an assault on Islam and violence broke out in Casablanca and other cites such as Fez, Port Lyautey, and Marrakesh. Mass protests occurred in many Moroccan towns and many activists died in clashes with French troops. Then, in 1955, a guerrilla war began.

Faced with these disturbances and unable to count on Sultan Ben Arafa or the antinationalist support of several Berber chiefs (such as al-Glaoui of Marrakesh), the Fauré government in France arranged the Aix-les-Baines Conference, which brought together Morocco's representatives. Conference participants agreed on Ben Arafa's departure (without abdication), the formation of a throne council, and a national union to negotiate with France. Following this, the French started negotiations with Sultan Mohammed Ibn Youssef and restored him to his throne as Mohammed V, king of independent Morocco. After negotiations with Istiqlal, Morocco became independent on March 2, 1956.

LIBYA

Libya came under European control much later than the other Middle Eastern countries, and only briefly. From the mid-nineteenth century, Libya was under Turkish suzerainty. By the 1880s it was divided into the province of Tripoli (Tripolitania and Fezzan) and Benghazi (with Cyrenaica) and ruled by local governors under Ottoman control and supported by an 8,000-man garrison. Turkish officials, assisted by the Sanusiyya brotherhood (founded in the 1830s), worked with local chiefs to collect taxes. The Sanusiyya and its *zawiya* (lodges) maintained peace and settled disputes between the Turkish authorities and the people.

Even after World War II, Libya had many characteristics that made its political situation unique. Without a ready constituency of disaffected people, nationalist movements in Libya had to work with the colonial administration. However, the tide changed after fascist Italy invaded Libya and colonized the country. Public lands owned by the Turkish administration were seized by the Italian colonizers. Land seizures accelerated after General de Bono (the Italian governor of Tripolitania) started a program of demographic colonization that provided land to carefully selected Italian peasants. The Tajura plains, the Khums hills, the Tarhuna mountains, and the central Jaffara plains were all seized and large tracts of Libyan land were given to Italians (and other Europeans) for agricultural purposes. In 1938 some 20,000 Italians settled in Libya, and in 1939 another 12,000 did. Thus, by 1939 about 120,000 Italians lived in Libya, making up around 12 percent of the population.

Furthermore, after the Italian conquest many Bedouins were kept in conditions akin to concentration camps. Umar al-Mukhtar, leader of the Cyrenaican resistance, was captured and hanged in 1930. Italian rule of Libya lasted until early in 1943, when British forces gained control of both Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

Following World War II, British military administrators governed Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, while the French controlled the Fezzan. In November 1949, the U.N. General Assembly resolved that Libya would become independent in two years. With U.N. help, Sayyid Muhammad Idris, the Sanusi leader, was accepted by the Tripolitanians and, later, by Cyrenaicans, as their leader. In December 1951, Libya became the first North African colony to achieve independence.

EGYPT

In Egypt, the interwar years witnessed increased anti-colonial militancy and effective political organization for independence. Economic deprivation led to strikes and demonstrations, which were exacerbated by the arrest of Sa'ad Zaghlul and two colleagues on March 8, 1919. Students from Al-Azhar University, supported by transport workers, judges, and lawyers, staged a revolt in 1919. This resulted in Britain abolishing its protectorate and recognizing Egypt's independence on February 28, 1922, on four conditions: namely, British control of imperial lines of communication through Egypt and between the Mediterranean and Red Sea, responsibility for defending Egypt against external attack, British protection of foreign interests in Egypt, and control of the "Anglo-Egyptian condominium" of the Sudan.

Egyptian nationalists accepted this partial independence because the Wafd Party (formed in 1918 by Zaghlul Pasha) was weak. The Great Depression

Indian Troops in Egypt. *British officers lead a line of Indian soldiers from their camp in Egypt in March 1940. These troops were the first from the British Empire to take up occupation in North Africa.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

increased popular discontent and civil strife, and in 1936 an Anglo-Egyptian treaty (with Zaghlul's successor, Nahas Pasha) made concessions to Egyptian nationalists.

Britain used Egypt as a military base during World War II and drove Germany out of North Africa by 1943. Nationalism intensified in Egypt after the war. The creation and expansion of the state of Israel strained Anglo–Egyptian relations, as Arabs held Britain responsible for giving Arab Palestine to Israel. Furthermore, Britain's continued occupation of the Suez Canal Zone (resumed in 1952) energized the Muslim Brotherhood (founded in 1922), which became a force in Egyptian politics during the late 1940s and 1950s.

The Israeli defeat of Egypt in 1948–1949 discredited the Egyptian monarch and Nahas Pasha. In 1952 a group of young military officers opposed to the monarchy and British control of the Suez Canal Zone seized power in a bloodless coup d'état and formed a new government under General Muhamed Naguib. Egypt was declared a republic on February 10, 1953; in 1954 General Naguib, who many nationalists considered too conservative, was replaced

by Lt. Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) following a palace coup. Gamal Abdel Nasser then became president. Britain agreed in July 1954 to evacuate its troops within twenty months. They kept this agreement, but the United States and various Western European powers grew increasingly hostile to Nasser's anti-Western rhetoric and policies. After the United States and Britain retracted offers to provide financial aid for the construction of the Aswan Dam, Nasser turned to the Soviets for aid and nationalized the Suez Canal.

Nasser's actions galvanized Britain's determination to get rid of him by any means possible. His radical nationalism was viewed as a type of communism, and thus a threat to Western supremacy. At the same time, the Israeli leadership regarded Egypt as a threat to Israeli security.

In November 1956 Israeli troops invaded the Canal Zone under a secret agreement with Britain and France. The invasion was condemned worldwide, and when the United States opposed it, Israel and its British and French allies quickly withdrew. Egypt then emerged as a truly independent state for the first time in modern history.
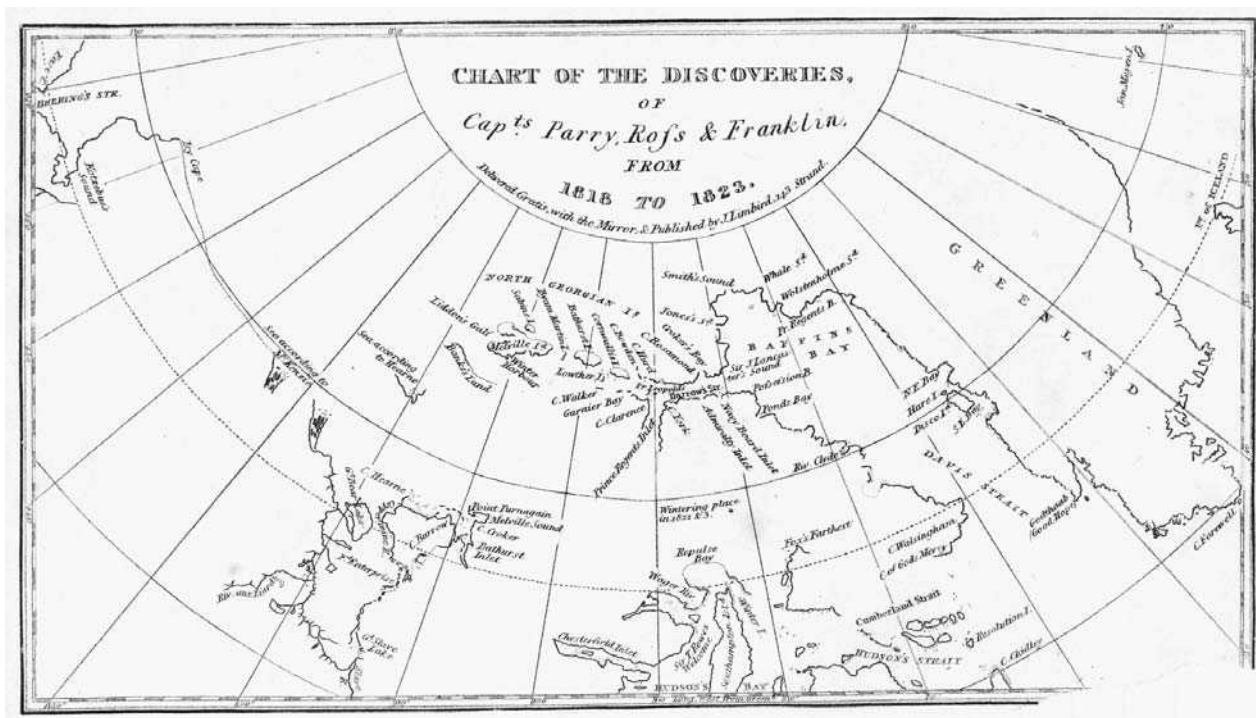
Chart of the Discoveries of Captains Perry, Ross, and Franklin. *This map, drawn circa 1845, charts the discoveries in the Artic of the British explorers William Parry, John Ross, and John Franklin. An expedition led by Franklin in search of the Northwest Passage disappeared near King William Island around 1848.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

SEE ALSO *Independence and Decolonization, Middle East; Secular Nationalisms, Middle East.*

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Edmund Abaka

NORTHWEST PASSAGE TO ASIA

The Northwest Passage was long sought by European explorers to shorten the distance and time that merchant ships needed to travel from Europe to Asia. Most explorers attempted to locate a sea channel in the Arctic waters to the north of Canada. The route that was eventually discovered runs from the Atlantic Ocean below Iceland and Greenland, through the Arctic archipelago in northern Canada, and along the northern coast of Alaska into the Pacific Ocean.

Spanish explorers were the first to try to locate this mythical passage from the Pacific side beginning in 1539, but the British soon surpassed them in the sheer number of exploration parties coming from the Atlantic. Martin Frobisher (ca. 1535–1594) discovered Frobisher Bay (1576–1578), John Davis (1543–1605) found Cumberland Sound (1585), and Henry Hudson (1565–1611) explored both the Hudson River and later the Hudson Bay (1609). All of these efforts failed, however, to find a passageway. It is often forgotten that Captain James Cook's (1728–1779) famous expedition of 1776 to 1779, which ended with his death in the Hawaiian Islands, began as a search for a Pacific route to the Northwest Passage.

Disasters were common. In 1845 Sir John Franklin (1786–1847) led a large expedition that completely disappeared. Later explorers determined that Franklin's ships became icelocked near King William Island. After abandoning their ships and making their way back by land, the entire 129-man party died by 1848. One reason for the total loss may be that they had been provisioned with eight thousand tins of food sealed with lead. After 138 years,

laboratory tests on three bodies from this ill-fated expedition discovered lethal levels of lead poisoning.

Finally, after more than three hundred years of failure, an exploring party led by Robert McClure (1807–1873) completed the Northwest Passage by a combination of sea and land routes from 1850 to 1854. In 1906 the Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen (1872–1928) spent a total of three years completing the voyage by sea. The first single-season passage was not accomplished until 1944, however, by Canadian Henry Larsen (1899–1964).

On July 1, 1957, the U. S. Coast Guard cutters *Storis*, *Bramble*, and *Spar* began to search for a deeper channel through the Arctic Ocean. Their success was a historic end to the more than 400-year challenge to find a deepwater route that would let large ships make the Northwest Passage. Upon its return to Greenland, *Spar* also became the first U.S.-registered vessel to circumnavigate the North American continent, beating *Storis* home by several weeks.

For all of the negatives that global warming may entail, it may also open the Northwest Passage for increasingly long periods of time. It has been hypothesized that by 2015 an ice-free commercial route will appear in the Arctic during the summer months. If true, this passage will allow ships traveling between Europe and Asia to shave more than four thousand miles off the normal route through Panama. In addition to avoiding delays and canal fees, many large container and tanker ships cannot fit in the almost century-old Panama Canal, forcing them to take the longer and more treacherous route around South America's Cape Horn.

SEE ALSO *European Explorations in North America; Exploration, The Pacific.*

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Bruce Elleman

NYERERE, JULIUS
1922–1999

Julius Nyerere was the first prime minister of Tanganyika when the country attained self-government in 1961 and the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania (1964–1985), the name of the country following the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964. He

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, July 11, 1966. *President Nyerere of Tanzania holds the Freedom Torch, presented to him by Tanzanian youths who carried the torch from Nyerere's birthplace to Dar es Salaam.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

was born in a chiefly family among the Zanaki people of North Western Tanganyika. He studied at Makerere University in Uganda where he trained as a teacher. He later studied history and economics for his master's degree at the University of Edinburgh.

Nyerere was a nationalist figure during the colonial times who brought together a number of different nationalist factions into one political organization termed the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). Nyerere became a well-respected leader among his fellow Tanzanians, as well as across Africa and internationally. He played the role of a unifying leader to the diverse population of Tanganyika and later Tanzania, both as a nationalist leader and in his roles of president. He earned the title *mwalimu* (teacher) in Tanzania, a title with which he came to be referred internationally.

Nyerere is remembered for specific virtues and principles that he upheld and practiced as a leader. He was a great orator. He was often described as a humble leader,

which earned him great respect worldwide. Nyerere had great concern for egalitarianism and was passionately committed to equality as the basis of African socialism. As a result, he rejected any assertion of privilege to the educated few and the elites.

In 1967 he released the Arusha Declaration, in which he defined African socialism and discouraged the emergence of an African capitalist class, while emphasizing localization through state and cooperative ownership. He established collective communities, *Ujamaa*, (villagization) as the backbone of the practice of African socialism, which was people centered with a collective effort toward development. As cooperative villages, peasants in the Ujamma villages were expected to live together, work collectively in the agricultural farms, and market their produce collectively with the aim of benefiting all members.

Nyerere often spoke of *uhuru na kazi*, meaning freedom and hard work as defining characteristics of independence and development. He gave meaning to his policy for the development of Tanzania through many speeches, which he delivered within Tanzania, across Africa, and at international forums. Nyerere's speeches touched on issues of development, democracy, freedom, education, and peace.

His speeches are indicative of his belief in the mutual reinforcement of freedom and development; he argued that freedom depends on development and development on freedom. He advocated for people-centered development, often reiterating that "development means the development of people." On education, Nyerere advocated education as a lifelong pursuit that leads to self-reliance and liberation. He supported the liberation struggles of other African countries and provided domicile in Tanzania for a number of African liberation movements, including the African National Congress (ANC), and Mozambique's *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO) or Mozambique Liberation Front.

Nyerere retired from the presidency in 1985 and from active politics in the early 1990s. He devoted the rest of his life to the pursuit of peaceful resolution to conflicts in Africa, serving as the chief mediator in the Burundi conflict in 1996. He died of leukemia on October 14, 1999, in London. Nyerere's life, teachings, and career remain an inspiration in the search for freedom and justice in Africa.

SEE ALSO *African National Congress; Nationalism, Africa.*

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Edith Miguda

NZG (NEDERLANDSCH ZENDELING GENOOTSCHAP)

SEE *Netherlands Missionary Society*

O

OCCUPATIONS, EAST ASIA

The term *occupation* generally refers to the temporary stationing of troops by a victorious military force in the territory and possessions of a defeated state. The purpose is to pressure the occupied state into meeting the occupier's postwar demands. Once the stated goals are met the occupying military will repatriate (return to its country of origin) and the occupied territory will regain its sovereignty. In this sense, occupation resembles *trusteeship*, a post–World War I strategy that temporarily entrusted the territory of the defeated Axis powers to the victorious Allies, with the goal of nurturing the people to sovereignty. Occupation differs from *colonization*, which does not set specific goals and thus is not governed by temporal restraints.

The history of the U.S. presence in the Philippine Islands demonstrates the thin line distinguishing occupation from colonization. The first encounter with these islands by U.S. forces was as a battleground during the Spanish-American War (1898). After the United States took control of the islands from Spain, it engaged in battle with local independence-minded Filipinos. The debate in the United States at this time centered on the extent to which the United States would develop its presence on the islands. America's decision to establish a government to administer the islands determined the status of the United States as an indefinite colonizer rather than a short-term occupier.

American colonial activity in the Philippines coincided with similar imperial activities throughout East Asia by the United States and other world powers. Although these powers colonized certain territories outright, they also established occupations in others. This is particularly apparent in China. Over the latter part of the nineteenth century, no country was strong enough to colonize China outright. Consequently, the world's colonial powers signed agreements with China's weak government that permitted their occupation of designated territories. For example, the protocol signed between the Chinese and Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Russia, and Japan following the antiforeigner Boxer uprising (1898–1901) permitted the occupying countries to station twenty thousand troops in Beijing. The troops were meant to protect the occupiers' people and interests, and to pressure the weak Chinese government to carry out other conditions in the agreement. The Chinese government also signed agreements with the occupying powers that granted them lease rights in parts of the Shandong Peninsula and Lüshun (Port Arthur) for set periods of time (usually ninety-nine years).

The introduction of the trusteeship as a form of occupation, popularized after World War I as an answer to anti-imperialist sentiment, gained for the Japanese the former German territories in the South Pacific and on mainland China. These postwar Japanese occupations were intended to last just long enough for Japan to guide the people living in the trusteeship territories to sovereignty. On the basis of this premise (and the open-door policy) the world powers forced Japan at the Washington Conference (1920–1921) to relinquish its possession of China's Shandong Peninsula, which it had acquired from the Germans. Japan controlled its South Pacific acquisitions until the last year of War World II, when it was forced to relinquish most of these islands to the United States.

Japanese Soldiers at the Great Wall of China, 1933. *Beginning in the 1930s, Japan began to occupy territories on the Asian continent, first Manchuria and then other parts of China. In this photograph, Japanese soldiers plant the flag of Japan on the first gate of the Great Wall in Shanhaiguan near Qinhuangdao in eastern China.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Beginning in the 1930s, Japan began to occupy territories on the Asian continent, first Manchuria in northeastern China and then other parts of China. In the early 1940s the Japanese took control of Malaya (Mayasia), the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), Singapore, and the Philippines, all of which were former Western colonies in Southeast Asia. These expansion efforts closely resembled occupations, for Japan's stated plan was to liberate these territories from their Western colonial rulers and prepare them for their eventual independence once a government friendly to Japan had been established. Japan's defeat in World War II left nationalists in these territories in a precarious situation: Japan's overthrow of previous colonial administrations provided indigenous nationalist movements with room to expand, but Japan's continued presence prevented nationalist leaders from developing the people's national identity and allegiance.

The term *occupation* is most often associated with the postwar imposition of Allied troops in Axis territories and their former colonies. The Allied powers originally envisioned a joint-trusteeship, with the various Allied countries cooperating in the occupation of a single region. This configuration worked better in Europe, where the Allies divided such cities as Berlin and Vienna into occupying zones. Joint-trusteeship worked less well in Asia, where the Korean Peninsula was partitioned by the United States and Soviet Union, resulting in the formation of two very different halves of the same peninsula.

East Asia experienced two forms of postwar occupation that differed in length and purpose. One type of occupation saw the Allied powers attempting to reestablish control over their former colonial possessions. The United States returned to the Philippines even before Japan's surrender and granted the islands their independence in 1946, after a year of occupation. The Dutch and British eventually failed in their attempts to regain their colonial possessions, bringing independence to former British and Dutch possessions. French attempts to retain

control of Vietnam forced it to retreat to the south and establish an indigenous government backed by French, and later United States, occupations.

The United States and the Soviet Union established occupation administrations in northeast Asia to demilitarize the Japanese. The two occupiers also hoped to spread their respective political ideologies. The Americans took over Japan, including the island of Okinawa, and southern Korea beginning 1945; the Soviets occupied northern Korea and several northern islands that Japan had gained through treaty with Russia in the late eighteenth century. Japan and northern Korea were administered indirectly— that is, by issuing directives through indigenous governments. This approach differed from the one used in southern Korea and Okinawa, where the occupying powers installed military governments to administer the territories directly.

The formal postwar occupation of Okinawa ended by 1972, when the United States returned the island to Japan. The occupations of southern and northern Korea both ended in 1948, and the occupation of Japan ended in 1952. However, the continued presence of U.S. troops in America's former occupied territories, as well as the continued possession by Russia of four of the Kuril Islands claimed by Japan, as well as the continued division of the Korean peninsula into north and south, represents critical legacies of these occupations.

SEE ALSO *Boxer Uprising; East Asia, American Presence in; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire, Japanese; Japan, Colonized; Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in; United States Colonial Rule in the Philippines.*

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OCCUPATIONS, THE PACIFIC

Pacific oral history and archaeology suggest that territorial occupations occurred often in the Pacific. In historic times, for example, New Zealand Maori forces occupied

the Chatham Islands and eliminated the indigenous Moriori population. In the late nineteenth century, Tongan warrior chief Ma'afu occupied eastern Fiji and Kamehameha of Hawaii conquered most of that archipelago. As a political concept, however, occupation is tied to a notion of the territorial state; this type of occupation only emerged after European powers and the United States had agreed upon a final division of the Pacific islands. This division largely followed the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898. Although, preceding this, German traders had already moved into the Marshall Islands and the new German state had declared this archipelago a protectorate in 1885 despite Spanish claims.

Occupation principally occurs as a reflex of war, and at the outbreak of World War I in 1914 both Australia and New Zealand sent squadrons north to occupy German's Southwest Pacific colonies, aiming particularly to seize cable and wireless communication centers. The Australians occupied German New Guinea and Nauru while New Zealand forces took Western Samoa. In the North Pacific, Japan moved quickly into the Marshall Islands and also the Marianas and Carolines—the other Micronesian archipelagoes that Germany had acquired from Spain in 1898. German forces, realizing the difficulty of defending these distant colonies, quickly withdrew. Australian, New Zealand, and Japanese militaries occupied these territories until their seizure was regularized as League of Nations C-class mandates.

World War II (1939–1945) occasioned even greater occupation of colonial territories. In late 1941 and early 1942, the Japanese moved swiftly to occupy American-controlled Guam and Wake, Dutch New Guinea, Australia's Territory of New Guinea, parts of Papua and Nauru, and British-held Solomon Islands and Gilbert Islands. In response, the Allies (mainly U.S. forces assisted by Australia and New Zealand) rushed troops into the rest of the Pacific including Samoa, Fiji, Tahiti, New Caledonia, and Ellice and Cook Islands in order to protect lines of communication between Australasia and North America. The largest number of U.S. forces occupied the New Hebrides (then a joint British and French Condominium colony), carving out two large advance bases that supported the subsequent invasion of Japanese-occupied Guadalcanal.

These Allied occupations were friendly insofar as military forces consulted, at least officially, with existing colonial administrations. In the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), however, U.S. military commanders, frustrated with colonial incompetence, assumed much of the day-to-day administration of the archipelago.

Bypassed behind the frontline, the Japanese occupied a number of islands (including much of New Guinea)

until the end of the war in 1945. Distracted by battle, neither Japanese nor Allied forces concerned themselves much with Pacific Island populations apart from recruiting native labor corps. The huge U.S. presence in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, however, helped spark several postwar social movements, including the Maasina Rule on Malaita and the John Frum movement on Tanna.

The United States assumed control of Micronesia as a strategic trust territory under the aegis of the new United Nations. This U.S. Navy administered these islands until 1951 when authority passed to the U.S. Department of the Interior. The Trust Territory eventually dissolved as the Northern Marianas became a U.S. Commonwealth (1975) while the remaining districts gained separate nationhoods—the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands in 1986, and Palau (Belau) in 1994—although these have signed "compacts of free association" that give the U.S. oversight of their foreign affairs.

Since World War II, Pacific occupations have been less frequent. In 1963 Indonesia occupied Western New Guinea—the last remnant of the Dutch East Indies colony—and, in the 1990s, Australian and other forces occupied Bougainville Island (part of Papua New Guinea) and Guadalcanal (Solomon Islands), to help settle a secessionist war and civil unrest.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Japanese; Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Lamont Lindstrom

OCEANIA

Oceania is usually considered to include the central and southern Pacific, but excludes the North Pacific and Australia. It consists of three principal areas: Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. It is significant that whereas the names *Polynesia* and *Micronesia* have geographical origins ("many islands" and "small islands," respectively), the name *Melanesia* refers to the skin color of its inhabitants ("black islands"). This usage reflects eighteenth- and nineteenth-century classifications, which regarded Polynesians and Melanesians as Asiatic, or even Semitic, while defining Melanesians as similar to Africans.

These traditional distinctions are problematic. Linguistic research, for example, has revealed extensive Polynesian influence in parts of the western Pacific, and has divided Melanesians into Austronesian and non-Austronesian language speakers. Formal colonial rule in the Pacific, however, tended to follow island group boundaries rather than geographical categories.

Few islands featured desirable resources, such as precious minerals or coal; thus, most attracted only limited European settlement and developed plantation economies in combination with nonrenewable resources, such as sandalwood. The British colony of New Zealand developed the most extensive European settlement. In most other cases, colonial rule in this region had more to do with international rivalry and the nineteenth-century "scramble" for empire than with an interest in Oceanic resources.

Most Oceanian colonies were politically independent by the 1970s, but the United States, France, and Britain continue to rule several "territories," which have various degrees of self-determination. In other areas, Australia or New Zealand is the governing power. So familiar to westerners through tourist images of pristine beaches and attractive islanders, Oceania also experienced medically and environmentally devastating nuclear testing by France and the United States from the 1940s to the 1990s.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Oceania faces the challenges of poverty, resource depletion, environmental degradation, and political instability. Several of the regions' countries could disappear entirely under the rising sea levels prompted by global warming. Unsustainable tourist development is also taking its toll. Oceania remains both desirable and vulnerable to Western power.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN

Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, a significant figure in the early years of the oil industry, was born to a prominent Armenian family in Istanbul, Turkey, on March 23, 1869. Receiving his early education in Istanbul before studying in Europe, he eventually earned an engineering degree from King's College, London, in 1887. While traveling in Baku, Azerbaijan, the twenty-two-year-old Gulbenkian took an interest in the region's oil fields, which led to the publication of his book *La Transcaucasie et la peninsule d'Apcheron: Souvenirs de voyage*, an examination of Baku's oil industry. Officials from the Ottoman Empire took notice of Gulbenkian's work and hired him to make a detailed report on the empire's potential oil resources.

As European nations began to make the transition from coal-burning machines to oil-burning ones, many countries looked to gain a foothold in the Middle East. Sensing the importance of oil reserves, Gulbenkian began a career in the burgeoning oil industry, helping foreign countries acquire oil rights and invest capital in the Middle East region. The Armenian brokered deals with major European oil companies, including Royal Dutch Shell and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later to become British

Petroleum), often keeping a five-percent stake, which earned him the nickname "Mr. Five Percent."

In addition to pursuing his business interests, Gulbenkian also offered economic advice to Ottoman embassies in Paris and London. He advised other countries in the Middle East as well—for example, he served as Iran's representative in France. Gulbenkian negotiated the 1928 Red Line Agreement, a division of the oil rights in the former Ottoman Empire between British, American, Dutch, and French companies, and helped American oil companies acquire rights to the oil fields discovered in Saudi Arabia.

Gulbenkian's interests were not confined to the oil industry, however. He was renowned for his fine arts collection as well as for his numerous donations to charitable causes and his support of the Armenian community worldwide. In his final years, Gulbenkian lived in Portugal, where he died on July 20, 1955. His will contained provisions for the construction in Lisbon of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum and for the establishment of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, dedicated to supporting the arts, education, and the sciences.

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Jane Samson

OIL

As long ago as 5,500 years ago, despite its economic insignificance, oil was a valued commodity. Vents where natural gas burned and oil seeped even served as places of worship in ancient times.

In about 1272 Marco Polo (1254–1324), while traveling through Baku, observed oil seeps being worked in hand-dug wells. In 1888, Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869–1955), engineering graduate of King's College in London and son of an Armenian kerosene merchant,

journeyed to Baku. There he saw that oil was being drilled, but also subjected to enormous waste. He also found that Robert Nobel (1829–1890) of the Swedish Nobel family had organized the best production and transportation system for getting Baku's oil to market. In 1891 he published *La transcaucasie et la peninsule d'apcheron: souvenirs de voyage* in which he presented details of the oil industry of Baku. The book quickly brought an invitation from finance ministers of the Turkish sultan to make a report on oil prospects in Mesopotamia.

In late 1900 William Knox D'Arcy (1849–1917), a financier made wealthy by Australian gold mining interests, was asked to fund oil exploration in Persia. Although D'Arcy never visited Persia, through his agent he did obtain a concession to search for oil there. The concession was granted by the Qajar dynasty, valid for sixty years and covering all of Persia except for the five provinces on the northern border with Russia.

Drilling began in 1902 in Chiah Surkh on the border with Iraq. By 1904 dry holes were draining away D'Arcy's fortune. In 1905 with the support of the first sea lord, Admiral John Fisher (1841–1920), the Scottish

An OPEC Meeting in Caracas. *Ministers from member nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries gathered in Venezuela for a summit on September 26, 2000.* © REUTERS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

oil firm, Burmah Oil Company, eventually traded D'Arcy his concession in exchange for his wildcatting outlays and 170,000 shares of Burmah Oil.

On May 26, 1908, drilling at a new site in southwestern Persia, oil was struck just as Burmah Oil and D'Arcy were considering abandoning the concession. The new well at Masjid-I-Suleiman marks the beginning of the oil industry in the Gulf region—it was to also create a new strategic importance for the Middle East.

On April 14, 1909, a new company, Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) was organized to develop the oil. The search for oil in Persia was spurred on by the British Admiralty's decision, just prior to World War I (1914–1918), to stop fueling the navy with coal and to switch to oil. In 1914 the Admiralty, led by Winston Churchill (1874–1965), signed an agreement with APOC to supply it with fuel oil. In addition the British government bought a controlling interest in the company.

In 1921 the Qajar dynasty was overthrown in a coup led by Raza Kahn (1878–1944), an officer in the Cossack Brigade. He soon became Reza Shah Pahlavi and initiated a program of modernization. He changed the name of the country in 1925 to Iran. APOC then changed its name to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC).

During the 1920s Gulbenkian was active in numerous deals developing oil in the Middle East. These included the 1920s Red Line Agreement that bound the partners in the oil business to collaborate in developing an oil business within the bounds of the former territories of the Ottoman Empire. He also was instrumental in the formation of the Iraq Petroleum Company to developed oil in Iraq first discovered near Kirkuk, in 1927.

During the 1920s French, Dutch, and American companies joined the search for oil in the Middle East. Oil was found in Bahrain in 1932, in Saudi Arabia in 1935, and in Kuwait in 1938.

During World War II (1939–1945) Reza Shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Muhammad Reza (1919–1980) when Iran was occupied by the British and used as a conduit for supplying the Soviets. After the war, the British withdrew; however, Iranian nationalists, many secular and many religious, used both the occupation and the business of AIOC to fuel nationalist hatred. One point at issue was that, by 1950, AIOC's oil revenues had increased tenfold, but the income to Iran had increased only fourfold.

Muhammad Mossadegh (1880–1967) emerged as the leader of Iranian nationalism. Muhammad Reza Shah was forced by political pressures to appoint Mossadegh as prime minister. In 1951 Gulbenkian, having been a representative of the Iranian government and its oil interests for decades, advised Iran not to nationalize the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. But, Mossadegh attempted to nationalize foreign oil interests in Iran. In response AIOC withdrew from Iran and organized a boycott of Iranian oil. The shah attempted to replace Mossadegh, but was unable and forced to flee the country. However, he was brought back in 1953 after a coup against Mossadegh engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was successful.

After World War II Gulbenkian helped to create the Stroke 54 Documents, which absolved American companies from the Red Line restrictions. This allowed them to get the Saudi Arabian concession. The concessions to explore for oil in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Qatar were granted in the 1930s; however, these fields were not developed until after World War II.

In 1948 Americans found enormous fields in Saudi Arabia. Thereafter oil flowed in increasing amounts out of Middle Eastern fields. The seven major oil companies (the Seven Sisters) in the Middle East were: Exxon, British Petroleum, Standard Oil of California, Dutch Royal Shell, Texaco, Gulf, and Mobile. In the 1950s nationalism demands moved the oil royalties to a fifty-fifty split. Thereafter oil properties were nationalized and new deals made with oil companies. In 1973, following another of the Arab-Israeli wars, the Arab states engaged in petroleum politics. Using crude oil to punish the West for its support of Israel, an oil crisis was created. The resulting Arab oil embargo caused enormous transfers of wealth and enough oil market turbulence that a number of Western leaders experienced election defeats.

Oil revenues since 1945 have grown, but have floated up and down in price with global supplies or demand. Much of the oil revenue of the Middle East has been spent on armaments destroyed in wars with little going to a mushrooming population. This has contributed to political instability across the region.

By 2005 it was estimated that two-thirds of the world's oil reserves were located in the Middle East and North Africa, the Arabic-Islamic extension of the Middle East. Demand for oil was growing globally in both the West and in China necessitating policies of oil security and price stability. These policies have been seen as anti-Muslim and invasive by Islamic radicals and are believed by some to have contributed to increased Islamic terrorism.

SEE ALSO *Arabia, Western Economic Expansion in; Iran; Iraq; United States Policy Towards the Middle East.*

Oil Wells in Flames in Kuwait. *In early 1991, as the first Gulf War drew to a close, retreating Iraqi forces destroyed Kuwaiti oil wells by setting them on fire.* © PETER TURNLEY/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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Andrew J. Waskey

OPEN DOOR POLICY

The Open Door policy was an effort by the U.S. government to preserve China's territorial and administrative integrity at a time when it seemed the major imperial powers intended to carve China into a series of concessions, perhaps presaging the end of a unified China.

In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War (1898), America looked more eagerly at the elusive China market. America had gained Wake, Guam, and the Philippines and, earlier, Midway, Samoa, and the Hawaiian Islands—all stepping stones on the way to China. And China seemed the answer to prevent a recurrence of the economic depression that had just ended.

In September 1899 U.S. secretary of state John Hay proposed an ''Open Door'' policy in China in which all nations would have equal trading and development rights throughout all of China. He sent notes to the British, German, and Russian governments and in November to the French, Italian, and Japanese governments. Acting in the spirit of the most-favored-nation concept, which America had secured nearly six decades earlier, Hay wrote carefully, seeking not to criticize the increasing spread of spheres of influence. He sought to retain equal opportunity for trade and industry, especially for such latecomers as the United States.

The notes in 1899 did not result in much. No government would commit itself before others did, and Russia and Japan explicitly rejected America's suggested policy. Interestingly, Hay announced in March 1900 that every government had accepted the policy, although Japan did challenge Hay's statement. And, after the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, Hay sent a second note that sought to preserve China.

But America's Open Door policy could not halt the rising tide of imperialism. Japan ignored the policy in expanding its control in Manchuria after the Russo-Japanese War, again with the infamous 21 Demands in January 1915, and with the secret treaties Japan negotiated with Britain and France during World War I (1914–1918) giving it the German concession in China. Indeed, the Washington Naval Conference (officially termed the Conference on Limitation of Armaments) had as a goal guaranteeing China's territorial and administrative integrity—the purpose of the Open Door policy—but the resulting Nine Power Treaty was long on phrases and short on action.

During World War II (1941–1945), when the Western Allies renounced their ''unequal treaty'' rights and China regained its territorial integrity, the Open Door policy became a dead issue.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; Qing Dynasty; Scramble for Concessions.*

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OPIUM

Opium, or *Papaver somniferum,* has been cultivated and consumed by human beings since at least the third millennium B.C.E., when inhabitants of Mesopotamia began growing and ingesting it. From its likely origins in ancient Mesopotamia, opium use spread westward to Egypt and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean by the first millennium B.C.E., and eastward into Persia, India, and China by the first millennium C.E.

The European explorations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries encountered a preexisting opium trade in Mughal India, centered principally in areas surrounding Calcutta and Bombay (Mumbai). The Portuguese gradually entered the trade, progressively displacing Indians and Arabs from the increasingly lucrative China market. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch, English, and French had joined the opium commerce, which came to involve all of Asia and parts of Europe and its colonies around the globe as the nineteenth century unfolded.

At that point, opium had become a crucial commodity that had a major impact on the economic, social, and political circumstances in India, China, and Great Britain. The twentieth century witnessed the spread of opium cultivation to the Golden Triangle (Burma [Myanmar], Thailand, and Laos), to the Golden Crescent (Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan), and even to Columbia. At the same time, consumption of opium and its most popular

derivatives, morphine and heroin, extended to every corner of the globe.

Medically, opium serves as an analgesic, relieving pain, especially for those who did not or do not have access to modern therapeutic procedures. People with respiratory disorders, particularly tuberculosis, self-medicated with opiates to control coughing. Opium produces constipation and was thus taken to treat diarrhea and dysentery, common symptoms of numerous maladies that were otherwise untreatable in premodern times. In addition, people believed that opium helped to mitigate the symptoms of malaria and to energize exhausted laborers.

In addition to medical usage, people consumed opiates to demonstrate social status. When the price of opium soared, only the well-to-do could afford such a luxury. In the nineteenth century particularly and later as well, many intellectuals, from China to England, viewed opium as an agent of enlightenment that could expand the powers of the mind and bring tranquility to the soul. As English author Thomas de Quincey (1785–1859) put it, "Whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium introduced amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation and harmony." French writer Jean Cocteau (1889–1963) claimed that opium smoking generated "the ultimate siesta." The drug also served as a sort of social lubricant, bringing together friends and neighbors at community opium establishments or "dens," much as people in the early twenty-first century meet at coffee houses, tea houses, or local taverns.

Most recreational users claim that opium alters one's mood, produces a feeling of euphoria, reduces the stress of everyday life, and acts as an aphrodisiac (though some consumers admit to reduced sexual performance). For both medical and recreational users, the perceptions of opium's powers may well outstrip the actual performance of the drug or even produce a result opposite to the one desired.

GLOBAL OPIUM PATTERNS, 1800–1950

The vast majority of opium production and consumption during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century occurred in Asia. Britain, India, and China accounted for most drug activity there. National governments, local drug lords and officials, opium growers and merchants, colonial opium monopolies, and drug prohibitionists clashed over the suitable role opium should play on a continent whose inhabitants had increasingly become attracted to the drug.

By early twentieth century, pharmaceutical companies in the Europe, North America, and Japan began producing morphine and the precursor chemicals needed for the manufacture of opium derivatives for sale in the nonindustrial world, chiefly in China. Decades of global prohibitionist activism, World War II (1939–1945), postwar decolonization, and the 1949 Communist revolution in China destroyed traditional opium trafficking and consumption patterns. These circumstances, plus an emerging tolerance for drug use in most of the industrial world by the 1960s, set the stage for new centers of opium production and consumption.

Nineteenth-century opium trafficking was chiefly an Asian phenomenon. Nearly all opium growing was done in Turkey, Persia, India, and China, while most consumption took place in China, though people in other parts of Asia, Europe, and North America also became regular opiate users. Opium probably had the largest impact on China, where the Qing/Manchu government (1644–1911) had historically prohibited the drug, a ban that brought China into conflict with Britain, which supplied more than 90 percent of the foreign-produced drug.

Chinese demand for opium resulted in an outflow of silver to pay for it. That in turn increased the price of silver, which peasants had to purchase with copper in order to pay their taxes. Just as important, the Chinese tribute system of international relations, which regulated foreign access to China, began to break down. The British East India Company—the only British organization permitted by the Chinese to conduct trade in their country, and then only in Canton (Guangzhou)—lost its London monopoly on the China trade in 1834, thus permitting (under British law) any British company to enter the China market. But even as mercantilism gave way to free trade in Britain, China continued to insist on conducting foreign trade through the tribute system. These points of disagreement—the impact of drugs and the system of international relations—produced the First Opium or Anglo-Chinese War (1839–1842).

China's defeat and the ensuing Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing, 1842), which made no reference to the opium trade, opened China to the outside world and the European system of international relations. China resisted opening its doors while the drug trade continued, generating the Second Opium War (1856–1860), another defeat for China, and yet another set of treaties, one of which—the Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin, 1858)—allowed the import of opium upon the paying of a tariff. By this time, China was well on the way to becoming the world's largest opium producer. By the end of the century, probably more than ten million Chinese were addicted to the drug and millions more were periodic users. Millions of farmers had become producers of the drug, and tens of thousands of transporters and retailers emerged to get the product to users, while government officials at all levels reaped the taxation (some legal, some illegal) rewards.

Chinese Opium Den, circa 1900. *Men smoke opium through pipes as they read and relax in an opium den in China. During the nineteenth century the effects of opium smoking on Chinese society were devastating, leading to government prohibitions on its use and importation.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Beyond China, the British government used opium profits to cover the expenses of governing India, while millions of Indian farmers produced opium for the burgeoning global market, which included all the colonies in Southeast Asia, particularly those locations where large concentrations of ethnic Chinese lived. But the drug had also caught on in England and the United States, where Americans became enthusiastic consumers of patent medicines, most of which contained some form of opium. In addition, colonial regimes in Southeast Asia came to depend on opium taxation to finance their administrative costs.

But even while global opium production and consumption soared, an international opium prohibition movement emerged to check nonmedical use of opiates and other drugs. In 1905 the British government informed China that it would consider ending its exports of opium to China if Beijing would undertake a serious anti-opium campaign. This offer by London represented the culmination of a decades-long prohibitionist crusade in England and America, led by missionaries and assorted other reformers, much in the spirit of the progressive movement then in full swing in the United States. Should Britain be convinced of a serious Chinese effort, then London would end its export of opium to China by 1917.

Although Beijing launched an anti-opium movement in 1906 that initially succeeded beyond almost everyone's expectations, and though the British promised and did in fact bring an end to opium exports as prearranged, Chinese politics ultimately doomed the effort. First, the Manchu Qing government feared mobilizing the common people in the antidrug campaign for fear it could easily become a nationalist anti-Manchu movement. Next, the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908), the nation's principal leader, died in 1908, and three years later China's dynastic government collapsed forever. Successor regimes had little interest in the

campaign, and by 1916 the country had fallen into the hands of warlords, almost all of whom used opium to finance their organizational operations. Moreover, those political movements dedicated to crushing warlordism, ending foreign privileges in China, and modernizing the country—the Nationalists *(Guomindang)* and the Communists—both relied on opium revenue to some extent from the 1920s to the 1940s, even as they attacked the practice officially.

Meanwhile, several international anti-opium conferences held before and after World War I (1914–1918) to bring about an end to illicit drug trafficking began alerting the wider world to the perils of drug use. In the United States, the Harrison Act of 1914 began a prohibitionist drug campaign in a country that had liberally and legally consumed opiates. Great Britain agreed to end its export of opium to colonies in Southeast Asia by 1936, a pledge it honored. The League of Nations, created in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles to deal with thorny international issues, sponsored numerous anti-opium conferences, which generated anti-opium treaties.

Between the world wars, heroin was quickly replacing opium as the drug of choice in much of China, and although all the industrial nations provided the necessary chemicals to produce heroin in China, by the mid-1930s Japan came to dominate the traffic in heroin and its precursor drugs there. A growing split surfaced between Tokyo on the one side and London, Washington, D.C., and Nanjing (China's capital from 1928 to 1949) on the other, which resulted in Japanese trafficking becoming a prominent rationale with which to brand Japan an outlaw nation. World War II and various independence movements destroyed traditional drug marketing patterns in Asia, and the Chinese Communist victory in 1949 and its subsequent genuine antidrug campaign obliterated nearly overnight the largest consumer market for opium (at least until the 1980s). By the mid-twentieth century, the vast majority of the world's opium was used to produce legitimate medicines.

OPIUM ACTIVITIES SINCE 1950

Nonetheless, there remained a demand for opiates, particularly in the industrial world. With India and China no longer producing the drug, other centers of cultivation and new patterns of trafficking emerged to fill the vacuum. Drug users proliferated in the 1960s as countercultural movements across the globe extolled the benefits of getting high, often with opiates. Two principal production sites surfaced to meet the growing demand for opium, the Golden Triangle and the Golden Crescent. The countries of these regions were relatively poor, possessed vast remote and mountainous regions difficult for a government to access or control, and had all

experienced considerable political instability. By the 1990s, Columbia entered the opium growing business.

After World War II, the United Nations and member governments supported drug prohibition movements, at least verbally. Like the League of Nations, the United Nations sponsored antidrug conferences, promoted antidrug treaties, and disseminated antidrug measures. In practice, however, the United Nations merely served as a launching platform for its members' antidrug public relations campaigns.

By the 1970s, the United States had commenced its "war on drugs," a reaction to the growing popular notion that drug use had somehow become an acceptable part of one's lifestyle. Popular culture began addressing drug issues, one example being the motion picture *The French Connection* (dir. William Friedkin, 1971), which chronicled the movement of illicit heroin from Marseilles, France, to the New York consumer market and the marginally successful police effort to thwart such trafficking. "Just Say No" campaigns in the United States and elsewhere aimed to reduce drug use, and did realize some success in the 1980s and 1990s. By the late twentieth century, though opiates still attracted addicts and recreational users, other illicit hard drugs, such as cocaine and methamphetamines, began to capture a larger share of the illegal drug market.

International affairs have continued to have an impact on the drug trade. The Cold War (1945–1991) between the United States and the Soviet Union tended to undermine global antidrug operations because Washington often found itself allied with drug traffickers. Thus the U.S. government turned a blind eye to the drug activities of Chinese nationalist remnants in Burma, where they plied their trade into the 1970s, and worked closely with the Hmong of Laos (also in the opium business) during the Vietnam War (1957–1975). In addition, the United States supported the mujahideen (Islamic guerilla fighters) in Afghanistan, who cultivated and marketed opium to help finance their war against the Soviet Union, which had invaded and occupied their country in the late 1970s and 1980s. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in the 1980s and the American defeat of the militant Islamic Taliban government in 2001, opium cultivation once again became a significant source of income for Afghan tribes. This policy of overlooking the drug-related activities of America's conditional allies extended to Latin America, where Washington was predisposed to support governments that opposed Soviet or Cuban activities in the region.

These political marriages of convenience date back to World War II, when the United States worked with drug traffickers in Burma in an effort to defeat the

Japanese, and extend into the early twenty-first century, when the U.S. government worked with drug traffickers in Afghanistan to remove the Taliban and capture the Saudi-born terrorist Osama bin Laden (b. 1957). As long as consumers demand illegal opiates for recreational purposes, poverty will drive producers to meet those demands. And as long as governments advance agendas deemed more critical than illicit drug eradication, and prohibitionists continue to dominate drug policy in governments around the world, producers and consumers of opium will continue to achieve their agendas.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; China, to the First Opium War; Opium Wars.*

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Thomas D. Reins

OPIUM WARS

In the early nineteenth century, British merchants began to smuggle opium from India into China in order to balance their purchase of Chinese tea, porcelain, silk, and other goods for export to Britain. The British resorted to opium smuggling because Britain had no more silver for the China trade, and China, a country with a self-sufficient economy, was not interested in any Western product but silver.

The effects of opium smoking on Chinese society were devastating, and the drain of silver, which was spent on purchasing opium, greatly decreased the Chinese government's revenues. In an effort to stem the tragedy, the imperial government made opium illegal in 1836, and the traffic in opium thus became a criminal activity. However, British traders still smuggled massive amounts of opium into Guangzhou (Canton) by bribing local Cantonese officials.

In order to enforce the imperial government's prohibitions on the importation of opium, the imperial commissioner, Lin Zexu (ca. 1785–1850), was sent to Guangzhou by the Chinese emperor. Lin Zexu clamped down on all traffic in opium and destroyed all the existing stores of opium confiscated from British merchants at Guangzhou in March 1839. Great Britain, which had been looking for a means to end China's restrictions on foreign trade since the middle of the eighteenth century, responded by sending warships in June 1840 to attack Guangzhou and Xiamen, but the British effort was not successful.

From January 1841 to July 1842, however, British troops captured, in succession, Guangzhou, Xiamen, Dinghai, Zhenjiang, Ningbo, and Wusongkou. The British also captured the Chinese fleet anchored off Nanjing. British forces encountered fierce resistance from the Chinese, but China had only old and outdated weapons and artillery at their disposal. Finally, on August 29, 1842, the Chinese were forced to sign the "unequal" Treaty of Nanjing.

The Treaty of Nanjing opened five ports—Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Lingbo, and Shanghai—to conduct foreign trade as "treaty ports." In addition, a war indemnity of 21 million *taels* (1 Custom *tael* = 0.0378 kilograms = 0.10127 avoirdupois *pounds*) of silver was to be paid to Britain, and Hong Kong was surrendered to the British. The treaty further stipulated that all customs duties must be negotiated with other countries, and import duties were lowered from 65 percent to 5 percent. The treaty abolished the decree designating Guangzhou as the sole port for foreign trade and allowed British merchants to engage in free trade in China. Finally, the treaty allowed British merchants to bring their families to live in the treaty ports, and the Chinese local authorities had to provide housing or other establishments, which British merchants could rent.

To supplement the Treaty of Nanjing, the British forced the Chinese to sign the Treaty of the Bogue in 1843. According to this supplemental treaty, all British citizens would be subject to British, not Chinese, law if they should commit any crime on Chinese soil.
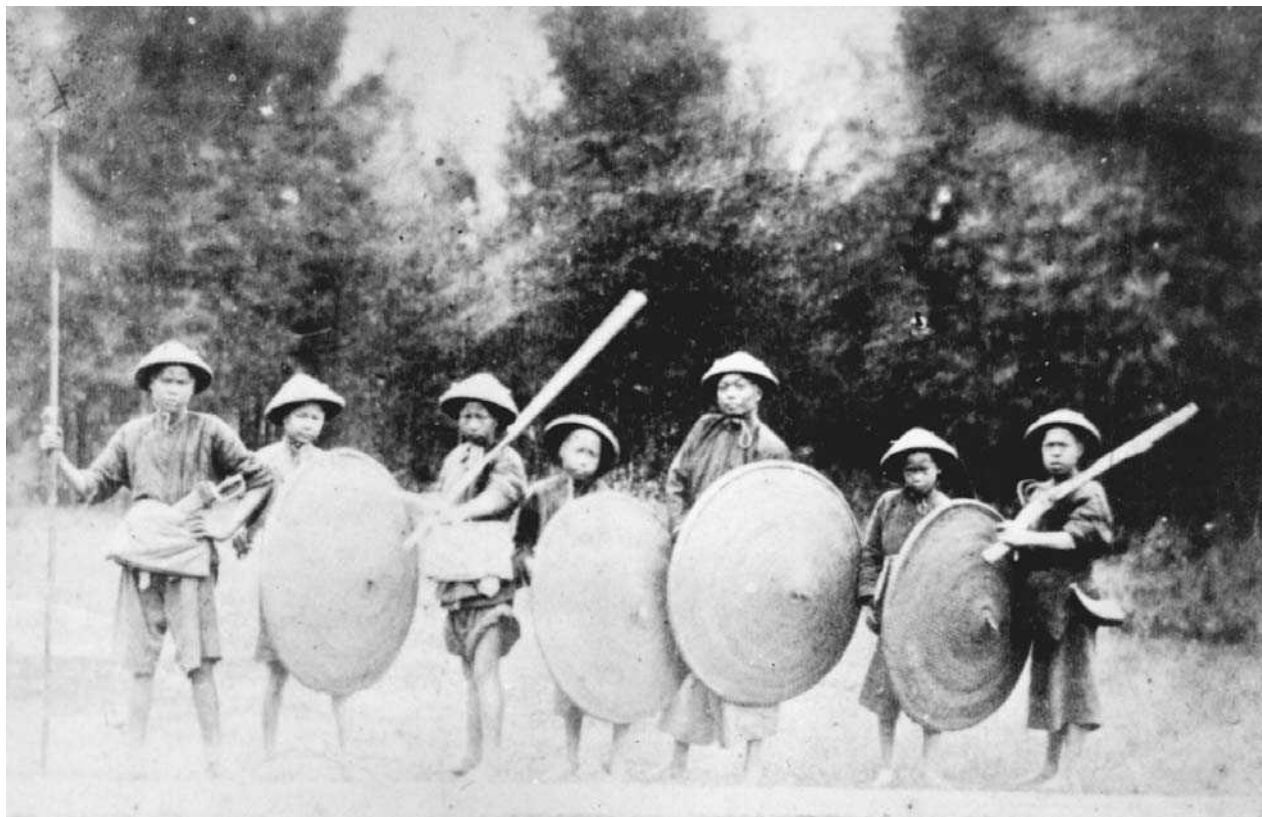
Chinese Militia, 1860. *Chinese militia armed with clubs and shields stand ready for battle during the Second Opium War.*
HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Furthermore, any Chinese person who either dealt with the British, or lived with them, or was employed by them did not come under Chinese jurisdiction either.

In addition, the so-called most-favored-nation clause was included. This gave the British the same privileges extorted from China by any other country. Within a few years, several other Western powers signed treaties with China and received similar commercial and residential privileges. The treaties opened the Chinese markets and resources to Western capitalism, caused the inflow of cheap Western industrial products, and toppled China's self-sufficient economy. However, the terms of the treaties also speeded up the development of capitalism in China. At the same time, the treaties opened China to the outside world against the will of the Chinese people, turning China into a semifeudal, semicolonial state, with Western domination of China's treaty ports after the war.

The second Opium War (1856–1860) is also called the Arrow War. On October 8, 1856, Chinese officials boarded the *Arrow*, a Chinese-owned but British-registered ship, in Guangzhou. The British quickly responded to the "Arrow Incident" and attacked Guangzhou. France soon joined British action under the pretext of seeking revenge for the execution of a French missionary, Father August Chapdelaine (1814–1856), by local Chinese authorities in Guangxi Province. The United States and Russia also sent envoys to Hong Kong to help the British–French alliance.

The joint English-French troops attacked again and occupied Guangzhou in late 1857. They maintained their colonial rule in the city for nearly four years. The coalition then cruised north to briefly capture the Dagu forts near Tianjin in May 1858. From there, they threatened to invade Beijing.

On June 23, 1858, the Chinese were forced to sign the Treaty of Tianjin, to which Britain, France, Russia, and the United States were party. The major points of the treaties were: Britain, France, Russia, and the United States would have the right to station legations in Beijing, and ten more ports would be opened for foreign trade, including Niuzhuang, Dengzhou, Tainan, Danshui, Chaozhou, Qiongzhou, Hankou, Jiujiang, Nanjing, and Zhenjing. Foreign vessels, including warships, would have the right to navigate freely on the Yangzi River. In addition, foreigners would have the right to travel within China's interior for the purpose of travel, trade, or

missionary activities. China was also to pay an indemnity to Britain and France of two million *taels* of silver each, and compensation to British merchants of two million *taels* of silver.

China subsequently attempted to block the entry of diplomats into Beijing. In order to force China to comply with the terms of the new treaty, British and French allied forces landed at Beitang on August 1, 1860, and successfully attacked the Dagu forts on August 21. On October 6, the coalition occupied Beijing and burned the city's Summer Palace (Yihe Yuan) and the Old Summer Palace (Yuanming Yuan), completely destroying the Old Summer Palace. The Chinese emperor finally ratified the Treaty of Tianjin in the Convention of Beijing on October 18, 1860.

The opium trade was thereafter legalized. In addition, Christians were granted full civil rights that were previously denied to them on the grounds of religious belief, including the right to own property. They were also allowed to proselytize and spread their faith unhindered. The contents of the Convention of Beijing stated that: China should recognize the validity of the Treaty of Tianjin; China would open Tianjin as a trade port; the district of Jiulong Si was ceded to Britain; Chinese laborers were permitted to emigrate to work overseas; and the indemnity to Britain and France would increase to eight million *taels* of silver each.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; Opium.*

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Yong Liu

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

In 1963 the leaders of thirty-two newly independent African states gathered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to establish the Organization of African Unity (OAU), primarily intended to promote unity and cooperation among African states, uphold self-government and respect for territorial boundaries, and eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa. From thirty-two member states in 1963, the membership of the organization increased to fifty-three in 1994. With this growing membership also came more achievements, problems, and challenges.

BACKGROUND OF THE OAU

The consciousness and movement for African unity is traceable to the ideas of Pan-Africanism, which originated among African descent in the Diaspora—in the United States, the Caribbean, and Europe. Pan-Africanists, both at the 1945 Manchester Conference in London and the 1958 All Africa People's Conference in Accra, unanimously spoke against the prevailing racism and colonialism. They called on Africans to unite in their fight for liberation. In 1957 Ghana became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence. In his independence speech, President Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) declared that the independence of Ghana was meaningless unless it leads to the total liberation of the African continent. From 1957 to 1963, Africa's unrelenting struggle for freedom resulted in the liberation of thirty-two African states. However, the continent, as Haile Selassie (1892–1975), then emperor of Ethiopia acknowledged, lacked the mechanism that would enable it to speak with one voice. So, formation of an African organization became a necessity.

Undoubtedly, African leaders agreed to the need for African unity, but were divided on the choice of a unanimous strategy. According to April Gordon and Donald Gordon, the disagreement centered on whether full continental political unity should be established immediately at the founding of the OAU, or whether it should be accomplished progressively through a minimalist or building block approach. These two approaches to African integration were hotly and passionately debated and considered throughout Africa. Two groups emerged. The first group, led by Nkrumah, was known as the Casablanca Group (named after the Moroccan city). Otherwise called the radicals, the Casablanca Group called for a political union of African countries, patterned after the federal model of the United States. Again, it suggested that African development be based on socialist planning. The second group, Monrovia Group (named after the capital of

OAU Charter Conference, May 1963. *Delegates from independent African nations met in 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to discuss efforts to oppose colonialism and promote independence and unity among African peoples. The meeting concluded with the signing of a charter forming the Organization of African Unity.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Liberia), was led by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1912–1966), prime minister of Nigeria. The group, otherwise known as the conservatives, in contrast, called for the creation of a looser organization and market-driven development. This division threatened to derail the course of continental integration. Nevertheless, the 1963 meeting united the opposing groups.

On May 25, 1963, Nkrumah of Ghana, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, and Gamal Abdel Nasser (or Gamal Abd al-Nasir) of Egypt (1918–1970), convened a meeting of thirty-two newly independent African countries in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to deliberate on the desired African union. Delegates at the meeting understood that to wipe out all forms of colonialism from Africa, unity was crucial. Thus, the charter establishing OAU was signed on May 25, 1963, with the objectives of eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa; promote unity and solidarity; coordinate and intensify cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa; promote international cooperation and undertake collective and joint provision of resources and man power,

which would enable Africa to achieve rapid development. The most important objectives that drove the OAU from its inception in 1963 to the economic predicament of the 1980s was the need to protect the fragile sovereignty recently achieved by African states, and to help those still under colonial or racist rule to achieve sovereign independence. In these respects, OAU recorded commendable breakthroughs. From 1963 to 1994, the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa provided financial and military support to independence movements in Angola, Algeria, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Príncipe, São Tomé, and white minority-ruled South Africa. A total of twenty-one countries were ultimately liberated, with South Africa becoming the fifty-third member on May 23, 1994. Nevertheless, OAU failed to pay equal attention to the issue of economic development.

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE OAU

Even though the OAU effectively pursued the goal of African liberation, it failed to confront the postcolonial

challenges of endemic poverty, war, genocides, human rights and environmental disasters, or political instability and failures. The organization provided inadequate answers to these problems, and, as the Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere (1922–1999) noted, the OAU was basically a talking club of African leaders with no power to back up its resolutions. Under the ruthless dictatorship of Hastings Banda (1898–1997) of Malawi, Emperor Bokassa I (1921–1996) of Central African Republic, Idi Amin (1924–2003) of Uganda, Mobutu Sese Seko (1930–1997) of Zaire, and Sani Abacha (1943–1998) of Nigeria, the OAU was helpless. Except for the courageous step taken by Nyerere to unseat Idi Amin in 1979, the OAU's principle of state sovereignty and nonintervention simply meant that the organization looked the other way while ruthless dictators abused the people and enriched themselves. Civil wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, among others, resulted from a struggle for power and allocation of resources. The ensuing division, instability, and uncertainty arrested sustainable development in Africa. Under this circumstance, as author S.K.B Asante noted, African states were not taken seriously by the international community as an important and effective partner in the global economy, and were increasingly swept aside by the intensification of economic globalization.

METAMORPHOSES OF THE OAU

Mindful of the harsh prospect of marginalization, and the ineffectiveness of the OAU in providing the way forward, African leaders, in 1999, convened for an extraordinary session of the OAU in Sirte, Libya. The session discussed ways of repositioning the OAU not only to align with the emerging global, political, and economic developments, but articulate the preparation necessary to promote Africa's social, economic, and political potentials within the context of globalization. With the theme of strengthening OAU capacity to enable it to meet the challenges of the new millennium, the Sirte summit demanded, among other things, for the speedy establishment of all the institutions provided by the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) in Abuja on June 3, 1991 (called the Abuja Treaty) namely, African Central Bank, the African Monetary Union, the African Court of Justice, and the Pan-African Parliament.

Based on the Sirte Declaration, the Constitutive Act of African Union was adopted by the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of OAU at its thirty-sixth ordinary session in Lome, Togo, on July 11, 2000. Two-thirds of the member states ratified it. Meanwhile, the OAU remained operational for a transitional period of one year following a decision adopted in Lusaka,

Zambia, on July 10, 2001. The next year, in Durban, South Africa, the OAU was replaced with the African Union (AU). The inaugural session of the new organization took place immediately at the same venue on July 9 and 10, 2002.

The AU was formed not only to accomplish greater unity and solidarity among African countries, but to ensure the acceleration of the political and socioeconomic integration of the continent. Of course, in the context of globalization, particularly since the 1990s, stronger integration in Africa became a precondition to improve its overall political and economic integration of Africa in the unavoidable world economy. As authors Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills rightly stated, AU might be seen as a mere baptismal name, or even a departure from the past disappointments of OAU. It might also be described as an old lady with a new dress, as Theodore T. Hodge noted. But what is remarkable, at any rate, is that AU opens a new chapter in African history when the paradigm of sustainable development is eventually identified and placed at the center of the continent's developmental concerns.

On the whole, efforts at African integration, symbolized in OAU, achieved the mission of ridding the continent of colonialism, but failed to achieve similar results in the social and economic spheres. Since the 1980s as a consequence, the postcolonial economy of Africa remained fragile. Frustrated with the apparent failure to address persistent socioeconomic problems in Africa, the OAU metamorphosed into AU, determined to take advantage of developmental opportunities implicit in the contemporary globalized economy.

SEE ALSO Nkrumah, Kwame; Nyerere, Julius; Pan-Africanism.

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OTTOMAN EMPIRE: FRANCE AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The Ottoman Empire was the preeminent Muslim state of the early-modern and modern periods. Arising in Anatolia in the thirteenth century, the Ottomans came to dominate the Middle East, North Africa, and Southeastern Europe. Although often perceived as a Middle Eastern power only, the Ottomans were an integral part of Europe.

The Ottoman Empire's relations with France and Austria (later Austria-Hungary) were often linked. For most of its history, the Ottoman state had good relations with France and fought with Austria. There were a number of factors that drove this dynamic. Most importantly, the Ottoman presence in the Balkans was a direct threat to the security of the Austrian Habsburg Empire. France too was often in conflict with the Habsburgs, and this brought the Ottomans and French together diplomatically and, sometimes, militarily. France also became deeply involved in the Ottoman territories, first through trade, then through investment. Only in the twentieth century did conditions change such that the Ottoman Empire allied with Austria-Hungary against France.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 established the Ottomans as a world empire. The victorious Sultan Mehmed II, "the Conqueror," fully understood the significance of capturing the Byzantine capital. Wanting to preserve the city's role as a center for world trade, Mehmed sent his personal troops into the city to protect the Byzantine palace and major marketplaces from looting. Mehmed's campaigns into the Balkans began to concern the Austrian Habsburgs, but initially there was little direct contact. As for relations with France, French merchants began to increase their trade in the eastern Mediterranean in this period.

Mehmed's death in 1481 led to a succession struggle between his sons Bayezid and Cem. The civil war that followed Mehmed's death pitted Bayezid, who was supported by the janissary slave soldiers, against his brother Cem, who garnered the support of the traditional Turkish aristocracy. Bayezid emerged victorious, and Cem fled. After seeking refuge in Cairo and among the Knights of Saint John on Rhodes, Cem was sent to France, where he was kept as a "guest" at Bayezid's request. This included an annual remittance from the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman seat of government, to Paris to cover Cem's expenses. Cem spent the rest of his life as a pawn in international diplomacy, as the Christian powers used his claim to the Ottoman throne as a potential threat against Bayezid.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The sixteenth century opened with a period of Ottoman expansion that greatly affected the Porte's relationships with France and Austria. The questions surrounding Ottoman expansion—How far would they go? When would they advance? Could they be stopped?—became vital to the states of Europe. Sultan Selim "the Grim" (1512–1520) defeated Shah Ismail Safavi at Chaldiran (1514), ending the threat of Persian expansion into Anatolia, and conquered the Mamluks in Cairo, which brought the central Islamic lands under Ottoman rule (1517). The conquest of the Levant was the fulfillment of Ottoman plans to secure control of east–west trade. The Ottomans now held all the major entrepôts for silk and spices in the eastern Mediterranean, and their navy dominated the sea.

Under Selim's son, Süleyman "the Magnificent" (1520–1566), the Ottoman Empire became a major participant in the diplomacy of Europe. Süleyman was deeply interested in events and developments in Europe, and quickly moved to expand the empire to the west, especially into Hungary. This brought the Ottomans into direct conflict with the Habsburgs in Austria. At the same time, Süleyman developed closer economic and diplomatic ties with France. Relations with both states were complicated by the advent of the Protestant Reformation.

This period was one of competition for supremacy between three strong rulers: Süleyman, Francis I of France (1494–1547), and Charles V (1500–1558), the Habsburg heir in Spain elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. Francis and Charles battled for control of northern Italy and supremacy in western Europe. Charles's focus on the west led him to put his brother, Archduke Ferdinand (1503–1564), in charge of the eastern portions of the empire. The Ottoman–Habsburg rivalry took place in two areas: in the western Mediterranean against Charles and in Hungary against Ferdinand.

Süleyman's advances into Hungary were a direct threat to the Habsburgs in Austria. Süleyman first attacked Hungary in 1526. On August 28, 1526, a hastily mustered Hungarian force led by the young King Louis II met the larger and better-armed Ottoman army at Mohács, a plain on the Danube south of the Hungarian capital at Buda. The Hungarians were no match for the Ottomans, whose artillery was particularly devastating. Over 10,000 Hungarian foot soldiers were killed, along with most of the nobility and bishops. King Louis fell from his horse while fleeing the battle and drowned. Within days, Ottoman forces occupied Buda and Pest. Süleyman, however, quickly withdrew, holding only the eastern third of Hungary.

Louis's death led to a succession struggle in Hungary. The majority of the nobles elected John Zapolyai as king, and he quickly acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty. However, Ferdinand of Austria, Louis's brother-in-law, also claimed the Hungarian throne and occupied Buda in 1528. Securing control of Hungary became vital to Habsburg defense planning. Süleyman marched into Hungary to support Zapolyai in 1529, retaking Buda, and continued westward to besiege Vienna that fall. The siege began too late in the season and Süleyman was forced to raise the siege and march home. Hungary was divided into three parts: Ottoman, Habsburg, and royal Hungary under Zapolyai. In 1553 a treaty recognized both Zapolyai and Ferdinand as rulers over their respective territories in Hungary in exchange for annual tribute to the Porte.

Full Ottoman annexation of royal Hungary came in 1541, prompted by Habsburg military action. In 1538 Zapolyai and Ferdinand concluded the Treaty of Varád by which Ferdinand would inherit Zapolyai's lands in exchange for aid against Ottoman attacks. The agreement became problematic when Zapolyai had a son shortly before his death in 1540. The Porte recognized the child as king, obviating Ferdinand's claims. Habsburg armies again tried to take Buda, and in August 1541 Süleyman marched to relieve the city. This time, however, he installed an Ottoman governor and provincial administration for Hungary. Ferdinand took full control of the western third of Hungary, already under Habsburg rule.

In the western Mediterranean, conflicts with their mutual Habsburg enemies led Süleyman and Francis I to ally. France already had an amicable relationship with the Porte, having been granted its first capitulation, or trade agreement, in 1535. This agreement allowed French merchants to conduct business in the Ottoman realms and granted them extraterritoriality. In the same year, Charles V captured Tunis, prompting Süleyman to accept Francis's offer of an alliance. Joint French-Ottoman naval operations against Charles commenced, and plans were made, but never carried out, for a joint attack on Habsburg territories in Italy. Poor relations with Charles ensured that Francis would remain on good terms with the Ottomans through the 1540s. Naval operations continued and the Ottoman fleet wintered in Toulon in 1543.

Conflict with Charles also led Süleyman to support the Protestant Reformation. Charles was the leading Catholic king, and tried to suppress the spread of the Reform movement and bring the rebellious northern German princes back to the Roman church. Süleyman saw support for the Protestant princes as a way to strike at Charles and weaken the Habsburgs. The Protestants took advantage of Ottoman support and the growing Ottoman threat in the East to come to an agreement with Ferdinand. In exchange for help defending his lands they received religious tolerance for their churches.

Charles V abdicated the throne in 1556 and divided his empire between his son, Philip II, who inherited Spain, the Netherlands, and Spanish holdings in the New World, and Ferdinand, who became Holy Roman Emperor. Philip II signed the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis with Henry II of France in 1559, thus ending the Habsburg–French rivalry. This, combined with domestic difficulties, led Süleyman in 1562 to make peace with Ferdinand, who agreed to pay annual tribute to the Ottomans.

Ottoman–French trade relations were advanced with a new capitulation agreement in 1569. This agreement opened all Ottoman ports to French merchants and required all other western merchant vessels to sail under the French flag. French merchants took quick advantage of the new situation, and came to dominate Levantine trade.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The seventeenth century opened and closed with major Ottoman wars with Austria. Border raiding by both empires' garrisons escalated into a full-scale imperial war in 1592. This war, usually called the Long War, lasted until 1606. The Habsburgs took a number of Ottoman fortresses and won several major victories in the early years of the war, and anti-Ottoman rebellions broke out in Transylvania and Wallachia. The tide shifted after the Ottoman victory at Mezo Keresztes in 1596, yet the Ottomans were unable to press their advantage and the war devolved into a stalemate. By 1605 Habsburg anti-Protestant policies had alienated much of the population in Hungary and Transylvania, and those regions rebelled against Vienna. The war ended with the treaty of Sitva Torok in 1606.

France remained a major trading partner with the Ottomans in the seventeenth century, but began to face serious competition from the rising trade powers of England and the Netherlands. French merchants had relied on the Venetian model of establishing close relationships with officials at the Porte to ensure trade access in the empire. As power in the Ottoman state became more decentralized, however, local officials and notables acted more independently. French merchants could no longer count on pressure from the central government to solve difficulties they were having in the provinces. English merchants were particularly successful in establishing themselves at the local level, and England's share of Ottoman trade increased.

Despite the growing competition from England, French merchants remained a vital part of the Ottoman

The Second Siege of Vienna. *Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paça besieged Vienna in 1683, but after several years the siege proved disastrous for the Ottomans. The European coalition finally defeated the Ottoman army, and the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed in 1699, marking the beginning of the permanent Ottoman withdrawal from Europe.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

economy. The relationship between France and the Porte remained cordial, especially as France came to replace Venice as the dominant western power in Levantine trade. French ships were even used to transport Ottoman officials. In the eighteenth century France came to dominate coastal shipping in the empire. France also continued to encourage the Ottomans to harass the Habsburgs in Austria, as French–Habsburg rivalry continued in the west.

Ottoman decentralization was halted in mid-century by the Köprülü family of viziers who reasserted the power of the central government. Part of their program was to revitalize the military, and this resulted in two major campaigns against Austria. The first began in 1663 under the personal leadership of Grand Vizier Fazil Ahmed Köprülü. Although the Habsburgs won the only major battle of the war, at Saint Gotthardt on August 1, 1664, the Ottomans came out ahead in the Treaty of Vasvar, which ended the war a few days later. The Habsburgs withdrew from the territories they had captured, and again agreed to pay annual tribute to Istanbul.

The most important Ottoman western campaign of the seventeenth century was the siege of Vienna in 1683. Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha set out with a huge army to try to take the city that even Süleyman had not been able to capture. Delayed by sieges of smaller forts along the way, the Ottoman forces arrived at Vienna too late in the campaign season and with too little artillery to be successful. The siege was raised by an army led by Jan Sobieski, the king of Poland.

The Habsburgs and their allies capitalized on the victory at Vienna by forming a Holy League to force the Ottomans out of Europe. Austrian forces took Pest in 1685 and Buda in 1686. By 1688 the Hungarian nobles had elected the Habsburg emperor king of Hungary, and Austrian forces had captured Belgrade. The Habsburg advance was halted by a new war with France and this allowed the Ottomans to regroup and counterattack. The Ottoman counteroffensive ended at the Battle of Slankamen (August 20, 1691) and the battle lines held along the Danube until 1699, when the Treaty of Karlowitz was negotiated. The Habsburgs gained Hungary and Transylvania as well as the right to look after the conditions of Catholic subjects of the Ottomans. Karlowitz was the beginning of the end of Ottoman rule in the Balkans. Austria was now the dominant power in southeastern Europe.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Ottoman Empire and France maintained their close relations throughout most of the eighteenth century. Because of their own conflicts with Austria, the French often encouraged the Ottomans to fight the Austrians. Austria for its part was not averse to trying to take territory in the Balkans, but was usually unable to successfully fight the Ottomans on its own. Most often Austria allied with Russia, which emerged in this century as the major threat to the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottomans first faced an Austrian-Venetian alliance in the war of 1716 to 1718. The Ottoman army made a very poor showing, and the war ended with the Ottomans ceding territory in the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718). The problems with their army set the Ottomans on a path of attempted military reforms, which led to a better force in the next contest with Austria and their ally Russia, in 1736 to 1739. The treaty that ended this conflict returned most of the territory the Ottomans lost at Passarowitz. Austria again joined Russia in attacking the Ottomans in 1788, but this war too ended with a negotiated peace at Sistova based on *status quo ante bellum* in 1791.

Because of good relations with France, the Porte often looked for French aid in its attempts at military reform. The Ottomans brought in a number of French military advisors, especially for help with new military technologies. Claude-Alexandre, Comte de Bonneval (1675–1747) and Baron Francois de Tott (1730–1793) both introduced modern artillery and military engineering as advisors to the Ottoman army.

The French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon affected the Ottoman Empire as it did the rest of Europe. Austrian and Russian involvement in the wars against France gave the Porte some space to continue its reform efforts. The Ottomans finally clashed with France in 1798, when Napoleon invaded Egypt. The Egyptian campaign was designed to strike against France's main enemy, Britain, but also led to the severing of amicable ties with the Ottomans. French troops handily defeated the Ottoman Mamluk forces in Egypt, and the French occupied the country for three years. The Ottomans then found themselves allied with Britain and Russia against their long-time friend, France. A joint Ottoman-British force recaptured Egypt, and with the French evacuation of the country relations were normalized with the Peace of Amiens, 1802.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The dominant issue of Ottoman relations with France, Austria, and the other European powers in the nineteenth century was the "Eastern Question." In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the European states worried about Ottoman expansion. Now the concern was what would happen if the Ottomans withdrew from the Balkans or if the empire completely broke apart. As the nineteenth century progressed nationalist movements in the Balkans worked to secure their independence from the Ottomans.

The European Powers each had different views about what should happen to the Ottoman Empire. Russia wanted to dismember it and annex Slavic areas in the Balkans. Britain and France usually worked to shore up the Porte in the face of Russian aggression. For France, the need to counter Russian interests and preserve their economic investments in the Ottoman Empire offset their support for Balkan nationalist movements. The fate of the Ottoman Empire became a major issue in the balance of power that the European states tried to maintain.

Austria also had conflicting interests with regard to the Eastern Question. The Habsburgs did take some land from the Ottomans, gaining control over Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1879. Despite this, Austria was less inclined to break the Ottoman state apart than other European powers. Although they had been the traditional enemy of the Ottomans, the multiethnic nature of the Habsburg state made any new national states in the Balkans a threat to the cohesiveness of their own empire. The creation of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867 did not change this attitude, especially among the Hungarians who did not want to be outnumbered by Slavs and Romanians in the new state.

Great Power diplomacy affected internal developments in the Ottoman Empire. Muhammad Ali, the modernizing governor of Egypt, used French support in his bid for greater independence from the Porte. France also supported the establishment of Maronite power in Lebanon in the 1840s and again in the 1860s. France took territory directly from the Ottomans as well, occupying Algeria in 1830, and Tunisia in 1881.

The balance of power broke down in 1853 with the Crimean War. The proximate cause of the war was a dispute over who would have preeminence at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. This dispute pitted Catholic France and Austria against Orthodox Russia. Both sides made demands of and threatened the Ottoman sultan. In 1853 Russia invaded the Ottoman Danubian provinces, and France and Britain sent troops to assist the Porte. When Austria entered the war Russia backed down. War fever was running high, however, and the British and French still had troops on the move. They decided to attack Russia in the Crimea, nominally in support of the Ottomans. The war was incredibly bloody, and dragged on for three years, ending in the Treaty of Paris (1856).

Adding to their diplomatic interest in maintaining the balance of power, the European states were heavily invested financially in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans were already involved in the world capitalist system through trade, but industrial development in the nineteenth century deepened that integration. Modernization programs in industry and infrastructure were financed by foreign capital, mostly from France, Britain, and Germany. The great military expenditures of the Crimean War also necessitated large foreign loans. By the 1870s the Porte could not pay its loans, and in 1881 the European powers established the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, which came to oversee state finances and ensure repayment to European debtors.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Ottoman Empire did not survive long into the twentieth century, nor did its long-time opponent, Austria-Hungary. Both multiethnic empires were broken apart in the aftermath of World War I. France would emerge from the war a victor, and, together with Britain, would oversee the dismantling of both empires.

In 1912 the new national states in the Balkans— Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria—joined together to force the Ottomans out of Europe once and for all. Success against the Ottomans led the allies to fight against each other as well. A negotiated settlement was reached in 1913.

The rise of Serbia posed a problem for Austria-Hungary, which ruled a large irredentist Serb minority. Common opposition to Russia brought the Ottomans, Habsburgs, and Germany together. The alliance with Germany led long-time Ottoman ally, France, to oppose the Ottomans.

France and Britain finally "answered" the Eastern Question after World War I, when they imposed the Treaty of Sevres on the defeated Ottomans in 1920. The remaining portion of the empire was broken up, with the Arab provinces under the control of Britain and France through League of Nations mandates. Anatolia was divided into European spheres of influence. In the same way, the victors broke apart Austria-Hungary, giving some territory to existing Balkan national states, and creating new states in Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Ottoman.*

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Mark L. Stein

Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450

FIRST EDITION

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VOLUME 3

P-Z

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P

PACIFIC, AMERICAN PRESENCE IN

Two nineteenth-century novels of New Englander Herman Melville (1819–1891), *Typee* (1846) and *Omoo* (1847), based on his adventures as a whaling sailor in the Pacific Islands, set fire to the imagination of the West to Polynesia as a literary landscape, where missionaries and seamen exploited the decline of Polynesians. This Western view of a paradise in decline has been developed by artists and writers as diverse as French painter Paul Gauguin (1848–1903) and American author Paul Theroux (b. 1941). The vision of Polynesia as a declining paradise has not changed much since Melville, except in the writings of authors of Pacific Island ancestry, such as Hawaiian Haunani-Kay Trask (b. 1949) and Epeli Hau'ofa (b. 1939), who was born in Papua New Guinea to Tongan parents. Hau'ofa wrote in his influential essay "Our Sea of Islands," "There are no more suitable people on earth to be guardians of the world's largest ocean than those for whom it has been home for generations" (1993, p. 14).

Such early nineteenth-century industries as whaling and sandalwood quickly led Western countries to exploit the resources of the Pacific. The West also exploited the region for slave labor. South American and Australian slavers kidnapped entire island populations. The British enslaved the people of Tasmania, Australia, and the Torres Strait Islands, and the Americans enslaved native Puerto Ricans and Hawaiians. Slave trade was also conducted between Peru and the Pacific Islands.

Eighteenth-century European writers saw Polynesia as a paradise, while nineteenth-century Victorians, especially representatives of the missionary movements of New England and the London Missionary Society, saw Polynesia as a paradise lost. Pandemics of European diseases depleted generations of Pacific Islanders. The missionaries spread a monotheism that they claimed would protect the islanders from the diseases that the Europeans themselves had brought to the Pacific. The missionaries exploited the much-weakened condition of the islanders by claiming lands and eventually inciting takeovers by the United States and other Western nations.

The advent of missionaries in the Pacific led to the formation of plantations using Asian migrant and Pacific Islander slave labor. The missionaries also precipitated a search for shipping routes to Asia. It was this search for Pacific routes to Asia and Australia that set the eye of the United States on the great natural harbors of the Pearl River in the kingdom of Hawaii, as well as Pago Pago Bay in Samoa. Both harbors were mapped and explored by a U.S. naval expedition of six ships, led by Charles Wilkes (1798–1877) from 1838 to 1842. The expedition included such scientists as geologist James Dwight Dana (1813–1895) at a time when the Pacific region was still largely unknown in the West.

In 1876, with the help of the U.S. government, several former American missionaries forced Hawaii's leaders to agree to a reciprocity treaty in the sugar trade. The treaty limited the kingdom's economic dealings to trade with the United States, although Hawaiian King David Kalakaua (1836–1891) refused to cede Pearl Harbor. Kalakaua traveled to Washington, D.C., where a compromise was worked out. Hawaii would allow no other foreign countries to use its lands and ports. In

return, Hawaiian sugar would be exported to the United States duty-free. By this time, sugar was the center of Hawaii's economy, and white Americans controlled the sugar plantations and such related businesses as shipping and banking. Kalakaua was deeply concerned about his people and their culture, but eventually the now wealthy and powerful Americans in Hawaii incited the U.S. military takeover of the Hawaiian kingdom in the 1890s.

U.S. naval strategists were inspired by Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan's (1840–1914) theory of sea power as the key to world power. Mahan argued in *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783* (1890), that there were three keys to sea power: "production, with the necessity of exchanging products, shipping, whereby the exchange is carried on, and colonies, which facilitate and enlarge the operations of shipping and tend to protect it by multiplying points of safety" (chap. 1).

Mahan's analysis coincided with important trends in domestic and international affairs, and it provided a timely rationale for both the emerging navalism and the expanding global role of the United States in the late nineteenth century. His 1890 book made him internationally known. His views would greatly influence the thinking of such political leaders as U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) and Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge (1850–1924) and would help shape America's destiny at the turn of the century. By the twenty-first century, part of the U.S. Pacific Fleet was based in Hawaii, and most transpacific sea-lanes passed through the Hawaiian Islands.

Since the 1950s, many of the South Pacific islands have become tourist centers. In French Polynesia, Tahitian soldiers returning from fighting for France after World War II (1939–1945) questioned the oppression of Tahitians within their own nation by the French government. The independence movement they started, however, was suppressed and its leaders were imprisoned when producers arrived from Hollywood to film *Mutiny on the Bounty* with Marlon Brando in 1962. With the film, the French government saw an opportunity for a rise in tourism in Tahiti. At this time France was also conducting nuclear tests on other islands of French Polynesia. It was not until the 1980s and the rise of the antinuclear movement in Tahiti that the Tahitian independence movement regained strength. Tourism, more than any other industry, creates a false international perception of the value and meaning of Pacific Islands nationality.

The term *postcolonial*, often used in contemporary discussions of colonialism, may not apply to many of the Pacific Islands, which remain colonies of the United States and France. Perhaps the greatest example of colonialism in Oceania lies in the way many economically powerful countries, both in the West and in Asia, have ignored or subverted the political sovereignty of Pacific Islanders.

The socioeconomic concept of a "Pacific Rim" exploits the region's sea-lanes and sea resources, including fishing rights. Pacific Rim is a term used to describe the nations bordering the Pacific Ocean, but not always the island countries situated in it. In the post–World War II era, the Pacific Rim became an increasingly important and interconnected economic region. Twenty-one Pacific Rim nations, including the United States and Canada, are members of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), established in 1989 to provide a forum for discussion on a broad range of economic issues of concern to the Pacific region.

Except for the larger countries of Papua New Guinea, Australia, and New Zealand, APEC does not include any Pacific Islands nations. The Pacific Island nations themselves are members of the Pacific Islands Forum, which promotes intergovernmental economic, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation in the region. The members of the forum are the Cook Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, New Zealand, and Australia. Non-member colonial states that are gaining some autonomy, such as Tahiti (French Polynesia) and New Caledonia, have been allowed to send observers to Pacific Islands Forum meetings.

The United States maintains a strong military presence in the Pacific Islands, as well as strong relations with its former and present colonial territories, and is attempting to organize the governments of U.S. territories in the region according to an "organic act" passed by the U.S. Congress. The legislation provides for a bill of rights and an American-style tripartite government and system of law that preempts whatever native law exists. Historically, the organization of a territory in this manner is a prelude to statehood.

Some American Pacific territories are considered *commonwealths*, which are organized but unincorporated. *Incorporation* is a permanent condition under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Constitution. Palmyra Atoll, which was once part of the kingdom of Hawaii, is an example of an incorporated territory. Unincorporated, organized territories include Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Unincorporated, unorganized territories include American Samoa (technically unorganized but self-governing under a 1967 constitution) and several islands and atolls uninhabited by indigenous peoples.

United Nations Committee on Decolonization includes Guam and American Samoa on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, along with the Pacific Islands nations of Pitcairn (New Zealand), Tokelau (New Zealand) and New Caledonia (France). In the 1950s Hawai'i and French Polynesia were removed from the list by the United States and France, which led to Hawaii's statehood.

Most of the Micronesian islands that came under United Nations trusteeship with the United States after World War II have since gained greater autonomy or sovereignty. In 1946 the United States began relocating the native people of the remote Marshall Islands for the purpose of conducting nuclear tests. In the 1970s and 1980s the people of Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands were awarded monetary reparations along with a settlement to be used to clean Bikini Atoll. Many Bikini residents were also resettled on other islands because of lingering unsafe radiation levels.

SEE ALSO *American Samoa; Federated States of Micronesia; Indigenous Responses, the Pacific; Marshall Islands; Occupations, the Pacific; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Dan Taulapapa McMullin

PACIFIC, EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN

Although the Pacific can be defined to include all the countries that lie along the littoral of the Pacific Ocean, and all the islands that lie in its waters, a more restricted perspective limits the Pacific to islands, and generally excludes such Asian archipelagos as Japan, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Conventionally the islands are divided into Polynesia, largely in the central and eastern part of the South Pacific, Melanesia, in the southwestern Pacific, and Micronesia, primarily in the northwestern Pacific. Anthropologists contest this categorization—

"many-island," "dark-island," and "small-island" groups—for constructing arbitrary boundaries between geographical zones and cultures. The continent of Australia is often included in the "Pacific," but sometimes joined with New Zealand as Australasia. The nomenclature and definitions underline the role of the Pacific basin as a crossroads of migration, trade, and cultures, as well as a terrain of European discovery and fantasy.

HISTORY

Portuguese and Dutch ships ventured past the western Pacific islands in voyages to the East Indies and East Asia from the 1500s, and Spanish galleons sailed past other islands going from Mexico to Manila. These early explorations left few traces other than long-lasting names: the Marquesas, Espirito Santo, Easter Island, and the Solomons islands; only in Micronesia did the Spanish undertake efforts at evangelization. With the voyages of James Cook and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, and their British and French successors, joined by other navigators, Oceania entered the European worldview in the late 1700s.

As the Age of Enlightenment discovered these distant and exotic islands and their flora, fauna, and people, commentators embroidered legends around paradises lost or found. Tahiti was proclaimed the "New Cythera," Denis Diderot published a treatise inspired by Bougainville's travels, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau articulated the myth of the *bon sauvage* ("noble savage"). A contrary image, more popular among priests and pastors than philosophers, portrayed islands of cannibals and head-hunters, human sacrifices and violent warfare (including the murder of Cook in Hawaii). Both images have bedevilled the islands to the present. Pierre Loti, Paul Gauguin, and Victor Segalen, to use French examples, perpetuated the myth of Tahiti still visible in tourist brochures and popular representations; popular culture indulged in caricatures of stone-age primitive peoples.

Scientists, particularly naturalists, navigators, and cartographers, promoted European expeditions, but others had different reasons for establishing European outposts. Politicians saw potential sites for settlement—as occurred at Botany Bay in 1788—and viewed the Pacific as a new theater of geopolitical rivalries. Islands, they argued, with claims that the center of the world's economic and political gravity would eventually shift from the Atlantic to the Pacific, provided vital provisioning and garrisoning ports on the long voyage between the Americas, Asia, and Australasia.

With the nineteenth-century upsurge in missionary fervor, Catholics and Protestants (of various denominations) vied to convert the native peoples. Traders were

interested in commercial opportunities. Whaling and sealing dominated early nineteenth-century economic activities, while merchants exploited supplies of sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* valuable for exchange in China. As these resources became depleted, there was hope for establishment of plantation economies in tropical islands, and for discovery of mineral resources. Meanwhile, beachcombers and adventurers drifted onto the islands, establishing European toeholds. These various interests combined to promote a "scramble" for Oceania.

In the early modern age, the Spanish had advanced a nominal claim to Micronesian islands, and the Dutch retained a somewhat vague claim to the western half of New Guinea. The British extended their colonial imperium in Australia from Botany Bay and Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania) to the whole of the continent by the 1820s. In 1840, they narrowly beat the French in a race to claim New Zealand; two years later, the French took over the Marquesas and Society islands, gaining control of Tahiti. A perceived slight to a Catholic missionary precipitated the move—Protestant missionaries had worked in Tahiti since 1797 and gained influence over the local chieftain—that allowed France to get a stake in Oceania. In 1853, France annexed New Caledonia to create a penal colony. Believing that they could imitate and perfect the British system of transportation, the French sent convicts and political prisoners (including Communards in 1871) to the islands from the 1860s to the 1890s. The British riposted by taking over the Fiji islands in 1874.

In the 1880s, other imperial powers entered the scramble. Germany took over northeastern New Guinea and neighboring islands, as well as the western Samoan islands, while the United States raised the flag over the eastern Samoan islands. Washington increased its holdings in 1898 when victory in the Spanish-American War allowed it to acquire the Philippines and Guam, and in 1900 the United States formally took over the Hawaiian Islands. Britain had by now taken over southeastern New Guinea, the Solomon islands, and the Gilbert and Ellis islands; France had claimed Wallis and Futuna; and Chile incorporated Easter Island. By the end of the century, only Tonga had not been formally integrated into a colonial empire. The New Hebrides, contested between Britain and France, became a "condominium" with two flags, two currencies, and two colonial administrators, a situation that endured as one of the most peculiar colonial arrangements until Vanuatu became independent in 1980.

As claims were made (and very often before), missionaries, traders, and planters arrived. Sugar became the major export of Fiji, and tropical fruits gained profits for planters in Hawaii. In the western Pacific, planters concentrated on copra, the dried meat of coconuts that European factories transformed into soap and other oil-based products. An attempt to create cotton plantations in Tahiti enjoyed only temporary success during the American Civil War. The French discovered huge reserves of nickel in New Caledonia, the world's major producer by the late 1800s; settlers also developed pastoralism. The British mined phosphate in the Gilbert islands and Nauru, as did the French on Makatea. Prospectors later found a wealth of minerals in New Guinea.

Economic initiatives created a demand for labor. "Kanakas" (Melanesians) were recruited, sometimes under duress, for plantations around the islands and in Queensland. The British imported Indian indentured laborers to Fiji, where they came to outnumber indigenous islanders. In New Caledonia, the French employed Japanese, East Indians, and Indochinese; Chinese, Japanese, Europeans, and Americans migrated to Hawaii. Others Europeans settled in New Zealand and New Caledonia, though their presence elsewhere was relatively small.

Culture contact had a dramatic effect on islanders, though without the "fatal impact" that some writers postulated. Infrastructural development, paid employment, and imported goods changed material life. Evangelists succeeded in converting most islanders to Christianity (and establishing virtual theocracies in some islands), though with syncretism of Christian and local beliefs. Law codes regulated behavior, and secular and ecclesiastical authorities tried to stamp out what they termed immoral behavior: semi-nudity, dancing, and promiscuity. Diseases brought by Europeans, as well as intensive labor and even cultural *anomie*, caused a steep demographic decline in some islands. Health care and education nevertheless became more widely available. Sexual liaisons between Europeans or Asians and islanders created a *métis* population in Tahiti and Hawaii, while in some other islands virtual segregation prevailed. Colonial rule eroded the authority of traditional chiefs, and everywhere islanders remained politically disenfranchised.

THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

The islands stayed sleepy if picturesque outposts of empires, as described by Robert Louis Stevenson and Somerset Maugham, despite international changes. World War I (1914–1918) saw a few shots fired between German and French warships off Tahiti, and contingents of islanders were sent as soldiers to fight on European battlefields. Defeated Germany was ejected from the Pacific, its possessions divided between Japan (Micronesian islands),

Anticolonial Slogans on an Office Building in Jakarta. *When the Indonesian government took control of Dutch-owned commercial properties in the 1950s, Indonesian nationalists celebrated by painting anti-Dutch slogans on the buildings. The text on this wall, photographed in December 1957, reads* Usir Belanda Dari Irian-Barat *(Expel the Dutch from West New Guinea).* © BETTMANN/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Australia (New Guinea), and New Zealand (western Samoa). World War II (1941–1945) had an even greater impact, as Japan pushed forward to create a Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere, and islands, notably Hawaii (with the Pearl Harbor attack), Guadalcanal, and New Guinea, witnessed intense fighting. The Kokoda Trail in New Guinea remains an iconic Australian war experience. The United States stationed troops on such islands as Bora Bora and New Caledonia, and thousands of GIs, dollars, and the "American way of life" sent shock waves through Oceania. With war's end, Japan's possessions became a U.S. trust territory under United Nations aegis.

Most observers thought that many decades, and probably generations, would pass before Pacific islands gained independence. Indeed, campaigns for independence were notable by their absence, though political movements (especially in Tahiti) demanded greater political rights and indigenous cultural recognition. In 1958 French Polynesia and New Caledonia chose to remain "overseas territories" of France, and the following year Hawaii became the fiftieth state of the United States. The

Netherlands withdrew from West Papua, the remainder of its East Indian empire, in the 1960s, and Indonesia annexed the territory, which was substitution, in the eyes of local people, of one imperialism for another.

In 1962 New Zealand withdrew from Western Samoa, the first independent Oceanic state. Fiji followed in 1970, despite opposition from traditional chiefs concerned that parliamentary government would give power to Indians. In 1975 an Australian Labor government rushed Papua New Guinea to independence. The British, also eager to disengage, granted independence to the Solomon islands, the Gilbert islands (Kiribati) and the Ellis islands (Tuvalu) by the end of the decade, and persuaded France to join in releasing Vanuatu. Decolonization in the island Pacific thus occurred later than in other parts of the world, and generally without the militant nationalist struggles or violence that characterized separation of some other colonies.

New Zealand, Britain, and Australia nevertheless retained vestiges of old empires. New Zealand kept Niue and Tokelau; the Cook islands, nominally

independent, signed a treaty of "free association" with Wellington. Norfolk Island, populated partly by descendants of the *Bounty*, remained an Australian territory, and Britain reluctantly held on to Pitcairn, home to several dozen people (also *Bounty* descendants). The United States and France showed no inclination to leave the Pacific. In the midst of the cold war and military involvement in Asia, the United States judged its outposts vital strategic bases, and on Bikini atoll it tested nuclear weapons. American Samoa and Guam remain unincorporated territories whose residents are nationals with right of entry and abode in the United States, but with limited representation in Congress. Under pressure from the United Nations to wind up the Trust Territory in Micronesia, the United States made the Northern Marianas a commonwealth and preserved close links with independent Belau and the Federated States of Micronesia.

The French were concerned about the "Caldoche" settler population in New Caledonia, but also considered retention of its islands as a guarantee of a political and military presence in the Pacific. The French, too, carried out nuclear testing of atmospheric and underwater devices at Mururoa from the early 1960s until the mid-1990s, much to the consternation of neighbors in Oceania and Australasia. Paris also faced nationalist opposition in French Polynesia and especially in New Caledonia, where the Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste coalition led a struggle for independence in the 1980s. This placed the largely Melanesian movement in direct conflict with Europeans and migrant Polynesians who allied with them. The French government proposed several new constitutional arrangements—opinion about relinquishing New Caledonia was hotly divided in France—while violence escalated until agreement on a twenty-five-year moratorium on independence was reached in 1988.

The islands of postcolonial Oceania face problems of economic underdevelopment, ethnic divisiveness, international marginalization, and cultural globalization. Gang violence and elite corruption are rife in Papua New Guinea, ethnically motivated coups overturned governments in Fiji in the 1980s and again in the 1990s, the Solomon islands in the early 2000s verged on civil war, Vanuatu has seen continued political instability, Nauru is bankrupt, and the Cook islands host dubious financial institutions. Considerable emigration is a response to limited economic opportunities. Many islands rely on aid, and the European Union is one of the largest donors, while tourists from Europe represent an economic resource, evidence of a continued, if reduced, European presence in a region where the French and British flags still fly.

SEE ALSO *American Samoa; Anticolonialism; Assimilation, East Asia and the Pacific; Australia; Bismarck Archipelago; Fiji; French Polynesia; Hawaii; Missions, Civilizing; Missions, in the Pacific; New Caledonia; New Zealand; Pacific, American Presence in; Self-Strengthening Movements, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Robert Aldrich

PAHLAVI DYNASTY

On December 12, 1925, Iran's parliament amended Iran's constitution of 1906–1907 to replace the Qajar dynasty (1797–1925) with the Pahlavi dynasty as the legitimate sovereigns of Iran. On April 25, 1926, Rezā Pahlavi was formerly crowned Rezā Shāh. Rezā Shāh ascended the throne after four years of political intrigue that began when he, as commander of the Persian Cossack Brigade, committed those troops in support of a coup on February 21, 1921. Though his military rank was never higher than colonel during his career in the Persian Cossack Brigade, he rose through the ranks of government from minister of war to prime minister (in 1923) and finally king. Along the way he destroyed political allies, outmaneuvered or coopted the Qajar aristocracy, and crushed provincial and tribal challenges to central government control. With a unified military that was fed by an efficient tax-collection policy (organized in part by Arthur C. Millspaugh, an American financial advisor to Iran from 1922 to 1927) and the Conscription Law (1924), Rezā Shāh wielded the state as his personal tool for Iran's modernization.

Rezā Shāh built on some of the late achievements of the Qajar period: he coopted his generation's "best and brightest" for the development and execution of modernization policy, continued the legacy of "constitutional monarchy," and followed a modernization scheme that owed some of its ambitions to failed or partially realized Qajar policies. There was an expansion in education, the creation of a national railway funded without foreign capital (1927–1938), an expansion of state control over

The Shah of Iran. *Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), the shah of Iran, crowned himself emperor on October 26, 1967, causing opposition from many segments of Iranian society.* © APIS/SYGMA/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the religious establishment and the judiciary, and the realization of monumental projects that emphasized the theme of Iranian revival (e.g., the thousandth anniversary celebrations of the poet Ferdowsi in 1934 and the creation of a modern administrative and cultural center in Tehran with Sassanian and Acheamenid architectural motifs). His legacy to the institutional and social life of Iran was cemented in revisions to the legal code (some strands of which have survived to Islamic Republican times) and through his "state feminism" projects, which began with minor revisions to the Marriage Law in 1931 and ended with forced unveiling and the expansion of educational and professional opportunities for women under the auspices of the Women's Awakening Project of 1936 to 1943 (the project survived Rezā Shāh's deposition *de jure* for two years).

Rezā Shāh's anticolonial credentials were mixed. He enjoyed success in abolishing most extraterritorial privileges for foreigners in 1927, but foundered when he attempted to renegotiate the D'Arcy Concession with the British in 1932 and 1933. His increasingly repressive tactics directed against all potential opposition in the 1930s eroded the support he enjoyed in 1925. Furthermore, his effort to secure Iran's borders through regional diplomacy (for example, the Sa dabad Pact of 1937, or the marriage of Crown Prince Mohammad Rezā Pahlavi to the Egyptian princess Fawzia in 1939) proved of no avail in the face of Allied demands in 1941 that Iran expel all German agents and permit military supplies to flow to Soviet Russia from the Persian Gulf. Soviet and British troops occupied Iran in August of 1941 and forced the abdication of Rezā Shāh in favor of his son Mohammad on September 16 of that year.

In what was to be a pivotal moment for U.S.–Iranian relations, some 30,000 American personnel joined the occupation of Iran after America's entrance into the war. Until World War II, Americans had enjoyed a reputation as being a largely disinterested foreign presence—missionary activity and governmental advisors notwithstanding. With the ending of World War II, it became clear that America and not Great Britain would be the main counterweight to Soviet Russia. The United States took the lead in the newly formed United Nations in protesting delays in Soviet withdrawals from Iran and in giving support to separatist Kurdish and Azeri republics in the northwest in Iran in 1946.

America's reputation as an imperialist presence was born in the Anglo-American-sponsored coup against Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq, which occurred on August 22, 1953. Mosaddeq had become prime minister in 1951, elected on the strength of his championing of oil nationalization in Iran. Mosaddeq's confrontation with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company over nationalization would be the ultimate source of his undoing, but he also challenged the Pahlavi dynasty. As Mohammad Rezā Shāh looked on, Mosaddeq also used his popularity to further dismantle the control of the Pahlavi court over government institutions, especially the military. The 1953 coup did not reverse the dismantlement of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (through which the British government had dominated the Iranian oil industry), but replaced it with an international oil consortium that now included American oil companies. With American support, Mohammad Rezā Shāh began a program of modernization and political consolidation that culminated in two grand projects. The first was the White Revolution of 1960 to 1963, which, in turn, evolved into the Great Civilization program by the end of the decade. Designed to steal the thunder of leftist opposition to the Pahlavis, the program expanded the welfare state, granted women the right to vote, improved compensation for industrial workers, and distributed land to peasants from the major

holdings of the old aristocracy. The second grand project was the creation of a one-party state in 1975. The way to the creation of the Rastākhiz (Resurgence) Party was paved by the Shāh's military and secret police, SAVAK (formed in 1958 with American help). The Shāh's government destroyed or disrupted radical Islamist and Communist opposition in the 1950s and suppressed liberal and clerical opposition in the 1960s. Nonetheless, there was evidence by the early 1970s that the Shāh's twin policies of modernization and political suppression had begun to backfire. Ayatollāh Ruhollāh Khomeini, banished from Iran in 1964 for his opposition to the White Revolution, organized a new generation of clerical opposition from exile in Iraq. Students sent abroad for undergraduate and graduate degrees were politicized by Islamist and leftist opposition to the Shāh. In Iran itself, militant Islamic-Marxist groups had begun a sustained campaign against the regime.

As with his father, Mohammad Rezā Shāh found that foreign policy and royal spectacle added very little to his regime's legitimacy. An elaborate coronation ceremony in 1967 and even more extravagant celebrations of monarchy in 1971 and 1975 earned him little credit in the courts of world or Iranian public opinion. Growing international criticism of Iran's human rights record and state visits of Western leaders (most notably that of Jimmy Carter in late 1977) seemed to confirm his status as a tyrant and Western puppet. As the oil boom of the late 1960s and early 1970s gave way to rampant inflation and unemployment, Mohammad Rezā Shāh found his worst nightmares realized when all sectors of Iranian society rallied in opposition to the regime under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini. Cycles of protest and repression escalated from the spring of 1977 until, finally, on January 4, 1979, the Shāh agreed to appoint Shahpur Bakhtiar (d. 1991) as prime minister and leave the country. Mohammad Rezā Shāh fled Iran for a second time on January 16, 1979. On February 1, 1979, Khomeini returned to Iran. The government of Bakhtiar fell and he became one of many members of Iran's social and political elite that fled in the face of the new order. While Khomeini consolidated power in Iran, the Shāh languished in exile. When President Carter allowed the Shāh to visit America for cancer treatment in October 1979, nervous radicals, fearing a repeat of 1953, seized the American embassy on November 4. This escalated into the hostage crisis of 1979 to 1981 that, along with America's economic woes, cost Carter his bid for reelection in 1980. The Pahlavi dynasty effectively died with Mohammad Rezā on July 27, 1980; he was buried with state honors in Egypt. His son, Rezā Pahlavi II (b. 1960), still styles himself as a political leader in exile (not surprisingly, he lives in the United States) and is the head of the Constitutionalist Party of Iran.

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PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

The Pan-African Congress helped identify and shape African nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century. Its origins lie first in a developing sense of nationalism among a mission-educated and increasingly university-educated elite who began challenging the notion of European dominance in the African colonies. Second, African Americans advanced the sense of racial unity capable of surpassing state borders. W. E. B. Du Bois, whose efforts in Pan-Africanism propelled it forward in the twentieth century, urged blacks to look to Africa for inspiration. Africa was to be central to the movement's expanding theories of black nationalism.

HENRY SYLVESTER WILLIAMS AND THE PAA

Although the post–World War I (1914–1918) congressional meetings are more well known, they were the fruit of the late-nineteenth-century efforts of African nationalists from the British Empire and the United States. Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian teacher and lawyer, formed the African Association in 1897 (changed to the Pan-African Association [PAA] in 1898). The group worked to establish contact with leading black intellectuals throughout the African diaspora. From the irregularities in native rights across Britain's African colonies, to the Black Codes in the American South, the organization sought to stress the common nature of black existence.

The black press was crucial to the development of the PAA's message, and as the rhetoric matured, leaders planned a conference to be held in London. The Pan-African Conference transpired in July 1900, attracting delegates from Africa, Canada, the West Indies, and the

United States. One American representative was Du Bois, who continued to promote the Association's interests upon his return home.

Williams was not a socialist, but the goals of civil rights and sovereignty meshed well with the interests of the political Left. While these similarities certainly worked in the interest of the PAA, the differences that remained had the potential to undermine the organization's overall effectiveness. Following the 1900 conference, the movement suffered from ideological factionalism, and with its disbandment in 1902, and Williams's death in 1911, Pan-Africanism appeared to falter.

SOCIALISM AND REBIRTH

It was socialism, however, that helped reinvigorate Pan-Africanism, especially after the successful Soviet Revolution in 1917. European socialists preached racial equality and the themes that united those who were oppressed. As the small African elite began to access socialist publications, there developed a sense of a continent united across ethnic lines.

African and African-American soldiers in World War I had various expectations of national service, especially with regard to the touted principle of democracy. American troops saw combat with French forces that commonly employed their colonial troops at the front. Those African Americans who served under their own commanders performed manual labor, leaving the fighting to their white colleagues. While colonial African troops did see combat, they, like their American allies, did not receive the respect they believed was owed them. Upon returning from the war, both black American and colonial soldiers discovered that the war victory had served to protect the status quo in their respective societies.

Socialist organizations had been active in providing literature to black soldiers moving through the large cities toward the front, a fact African-American troops discovered in London. It was a common socialist theme that colonial powers waged the war to defend their principles of Bourgeois dominance. Black troops were simply the tools with which the imperial powers maintained control. Du Bois easily tapped into this rhetoric when he organized a meeting among African nationalists to discuss the commonality of the African experience, both in Africa and in the United States.

The Pan-African Congress met in Paris in 1919, with Du Bois and other delegates from fifteen nations debating proposals to present to the Peace Conference. Primarily, the delegates would demand that Africans play a role in administering their states. This platform, promoted chiefly by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), held that, at a future date, Africans would assume control in a home-rule status. Their approach was quite reasonable in light of the lessons learned about the violence in the Soviet Revolution. Delegates appreciated the limit of their political abilities in 1919, and so sought to move forward cautiously.

The Pan-African Congress met again in 1921, holding several sessions in London, Paris, and Brussels. Perhaps as a result of the ineffectiveness of the 1919 demands, the delegates assumed a more radical posture, publishing their demands in the "London Manifesto." The British government, argued the Congress, had developed a spirit of ignorance and neglect among Africans. Regardless of is pro-democracy rhetoric, Britain's African colonies had been and continued to be victimized. Du Bois's goal was to animate African Americans to lead the Pan-African struggle, as they had benefited from America's position as a leading international state. This was a well-established theme by 1921, one that also stressed the connection between black success in the United States and in Africa. The race as a whole had to advance in order for anyone to advance.

A third summit followed in 1923 and spoke more to the problems faced by the African diaspora, including the ongoing efforts of the colonial powers to exploit African resources. This exploitation was aided by the advancement of settler colonialists, white minorities that had achieved political control at the expense of the black majority. Racial policies came to define these societies, most notably in Rhodesia and South Africa. Yet, while the delegates now had still stronger evidence of the inequalities of the white/black relationship in both the United States and Africa, it appeared as if they were making little headway in the fight for civil rights and international black political identity.

The 1923 session lacked the momentum of the first and second meetings. Poorly planned and attended, there appeared to be fissures in the foundation of Pan-Africanism. The organization's socialist tendencies augmented these divisions, as the differences between liberalism and socialism were difficult to reconcile. Moreover, nationalist organizations in the different African states were still coming to terms with their own issues of concern. It was becoming evident that organizing an international movement was impossible without first coordinating state and local initiatives.

NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE

A fourth summit in 1927 varied little from 1923, giving credence to the idea that Pan-Africanism had lost its way after the optimism of 1919. Not until 1945 did another Pan-African Congress meet, this time in Manchester,

England. Du Bois was in attendance, along with delegates from all over Africa and nationalist organizations. In the eighteen years that had passed since the last conference, a new spirit had come to animate the nationalists. In the intervening years the African national organizations had matured, honing their skills and redefining their goals. A new, younger generation of leaders also began to appear, thus reinvigorating the struggle. Socialism continued to be the ideology of choice, with delegates tying racial discrimination to capitalism and the onslaught of the white, industrial West.

More importantly, however, is the direction in which the Manchester meeting was pointing. By 1945 it had become quite apparent to the imperial powers that change was on the horizon. The British had even begun to make some preliminary plans to turn over the colonies to sovereign, African rulers. The optimism that Manchester represented would be obvious in the coming decade, but even in 1945 a feeling of change was in the air. It was due to the efforts of Pan-Africanists such as Williams and Du Bois that the ideas of African independence and black liberty would not die. While the struggle continued as the second half of the twentieth century began, great strides already had been made. Where the Pan-Africanist movement failed, however, was in its efforts to create an African solidarity. The newly independent African states, and their leaders, proved just as effective as the former colonial masters at exploiting resources for the advancement of their own ethnic communities. African cohesiveness continued to be checked by the very dynamic nature of the African diaspora.

SEE ALSO *Pan-Africanism.*

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Jeffrey Lee Meriwether

PAN-AFRICANISM

Pan-Africanism is an internationalist philosophy that is based on the idea that Africans and people of African descent share a common bond. Pan Africanism, therefore seeks the unity and autonomy of African peoples and peoples of African descent; it is also a vision dedicated to fulfilling their right to self-determination. African diasporas—the global dispersion of people of African descent from their original homelands—emerged through slave trading, labor migration, commerce, and war. Imagining home, through a collective identity and cultural identification with Africa, Pan-Africanists mobilize for the continent's restoration, prosperity, and safety. Pan-Africanism allows African and African Diaspora communities to transcend the status of ethnic minority or oppressed nationality by replacing it with the consciousness of being "a nation within a nation."

Colonial degradation took many forms in the African world, depending on the varying policies of Britain, Portugal, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, or the United States. These policies included direct military occupation, economic subordination through labor exploitation and the regulation of trade relations, cultural imperialism, indirect rule using traditional or even manufactured tribal leaders, promises of citizenship for select Africans, and seemingly benevolent development programs.

The attitudes of imperial officials were far from monolithic. Some insisted Africans were racially inferior and needed to be controlled through corporal punishment, including rape and the chopping off of limbs; others saw African peoples as primitive yet noble, even potential equals someday with proper mentoring over time.

An idea of Africa as "the dark continent" was created over time, by both official intellectual and government institutions and popular culture. Africa came to be seen as suffering from dependency complexes and as unfit for self-government. Importantly, racist viewpoints did not always preclude recognition of African elites, who could function on many levels as modern "credits to their race" or, alternatively, as keepers of ethnic wisdom and traditions. Close engagement with such elites was inherent to

the civilizing mission and a crucial component of "enlightened" imperial government.

The efforts of African peoples to achieve independence and emancipation were distinguished by collectivist economic planning, defense against discrimination and brutality, a people-to-people foreign policy across national borders, community control of education, and a rethinking of religious and ethnic practices. Uncritical attitudes toward the nation-state often thwarted the full democratic potential of anticolonial movements.

The Pan-African movement has contributed significantly to the development of African nationalism, anticolonial revolt, and the postcolonial governmental strategies of African nation-states. The major torchbearers of the modern Pan-African movement were the African American W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey, a native of Jamaica. Strong foundational pillars include George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, C. L. R. James, and Walter Rodney.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

As a scholar and advocate, W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) endeavored to make Africa central to world civilization. Among the foremost historians, sociologists, literary figures, and politicians of his generation, he foreshadowed in his many publications the future significance of Africa in an era distinguished by unapologetic subordination of the continent. Believing that the enslavement and colonization of African peoples was not only an indignity, but a burden to Western civilization, Du Bois understood what few ministers of foreign affairs, travelers, and journalists of the early twentieth century could: the necessity of involving peoples of African descent in politics and government.

Du Bois, with the Trinidadian attorney Henry Sylvester Williams, organized the first Pan-African Conference of 1900 in London. Subsequently, he chaired four Pan-African Congresses in 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1927, which gathered in London, Paris, Brussels, Lisbon, and New York City (one congress having sessions in two cities). Du Bois played a leading role in shaping protest against colonial land theft and global racial discrimination; he drafted letters to European and American rulers, calling on them to fight racism and promote self-government in their colonies, and to demand political rights for blacks in the United States. Arguing that land and mineral wealth in African colonies must be reserved for Africans, whose poor labor conditions must be ameliorated by law, Du Bois argued that Africans had the right to participate in government, to the extent their development permitted. Basing his claims on the human rights standards of both the United States and Soviet Union, Du Bois confidently predicted—though without ever quite overcoming the elitist perspective embodied in his notion of a Talented Tenth—that Africa would be governed by Africans in due time.

MARCUS GARVEY

Whereas W. E. B. Du Bois focused on the production of professional scholarly literature and petitioning racist and imperial regimes, Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) took up the task of building a Pan-African movement of everyday people and propagated for the first time a global vision of black autonomy. Through mass-oriented journalism, uplift programs promoting health, alternative education, entrepreneurship, and the trappings of military regalia, Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) invented notions of provisional government for African peoples. Garvey's doctrine created an image of the continent as a homeland for disenfranchised African Diaspora communities, restoring pride in an African past and confidence in a vibrant destiny, and inspiring art, music, and literary representations.

At its height, from 1917 to 1934, UNIA functioned in the United States, the Caribbean, and Latin America, and had an inspirational influence on the anticolonial struggle in Africa. Garvey's ideas found a mixed reception in Africa. The Harry Thuku revolt in Kenya has been partially attributed to Garvey's inspiration. In contrast, Kobina Sekyi of Ghana resented the notion that Garvey was Africa's provisional president. Garvey also saw some of his notions of Africa challenged. He became a critic of Liberia's ruling elite, and his "Back to Africa" scheme was partially undermined by growing awareness of African slavery and feudal class relations.

Garvey, an autodidact, was at times unpolished, romantic, or bombastic in his intellectual claims. His claims about the various African personalities and civilizations he wished to defend were not always factually accurate. Nonetheless, without a professional or scholarly pedigree, and possessing limited resources, Garvey inspired political ambitions and a desire for independence in multitudes of ordinary people of African descent.

GEORGE PADMORE

George Padmore (1903–1959), a native of Trinidad, produced books, journalism, and strategic guides—backed between 1928 and 1935 by the authority of Moscow and the Communist International—that helped create a global network of black workers and fomented labor strikes and anticolonial revolts. Early in his career, Padmore was hostile to both Garvey and Du Bois, for what he saw as their insufficient resistance to the empire of capital; later, out of necessity, he modified his stance toward their legacies, while continuing to defend his own uncompromising positions.

During World War II, the Soviet Union subverted socialist ideals by, among other means, forging an alliance with Britain, France, and the United States against Italy, Germany, and Japan. When the Soviets ended their policy of promoting national liberation struggles in the African and Caribbean colonies, Padmore was asked to encourage friendship with "the democratic imperialists." He refused this absurdity. Surfacing in London, he formed the International African Service Bureau with C. L. R. James; he defended Ethiopia from Italian invasion, and continued advocating the destruction of all colonial regimes worldwide.

Working with future African independence leaders—Sierra Leone's Isaac Wallace-Johnson, Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah—Padmore maintained and extended his vast network. These efforts culminated in the Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945, held in Manchester, England. A watershed event, this assembly gathered for the first time vast numbers of African activists, many of whom were trade unionists or students. This time few proposed merely lobbying colonial authorities. Rather, a commitment was made to mass politics and armed struggle, if necessary, as the means to establish self-government on the African continent. Padmore ended his career as Nkrumah's advisor on African affairs upon Ghana's independence in 1957.

KWAME NKRUMAH

Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) was one of the two greatest Pan-African statesmen, along with Tanzania's Julius Nyerere. As with Nyerere, Nkrumah's vision of federation and cooperation for the liberation of the entire African continent transcends the mixed legacy of his domestic governance.

Nkrumah employed "positive action"—strikes and other forms of nonviolent civil disobedience—as a means to overthrow British colonialism. He confronted tribal and customary authorities in Ghana and initiated modern development projects. Promoting the idea of the African personality and seeking to incorporate and unify Islamic, Christian, and African theologies and ethnic traditions, Nkrumah made Ghana a center for African American expatriates. Nkrumah linked Ghana with Sekou Toure's Guinea and Modibo Keita's Mali in a three-nation federation. He also sponsored the All African Peoples Conference of 1958, which was attended by various luminaries of the national liberation struggle, such as Congo's Patrice Lumumba, Kenya's Tom Mboya, and Algeria's Frantz Fanon. At the conference, anticolonial trade union movements were organized, and further federations of nation-states were conceived.

The idea of Pan Africanism took a new turn with the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in

Kwame Nkrumah and W. E. B. Du Bois, Ghana, 1962.
Kwame Nkrumah (second from right), president of Ghana, converses with the American scholar and exponent of Pan-Africanism W. E. B. Du Bois shortly before the opening of the World Peace Conference in Accra, Ghana, on June 21, 1962. **AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

1963. The OAU was founded to promote unity and cooperation among all African states and to bring an end to colonialism in all parts of the continent. Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, brokered an uneasy compromise between Nkrumah's call for the total unification of Africa and the desire for autonomous nation-states. A collective commitment was made to liberate southern Africa from colonialism in the future. Yet colonial nation-state boundaries were to be respected in the post-colonial era, thus creating a country club of ruling elites whose governments rarely interfered in each other's affairs on behalf of ordinary people waging democratic struggles. The fall of Nkrumah's regime in 1966 came through military coup and imperial intervention. His rule was increasingly an undemocratic populist dictatorship, even as he began to articulate the neocolonial dilemma—the continuing dependency of seemingly sovereign African nation-states. Nkrumah lived out his last years in exile in Sekou Toure's Guinea.

JULIUS NYERERE

The Tanzanian leader Julius Nyerere (1909–1972) developed his Pan-African perspective slowly, but grew into a remarkable politician. After foiling several early coup attempts, and operating under the shadow of Cold War intrigue, he cautiously united mainland Tanganyika with the Zanzibari islands off the Swahili coast. He attempted but failed at the creation of an East African federation with Kenya and Uganda. Nyerere then developed a vision of self-reliance rooted in the values of the African peasantry. Terming this vision Ujamaa Socialism, he introduced resolutions that aimed at excluding capitalists and major property owners from political power. He spoke and wrote eloquently in Swahili, which he made widespread as a national and Pan-African language. In the same spirit of unity, he sought to reduce ethnic conflict and permitted intellectual autonomy at Dar es Salaam's university, where professors and students were often critical of him.

Nyerere welcomed a global expatriate African community, continuing the legacy of Nkrumah's Ghana, and sponsored guerilla forces fighting for the liberation of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. He stood up to the aggressive impulses of Uganda's Idi Amin, whose overthrow he later sponsored, following a war between Tanzania and Uganda. Yet, Nyerere too eventually became a populist autocrat of a one-party state. His compulsory state plans for rural development according to the principles of Ujamaa proved to be a failure. Even his internationalism had its limits.

C. L. R. JAMES

When Tanzania sponsored the Sixth Pan-African Congress in 1974, the Call was drafted by former SNCC and Black Panther activists under the guidance of C. L. R. James (1901–1989). A native of Trinidad, James had a long career as a mentor and colleague of postcolonial statesmen that cannot be reconciled easily with his life as an insurgent socialist political philosopher advocating the overthrow of states and ruling elites. Indeed, James's life and work embodied the contradictions of the Pan-African movement in the postcolonial era.

The 1974 Congress, which was supposed to unify grassroots activists from across the globe under the sponsorship of a progressive state, imploded before it began. Nyerere collaborated with postcolonial Caribbean governments to exclude Caribbean insurgents, such as Maurice Bishop of Grenada's New Jewel Movement. Furthermore, prior to the Congress, Nyerere had jailed radical democrats in Tanzania, such as A. M. Babu, and in so doing had revealed the limits of the Pan-African vision and the necessity of what has come to be called "a second liberation of Africa." In the end, in a decision that perhaps suggests his unique political legacy, James boycotted the Sixth Pan-African Congress, even though he had traveled globally to organize it.

WALTER RODNEY

Walter Rodney (1942–1980), a native of Guyana, perhaps best imagined the Pan-African philosophy and practice necessary for a second liberation. As a scholar and activist, Rodney sought to reconcile the secular modernist tradition of class struggle–based Pan-Africanism with the prophetic cultural, nationalist, and theological visions of ordinary African and Caribbean peoples. He did not work in the service of populist state power, but rather organized everyday people against state power. Rodney's charismatic teaching inspired great democratic rebellions, against the postcolonial regime in Jamaica in 1968 and during the late 1970s in Guyana, for which he was assassinated. As a professor of history in Julius Nyerere's Tanzania, he taught, among other lessons, how Europe historically had underdeveloped Africa through its colonial policies. Yet it is Rodney's famous conference paper at the Sixth Pan-African Congress that most clearly suggests what are perhaps the most instructive perennial questions concerning African struggles for liberation. Rodney stressed—and this brief survey suggests he is correct—that an examination of which classes led the national liberation struggle, focusing especially on conflicting desires at the start of the postcolonial phase, is crucial to evaluating the legacy of Pan-African freedom struggles.

PAN-AFRICANISM IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The new millennium witnessed the OAU's transformation into the African Common Market, devoted to seeking the continental integration of financial markets and the facilitation of labor exploitation, with the blessings of American empire. Globally, progressives can only lament that the United States does not offer enough financial aid to Africans nor sufficiently forgive their governments' debts—in short, many defenders of the continent believe the imperialists are not involved in Africa enough! The contemporary moment is for many a time in which African peoples' struggle to delink from empire amounts to a dream, and subordinate African nation-states and ruling classes have given up even the pretext of such a possibility. A rethinking of the Pan-African community-organizing tradition may hold out some hope of finding new pathways and refashioning ideas about the future of self-government.

SEE ALSO *Nkrumah, Kwame; Nyerere, Julius; Organization of African Unity (OAU); Pan-African Congress.*

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Matthew Quest

PAPAL DONATIONS AND COLONIZATION

The Roman Catholic popes influenced European expansion into Africa, the Atlantic, and the world at large. One of the key ways they did so was through decrees and church policy. The religious influence was especially great before the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century fractured Christendom in western Europe. This, then, is the period most under consideration in this entry, and the texts and wider contexts for papal donations or bulls in regard to colonization will be the main focus. Bulls are papal letters or edicts, the name of which derives from the Latin *bulla*, or leaden seal, which most often sealed the documents. These letters gathered more weight as the Middle Ages progressed. Donations were gifts or endowment of lands. The most famous was the *Donation of Constantine*, which stated that the Roman Emperor gave Italian lands to Sylvester, bishop of Rome (pope), in order to give papal territorial claims longer and more sturdy and lofty origins, but Lorenzo Valla (ca. 1407–57), an Italian humanist, showed this to be a forgery of the eighth century. This donation was a prototype to the donations made by the Holy Roman Emperor and the popes. Bulls of donation were, then, edicts setting out a gift of lands.

PAPAL LANGUAGE, LAW, AND AUTHORITY

The language of the church, of canon law, and of papal authority became an instrument of European expansion and the subjugation of other regions and peoples. A legal framework was developed as the Iberian powers expanded.

Until the fifteenth century, relations with Islam had been a significant political and juridical consideration. In Iberia (a peninsula now occupied by Spain and Portugal), also known as Hispania, the Moors were thought to inhabit *terra irredenta*, lands that needed to be restored to legitimate Christian rulers, whereas pagan lands in Africa were considered *terra nullius*, uninhabited lands in the sense that these people lived without civility or a polis. Earlier writings, like those of Hortensius (Cardinal Henry of Susa, d. 1271), were used to justify Portuguese claims in Africa: Christ embodied temporal and spiritual lordship over the world, and this dominion was passed on to his representatives, the pontiffs or bishops of Rome, who could also delegate lordship over non-Christian lands.

PAPAL BULLS OR DONATIONS TO COLUMBUS'S LANDFALL IN 1492

The rediscovery of the Canary Islands off northwest Africa led to a conflict between Portugal and Castile. Pope Clement VI's (1291–1352) bull of 1344 gave Don Luis de la Cerda (d. 1348), uncle of King Alfonso XI, king of Castile (1312–1350), the authority to Christianize the islands, but when he failed to take possession, Portugal and Castile, which had supported his claim, continued their disagreement. Later bulls of donation alternately favored the two sides. Not until 1479 was the question of ownership settled: by the Treaty of Alcaçovas, Portugal ceded the Canaries to Castile.

Africa was the ground for the second controversy between Portugal and Castile. After the conquest of Ceuta in Morocco in 1415, Portugal made its claim in Africa by carrying out military expeditions in Morocco and voyages to Guinea. In the language of papal bulls, treaties and travel narratives attempted to establish the authority of the Europeans over various local or native populations. Slavery, trade, religion, and possession all were expressed in these documents. The Moors and Portuguese took slaves from each other. After the capture of Ceuta, slaves were more abundant and the papacy sanctioned the Portuguese practice.

On April 4, 1418, Pope Martin V (1368–1431) issued the bull *Sane Charissumus*, in which he appealed to Christian kings and princes to support João I (John I, 1357–1433) of Portugal in his fight against the Saracen Muslims from the Middle East and other enemies of Christ. Duarte Pacheco Pereira (ca. 1450–ca. 1526) noted the "holy revelation" that Prince Henry (1394–1460) of Portugal experienced when he learned of the "discovery" and "when the first negroes were brought to these realms," so that "he wrote to all the kings of Christendom inviting them to assist him in this discovery and conquest in the service of Our Lord, each of them to

have an equal share of the profits, but they, considering it to be of no account, refused and renounced their rights'' (63–64). Pereira observed that Prince Henry, under the authority of his brother, Afonso V (1432–1481), then presented, as part of his case for the right of conquest, the renunciation of the other European kings.

On September 8, 1436, Pope Eugene IV (1383–1447) published the bull *Rex regum*, which said that all newly conquered lands would belong to Portugal. This language was part of a conflict of expansion between Christian and Muslim states, but would set a precedence for western Europe in its expansion into sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and the New World. The route of Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) to India was a great event. Language, trade, and empire traveled the same routes. In 1434 the Portuguese navigator Gil Eanes helped to lead the way to the upper Niger, Guinea, and Senegal, where in the 1440s and 1450s slaves and gold made for a lucrative trade.

In Africa, as in the Canaries, the kings of Castile based their claim to conquest on its possession by their ancestors, the Visigoths. The doctrine of dominion over non-Christians imbued the language of a papal bull in 1452, which donated to the crown of Portugal sovereignty over subjects in the lands that had been discovered, and another in 1454 over peoples in territories that the Portuguese might discover in Africa as they proceeded south. By 1454, the two countries were embroiled in this African controversy. The crown was obliged to convert these peoples, who could be conquered if they resisted trade with, the dominion of, and evangelization by Christians.

In these bulls the pope gave Portugal a monopoly in the expansion south of Morocco on the Atlantic coast of Africa. Pope Nicholas V (1397–1455) issued the bull *Romanus pontifex* on January 8, 1455, giving exclusive rights to King Alfonso of Portugal in this African exploration and trade and thus extending the bull *Dum diversas* (June 18, 1452), in which Nicholas had given Alfonso the right to conquer pagans, enslave them, and take their lands and goods. The language of these bulls attempted to extend the pope's authority and to rule on how Europe would expand. This linguistic framework had consequences for the European powers and the peoples with whom they came into contact. In the bull *Rex regum* (January 5, 1443), Pope Eugenius IV (1383–1447), Nicholas's predecessor, had taken a neutral stance between Castile and Portugal regarding Africa.

The Europeans themselves did not accept these papal documents, but used them to establish authority over other cultures. The Castilians would not recognize the authority of the papal letters and continued to claim Guinea until 1479, when, after the War of Succession (in which Alfonso invaded Castile in an attempt to annex it), Portugal ceded the Canaries and Castile acknowledged Portugal's claim to Guinea, the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde Islands. This language of church authority had, but did not have, the power of enforcement.

The bulls of donation, or papal bulls, were not permanent laws. The parties involved in the disputes did not always accept them as remedies. Even though Portugal and Spain did not always admit the authority of these papal bulls or donations, these states insisted—from the late fifteenth century onward—that other nations, like France and England, abide by the papal bulls dividing the "undiscovered" world between the Iberian powers. Religious, legal, economic, and political aspects of language blend in the story of European expansion.

Portugal worked hard to differentiate itself: its quest for a Christian and "national" identity involved defeating the Moors and expanding effectively into Africa earlier than Spain. In the early 1450s, Muslim armies attacked Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey) and laid siege to Cyprus, Rhodes (in Greece), and Hungary. With expectations that this offensive would counter the attacks on Europe, Nicholas V was hopeful that the people of India would help Christians fight against Islam.

On February 16, 1456, Pope Callistus III (1378–1458) published the bull *Etsi cuncti*, in which he no longer addressed the other rulers of Europe, but instead appealed directly to Portugal to maintain monasteries in Ceuta. On August 31, 1471, Afonso published a law that forbade, under pain of death and the confiscation of ships, trade in and about Guinea. The Treaty of Toledo (March 6, 1480) confirmed Africa as Portugal's sphere and the Canary Islands as Spain's. A month later, Afonso ordered Portuguese captains that found foreigners in the seas in and about Guinea to seize their ships and throw those on board into the ocean.

During the fifteenth century, Portugal was cautious about expansion, looking after national self-interest and control. The Portuguese court had turned down the proposal of Paolo Toscanelli (1397–1482) for a westward voyage in 1474 and dismissed Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) ten years later. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the French, Portuguese, and Spanish attempted to make territorial claims and seek remedies through papal bulls, even though the bulls were not permanent laws. The Portuguese had their own plans for southern and eastern expansion but also reacted to Columbus's voyages by dividing the world unknown to Europeans with the Spanish by way of papal bulls.

Legal and political differences marked the Iberian expansion. One way of addressing controversies between Spain and Portugal was canon law, a mixing of legal

principles with religious politics, as the name would suggest. In these donations, the issue of slavery arose early in the expansion of Spain and Portugal. As the bull *Romanus Pontifex* had given the Portuguese the right to reduce the "infidels" to slavery, the inhabitants of these new lands—"so unknown to us westerners that we had no certain knowledge of the peoples of those parts" (January 8, 1455, in Davenport, 21)—had no rights because they were not Christian. This pattern was like the one the popes made in their donations concerning the New World, except as the natives were deemed barbarous and not infidels, they were saved from slavery—at least theoretically—by their potential for conversion.

After Columbus's landfall in the New World, the papacy continued to play a role in legitimizing exploration. Expansion and slavery owed something to the authority of the church, whose regulations were meant to underpin the political and economic power of Catholic Europe. Slavery was to become a key factor in the Portuguese role in the colonization of the New World.

PAPAL DONATIONS AND AUTHORITY AFTER COLUMBUS: FRANCE, ENGLAND, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE IBERIAN POWERS

Columbus changed this short-lived monopoly, and Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503), a native of Valencia, Spain, passed five bulls that curtailed Portuguese power in expansion and discovery. In particular, Alexander's *Dudem siquidem* (September 25, 1493) decreed that the Spaniards could sail westward and claim any area in India that the Portuguese had not discovered. To do damage control, Portugal signed the Treaty of Tordesillas (June 7, 1494). These Portuguese attitudes toward monopolies, law, and violence would be played out and imitated later on, as can be seen in the discussion of Brazil as described by Jean de Léry (1990).

The Spanish Crown had tried to address these abuses, but sometimes its legalistic responses, such as the *Requerimiento* (Requirement) of 1510, were grotesque. The *Requerimiento* ranged from the Old Testament figure of Adam, through the papal donation of the lands to the Spaniards and a demand for homage from native peoples, to a threat of destruction if they did not agree. This document was to be read to American Indians before battle, even though it was in a language and a part of a legal tradition that the natives could not understand. Sometimes it was read from afar or while villages slept. In effect, the *Requerimiento* was often a text and pretext of the destruction of native peoples and cultures.

During the 1490s, the pope had Iberian connections, whereas his successor in the early 1530s had a family member in a key post in France. On one occasion, as much as French king François I (1494–1547) seemed to ignore the papal donation dividing the "unknown" world between the Iberian powers, he sought to avoid the condemnation of Rome. On his behalf, through his relations with Cardinal Hippolyte de Médicis (1511–1535), archbishop of Montréal and nephew to the pope, Jean Le Veneur (?–1543), bishop of Lisieux (cardinal 1533–1543), approached Pope Clement VII (1478–1534), who declared in 1533 that the bulls of 1493 applied only to lands known to the Spanish and Portuguese before that date.

In 1532 the French king had come on a pilgrimage to Mont-Saint-Michel, France, where Le Veneur was also the abbot. Le Veneur had proposed to the king that he back a voyage of discovery and presented the French navigator Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), whose relative was a manager of the finances of the abbey, as his choice to lead it. It appears that the success of that mission helped to make Le Veneur a cardinal. Clement's successor, Pope Paul III (1468–1549), did not intervene in the French colonization of America, a policy that troubled Charles V (1500–1558), the Holy Roman emperor. France was mounting a considerable challenge to Spain.

The English mounted a textual challenge to the legacy of Columbus and the papal donations that justified extending Iberian expansion. In *Nova Britannia* (1609), which was a promotional tract about Virginia, Robert Johnson (fl. 1586–1636) raised—as seen in earlier English works, including the "Discourse" (1584, pub. 1877) of the English geographer and historian Richard Hakluyt (ca. 1552–1616)—the specter of Alexander's papal donation in the 1490s, which still had the power to haunt those in England who would promote colonization in the northern reaches of America. Johnson questioned Alexander's donation and ridiculed the donation of Constantine (d. 337) of the western Roman Empire to Rome. In his appeal to "truth," Johnson questioned how a temporal prince could give that empire to a pope and how a pope could donate the West Indies to a temporal prince. Furthermore, Johnson likened the donation of Alexander to the legalistic and tyrannical maneuvers of the flatterers of Cambyses II (d. 522 B.C.E.), king of Persia, to make the laws justify his incest. Beyond this attack on the authority of the popes, Johnson called the papal donations "legendarie fables."

The early promoters of Virginia also called into question Alexander VI's donation. William Strachey's *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612) expressed a similar view on the lack of authority of papal bulls of donation. In the context of continued anxiety
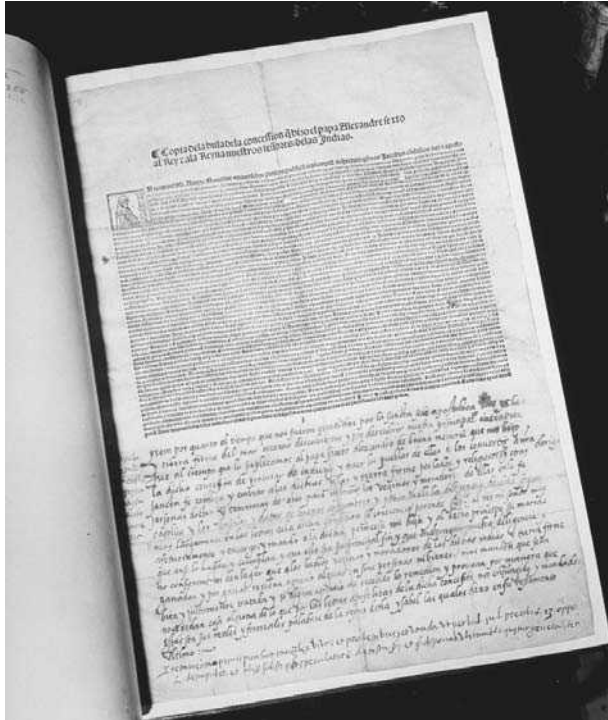
Pope Alexander VI's Bull of Demarcation. *This bull, issued by Alexander in 1493, divided the world between Spain and Portugal. The document is now held by the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.* BERNARD HOFFMANN/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

over the myth of origins and the papal authority behind the Spanish Empire, Samuel Purchas (1577–1626), a compiler of travel books, first referred to the Spanish missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566). The compiler presented a commentary on the papal donation of 1493, which gave Spain the New World; he reprinted the donation and noted that the historians Francisco López de Gómara (ca. 1511–1566) and Richard Eden (ca. 1521–1576) had included it in their work. Purchas attacked Pope Alexander VI personally and identified the corruption of Alexander with the corrupt nature of the papacy. His rhetorical strategy was to attack the papacy and the pope who gave Spain authority to colonize the New World and so to attack Spain indirectly. After pages of learned polemics and invective, bolstered with biblical typology and legal argument, Purchas quoted Francisco de Vitoria (ca. 1483–1546), "a Spanish divine," to prove that the pope had no authority in temporal matters and that the donation of 1493 was void. Vitoria's proofs supported Purchas's following propositions: "That the Pope is not Lord of the World, That the Temporall Power depends not of him." In 1615 Edward Grimestone translated into English the writings of Pierre d'Avity (1573–1635), who also questioned

Catholicism, Alexander VI's donations, and the view of Spain as the savior of America from the English and the Philippines from the Muslims.

The United States later weighed in on the debate on donations and colonization. The buildup to and the actual Colombian World Exposition of 1893 in Chicago illustrates this interest. William Curtis's scrapbook on the fair in the archives at Princeton University is a case in point. As an advocate of free trade and of the exhibition, Curtis himself played a role in Latin America and the exposition, which was partly about the United States as the leading American country and as the inheritor of the legacy of Columbus. As a collector and booster, Curtis found that Columbus and national origins were important to him and the fair for which he worked. One article, "A Famous Papal Bull Wanted," began:

> William E. Curtis is, in the interest of the World's fair, hunting for a copy of the famous bull of Alexander VI (1493) dividing the new world between the Spaniards and Portuguese. The particular copy he is after was bought at auction in London 37 years ago for some as yet unidentified New York collector. The only other known copy of the original pamphlet is in the Royal library in Munich.

This was the bull forged in response to Columbus's landfall in the western Atlantic. The papal donations had now become museum pieces for display; they were no longer the threats that the French, English, and others had found in the Iberian monopoly on colonization.

CONCLUSIONS

Slavery and some of the donations went hand-in-hand. In their general policy and writing, the popes had a mixed view of slavery. In the sixteenth century, Las Casas and Pope Leo X (1475–1521) could argue against the teachings of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) and his followers, like the Spanish theologian Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490–1573), that slavery was unnatural and inhumane in the case of the Indians in the New World, but they did not make the same argument for Africans. In the seventeenth century, more antislavery voices arose. Pope Urban VIII (1568–1644), for example, condemned slavery in a letter of 1639 and threatened excommunication to those who practiced it.

The papal bulls and their successors constitute the legal and quasilegal underpinning of Iberian and western European expansion. Those laws engendered further interpretations, political documents, and reactions—such as the *Code Noir* in France (Black Code, 1688), the Declaration of Independence (1776) in America, and the abolition of the slave trade in Britain and the United States (1808). The papal donations were central

to the story of western European, and particularly Iberian, expansion into Africa, the Atlantic, and beyond. To some, the donations might seem distant and strange to the modern world, perhaps not even immediate enough to display in collections, as in 1893, but they were key to the shaping of the modern world well beyond the Catholic domain.

SEE ALSO *Catholic Church in Iberian America; Religion, Roman Catholic Church.*

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Jonathan Hart

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Western influence was slow to reach the interior of the massive island of New Guinea. Traders and missionaries began to arrive in the mid-nineteenth century but their numbers remained small: malaria and the hostility of some Papua New Guinea (PNG) communities deterred more widespread settlement. The earliest traders were primarily British, or colonial Australian, and they traded in people as well as tropical products. Inexpensive labor was needed on the expanding plantations of Australia and Fiji during the last half of the nineteenth century, although concerns about slavery, along with developing a White Australian policy, put an end to the Western Pacific labor trade by the early twentieth century.

By this time, the Australian colony of Queensland maneuvered Britain into declaring Papua New Guinea a colony in 1884. The Netherlands and Germany eventually claimed the remaining parts of the island. These imperial rivalries were largely symbolic; New Guinea was not particularly important economically.

In Papua New Guinea the British operated largely by indirect rule, interfering as little as possible with village government, and allowing missionaries a large role in education. PNG islanders had responded enthusiastically to Anglicanism (as well as other Christian denominations), and by 1906 Britain handed control of the colony over to the new Commonwealth of Australia. Australia also took over the administration of German New Guinea and other areas after 1918.

By the interwar period, Papua New Guinea's small settler community, mainly plantation owners, pressured the colonial government into regulating village life and enforcing increasingly draconian penalties for offenses committed by islanders. This process peaked in 1926 with the passage of the White Women's Protection Ordinance; this new law made the death penalty mandatory for the *attempted* rape of a white woman by a PNG man.

World War II saw Papua New Guinea suddenly become strategically and politically important. Large numbers of troops poured into the region, and the contributions of PNG islanders to the Allied war effort were substantial. Calls for decolonization grew louder after 1945. Australia increased its spending on colonial

infrastructure, and in 1962 the western part of New Guinea (formerly a Dutch colony) became the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya. PNG islanders pressed for rapid constitutional reform, and the country became independent in 1975.

Papua New Guinea had not had substantial preparation for self-rule, and this, combined with strong regional identities, created many intractable problems. The island of Bougainville attempted to secede almost immediately after independence. Political compromises broke down in the 1990s, and the PNG armed forces intervened several times on Bougainville. Papua New Guinea's fractured polity, and its ongoing reliance on Australian economic and military assistance, raises the question of whether technical independence brought about actual decolonization or not.

SEE ALSO *Missions, in the Pacific; Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European presence in.*

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Jane Samson

PERRY, MATTHEW CALBRAITH
1794–1858

Matthew Calbraith Perry was born on April 10, 1794, in South Kingston, Rhode Island. His older brother, Oliver Hazard Perry, won a great victory over the British in the War of 1812 on Lake Erie. Matthew also enlisted in the U.S. Navy, being commissioned in 1809 and initially serving on the USS *Revenge*, which his older brother commanded.

For the next thirty years, Perry held a typical series of assignments. He saw little action in the War of 1812, for the Royal Navy trapped his main ship, the USS *United States,* at New London, Connecticut. After the war, he served on ships mostly assigned to suppress trade in West African slaves. Perry commanded the *Shark*, rotated to shore duty in Charleston, South Carolina, and in 1830 gained command of the USS *Concord.*

Perry became a noted advocate for naval education and for naval modernization. He helped design the curriculum for the U.S. Naval Academy and an education/ apprentice system for new sailors. He was a leader in moving to steam propulsion from sail, and oversaw construction of the USS *Fulton*, the U.S. Navy's second stream frigate, organized the first corps of naval engineers, and conducted the first navy gunnery school near Sandy Hook, New Jersey, while commanding the *Fulton*. During the Mexican War, he led the squadron that took Frontera, Tabasco, and Laguna in 1846 and that helped General Winfield Scott in besieging Vera Cruz in 1847.

Perry, however, is best known for his trips to Japan. In 1852, Perry led four ships from Norfolk, Virginia, to Japan, a useful coaling stop on the route to China. On arriving near Edo, modern Tokyo, on July 8, 1853, he refused to move to Nagasaki and the Dutch concession in far southwest Japan, and marching with some four hundred armed sailors and marines insisted on delivering a letter from President Millard Fillmore to the Emperor. The Tokugawa Shogunate accepted the letter and Perry promised to return for a reply after a stop in China. Perry returned in February 1854 with eight steam ships— one-third of the U.S. Navy— belching their black smoke and once again impressing the Japanese (who called the men "barbarians … in floating volcanoes").

The United States and the Japanese soon signed an agreement, the Treaty of Kanagawa, on March 31, 1854, that reflected President Fillmore's demands, which included humane treatment for shipwrecked sailors, permission for U.S. ships to purchase coal and supplies, and the opening of two distant ports, Shimoda and Hakodate, to U.S. trade. Perry did not understand the structure of Japanese politics, and he never reached the emperor, dealing strictly with officials of the ruling Tokugawa shogunate. On his return to the United States, Perry received an award of $20,000 voted by a grateful Congress.

Perry's visit accelerated trends already present in Japan. The Tokugawa shogunate was tottering. Great lords (known as *daimyos*) in the southwest were aware of increasing Western encroachments on China, and feared for Japan. Perry's visit and his demand to open relations called into question the two-centuries-old Tokugawa policy of isolation. Perry's visit and the threat of European imperialism eventually caused the Tokugawa to ask the daimyos for advice, and the daimyos wanted to strengthen the emperor and the nation. The result was the end of 250 years of Tokugawa rule, and the onset of the Meiji Restoration. Within forty years, Japan cast off its past, modernized the nation, and bested a European power, Russia, at war in 1904– 1905, and seemingly became a significant regional power. Perry died on March 4, 1858, in New York City.

SEE ALSO *Empire, United States; Japan, Colonized; Japan, Opening of.*

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Charles M. Dobbs

PERU UNDER SPANISH RULE

Spanish rule in Peru was consolidated in 1533 with the execution of Atahualpa, the reigning Inca monarch, and the conquistadors' military occupation of the Inca capital of Cuzco. And in that same year Spanish rule was solidified by the installation of Manco Inca Capac, a nephew of Atahualpa, as a puppet king in alliance with the Spaniards. The leader of the conquistadors, Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541), established a Spanish municipal government in Cuzco in 1534 that was modeled on Spanish cities. But in order to further establish Spanish hegemony, Pizarro moved the capital in 1535 to the newly established Spanish city of Lima on the Pacific coast, where there had been no prior Inca city.

Other Spaniards established municipalities at key points throughout the interior in order to facilitate trade and communication with other Spanish territories. These towns and cities became the building blocks of colonization in Peru, from which the Spanish implemented a policy of "pacification and colonization" *(pacificación y población)* that enabled Spanish military rule in the Andean regions, underpinned by a steady influx of Spaniards in search of land, wealth, and new opportunities. The new city of Lima would become the capital of the viceroyalty of Peru and, when the discovery of Peruvian silver stimulated the development of a rich commerce with Europe, the largest and most important trading center in South America. Internal rivalries amongst Pizarro and his associates, however, would lead to civil wars among the Spaniards—and finally to the assassination of Pizarro in 1541.

Hence, the rapid collapse of the Inca kingdom did not ensure the immediate stability of Spanish rule in Peru. Although consolidation of Spanish rule continued apace, Peru remained wracked by tensions and conflicts between Spaniards and the indigenous population for most of the sixteenth century. Manco Inca Capac broke his alliance with the Spaniards and led a great rebellion that almost overturned Spanish rule in Cuzco. Manco then withdrew to the mountains, where in 1536 at Vilcambamba he established a small Inca kingdom. Though Manco's kingdom never constituted a serious threat to Spanish rule, it remained independent until finally destroyed in 1572. Yet the revived Inca kingdom provided further impetus for a reinforced Spanish military presence and stronger colonial administrative apparatus.

At Cuzco, the Spaniards reestablished peace with the Incas by crowning Paullu (ca. 1510–1550) as Inca king, but they quickly entered into violent conflicts among themselves. While factions led by Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro (ca. 1474–1538) fought over the spoils of conquest during the late 1530s, they also resisted efforts by the Spanish Crown to impose its authority by sending a viceroy to Peru—which finally transpired with the appointment of Blasco Nuñez Vela (d. 1546) to the office in 1544.

Faced with the near decimation of the indigenous population by the end of the sixteenth century—some estimates suggest up to 90 percent of the indigenous population was lost to war, disease, and forced labor—the Spaniards were caught between their need for labor, mounting pressures from the Spanish monarchs for laws protecting the rights of the Indians, and the interests of the colonizers to maintain control over their newly acquired property in Peru. As in New Spain, a system of royal land grants (*encomiendas*) to Spanish colonists was the primary mode of colonization—controversial grants that also included rights to indigenous labor and taxation over the Indians, although outright slavery was forbidden. These grants also included the obligation to provide for the conversion to Christianity and continued religious education of the indigenous charges, the failure of which was a source of continued tension between landowners and religious communities.

Following vociferous complaints from the religious communities in New Spain, the Spanish monarchs implemented the "New Laws" in 1542, which, among other things, required these grants, or *encomiendas,* be returned to the crown's jurisdiction upon the death of the original *encomendero* (grant holder). The uproar in Peru over the denial of heredity value to their newly acquired land led Gonzalo Pizarro (ca. 1506–1548), the brother of Francisco, to lead a rebellion against and finally execute Viceroy Nuñez Vela, who demanded that Spaniards comply with the New Laws. Gonzalo Pizarro was defeated in 1548, but conflict with the crown did not end there. In 1553 Francisco Hernández Girón (1510–1554) lead another rebellion of other *encomenderos* who rejected royal attempts to curb their exploitation of the Indians. Using Indians as auxiliary troops, Hernández Girón fought until he was defeated the following year.

Pizarro and the Inca. *An undated woodcut depicts a meeting between Francisco Pizarro and the leader of the Incas. Spanish rule in Peru was consolidated in 1533 with the execution of the reigning Inca monarch.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The consolidation of the Spanish presence and the transformation of Peru into a prosperous and stable Spanish colony were most closely linked not to agriculture but to the development of silver mining. The discovery of the vast silver mines of Potosí in 1545 heralded a new era that transformed the social and economic landscape of Peru and led to its conversion into Spain's wealthiest colony.

The millions of tons of silver extracted from the mines of Cerro Rico at Potosí—at the expense of as many as eight million of the coerced indigenous workers and imported African slaves—made Potosí among the most populous cities in the world before the eighteenth century. At over 200,000 inhabitants, and with more churches than any other city in the Spanish world, Potosí rapidly became a key economic center of the Spanish Empire, financing rich flows of transatlantic trade, stimulating agriculture and industry throughout the Andean region, and providing Spanish kings with the fiscal revenues that underpinned their exercise of power in Europe and beyond.

Potosí further funded the extravagant lives of many European monarchs, and financed continued global exploration for more than two hundred years. Although the decline of silver production in the seventeenth century did much to precipitate the declining power of the Spanish Empire, the recovery of Peruvian mining during the later eighteenth century ensured that Peru remained an important colony with close ties to Spain.

The long-term modes of colonial administration in Peru were consolidated by the end of the sixteenth century. The viceroyalty of Peru became the administrative arm of the Spanish monarchy in South America, and the person of the viceroy presided over a society stratified by class and ethnicity, and almost wholly dependent upon forced indigenous labor. Second in geographical expanse only to the viceroyalty of New Spain, the authority of Lima covered the entire South American continent save Portuguese-controlled Brazil and part of Venezuela. The viceroy implemented laws, collected taxes, settled disputes among the local colonists, and managed the

delicate and tenacious relations between the Spaniards and the indigenous population.

The new capital of Lima also became the center for the royal *audiencia*, a supreme court and administrative body that acted as a support for and check upon the viceroy, and which oversaw relations between the colonists and the crown. Governance of the indigenous population throughout Peru was brought under the office of the *corregidor*, an office implemented to provide royal supervision over local indigenous leaders who were installed in certain areas to govern, albeit in a limited way, their own territories. The *corregidor* also oversaw disputes between the indigenous and Spanish populations.

The stabilization of Spanish rule in Peru owed much to Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1520–1583), the most influential of the Spanish viceroys. Toledo attempted during his long viceregency between 1569 and 1581 to reaffirm royal authority and to bring an end to the tumultuous period following the conquests of Pizarro. In taking steps to implement systematic control over the Spanish and indigenous population, Toledo combined repression with reform. He ordered the end of the Inca kingdom at Vilcambamba in 1572 and finally executed Túpac Amaru, the last remaining Inca king—bringing about a sharp rebuke from the Spanish monarch in Madrid, but not a reduction of the viceroy's power.

Toledo established indigenous communities *(reducciones)* under the supervision of Catholic priests. The *reducciones* isolated the Indians from contact with Spaniards save for religious education and required labor. Toledo also worked to end abuses of indigenous labor and promoted limited local rule in indigenous communities based on pre-extant Inca laws. It was also under Toledo's leadership that intensive investigations into indigenous religious life were conducted; this information was used in the "extirpation of idolatry" campaigns of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which attempted to end altogether pre-Columbian religious practices. But, perhaps most importantly from the Spanish perspective, Toledo provided a system of coerced native labor for the silver mines through the infamous *mita* system, which forced indigenous communities to supply a steady labor force for the mines at Potosí and elsewhere.

Under Toledo's leadership Lima also became the center for religious control over Peru, especially as the archbishopric of Lima quickly became among the most highly paid and powerful positions in colonial society. The archdiocese controlled the religious education of colonial elites through the newly founded University of San Marcos, and oversaw the rapid growth of convents and monasteries under its expansive jurisdiction. New authority was granted to the archdiocese with the arrival of the Inquisition in 1569. Three major councils of the church met between 1570 and 1583, the third and most famous of which required priests and missionaries to learn indigenous languages and formally adopted catechisms in the Aymara and Quechua languages.

In 1700 the Bourbon dynasty replaced Hapsburg rule in Spain, and the new Bourbon rulers promoted economic development and reform in the colonies. However, Peru was weakened in the eighteenth century by the creation of two other new viceroyalties—New Granada (1717) and Río de la Plata (1776). These new jurisdictions ended the domination of Lima in continental affairs and its monopoly over trade relations, and further meant the loss of Peru's lucrative silver mines at Potosí.

Bourbon rule was further complicated by a series of indigenous revolts that shook Peru in the eighteenth century. After more than a dozen large-scale uprisings, a Jesuit-educated *mestizo* named José Condorcanqui (ca. 1742–1781) took on the name of his executed ancestor, Túpac Amaru, and executed the Spanish *corregidor* in Cuzco on charges of cruelty. Appealing both to Inca traditions and to Christian traditions, Túpac Amaru launched a revolt against the excesses of the colonial government that began in the Cuzco region, but quickly spread throughout the southern Andes, only ending with his capture and execution in 1781.

Spanish rule survived this great threat from the indigenous population, and during the emerging years of the independence movements in Latin America, Peru tended to side with the Spanish monarchs. Weary of their treatment by the same Spanish Creoles who fought Spain for liberty, much of the indigenous population sided with royalist forces even during the wars of independence. Suspicious of Argentine and Chilean ambitions, and with a sizable number of elites still protective of their institutional and economic privileges with the crown, Peru was only liberated from Spanish rule by the successful occupation of Lima by the Argentine general José de San Martín (1778–1850) in 1821.

A failed alliance between San Martín and General Simón Bolívar (1783–1830) resulted in Bolívar finally establishing the Republic of Peru after the battles of Ayacucho and Junín in 1824. With these military victories, Bolívar not only established a new republic, but opened the way to the subsequent declaration of independence in 1825 of Upper Peru into the new Republic of Bolivia. Hence Peru's silver mines at Potosí, which had determined so much of its history, were permanently liberated from Peruvian rule by an independent Bolivia.

SEE ALSO *Inca Empire; Lima; Mining, the Americas; Pizarro, Francisco; Túpac Amaru, Rebellion of.*

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PIZARRO, FRANCISCO
1475–1541

Born in Trujillo, Spain, the product of an illegitimate liaison between Captain Gonzalo Pizarro and Francesca Gonzales, a peasant girl, there was nothing to indicate that great things could be expected from Francisco Pizarro. In fact, the first years of his life seemed to have been spent tending the pigs at the home of his grandparents. However, if his father had given him anything, it was apparently his love for adventure and the soldier's life. His appetite for both was whetted first at home, where he participated in conflicts between prominent landed families for control of the Spanish countryside, and later in Italy, where he soldiered under the command of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453–1515).

In 1502, at age twenty-seven, Pizarro left Europe, bound for Hispaniola, known today as Haiti and the Dominican Republic, to assist the governor in running the new colonies created by the discoveries of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506). But he soon tired of the daily grind of the administrator's world in favor of the adventurer's life, and in 1510 joined Alonso de Ojeda's (ca. 1468–1515) expedition to Colombia. Three years later he accompanied Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475–1519) as Balboa laid claim to the Pacific Ocean. That expedition won Pizarro the post of mayor of Panama from 1519 until 1523. But his ambition remained unsatisfied, and in 1523 Pizarro began the work that would help bring him fame, fortune, and would eventually claim his life.

It started with a partnership, formed with a fellow soldier, Diego de Almagro (ca. 1474–1538), and a priest, Hernando de Luque (d. 1532). Between 1523 and 1528 they conducted two expeditions along the Colombian coast. The journeys were both difficult and dangerous, and on the second trip Pizarro and most of his crew were forced to stop and rest, while a smaller team led by Bartolomé Ruiz (d. 1534) continued on, passing the equator. It was there that Ruiz intercepted a trading craft headed north from what its known today as Peru, loaded with fabrics and precious metals. Ruiz returned to Pizarro's camp, reported the news, and then led the entire expedition southward, stopping while Diego del Almagro returned to Panama for more men and supplies.

Almagro's reception by Spanish authorities in Panama proved to be a hostile one. The new governor, afraid of sacrificing more men and money, refused Pizarro's request, and ordered Almagro to tell Pizarro and his men to come home. Not interested in abandoning the expedition in light of the treasures already found, and convinced there were more to be had, Pizarro went to Spain in 1528 to plead his case directly to King Charles I (1500–1558). By 1530, he had won not only royal approval, but also the rank of governor and captain-general with control of territory stretching more that 960 kilometers (about 600 miles) south of Panama to be called New Castile. He was also given enough money to outfit three ships and provision 180 men.

In January 1530, Pizarro left Spain with everything he needed to conquer Peru. In April of that year, he and his two partners, de Almagro and Hernando de Luque, made contact with Atahualpa (ca. 1502–1533), emperor of the Incas, the dominant indigenous force in Peru. Atahualpa was engaged in a civil war to maintain control of the Inca empire. A meeting was arranged in November in the town of Cajamarca. Pizarro's objective was to have Atahualpa embrace Christianity and the rule of King Charles. Atahualpa arrived in Cajamarca with an escort of several thousand soldiers, and after listening to Pizarro's representatives, rejected both demands. The meeting then turned into an ambush, as Pizarro's men opened fire with muskets, crossbows, and cannons. Most of Atahualpa's men were killed. Atahualpa himself was captured by the Spanish and held until 1533, when Pizarro had him executed. Upon hearing news of Atahualpa's death, most armed resistance to Spain collapsed, and Pizarro occupied Cuzco, the Inca capital without incident in November 1533.

Pizarro sought to take control of highland Peru by distributing *encomiendas* among his trusted followers, while also using puppet Inca kings enthroned in Cuzco. But his ascendancy was marked by deep and growing conflict. Manco Inca (d. 1545) rejected his role as a puppet king in 1535 and led a great rebellion against the Spaniards before retreating to the countryside. After surviving the Inca rebellion, the Spaniards fought among themselves in recurrent civil wars, driven by a fight for the spoils of conquest and the rivalries of the Pizarro and Almagro factions.

The last eight years of Francisco Pizarro's life were spent in Lima, the new capital of Peru, where he consolidated Spain's control over the country, making sure he and his family members reaped the benefits of their efforts. This was a unique combination of a new business enterprise coupled with traditional colonial administration. But the distribution of the spoils apparently did not extend far enough beyond Pizarro's family to satisfy his original partners, Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Luque. In fact, Almagro went so far as to occupy Cuzco in a bid for power. He was persuaded to leave the city and head south to Chile, which King Charles had awarded him. But the riches of Chile were nothing in comparison to Peru's, and Almagro returned to fight for his share, only to be captured and executed by Pizarro's forces. King Charles made Pizarro a marquis, but his triumph did not last long. Almagro's supporters, including his son, plotted revenge, and on June 26, 1541, they attacked Pizarro's stronghold in Lima. Pizarro died in the attack.

SEE ALSO *Conquests and Colonization; Peru Under Spanish Rule.*

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John Morello

PLANTATIONS, THE AMERICAS

The plantation developed in the Americas as part of the region's incorporation into the European world economy. Plantation agriculture was at once linked to the emergence of world markets for tropical staples, and to the control of an abundant, cheap, and disciplined labor force secured by direct or indirect compulsion. Slavery, indentured or contract labor, sharecropping, and tenancy concentrated laborers in commercial crop production, reduced their bargaining power, subjected them to lowered standards of living, and imposed a strict labor discipline enforced by a hierarchical staff of supervisors. A clear distinction existed between powerful owners, who generally claimed European descent, and a subordinate, and racially and culturally distinct, labor force. The planters' coercive control over labor, guaranteed by the colonial state, established the conditions for profitable, large-scale commodity production in the American plantation zone. Over the course of its evolution, plantation agriculture transformed tobacco, coffee, bananas, cacao, cotton, and, above all, sugar cane from luxury items into articles of mass consumption.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE PLANTATION

Specialized production of plantation staples depended upon overseas markets for the sale of the crops, while capital, technology, consumer goods, and labor were imported from abroad. The development of the plantation was shaped by colonial rivalries between European powers, the expansion and diversification of markets, growing productive capacities, and changing sources of labor supply and forms of labor control throughout this international socioeconomically complex world.

Plantation production developed along the coastal lowlands from Brazil to Chesapeake Bay and throughout the Caribbean islands where soil, climate, and ease of transport facilitated large-scale production. The sparse indigenous populations in these regions, unaccustomed to settled agriculture and European diseases, provided

Plantation Slaves in Brazil. *Household slaves working on a Brazilian plantation are engaged in domestic chores in this mid-nineteenth-century engraving.* **THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

insufficient labor and were replaced by imported workers. Later, with changes in transportation, production technologies, and market patterns, plantation production spread along the coastal lowlands of Peru, Ecuador, and Central America and to inland regions of Brazil, the United States South, Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina. Throughout these zones, the plantation degraded environments, disrupted preexisting cultural norms, and eliminated competing forms of economic and social organization.

SUGAR AND TOBACCO PRODUCTION

Plantation regimes were at once shaped by the material conditions required to produce specific staples and by their dependence on world markets. Historically, sugar was perhaps the most important plantation crop and the one that developed this productive form to the fullest. Beginning in the eleventh century, growing European demand stimulated the spread of sugar production westward across the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. By 1470, refineries in Venice, Bologna, and Antwerp established a colonial relationship between producing regions and dominant importers.

The adoption of Arab production techniques, especially irrigation, transformed cultivation and allowed intensification of land use. In the fifteenth century sugar

mills in southern Spain and Portugal turned to African slaves as a source of labor. Nonetheless, the sugar industry in the European Mediterranean was characterized by small-scale production and diverse ways of organizing land and labor. This pattern of sugar cultivation was extended to Madeira, and the Canary Islands in the Atlantic. Sugar remained a costly luxury product.

During the sixteenth century, the emergence in Spanish Hispaniola and, above all, in the Portuguese colony of São Tomé of large plantations using African slaves to produce cheap, low-quality sugar for metropolitan refiners signaled the transition from Mediterranean polyculture to American sugar monoculture. The decisive break with the Mediterranean pattern came in Brazil. Ideal climate, together with unlimited supplies of fuel, land, and at first indigenous and then imported African servile labor, established the characteristic pattern of American plantation agriculture.

The growing demand for slave labor in Brazil increased the volume of the slave trade and consolidated the plantation's fateful association with African slavery. Powerful *senhores de engenho* (the masters of the mill) monopolized access to river courses in order to grind their own cane and that of dependent cane farmers who themselves often employed large numbers of slaves in a complex division of labor that combined sugar cultivation and

manufacture. African slavery, fertile soil, and improved milling techniques promoted large-scale production. Brazil dominated world production as sugar reached growing numbers of European consumers and became a significant source of colonial wealth. In contrast, tobacco was an indigenous American crop. It required no large investment to start up, and it could be cultivated successfully on a small scale. Nonetheless, by the 1620s rising European demand for tobacco stimulated concentration of land and labor in the Chesapeake Tidewater region as wealthy planters achieved economies of scale at the expense of native peoples and European smallholders. Initially indentured Europeans provided labor, but after the 1640s changing patterns of migration in combination with local conditions resulted in a shift to African slave labor.

Tobacco was grown on small scattered plots and required skilled labor working under close supervision. Its labor force was smaller than that for other plantation staples. Nonetheless, ownership of land and slaves was the key to success. Recurrent depressions in the tobacco market drove out smallholders while big planters were better able to survive hard times and reaped disproportionate benefits from upswings. The slave-owning gentry dominated the Chesapeake tobacco region until the 1780s when the War for Independence (1775–1781) disrupted access to markets, and tobacco was no longer profitable. Planters turned to general farming as better and cheaper tobacco was produced on the western frontier.

With the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil in 1654, the Caribbean emerged as the center of sugar production. Rather than directly organizing production, the Dutch offered slaves, technology, credit, and access to Dutch markets to British and French planters. By the 1720s the consolidation of large estates and massive importation of slaves eliminated the European yeomanry and indentured labor. The West Indies were transformed into "sugar islands," with majority populations of African descent. They became the cornerstone of imperial politics and were at the heart of the transatlantic commercial complex linking the African slave trade, European manufactures, and livestock, lumber, fish, and grain from North America.

Almost one-third of the slaves transported during the course of the entire African slave trade were imported to the British and French Caribbean between 1701 and 1810. In Saint Domingue, the richest colony in the world, nearly half a million slaves produced more wealth than all of British West Indies and allowed France to compete with Britain in international politics and trade.

EMERGENCE OF MODERN PLANTATION AGRICULTURE

By the nineteenth century, industrialization and urbanization in Europe and North America and slave emancipation throughout the hemisphere led to the decline of the old sugar colonies and the emergence of modern plantation agriculture. World demand for sugar, coffee, cotton, cacao, and later bananas resulted in the extension and diversification of plantation production. The railroad and steamship opened new areas to cultivation and linked them more firmly to international trade.

Paradoxically, growing world demand for key agricultural commodities expanded plantation slavery in certain regions even as the international slave trade was being suppressed. Cuba, with a slave population of up to 400,000 in the mid-nineteenth century, emerged as the world's leading sugar producer. The first railroad in Latin America and the introduction of modern milling and refining technologies in Cuba increased the scale of production and transformed the relation between land, labor, and capital. The expansion of the slave cotton plantation allowed the United States South to dominate world production and fueled the Industrial Revolution.

With the emergence in the 1830s of the *fazenda* (a large-scale agro-industrial unit that both cultivated and processed coffee) worked by African slaves in the Valley of Paraíba and the west of São Paulo state, Brazil became the world's foremost coffee producer. In Cuba, slave labor was obtained legally and illegally through the transatlantic slave trade while American and Brazilian planters obtained the majority of their labor though internal slave trades. Cuba, Brazil, and the United States were the last countries in the hemisphere to abolish slavery, the United States being engaged in the civil war.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, plantation agriculture spread beyond the Americas. Java, India, Ceylon, the Philippines, Australia, and South Africa, among others, emerged as important centers of plantation production. In the Americas, the cultivation of sugar as a plantation crop spread to Peru, Colombia, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Louisiana. Coffee was also grown as a plantation crop in Colombia, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guatemala, and El Salvador. With the introduction of the refrigerator ship, bananas became an important plantation crop in Central America, Columbia, and Ecuador. At the same time, coffee, cotton, bananas, and other plantation crops began to be produced on a significant scale in a variety of nonplantation arrangements of land, labor, and capital for an expanding and increasingly integrated world market.

Slave emancipation and growing demand for plantation products initiated a search for new sources of labor. In many places, state-sponsored immigration provided an alternative source of labor. Contract laborers from India, China, Indochina, Japan, Africa, Madeira, and the Canary Islands were variously distributed to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Cuba, Peru, and Brazil. Italian *colonos*

replaced African slaves in the Brazilian coffee zone. In the lowlands of the Andes and Central America labor was recruited from highland peasant communities.

The demand for labor sharpened conflicts between plantations and smallholders and shaped racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity throughout the plantation zones. By the 1920s large-scale international migration ended. A variety of forms of sharecropping, tenancy, contract labor, and wage labor prevailed. The plantation monopolized resources and eliminated alternative economic activities. Workers were exposed to seasonal employment, and, where labor was insufficient, regional inequalities created local sources of migrant labor.

Conversely, technical innovation, the growing scale of production, and capital investment transformed plantation ownership and financing. Local planter classes were increasingly subordinated to or eliminated by corporate capital as plantations were integrated into production, marketing, and financial networks dominated by transnational enterprises. The plantation lost its distinctive character and came to resemble other forms of large-scale capitalist agriculture.

SEE ALSO *African Slavery in the Americas; Cacao; Caribbean; Coffee Cultivation; Coffee in the Americas; Cotton; Haciendas in Spanish America; Sugar Cultivation and Trade; Tobacco Cultivation and Trade; Virginia Company.*

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POLYNESIA

Polynesia is a region of the Pacific Ocean and forms, together with Melanesia and Micronesia, one of the three cultural areas of Oceania. Polynesia extends from the Hawaiian Islands in the north to New Zealand in the south, and from Tuvalu in the west to Rapanui (Easter Island) in the east. The region includes Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and the Cook and Marquesas Islands. The name Polynesia derives from Greek words meaning *many islands* and refers to the numerous islands of the region.

Human beings began settling in western Polynesia over 3,000 years ago but did not reach its fringes until between 1,000 and 2,000 years ago. Polynesians are excellent sailors and discovered and settled nearly every island in the region. Traditional Polynesian society was based on a hierarchical system of hereditary chiefs with individuals divided into nobility and commoners. Polynesian kings extended their control over entire archipelagoes, forming kingdoms such as those in Tonga and Hawai'i.

The first European to visit Polynesia was the Spaniard Álvaro de Mendaña (1541–1595), who reached Tuvalu in 1568. Dutch explorers followed in the 1600s, with the English and French beginning their own expeditions in the 1700s. The English explorer Samuel Wallis (1728–1795) reached Tahiti in 1767 and Captain James Cook (1728–1779) reached the Cook Islands (later named after him) in 1773 and Hawai'i in 1778.

As in other parts of Oceania, European colonialism really began in the nineteenth century. Britain claimed

New Zealand in 1840 and later claimed the Cook Islands. France seized Tahiti and neighboring islands in 1842, the United States annexed Hawai'i in 1898, and Germany and the United States divided Samoa in 1899. Only Tonga escaped European colonization, and even then it was under the protection of Britain. Many Polynesians resisted European colonization, as in New Zealand, but were subdued by force or by treaties. Polynesians also formed anticolonial associations, such as the Mau in Samoa. Many Polynesian chiefs were also able to exploit European colonists to their own advantage, using them as a source of weapons and other goods. More recently, Polynesians have united in protest against nuclear testing carried out by the American and French governments in the region.

The impact of European colonialism in Polynesia varied from place to place. The British turned New Zealand into a settler colony. The Hawaiian Islands became increasingly important to the United States for both agricultural and strategic reasons. France used Tahiti as its main Pacific center of activity, and Samoa was an important agricultural colony for Germany. After Germany's defeat in World War I (1914–1918) its Samoan colony was turned over to New Zealand. Important Pacific products during the colonial era included sandalwood, copra, vanilla, sugar, pearls, and phosphate. Missionaries came to Polynesia in the early nineteenth century and Christianity soon became widespread.

Today Polynesia contains a diversity of political systems. Hawai'i is a part of the United States and American Samoa is an American territory, Tahiti remains a French colony, Rapanui is a Chilean territory, Tonga is an independent kingdom, tiny Pitcairn is still a British colony, and New Zealand, Samoa, and Tuvalu are independent states.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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Michael Pretes

PONDICHERRY

SEE *Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia*

PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN COLONIES

One of the great ironies in the history of European colonialism is that the small country of Portugal established one of the first colonial empires and then retained its colonial possessions well after most other European nations had lost theirs.

In the fifteenth century, Portuguese sailors took the lead in developing the sea route around the largely unexplored African continent and across the Indian Ocean to the ports of Asia and to the spice-rich islands of the East Indies (now Indonesia). Marking their incremental exploration and extension of this trade route, the Portuguese established a string of outposts along the coast of West Africa at which their ships could reprovision, refit, and retreat from storms. The earliest of these outposts included Ceuta in Morocco (1415), Madeira (1419) and the Azores (1427) in the North Atlantic, and the fortress of São Jorge da Mina in Guinea.

In 1482 Diogo Cão (ca. 1450–1486) reached the mouth of the Congo River. In 1497 Bartholomeu Dias (ca. 1450–1500) rounded the Cape of Good Hope. And in 1498 Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) reached India. Along the eastern coast of Africa, the Portuguese then subjugated several largely Islamic port cities in Mozambique and farther north seized the ports at Brava, Kilwa, and Mombasa. The Portuguese also established commercial bases in India, in the East Indies, in China, and even in Japan, from which they were able to monopolize much of the European trade with Asia. Although that trade was the chief prize, the Portuguese also found that the shorter-distance trade in African gold, ivory, and slaves was also extremely profitable.

In 1578 Portuguese King Sebastian was killed during a campaign against the Moors in Morocco. For the next six decades, the Hapsburg rulers of Spain and Austria also held the throne of Portugal, and Portugal's imperial ambitions were subordinated to those of Spain. Moreover, by the mid-sixteenth century, Spanish power was gradually eclipsed, first by the Dutch and then by the British, and in that complicated process, the Portuguese lost many of their commercial bases along the African and Asian coasts.

By the late eighteenth century, the Portuguese had managed to retain in Africa only the small colonies of Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé and Princípe in West Africa and the much more extensive but largely undeveloped colonies of Angola and Mozambique in southern Africa. During the Napoleonic era, the governance of Portugal again became very unsettled, and from 1808 to 1821 the royal family even transferred its seat of power to Brazil, Portugal's largest overseas colony. Then, after Brazil achieved independence in 1822, the

Portuguese Africa, 1914

Mediterranean Sea

Portuguese Guinea

São Tomé and Príncipe

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Angola

Mozambique

INDIAN OCEAN

N

| 0 | 400 | 800 mi. |
| 0 | 400 | 800 km |

Portuguese began to concentrate on developing their colonies in southern Africa, in large part to protect their claims in the face of the escalating competition to carve up the African interior into European colonies. In fact, at the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), the major European colonial powers insisted that Portugal demonstrate that it actually controlled the interiors of Angola and Mozambique.

For the next four decades, the Portuguese conducted an ongoing military campaign to subjugate the native African populations of its colonies in southern Africa. By the beginning of the twentieth century, they had subdued the populous Ovimbundu states in central Angola. The large kingdom of the Kwanhana in southern Angola was not vanquished, however, until after World War I (1914–1918). Indeed, although the Portuguese formally declared in 1922 that Angola had been "pacified," armed resistance to Portuguese rule continued throughout the colony, especially among the Bakongo and Mbundi people of northern Angola. In the process of "pacification," the native Africans were displaced, and through a decree that made it a crime to be unemployed, most were forced to labor on the extensive coffee plantations that were established by the colonials.

The mixed-race Creoles who were descended from the earliest Portuguese traders and settlers and who were centered in the Luanda area in Angola initially prospered under the more formal colonial regime, but they gradually lost influence as resistance to Portuguese rule became more entrenched in the farther reaches of the colony. In Mozambique, Portugal had hoped to subdue the interior through the establishment of strong colonial agricultural communities. But when it became clear that Portugal lacked the resources to succeed in this effort, the Portuguese government sold economic concessions within regions of the colony to three international consortia. Commercial mercenaries, these consortia could exploit the resources and native labor in the undeveloped interior in exchange for developing a rail system and other transportation and communication infrastructure that would accelerate European settlement.

In both Angola and Mozambique, the rise of the dictatorial regime of António Salazar (1889–1970) in Portugal meant an increasingly repressive reaction to African demands for just treatment and political and economic rights. Especially in Angola, the Portuguese became expert at exploiting longstanding tensions among the dominant ethnic groups, and in both Angola and Mozambique, the native insurgencies became proxy conflicts in which the Cold War competition between the United States and the Soviet Union was played out. Through direct military and economic aid and covert operations, the United States supported the Salazar regime's campaigns against the largely Soviet-supported insurgencies. In Angola, three independence movements developed—the MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the FNLA (the National Front for the Liberation of Angola), and UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). In Mozambique, the insurgency was dominated by Frelimo (the Mozambican Liberation Front), whose leadership had been trained in Algeria and Egypt.

The African discoveries of Portugal	
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY	
1433–1434	Cape Bojador
1444	Senegal River
1446	Gambia River
1456	Cape Verde Islands
1460	Cape Palmas
1471	Fernando Po
1482	Construction of Elmina Castle
1483	Congo River
1488	Cape of Good Hope

THE GALE GROUP.

After Salazar's regime collapsed in 1974 and the new Portuguese government committed itself to a quick transition to independence in the colonies, the United States and Soviet Union supported contending African factions in the now-independent states—factions that they supported through, respectively, South African and Cuban surrogate forces. For the next decade and a half, both Angola and Mozambique were devastated by these ongoing and often very anarchic conflicts. By 2006, their economies had still not become self-sustaining, and large portions of their populations remained in refugee camps where large commitments of foreign aid provided basic foodstuffs and rudimentary medical care as a stopgap against mass starvation and epidemics.

After the end of the international slave trade in the 1830s, Portugal's small West African colonies decreased in importance and became increasingly impoverished. The Portuguese attempted to establish a plantation economy, but the fields in the Cape Verde Islands, in particular, were devastated by cyclic droughts. The Portuguese lacked the resources to compensate for the crop failures, and in at least seven periods between the 1770s and the late 1940s, between 15 percent and 40 percent of the islands' population starved to death as a consequence. After 18 percent perished from 1948 to 1949, the Portuguese government responded to international pressure and in 1951 designated the Cape Verde Islands as a province of Portugal. Educational and economic opportunities within Portugal were opened to Cape Verdeans. Some of those educated in Portugal then returned to Cape Verde and went to Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé in order to provide the nucleus of an independence movement. In 1963 an active insurgency began in Guinea-Bissau, but it would take just over a decade for the ongoing insurgencies in all of Portugal's African colonies to cause the collapse of the Salazar regime and to achieve independence.

SEE ALSO *Berlin Conference; Empire, Portuguese; Scramble for Africa.*

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Martin Kich

POSTCOLONIALISM

There is remarkably little agreement among the practitioners of postcolonial criticism, theory, and history regarding exactly what postcolonialism is other than radical intellectual opposition to all forms of Western colonialism, past and present, and an unshakable belief in colonialism's irreparable disfigurement of the modern world. The term *postcolonial* is quite pliant and a source of vigorous debate. Definitions of postcolonialism as a theory and a field of academic study are abundant and diverse. Not unlike disagreements among religious and revolutionary schismatics, the disputes among postcolonialists are bitter battles about fine points of ideology.

Academic interest in the postcolonial—that is, post-independence—literature of the Middle East, Africa, and the Caribbean, a literature that represented the interactions between the colonizers and the colonized (and often described the psychological and cultural damage caused by colonization), developed in Great Britain and the United States in the 1970s and the 1980s. Postcolonial academic critics discovered, as Indian-born British novelist Salman Rushdie put it, that "the Empire writes back to the Centre." Classic postcolonial novels include *Things Fall Apart* (1958) by Nigeria's Chinua Achebe, *The Mimic Men* (1967) by Trinidad's V. S. Naipaul, and *Another Life* (1972) by Saint Lucia's Derek Walcott.

At first, postcolonial studies examined the process by which language and literature was reclaimed by former colonials. Postcolonial literature, like everything Creole, was discovered to be hybrid, meaning a mixture of European and non-European. Postcolonialists argued that imperial rule had created the binary categories of the imperial "self" in opposition to the colonized "other," but hybridity subverted this rigid construction of ruler versus ruled.

Postcolonial literature, and the study of colonial and postcolonial literature, became more ideological in the 1980s and 1990s. In the Caribbean, supposedly, the teaching of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) brought indoctrination not enlightenment. West Indian novelist Merle Hodge writes: "From the colonial era to the present time, one of the weapons used to subjugate us has been fiction."

Antiguan-American writer Jamaica Kincaid in *Annie John* (1985) uses literature and literacy to discipline the title character when she "is forced to copy out Books I and II of *Paradise Lost* as punishment for her rebelliousness." English is transmogrified into an alien—even if internalized—imperial language, a burden to bear. To the Canadian poet Dennis Lee: "The language [is] drenched with our non-belonging . . . words had become the enemy."

Edward W. Said (1935–2003) published *Orientalism*, one of the fundamental texts of postcolonialism, in 1978. Said argued that Eurocentric writing about the Arab Middle East exoticized, eroticized, romanticized, and essentialized the "Orient" and "licensed pillage of other cultures in the name of disinterested scholarship." With Said, the study of colonialism increasingly became the study of colonial discourse. The

production of "knowledge" about others not only justi-fied the exploitation and domination of non-Europeans, supposedly, but also facilitated colonial rule. Although Said's *Orientalism* was the subject of potent scholarly criticism at the time and since, his attack on Western writers opened the door to multitudinous literary critics, anthropologists, and historians who have unpacked colo-nial discourses from the chronicles of the Spanish con-quest of the Aztecs and Incas to the British histories of South Asia. "The conquest of India," wrote anthropolo-gist Bernard Cohn (1928–2003), "was a conquest of knowledge.... The vast social world that was India had to be classified, categorized and bounded before it could be hierarchalized."

One of the most famous subjects of colonial dis-course analysis in recent decades has been Shakespeare's drama *The Tempest* (1611). This virtually plotless play is about the ruler of Milan, Prospero, a scholar and magus, shipwrecked with others on what cannot otherwise be a Mediterranean island with the half-human creature Caliban. In numerous scholarly articles and books, not to mention many stage and film versions, postcolonialists have interpreted *The Tempest* as a discourse on early English colonialism, primarily American colonialism. In these readings Prospero represents the colonial planter and white male oppressor. Caliban has become a New World cannibal slave or an Afro-Caribbean freedom fighter. *The Tempest*, in this view, not only displays racial prejudice but also "enacts" colonialism by justifying Prospero's power over Caliban.

Even Shakespeare, it would seem, created colonial "knowledge." The play, however, is more complex than any colonial reading can give it. Two other characters, Sycorax and Ariel, reveal some of the problems of this brave new postcolonialist perspective. Ariel, an airy spirit, was on the island before Sycorax, a witch who gives birth to Caliban, thus making Ariel the island's first true reign-ing lord. When Sycorax arrived, however, she enslaved Ariel and became the first colonialist (one could say) before Prospero even arrived on the island. Caliban, half-human, is also only a half-native of the island.

Shakespeare's text about an island and its last ruler, Prospero, if it is about anything other than certain uni-versal values, concerns Britain as an island nation. There is no external evidence that seventeenth-century English audiences thought the play referred to the New World. *The Tempest* has been twisted to fit a preconceived pic-ture of the evils of Western colonialism.

The study of colonial discourse has become an important element in the historical study of colonialism and imperialism. The great histories, chronicles, and "relations" of the early Spanish New World have been retranslated, republished, and analyzed in a myriad of volumes and studies. The "letter" narrative of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the polemics of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566), the castaway narrative of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (ca. 1490–1560), the history of the Incas by Juan de Betanzos (fl. mid-1500s), and the "natural history of the Indies" by José de Acosta (1539–1600), to mention only a few, have been expertly studied and interpreted in the larger context of colonial discourse.

Peter Hulme explores the invention of the Caribs in early colonial discourse and the uses of tales of cannibal-ism. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, who explicitly follows the key insights of postcolonial scholarship, shows how eighteenth-century Spanish American writers challenged European colonial knowledge based on reinterpretation of noble Indian testimony. The Spanish Empire fell, postcolonialists argue, when Creoles destabilized the cate-gories of colonizers and colonized. Warships are after-thoughts when words are recognized as effective weapons. Critics of discourse analysis, however, maintain that post-colonialists give too much power to words and too little significance to the common activities of colonial realities, that is, planting, working, trading, fishing, constructing, fighting, training, loving, and much more.

It is salutary to recall that what is today referred to as colonial discourse theory was not invented by Edward Said or postcolonialists. In 1949 the Spanish philosopher Edmundo O'Gorman (1906–1995) argued that America did not emerge "full-blown as the result of the chance discovery" but "developed from a complex, living process of exploration and interpretation." O'Gorman's book was entitled *La invención de América* (The Invention of America). O'Gorman was a scholar of philosophy and history.

A few years later, the psychiatrist Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), born in Martinique but committed to anticolonialism in Africa, critiqued colonialism in *White Skin, Black Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). Fanon's books, like *Discourse on Colonialism* (1955) by fellow Martiniquan author Aimé Césaire (b. 1913), unveiled the racism and corrosive effects of colonialism and colonial discourse. Fanon was a revolu-tionary as well as a critic. He joined the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) and in his writing he supported the option of armed struggle. Since Fanon, postcolonialists have maintained their radical, even revo-lutionary, ideological stance and sensibility.

Postcolonialist discourse analysis has dissolved all distinctions between the periods or categories called "colonial" and "modern." Fernando Coronil describes the Western mythology of portraying Europe as a civili-zation, culturally distinct, which had evolved ("pro-gressed") over centuries, as Occidentalism. Thus, with

all the differences and even nuances between colonialism and modernity, or between the Spanish Inquisition and Auschwitz, ended, scholarship and political activism intertwine. "Today I am looking at coloniality at large, and at the coloniality of power and the colonial difference in a modern/colonial world in which we are still living and struggle," writes Walter D. Mignolo. "Globalization and neoliberalism are new names, new forms of rearticulating the colonial difference. The colonial period may have ended, but the coloniality of power continues to order planetary relations."

Historians, political scientists, and anthropologists of India (and also Britain) began their shaping of postcolonial studies through the journal *Subaltern Studies*, which was published in Delhi beginning in 1982. The term *subaltern* was taken from Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci's (1891–1937) concept of a dominated group without class consciousness. Subalternity became a general category for the objects of economic, social, cultural, gender, and linguistic domination. Indian scholars not only sought to take the focus away from the elite in Indian society, the British colonials and the privileged princes, but to reveal the subaltern as actors and agents in history. Their aim has been to rescue the neglected and repressed, the "people without history," from the silence and condescension of the grand master narrative of imperial history.

To do this, scholars have attempted to discover the radical consciousness of the underprivileged in colonial India, particularly in times of rebellion. Since the early 1980s Indian historians have led the field of postcolonial studies. Very quickly, however, historians and anthropologists of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and other regions adopted the model and the politics. Staying within a vaguely Marxist tradition, scholars of the subaltern have shifted from social to cultural history, and they seek "fragments" of alternative histories that lie buried in colonial discourse. Historians also explore the issue of Creole, hybrid cultures and identities. Subalternists seek to break down the colonial dichotomies of colonizer/colonized, master/slave, ruler/ruled, white/black, metropolis/colony, and so on. "The goal," according to Arif Dirlik, "indeed, is no less than to abolish all distinctions between center and periphery as well as other 'binarisms' that are allegedly a legacy of colonial(ist) ways of thinking."

Subalternity has been extended to women, the subaltern of the subaltern according to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, an original member of the subaltern studies historians. Feminist and postcolonialist historians have discovered that while gender and imperialism may have been ignored by scholars in the past, the subjects are inextricably intertwined. Gender is a question of imperial

plunder, subdued labor, political alliance, cultural identity, missionary evangelization, and much more. "The vast, fissured architecture of imperialism was gendered throughout by the fact that it was white men who made and enforced laws in their own interests," writes the historian Anne McClintock.

In the 1990s Dipesh Chakrabarty argued that Indian history itself, the academic discourse of history, was in a position of subalternity. History, whether it is "Indian," "Egyptian," or "French," is an academic discourse, a knowledge system, that has developed to justify the capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois order in the West. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, according to Chakrabarty, European imperialism and third world nationalism universalized the discourse of history. His solution is to "provincialize Europe," that is, imagine the world as radically heterogeneous. Chakrabarty, of course, is not the only postcolonialist to want to put "history on trial."

Chakrabarty in his antihistoricism, along with subalternists, anti-Orientalists, and "poco" literature critics, all share opposition to what postcolonists generally refer to as "coercive knowledge systems" and the universalizing knowledge claims of Western civilization. Postcolonialism as a theoretical position stands against the "imperial ideas" of linear time, hypermasculinity, progress, narcissism, and aggressivity, and the omnipotent colonizing "self" and the marginal colonized "other." It seeks a decentering in multidimensional time, ambivalence, syncreticism, and hybridity. Postcolonialists assert the validity of other, non-Western cultures and often adopt a stance of political advocacy and commitment for those oppressed, subaltern, underprivileged, or in some way disadvantaged people whom they study and write about in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, or East Asia.

Criticism of postcolonialism comes from all directions. Radical critics like Arif Dirlik suggest that postcoloniality's emphasis on discourse, categories, and historicism ignores real-world problems of military and police power, economic development, income inequality, and globalization. Postcoloniality developed, Dirlik notes, because of the increased visibility of academic intellectuals of third world origins as pacesetters in cultural criticism. They have made a career out of "marginality" in the intellectual centers of the Western world.

Other critics have questioned the potency of literary practices. Postcolonialist discourse theorists proclaim that knowledge (or misknowledge) about another culture translates into the exercise of power over the subject culture, but rarely do they try to explain how this colonial discourse of power works in practice. Other, more conservative critics argue that outrage from the West

should be focused on loci of mass murder and terrorism rather than the faux colonialism of the banana republic.

Pragmatic colonial historians have pointed out that postcolonialist insights regarding the role of the colonized and exploited in history, the artificiality of colonial dichotomies, the value and reality of hybridity, and so on, are not exactly original or even profound except, perhaps, in the inscrutable theoretical manner and language in which they are expressed. Similarly, many critics have often noted the inaccessibility of the language of postcolonialist writers, pointing to its dense, clotted, and evasive style. One of the most notable aspects of postcolonialist writing is the pervasiveness of jargon, the specialized and often invented vocabulary and idiom of what is seen as an academic fashion. This type of writing reflects a self-important posturing within the academy and a radicalism that only appeals to other cultists who know the special code and how to qualify a term like "discovery" as politically charged through the use of inverted commas or quotation marks. Academic postcolonialism, like colonialism, has become a discourse that critics and cronies can analyze and endlessly argue about.

In the early twenty-first century, postcolonial studies has become an important part of the academic and intellectual world. There are postcolonial studies institutes, departments, programs, journals, book series, conferences, and internet websites around the globe. Postcolonial studies in pursuit of radical politics are established within the most exalted academic institutions of Western Europe and the United States, as well as in the postcolonial nations. Postcolonial studies institutes, programs, and professors are also distributed thickly and widely throughout academia. North Carolina State University, for example, supports and hosts *Jouvert: A Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, a multidisciplinary journal published on the World Wide Web. The National University of Singapore has brought together scholars from various disciplines from across the world to sustain *The Postcolonial Web,* a site with terms, theories, definitions, historical contexts, debates, opinion pieces, critical essays, and bibliographical materials.

Other recent specialized journals include such titles as *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* ; *Postcolonial Studies: Culture, Politics, Economy; Identities: Global Studies in Power and Culture; Post Identity; Social Identity;* and *Inscriptions.* Congenial publications such as *Representations, Critical Text, October, Critical Inquiry, Cultural Critique, Ariel, Third Text, Public Culture, New Formations,* and others publish postcolonialist studies and essays. Princeton University Press has published the series Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History. The entire Duke University Press catalogue in one way or another is postcolonialist, but to look

at just one part of the world, the Duke University Press has created the series Latin American Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations. Today one cannot read about or study Western colonialism or anticolonialism without the influence, to some degree or another, of postcolonialism.

SEE ALSO *Imperialism, Liberal Theories of; Imperialism, Marxist Theories of; Neocolonialism.*

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Thomas Benjamin

POTOSÍ

Founded in 1547 at a height of over 4,000 meters (13,123 feet) in Upper Peru (modern Bolivia) and, until 1776, one of the Spanish kingdoms in the viceroyalty of Peru, the rich and imperial town of Potosí (a title granted by Philip II [1527–1598] in 1561) was the world's premier silver producer for two centuries. Its population grew to 100,000 by 1600 as it drew in prospectors, adventurers, laborers (free and coerced), functionaries, artisans, merchants, and many others attracted by the wealth generated by the abundant silver deposits of the Rich Hill above the town.

In its peak period, 1550–1630, registered production totalled 372 million pesos or ounces (compared with 90 million at its nearest rival, Zacatecas, Mexico's principal producer). These figures understate real production because an unquantifiable, but vast amount of contraband avoided registration and, thereby, payment of taxes, of which the most significant was the quint (20 percent). Potosí's preeminence was made possible by three factors: the abundance of rich ores, a guaranteed supply from nearby Huancavelica (in Central Peru) of mercury, essential for the refining process, and up to 14,000 a year native conscripts from surrounding provinces, following the implementation of the mita system by viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515–1582) in 1573. Depopulation in the contributing provinces was one factor leading to a gradual fall in output after 1700 (when total viceregal production, including that from other centers, was 4 million pesos). The reduction in 1736 of the quint to 10 percent stimulated growth and eventually annual output stabilized at about 3 million pesos.

After the middle of the seventeenth century (when Dutch, French, and British ships began to penetrate the Pacific with increasing impunity, both to attack settlements and to trade, despite Spain's attempts to maintain a commercial monopoly) the Crown's share of this silver was used increasingly to meet the rising costs of defense and administration within the viceroyalty. However, the bulk of the private silver produced at Potosí continued to be remitted to Spain—until the early eighteenth century via the Isthmus of Panama, thereafter via Cape Horn—in exchange for manufactured goods (many of them of non-Spanish origin) and the traditional viticultural and agricultural products of the mother country.

Even in the late eighteenth century, when Spain was making strenuous efforts to promote the more systematic exploitation of South America's potential as a supplier of agricultural and pastoral products to international markets, silver represented almost 90 percent of the value of Peru's registered exports, much of which continued to flow to Lima from Potosí despite the fact that in 1776 Upper Peru was transferred to the newly-created viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, governed from Buenos Aires. In exchange, Peru continued to supply Potosí with imported manufactures (including Chinese silks and porcelain that reached Lima via Manila-Acapulco), and a wide range of locally produced commodities, including sugar, brandy, coca, and coarse textiles. Potosí also acted as a magnet, whose silver drew in supplies from a wide range of networks of regional and intercolonial trade: for example, mules and hides from Tucumán and Córdoba (in modern Argentina), wheat from Chile, tea from Paraguay, and black slaves imported through Buenos Aires.

The formal opening of the new viceregal capital to direct trade with Spain in 1778 diverted some of the registered silver production of Potosí from Pacific to Atlantic trade routes. However, the cultural and economic ties between Upper Peru and the rump viceroyalty of Peru remained strong, and the region as a whole resisted the repeated attempts of Buenos Aires to retain political control there after the overthrow of the viceregal regime in Buenos Aires in 1810. Although the eventual solution to more than a decade of fighting would be the creation of an independent Bolivia in 1825, the struggle to achieve this led to a total collapse in activity at Potosí from 1813 to 1815 as a result of the flight of labor, destruction of equipment, and flooding. Recovery from 1816 to 1820 was only partial, with annual production averaging 1.5 million pesos. This level was sustained until the late nineteenth century when silver gave way to tin as the mainstay of Potosí's economy.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Peru Under Spanish Rule.*

Potosí. *The snowcapped Cerro Rico appears behind the rooftops of Potosí in present-day Bolivia. The millions of tons of silver extracted from the mines of Cerro Rico made Potosí among the most populous cities in the world before the eighteenth century.* © JAMES SPARSHATT/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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John Fisher

Q

QING DYNASTY

The Qing dynasty, established by the Manchus, was the last imperial dynasty in China, lasting from the Manchus' capture of Beijing—the capital of the preceding dynasty, Ming—in 1644 to the founding of the Republic of China in 1912.

The forerunners of the Qing came from the nomadic Jurchen tribes who initially resided in northeastern China, also known as Manchuria, to the north of the Great Wall. In the course of interacting with the Han Chinese, China's largest ethnic group, the Jurchen tribes gradually transformed themselves into a military and political state, particularly under the leaders Nurhaci (1559–1626), who declared himself the ruler of the Jurchens and the founder of the new Manchu state in 1616, and his son Abahai (1592–1643), who gave the Manchu state a new name, *Qing*, in 1636.

In 1644 peasant rebels led by Li Zicheng (ca. 1605–1645) took Beijing. As a result, the last Ming emperor, Chongzhen (r. 1628–1644), committed suicide in Beijing. Seizing the opportunity, Manchu troops moved southward. The Manchus announced possession of the Mandate of Heaven, a concept similar to the European notion of the divine right of kings, after defeating Li Zicheng in 1644.

As a minority numbering roughly two million, the Manchus ruled the 100 million Han Chinese. They owed their first 150 years of success mainly to the first four able emperors: Xunzhi (r. 1644–1661), Kangxi (r. 1661–1722), Yongzheng (r. 1678–1735), and Qianlong (r. 1736–1996). While making efforts to preserve their own ethnicity, these Manchu leaders adopted the Chinese way: they hired Han Chinese in 90 percent of government posts; waged expansive military campaigns to subjugate rebellious generals in the frontier provinces of Yunnan, Guangdong, and Fujian; consolidated power in Tibet; and incorporated Taiwan and Xinjiang into the China zone.

The late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries saw the beginning of western European exploration of the world's oceans and the establishment of trading posts and empires in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, first led by Portugal and Spain, followed by England, the Netherlands, France, and the United States. With regard to China, in 1557 the Portuguese reached a settlement on a lease in the Chinese port of Macao with the Ming regime (1368–1644), and this enabled them to penetrate China's import–export trade.

In 1600 the English East India Company, a joint-stock enterprise, was given a royal charter and became dominant in later Sino–foreign trade centered in the Guangzhou (Canton) area. In 1636 to 1637 British merchant ships arrived at the Pearl River in South China. In 1685 Emperor Kangxi lifted bans, first introduced by the Ming dynasty, on foreign trade. Four years later, the English East India Company entered Guangzhou. In 1757 Emperor Qianlong confined all foreign trade to the city of Guangzhou. On the Chinese side, Sino–foreign trade was administered through Chinese merchant agents, whose organization was licensed and known as the Cohong (guild). The Cohong was first instituted in 1720, then abolished and reinstituted in the following decades.

The main frictions in Sino–British relations occurred because of the imbalance of trade in which China had a

range of goods—such as tea, silk, and porcelain—that were attractive to Britain, whereas British merchants could not find any British manufactured products that could sell well in the China market. In 1773 the English East India Company was granted a monopoly over the opium trade in Bengal, and marketed the illegal drug in China. In 1793, received by Emperor Qianlong, British emissary Sir George Macartney (1737–1806) requested greater freedom of trade and the establishment of diplomatic relations, but was rejected because Qianlong did not feel the need for foreign goods.

In 1833 the breakup of the English East India Company trade monopoly by the British government and the lowering of the opium price vastly increased the Chinese demand for opium. A significant number of Chinese became addicted, prompting Qing Emperor Daoguang (r. 1821–1850) to halt opium smuggling. British merchants and the British government responded by attacking Guangzhou and starting the Opium War with China in 1840.

Unprepared to deal with unprecedented military threats from the sea, the Qing lost the Opium War and was forced to accept the Treaty of Nanjing on August 29, 1842. The treaty, along with its supplementary pact, temporarily satisfied British needs: four more Chinese ports—Fuzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai, and Xiamen—were opened to trade; the tariff rate was regulated; the island of Hong Kong was ceded to Britain; and foreign immunity from Chinese law was granted. The Treaty of Nanjing— the first of the "Unequal Treaties"—inaugurated the "Treaty Century" (1842–1943) in China, during which the legal, diplomatic, political, economic, religious, and military aspects of Sino–foreign encounters were regulated in various treaties signed between China and foreign powers.

China fought the Second Opium War with France and Britain from 1856 to 1860. The war ended with China's defeat. In consequence, China had to sign the Treaty of Tianjin of 1858 and the Convention of Beijing of 1860, which specified foreign diplomatic residence and representation in Beijing, as well as the formation of the Zongli Yamen (Office of General Management) to handle foreign affairs.

The Qing regime was further weakened by a series of internal rebellions, the most damaging being the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864). The Taiping Rebellion broke out in the Guangxi Province under the leadership of Christian-influenced Hong Xiuquan (1813–1864). At their height, the Taipings controlled most of South China and founded their capital in the important city Nanjing on the Yangzi River.

In the 1860s some high-ranking court officials came to realize the importance of modernizing China's military forces by initiating the self-strengthening movement. In the following decades the Qing suffered further defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), which prodded some open-minded Chinese reformers, including Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and Liang Qichao (1873–1929), to persuade Emperor Guangxü (r. 1875–1908) to launch the short-lived "One Hundred Days Reform" in 1898.

In 1899, the antiforeign Boxer Uprising erupted in the Shangdong Province, and the Boxers, under tacit encouragement from the Qing court, rapidly moved up north to Beijing, attacking foreigners and besieging foreign quarters. Joint international forces quelled the Boxer Uprising and punished the Qing authority with the Boxer Protocol of 1901, in which the Qing was forced to pay large sums of indemnities.

The Manchu's domestic and external failures since the early nineteenth century culminated in a final blow set off by the Wuchang Uprising of October 10, 1911. On January 1, 1912, the Republic of China was proclaimed. One month later, Puyi (1906–1967), the last emperor of the Qing, abdicated, putting an end to imperial rule in China.

The study of Qing history in North America has developed further since 1980. In the early 1980s, Paul A. Cohen suggested going beyond the impact–response paradigm (i.e., the West exerted influence upon an inert China, and China responded passively), which had been laid out by Sinologists represented by John K. Fairbank. Cohen's China-centered approach aimed at a better understanding of the inner dynamics of development during the Qing period. Since the 1990s topics including civil society, the public sphere, marginalized social forces, globalization, and nationalism have prompted further debates about late imperial China and its relevance to contemporary Chinese modernization and democratization.

SEE ALSO *Boxer Uprising; China, to the First Opium War; Chinese Revolutions; Li Hongzhang; Opium; Opium Wars; Taiping Rebellion; Zongli Yamen (Tsungli Yamen).*

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Dong Wang

QUEBEC CITY

Founded by Samuel de Champlain in 1608 at the point where the broad St. Lawrence narrows enough to form a strong position capable of commanding maritime traffic, Quebec began as a small fur-trading post. Over the century and a half of French rule it grew into a substantial city, modest in population but combining all the functions of a colonial metropolis. As the capital of New France, it housed the civil and ecclesiastical administration, in addition to its role as military strongpoint, seaport, and commercial center of the colony.

Along the river at the foot of Cap Diamant lay "Lower Town," an area of shipyards, warehouses, wharfs, and taverns. Because of Quebec's severe winter climate, shipping was mostly limited to a few busy months in the summer. From Lower Town, a sinuous road led up a cleft in the cliffs to the plateau above. Upper Town's landscape was dominated by the palaces of the governor, the intendant, and the bishop, as well as the cathedral, the seminary, the hospital, and a number of convents. One of the peculiarities of Canada under the French regime was the complete absence of municipal institutions; colonial officials appointed by Versailles established market days and laid down fire regulations.

Improvised fortifications begun in the seventeenth century were gradually improved, so that by the 1750s Quebec could boast reasonably complete city walls. A British siege was repelled in 1690, but when the enemy returned with an overwhelming invasion force in 1759, the city finally fell. For two months prior to the decisive battle of September 13, Major-General James Wolfe's army had subjected the civilian population, already weakened by hunger, to a ferocious bombardment. And yet, although the British regime began amidst ruin and devastation, the city rose from the ashes to resume its position as the capital city of Canada, only to yield its economic and demographic supremacy to upstart Montreal in the nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, French; Fur and Skin Trades in the Americas; New France.*

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Allan Greer

R

RACE AND COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

In the period immediately preceding New World exploration and conquest, the two major powers in that enterprise—Portugal and Spain—were involved in a process that would shape the European conception of people with dark skin; whether African or Native American, this conception would be applied to the advantage of Europeans.

After the centuries-long presence of the Moors, or Muslim North Africans, in Iberia (the peninsula occupied by Spain and Portugal), the Christian Iberians adopted the Muslim view of sub-Saharan Africans. As the Portuguese and Spanish transitioned from warring with the Moors to colonizing the New World, they transferred this Muslim-influenced conception of blackness to the Americas. Most importantly, the connection between having black skin and being a slave became more common not only in Iberia but throughout Europe.

The development of this idea accelerated as the Portuguese, in an effort to find an all-water route to India, established trade relations with peoples along the west coast of Africa. Informed by their interaction with the Moors, the Portuguese saw the West Africans' religion and appearance as reasons for their inferiority. Though it would take decades for slavery and the slave trade to emerge, the Portuguese became the main purveyors of the racial ideology upon which both New World colonization and slavery were based.

Prior to the arrival of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) in the New World, notions of differences among groups of people—and their implications for who could be enslaved—were based on a combination of religion, law, and historical examples. First and foremost, the Bible was filled with references to slaves and slavery. The entire Old Testament, in fact, granted tacit justification for the legality of human bondage, provided it conformed to certain religious precepts. As the Portuguese sailed around the west coast of Africa, encountering more and more people with black skin, Europeans turned to the biblical passage involving the curse of Ham, the son of Noah (*Gen.* 9:20–27). They argued that black Africans were descended from the accursed Ham and thereby subject to eternal slavery. Europeans also melded the story of Ham with the tradition that blacks were descendents of Cain, who had been cursed by God.

Similarly, the New Testament, particularly the letters of Paul, reveals a certain recognition of slavery as a legitimate human institution. By echoing what the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) called "natural slavery"—or the belief that some people were actually meant to be slaves by their nature—the Bible became a commonly cited justification for enslaving both Native Americans and Africans during the colonization of the Americas. Nevertheless, although the Spaniards used the concept of natural slavery as a means of justifying the subordination of Indians, they did not conceive the Indians as "natural slaves" before they developed a need for their labor, and views of Indians were far from uniform at the time.

Though the Spanish would have to determine how the indigenous peoples of the Americas fit within this system of whiteness and blackness, they and the Portuguese were not strangers to Africans. In fact, both

nations enslaved Africans on the Iberian Peninsula throughout the sixteenth century, producing African populations of 5 to 10 percent in the major Iberian cities. As a result of this familiarity with dark-skinned people, both the Spanish and Portuguese would turn to Africans as potential slaves during their colonization enterprise in the New World.

Northern Europeans were also familiar with slavery. Although England, France, and the Netherlands were beginning to enhance personal freedoms and celebrate political liberty as a national characteristic that set them apart from the Portuguese and Spanish, they still condoned forms of bondage akin to slavery in the early modern era. Customary forms of servitude fit this mold, particularly in the authority that masters were accorded to circumscribe their servants' lives. Combined with the growing sentiment across the continent that blackness equaled slavery, Europeans began arguing that slavery actually ameliorated the inferior natural status of Africans and other dark-skinned peoples. The combination of various strands of such ideology provided a potent force in the conquest and eventual colonial reordering of the Americas.

THE ROLE OF RACE IN COLONIAL LABOR SYSTEMS

From almost the instant Columbus encountered the Tainos in the Caribbean, Europeans saw Native Americans as an invaluable source of labor. During the decades that followed the planting of Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English colonies, Indians were systematically preyed upon and regularly reduced to a state of slavery. The prevailing belief among Europeans that Native Americans were the lost tribes of Israel produced sufficient justification that enslavement by Christians would bring them back into God's kingdom. However, this was not a justification for enslaving Indians that was widely used by Spaniards. The Spanish monarchy allowed enslavement of Indians only in special conditions such as resistance to evangelization, cannibalism, and sodomy. Their brown skin—deemed problematic by those Europeans well versed in issues related to blackness—suggested that at one time these people had been white, but had become sunburned through many years of hard work. By reorganizing native populations according to what they believed was their God-favored social organization, Europeans rationalized the enslavement of Indians.

The enslavement of Indians, however, did not come without controversy, even among Europeans. The issue was particularly complicated within the Spanish Empire. The Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Isabella (1451–1504), for example, evidenced their

concern with the legality of Indian slavery when they drafted a letter to Pedro de Torres in Seville in 1500 ordering the release of the Indians in his custody and their return to the Americas. Even so, Indians continued to be enslaved during the first half-century of the Spanish conquest, especially in peripheral zones, where the practice was justified as a natural outgrowth of an ongoing "just war." Between 1515 and 1542, historians estimate that as many as 200,000 Indians were captured in what is now Nicaragua and sold into slavery in the West Indies.

In 1542, however, the Council of the Indies issued the famous New Laws, which were designed to end indigenous slavery. The New Laws provided several imperial protections to Indians, but they did not signify a departure from the idea that Indians were, and should be, bound laborers. In Peru, Indian labor was extracted through the *mita*, a compulsory, forced rotational labor draft that was used primarily in silver mines. To the north, Spanish authorities continued to countenance the *encomienda* system, which had been formalized in the Laws of Burgos (1512–1513). An *encomienda* was a grant to an individual (the *encomendero*) of the right to the labor of a group of Indians in exchange for the promise to protect the Indians and see to their conversion to Christianity.

Abuses in the *encomienda* system had been evident from the beginning, and famous defenders of native rights, such as the Spanish Dominican missionary Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), attacked the system vigorously. The New Laws attempted to rein in the prerogative power of *encomenderos* as part of their effort to address the catastrophic demographic losses being suffered by Indians. Labor demands, however, continued to be placed on Indians through the *repartimiento*, a tribute system that funneled labor to private individuals through government mechanisms. This system, too, was abolished in 1635. Nonetheless, because the system of slavery—itself key in the development of colonies—was predicated on an inflexible belief in the inferiority of Indians, the plight of the indigenous Americans did not improve.

Indian slavery was not confined to the Spanish-American world alone. Virtually every European nation participated in the practice. Almost as quickly as the Portuguese began to establish coastal outposts in Brazil, for example, they began to deal in Indian slaves. As early as April 1503, a fleet returned to Portugal with a cargo of brazilwood and Indian slaves. Since the Portuguese waited several decades to establish permanent settlements, however, it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that they began to enslave Indians in larger numbers, locally either knocking down brazilwood trees or, increasingly, as laborers on the developing sugar plantations.

Regardless of medieval legacies and flexible notions of human bondage, the enslavement and transportation of African peoples was already commonplace during the sixteenth century among northern and southern Europeans alike. Yet, while every European colonizing nation in America was familiar with racial slavery from the outset, each nation initially relied on either Native Americans or other Europeans as their primary labor force. Every European nation, however, would eventually turn to enslaved Africans as their primary labor force.

By the eighteenth century, although indentured servitude and Indian labor systems continued to operate, racial slavery and labor—especially in the cultivation and production of cash crops and the mining of precious metals—became virtually inseparable notions. How, when, and to what degree this transformation occurred, however, depended upon a number of factors, including European politics, mortality rates among indigenous peoples, the evolution of the transatlantic slave trade, European labor concerns, and even choice.

FROM INDIAN TO AFRICAN

The transition to a labor force predominantly made up of enslaved Africans occurred first in the Iberian-American colonies. This shift represents further evidence of the centrality of servile labor—whether of Indians or of Africans—to the colonizing project of Europeans.

Before 1580, African slaves were rare in the Americas, though they were common in the Atlantic islands—where many were already laboring on sugar plantations—and in Iberian port cities like Lisbon and Seville. During the last third of the sixteenth century, however, there were two important developments that increased the potential supply of African slaves for American markets: a more readily available supply of Africans, and the unification of Spain and Portugal under Philip II (1527–1598) in 1580, which gave Spain access to the Portuguese monopoly of the Atlantic slave trade.

Between 1595 and 1640, more than 268,000 Africans were imported into Spanish colonies, and another 150,000 slaves arrived in Portuguese Brazil. Thus, even the demographic collapse of the indigenous population did not arrest the economic growth of the Americas, as Europeans' racial ideologies could readily justify replacements for the declining numbers of Indian slaves.

The transition to black slavery in Latin America, then, represented a transition from exploiting the labor of Indians to exploiting the labor of Africans. Nonetheless, while enslaved Africans numerically dominated in places like Brazil, Spanish colonists continued to expropriate the labor of Indians in both Mexico and Peru. Mexico's Indian population was particularly large

and even began to recover from the devastation wrought during the first 150 years of colonization.

Furthermore, the transition to enslaved Africans represented more than a demographic shift at the beginning of the seventeenth century—it was a cultural transformation as well. During the early part of the sixteenth century, most of the Africans who were transported to Spain's American colonies were actually *ladinos*, or Africans who were already assimilated into European society and culture by pre-residence on the Iberian Peninsula. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, *bozales*, or Africans who have been exposed to neither European culture nor Christianity, were increasingly being shipped to America directly from Africa. In that regard, the nature of the colonial population was significantly transformed once the transatlantic slave trade intensified.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, then, Brazil and several parts of Spanish America were fully committed to the slave labor of Africans. The colonial possessions of other European nations, however, continued to rely on their own distinctive labor systems, primarily indentured servitude. Neither Spain nor Portugal relied on their fellow countrymen as laborers during the colonial period, mainly because of the availability of Indians who could be coerced into work and the possibility of importing African slaves.

After the initial conquest of the indigenous peoples in Spanish and Portuguese America, birth became an increasingly significant factor in determining a person's social status. *Limpieza de sangre*, or blood purity, had been a crucial issue in fifteenth-century Spain; in particular, not having any Jewish or Muslim ancestors was essential to advancing in Spanish society. Like their concepts of race and slavery, the Spanish transferred their construct of pure blood when they settled the Americas. For example, children of two Spanish parents were infinitely more advantaged than peers who were not so endowed. *Mestizos*, or children born out of Spanish-Indian relationships, discovered a rigid social stratification that ranked them lower than *peninsulares* (people born in Spain) and Creoles (people born in the New World, but of "pure" Spanish blood). The corresponding groups in Portuguese America—*mamelucos, mestiços*, and *caboclos*—all found themselves limited in their opportunities for social advancement. The dramatic growth in the population of these mixed-raced peoples—as well as those with African heritage—made the *sistema de castas* (caste system) all the more complex, and yet, even more important for those at the top.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

The English, unlike the Spanish, had a profound overpopulation problem. From the late sixteenth century,

A WEST INDIA SPORTSMAN.

Make haste with the Sangaree, Quashie, and tell Quaco to drive the Birds up to me — I'm ready

A West India Sportsman. *Europe's imperial powers built their colonies on a racial hierarchy that exploited the indigenous population and imported Africans as slaves. This cartoon, published in England in 1807, satirizes the situation as it developed in colonial Jamaica.* © BOJAN BRECELJ/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

English colonizers imagined the colonial enterprise as one that would not only enrich the nation and advance the cause of Protestant Christianity, but would also help rid the land of the idle, underfed, and unemployed masses. England also had little choice but to use European laborers because the West Indies and North America did not possess the high concentrations of native peoples encountered by the Iberians.

The transition to racial slavery for northern Europeans, particularly the English, therefore, amounted to the gradual replacement of European indentured servants with enslaved Africans, especially in plantation agricultural zones, during the second half of the seventeenth century. There were several factors related to supply and demand that coincided to make this possible. North American Indians experienced a dramatic population decline as a consequence of their encounter with Europeans. Although northern Europeans never relied on Indian labor like the Spanish and Portuguese, Indian slaves were nonetheless exploited in small numbers, particularly in the southwestern frontier region.

Indian slavery, however, proved to be an unattractive option in the long run because Indians were relatively scarce in North America even before the English and French arrived. There were probably fewer than two million native inhabitants east of the Mississippi River in 1492, and that number decline to roughly 250,000 in subsequent centuries. Additionally, the people most likely to profit from Indian slavery quickly developed the idea that Indians were poor workers. Thus, the English enslaved indigenous Americans, but only as a secondary or tertiary enterprise and usually as slave traders rather than slave drivers.

The need for labor, enslaved or otherwise, intensified in English North America and the West Indies with the shift to tobacco and sugar cultivation during the seventeenth century. In the West Indies, economic prosperity hinged on sugar agriculture, which began in the 1640s when Barbados experienced an agricultural boom. Tobacco and sugar cultivation subsequently developed in virtually every English, French, and Dutch West Indian colony, bringing African slavery in its wake.

Initially, the northern European colonies in the West Indies were hardscrabble settlements where small planters and their indentured servants cleared the land, cultivated tobacco, and raised livestock for export. In the 1640s, however, with the technological and financial assistance of Dutch traders who had been chased out of Brazil, English planters began to develop sugar plantations. Almost immediately, the sugar economy transformed the island into a profitable enterprise, and within two decades Barbados would be more profitable than all other English colonies combined. Visions of potential riches also attracted immigrants. Between 1640 and 1660 the English West Indies were the most popular destination of English emigrants, free and indentured.

As the European population expanded in the West Indies during the middle decades of the seventeenth century, so too did the enslaved African population. This growth was in part a product of the commercial relationship between primarily English planters and Dutch traders who, in addition to transporting English sugar to European markets, imported African slaves to American plantations. Even more, however, the rise of African slavery in the West Indies was demand driven. Sugar cultivation was dangerous and degrading work that required many more laborers than tobacco. Already by 1660 there were about 25,000 enslaved Africans in Barbados working alongside a roughly equal number of indentured servants and free whites. At the same time, there were probably no more than five thousand additional Africans in all of the other English colonies combined, with Virginians possessing only about one thousand slaves.

Though the English did not develop the same kind of racial stratification system as existed in Iberian America, the presence of a dark-skinned "other" still gave English colonists an economic and social force upon which to grow crops and construct a racially divided society. Even with that and other differences between British and Iberian America, however, one touchstone remained prominent: race informed early colonization, and came to define the very contours of each nation's respective colonies.

By the mid-nineteenth century, both colonialism and slavery were on the wane throughout the Americas. But the oldest tenet of the colonial enterprise—race—remained. Without it, colonialism in the Americas would have been dramatically different.

SEE ALSO *African Slavery in the Americas; Encomienda; Indentured Labor.*

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RACE AND RACISM

With the expansion of European power outside of the region's own borders in the fifteenth century, and the continuous colonization of territories outside of Europe through the twentieth century, the practice of labeling both the colonizer and the colonized on the basis of cultural differences tied to conceptions of race became widespread. Cultural notions of identity tied to race, which have their origin in the fifteenth century, remain in practice in the twenty-first century. As a result, any understanding of race and racism requires an understanding of the history of Western colonialism, which laid the foundations for current ideas of differences tied to race. For purposes of clarity, it is necessary to distinguish between the terms *xenophobia*, *bigotry*, and *racism* before providing a brief overview of the history of race and racism in Western colonialism.

DEFINING AND DISTINGUISHING *RACE* AND *RACISM*

Where race, racial classifications, and racism (i.e., the subordination of one racial group by another) have been the defining features of Western societies, they have contained three broad elements. First, in its most restricted

sense, racial identity represents an inheritable status that cannot be overcome by change in education, legal status, religious affiliation, or nationality. Europeans came to conceive individuals as born into their race—they did not become their race. Thus, regardless of wealth, religious conversion, or changing legal status, individuals remained primarily identified by race.

Second, while societies throughout history have shown a tendency to view some groups and nations as inferior, and have therefore treated them differently, racism involves the organization of the political and legal apparatus of the state for the exploitation of a subordinated racial group. Such exploitation has primarily involved limited access to political and legal rights because of racial identity. And third, racial classifications have primarily been used to organize and justify the economic exploitation of one group by another, most commonly by coercive labor regimes.

Xenophobia and bigotry also involve extreme antipathy of one group toward another, but unlike racism, they do not represent an inheritable and unchangeable status. For example, while the ancient Greeks and Romans described other groups as "barbarous" and "savage," they believed members of these groups could become "civilized." While not common, it was possible for slaves to become full members of society in the ancient world if they adopted the ideals and beliefs of the dominant group.

Likewise, the religious bigot may have condemned and persecuted others for what they believed, but not for what they intrinsically were. Thus, missionaries may have despised the beliefs of the group they attempted to convert, but they did believe these groups were convertible. If an individual could be redeemed through baptism, or if an ethnic stranger could be assimilated into a culture in such a way that their origins ceased to matter in a significant way, this more accurately represented a situation of ethnocultural discrimination, not necessarily racism.

Unlike xenophobia and bigotry, racism does not allow for individuals the possibility to become members of the dominant society, regardless of cultural changes. In societies structured by racial hierarchies, the subordinated groups are forever shut out of society because of their "inferior" racial condition. It is when differences that might be explained as ethnocultural become regarded as innate, indelible, and unchangeable that a racial order often comes into existence to divide society into separate racial categories. The history of Western colonialism has created two dominant racial orders that are (1) tied to pigmentation, as in white supremacy, and (2) tied to religion, as in anti-Semitism.

By serving as one of the dominant guiding ideologies for Western colonialism since the fifteenth century, racism has involved the articulation of difference and the exercise of power. Differences between the colonizer and the colonized resulted from a mindset that regarded "them" as different from "us" in ways that were permanent and unbridgeable. The sense of difference between the colonizer and the colonized provided a motive and rational for treating the racial subordinate in ways that the dominant group would regard as cruel or unjust if applied to members of its own society. At their core, societies structured around racism presume that the racializers and the racialized cannot coexist, except on the basis of domination and subordination.

ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT OF RACE IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY IBERIA

Race, as a concept that defined an individual's identity as unchangeable and innate, dates to roughly the fifteenth century. The ancient Greeks distinguished between the civilized and the barbarous, but did not regard these states as hereditary. Likewise, while the Roman Empire was built on slavery, Romans held slaves of all colors and nationalities, and these slaves could become citizens.

During the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, sub-Saharan African slaves were introduced into Iberia (Spain and Portugal). In the Iberian cities of Seville and Lisbon, witnessing who labored for whom daily solidified the association between blackness and slavery. In the second half of the fifteenth century, as Portuguese slave traders began to trade down the west coast of Africa, they brought back black slaves, and the association between Africans and racial slavery was further solidified. Europeans were ceasing to enslave other Europeans at the time that the African slave trade began to expand, which fueled the purchasing of sub-Saharan slaves and their use throughout Europe.

Further evidence of how slavery became identified with the black race in the minds of Iberians was that Africans were non-Christians, and thus could be treated as heathens and not like Christians. Hence the temptation to acquire them and treat them as unfree did not raise any major religious dilemma. Initially, it was less skin color and more availability and existing trading patterns that explain the presence of sub-Saharan African slaves in Europe. There is very little evidence of an explicitly racial nature that justifies or even explains the enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans. The significance of this early trade was that it set an initial pattern and a means of easily identifying by pigmentation a group of individuals to be exploited for racial slavery.

Occurring at roughly the same time as the introduction of sub-Saharan Africans into Iberia, the concept of "purity of blood" and ancestry became increasingly important to Europeans. Dating back to the thirteenth

century, an increase in anti-Semitic thought based in folk mythology resulted in Europeans associating the region's Jewish population with the devil and black magic. At the time of the Black Death (a plague pandemic) in the mid-fourteenth century, thousands of Jews were massacred because of the widespread belief that they had poisoned the wells. In fifteenth-century Iberia, a wave of pogroms and discriminatory legislation against Jews resulted in coerced conversion to Christianity. These actions culminated in 1492 with the expulsion or forceful conversion of Spain's Jewish population. As a result, as many as half a million Jews became "New Christians" or *conversos*. Previous forced conversions across Europe involved small towns or regions that could be relatively easily assimilated into the larger society.

Spain faced a unique set of circumstances—the question of how to deal with a substantial ethnic group that, despite its official change of religious beliefs, retained distinct cultural elements. As a result, for legal, political, bureaucratic, and religious offices, Spain began to emphasize family ancestry as a prerequisite for employment. Certificates of pure blood were required for many positions, and Jewish ancestry took on negative connotations that followed individuals beyond their conversion and from one generation to the next. Spanish legal culture permitted individuals to purchase purity-of-blood certificates for a fee, which allowed for flexibility against rigid racial categories. The emphasis on purity of blood, however, resulted in the stigmatization of an entire ethnic group on the basis of deficiencies that could not be eradicated by conversion or assimilation.

Taken together, the importation of sub-Saharan African slaves into Europe and the legal, political, and cultural actions against the Jewish population provided Iberians with a unique historical experience compared to the rest of Europe. They were accustomed to dealing with large groups of individuals who were considered outsiders. They developed a legal system that served to incorporate these groups by providing them a legal identity in codes such as the Siete Partidas (Seven Parts) and by recognizing them as part of society, but at the same time they made sure to separate and stigmatize them from society as whole. The concept of racial difference tied to skin color, the idea of labor associated with African slaves, and the notion of purity of blood in dealing with the Jewish population provided Spain a cultural and historical framework that it would draw upon when it set up colonies in the New World in the sixteenth century.

CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD

Although the voyages of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) and subsequent explorers ushered in the beginning of European colonization of the New World at the end of the fifteenth century, it was interactions with Africans and the indigenous populations on the Atlantic islands during the 1400s that provided the initial racial framework. When Columbus first wrote about the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean, he described them as being similar in color to the Canary Islanders, which Spain had colonized in the early part of the fourteenth century. The Iberians, and in particular the Portuguese, had already created racial categories for the sub-Saharan African population and the indigenous populations that inhabited the islands just off the West African coast. The Iberians drew upon this experience and knowledge in their interactions with the indigenous populations of the New World. Consequently, indigenous Americans were quickly classified as a different group that required its own set of laws to govern interactions, subjugation, and conversion.

In the Spanish Caribbean and later on the Spanish mainland of Latin America, the legal, geographic, and political concept of the "two republics"—the Spanish republic and the Indian republic—generated a different set of laws for each group. While these laws were rarely followed, their historical importance is that they indicate how the colonized subjects were being racially classified by the juridical and political institutions of the Spanish state. In brief, they were being placed outside of the colonizer's society and racialized as the subordinated colonized. As a result, various indigenous groups with their own history, culture, and language became collapsed together under the racial category of the "Indian."

The Portuguese followed a similar pattern in their colonization of Brazil. They did not recognize ethnic differences among the indigenous population, at least in terms of legal identity. They also applied the term *Indian* to the various Native American groups they encountered. Unlike the Spanish, the Portuguese made a more direct connection between the indigenous population of Brazil and slave labor. Stemming from their familiarity with sub-Saharan African slaves in the West African regions of Angola and the Congo, whom they classified as *negros* (the Portuguese term for black slaves), they referred to the indigenous population of Brazil as *negros da terra*, literally, "blacks of the earth." They did this not because of the skin color and physical appearance of the indigenous population, but because of their enslavement for hard labor. In the Portuguese colonizing mind of the sixteenth century, the black race and slavery were synonymous. Consequently, they applied the term *negro* to those who labored as slaves, even when they were not black in skin color. Unlike the Spanish, who had a philosophical debate over whether the indigenous American population should be enslaved, which in the end had little effect on
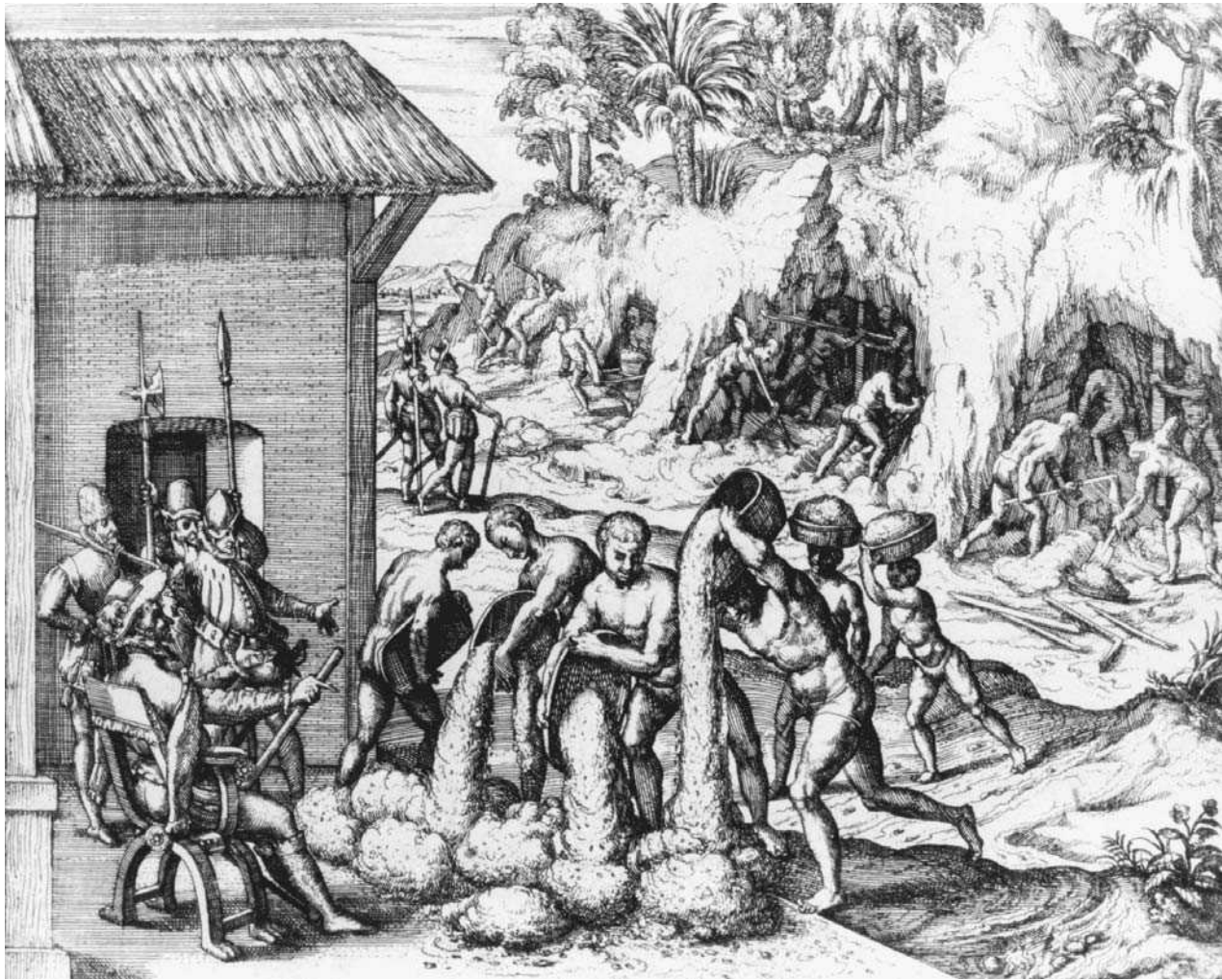
The Treatment of African Slaves in the New World. *This engraving was included in Theodor de Bry's 1594–1596 edition of* La historia del Mondo Nuovo (History of the New World) *by Girolamo Benzoni, originally published in 1565. It depicts Spaniards overseeing slaves from Guinea as they labor in the Americas.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

everyday colonial policy, the Portuguese voiced no significant reservations at all.

The British, French, and Dutch all followed in the Iberians' wake to the New World during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like the Spanish and Portuguese, they would build their colonies on a racial hierarchy that exploited the indigenous population and imported Africans as slaves. By 1700 all of the European countries had devised legal codes that extended different legal rights to the indigenous and African population. For example, the French developed the Code Noir (Black Code) at the end of the seventeenth century to specify the treatment of its enslaved African subjects. Significantly, it defined slavery in terms of race and as an inheritable status that passed from mother to child. Collectively, these different legal codes served to fully distinguish the European, indigenous, and African populations from each other. Buttressed by a distinct legal code and reinforced by everyday policy, the various populations now represented separate and distinct races in colonial policies.

As a result of colonial encounters and the defining of colonized subjects as "others," it is during this period that the term *race* began to be used in European languages to refer to a people and nation. Just as they identified subordinate groups by the collective racial categories of black or Indian, Europeans defined themselves in contrast to these groups. The French and the English began to refer to themselves as a "race" of people unified as much by who they were as by who they were not. By the end of the seventeenth century, the term *race* increasingly came to be used and was understood as an inherent and unchangeable characteristic.

RACE IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

When two hundred years of colonial history, constructed in part by the process of racially subordinating colonized subjects, combined with the Enlightenment-era fascination for establishing order over the natural world through classifying and defining organisms, *scientific racism* emerged in European intellectual thought. The scientific thought of the Enlightenment served as a precondition for the growth of modern racism based on physical appearance. Such well-known Enlightenment scientists as the Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), the German physiologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), and others began to classify humans into distinct races that were not based on political or legal status such as nationality, but on somatic appearance and phenotype.

Although many Enlightenment scientists were not interested in creating a racial hierarchy of intelligence and superiority, once science classified human beings as part of the animal kingdom rather than viewing all people as children of God, the way was open for a scientific explanation for racial differences rather than a cultural one. To the French naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–1788), for example, it was obvious that differences between black and white pigmentation were the result mainly of the differing effects of sun and temperature. These geographic and racial differences then influenced intelligence, he dubiously reasoned, because Africans could easily provision themselves from their lush environment, whereas European survival required greater ingenuity due to the need to raise food on barren soil.

The racial typologies that emerged from Enlightenment thought established a framework for specifying racial differences and biological racism, but they did not have an immediate practical application beyond scientific circles. It would take a new discourse over natural rights and who should exercise these rights to spread these views for political purposes.

The "age of the democratic revolution," roughly 1750 to 1850, marked the end of the eighteenth century with the American and French revolutions, followed by the creation of independent countries throughout Latin America from 1808 to 1830 and then the final blows against many European monarchies with the revolutions of 1830 and 1848. These developments brought serious ideological challenges both to racial enslavement and the legalized pariah status of Jews. The idea that people were endowed with natural political rights rather than being accorded those rights by a monarch or sovereign was difficult to reconcile with lifetime enslavement based on race or exclusion based on religion. As a result of

convenience and expediency, scientific racism could be used to describe blacks, mixed-blood peoples, and indigenous populations as less than human, and consequently not entitled to the natural rights exercised by the white European population.

The age of the democratic revolution and the first wars against European colonialism in the Americas were not designed explicitly to strengthen racism, but racism became one of the byproducts of the period with the formation of new independent nations organized along racial hierarchies. The French Revolution of the late 1700s initially extended its emancipatory provisions to the French colonies. In 1794 the French National Assembly liberated more than 400,000 slaves and declared them citizens of the new French Republic. With the rise of Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821), however, slavery was reinstated, and it would take complete separation from France for Haitians to defeat their colonial masters. On the nearby French Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, freed men, women, and children were re-enslaved until final abolition came in 1848.

The war for American independence resulted in the expansion of slavery in the South, and slaves were enshrined in the new U.S. constitution as counting only three-fifths of a person when allocating congressional representation according to population. In Latin America, the wars for independence served to weaken forms of human bondage and racial domination as the indigenous population and slaves throughout the region joined the armies that fought against Spanish colonialism to lay claim to political liberty, among other motivations. When new nations drafted constitutions, however, the Creole elite assumed political control and did not equally share political power with those of African, indigenous, and mixed-race ancestry.

The reason pre-Darwinian scientific racism found an eager audience in the United States, France, and various Latin American countries, more than in England, derives ironically from the revolutionary legacies of the nation-states premised on the equality of all citizens. Egalitarian norms required specific reasons for exclusion. Many of the political elite of the nineteenth century adopted the view that biological unfitness as a result of racial ancestry was a reason to deny full citizenship to segments of the population. The emphasis on political virtue in nineteenth-century republican theory did not apply equally to those who were not of a "virtuous," white racial ancestry. The practice of excluding women, children, and the insane from the electorate and denying them political equality could be applied to racial groups deemed by science to be incapable of rationally exercising the rights and privileges of democratic citizenship.

The expansion and reception of Darwinian scientific theory in the late nineteenth century and first half of the

twentieth century, during the same period when the United States and Europe scrambled over colonial and imperial control of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, resulted in scientific theory and imperialism combining to justify human domination for racist reasons. Charles Darwin's (1809–1882) notion of "survival of the fittest" and "the struggle for existence" were transformed to explain global racial hierarchies based on colonial relations.

In the United States and Europe, colonial powers came to regard racism as a "natural order" for positive political evolution. Social Darwinism—Darwin's theory of human evolution applied to creating a hierarchy among human societies—was employed to justify the idea that colonialism required a racial hierarchy that "naturally" privileged the population of European ancestry. Darwinian scientific theory served to racialize the colonial relationship between the colonizer and colonized. Moreover, social Darwinism went so far as to blame the colonial subject for "burdening" the colonizer with the duty of colonizing the world in the interest of bettering humanity and racial superiority. The British author Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) summed up the racial ideology that underpinned late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonialism in the poem "The White Man's Burden," which he penned in 1899 in the wake of the Spanish-American War (1898). Kipling's poem served as racist propaganda to encourage Americans to establish colonial rule over the Philippines.

RACE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Racism and overtly racist regimes of political and colonial domination reached their height during the twentieth century. W. E. B. DuBois (1868–1963), the African-American civil rights leader and advocate for colonial peoples' right to self-determination, accurately predicted in the opening to *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) that "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line." In the United States, and especially in the southern states, a whole series of racial segregation laws and restrictions on black voting reduced African Americans to lower-class status. Designed for economic exploitation and societal disenfranchisement, the goal of America's Jim Crow segregation was the complete separation of the black and white races from all social interactions from birth to death. Racial domination was maintained and exercised through public lynchings and other forms of brutal and deadly intimidation, often with tacit, and sometimes official, encouragement by the state.

Nazi Germany carried the logic of racial-supremacy ideology to its most deadly conclusion with attempts to exterminate an entire ethnic group on the basis of race. The revulsion and shock expressed by people throughout the world to the Jewish Holocaust during World War II

(1939–1945) served to undermine scientific studies of racial superiority that had been respected and admired in the United States, Europe, and many other parts of the globe before the end of the war.

In South Africa, the apartheid system included laws banning all marriage and sexual relations between people of different races, and establishing separate residential areas for whites, mixed races, and Africans. While other racial regimes emerged across the globe in colonial and national contexts during the twentieth century, South Africa, Nazi Germany, and the United States stand out in the degree of legal and political authority exercised by the state in enforcing racial regimes.

Perhaps the single greatest force contributing to the end of racist regimes in the colonized portions of the world was the movement for independence and the struggle over national sovereignty that spread throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The decolonization movement that ended up bringing political independence to dozens of countries in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean directly challenged and refuted the racial ideology that underpinned colonialism. The supporters of radical movements for national sovereignty and independence—such as India's in 1947, the Cuban Revolution of 1959, the Algerian war for independence from 1954 to 1962, the independence of the Congo in 1960, the independence of British Caribbean countries in 1962, the Vietnam War from 1955 to 1975, and numerous other such movements—all called into question the colonial order by making claim to their own political future and right to self-determination.

In the United States, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s both inspired and took inspirations from the liberation of colonized countries, especially in Africa. The movement effectively ended legal segregation in the United States and provided African Americans with political rights. New countries quickly flexed their independence by confronting the economic, political, and racial hierarchies that structured relations between Europe and the United States and the developing world of people of color based in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. New nations had their representatives at the United Nations attack racism and promote decolonization for African and Asian countries in a display of solidarity born out of their common experience of colonialism and racial subordination.

By the end of the twentieth century, none of the European countries or the United States could openly justify their colonial and imperial policies on racist grounds. No longer could colonial subjects be described as childlike and incapable of running their own countries because of racial inferiority, as had been done less than a century earlier.

The cultural and scientific assumptions held by the West that endorsed and informed racial policies that guided colonialism for five hundred years no longer receive the full and explicit support of the state and the law. But racism does not require colonies or the endorsement of the state to thrive. The legacy of the relationship between Western colonialism and racism is that deeply entrenched notions of cultural differences tied to race continue to inform social interactions from personal relationships among individuals to state-to-state relations. The rise in hostility and discrimination against newcomers from the third world in several European countries and the United States at the beginning of the twenty-first century has breathed new life into cultural criteria to explain racial differences that have their origins in past colonial encounters.

Historically, racist regimes have thrived in colonies because racism allows colonizers to treat the colonized in a way they would not treat themselves through such policies as enslavement and the denial of political and legal rights. In the twenty-first century, with millions of formerly colonized peoples and their descendents living in Europe and the United States, the racism that once structured relations between the imperial country and the colony is now often practiced in an altered form inside a single country, albeit without full and open endorsement by the state. Consequently, the ongoing relationship between racism and Western colonialism that began more than five hundred years ago has entered a new stage in Europe and the United States with the battle over what entitles an individual to the benefits of citizenship and political rights. Increasingly, those who are not considered representative of the ethnic and racial heritage that has historically defined the nation have unequal access to the protection of the law and are most vulnerable to economic exploitation.

SEE ALSO *African Slavery in the Americas; Apartheid; Race and Colonialism in the Americas; Social Darwinism.*

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RACIAL EQUALITY AMENDMENT, JAPAN

Japan participated in the great post–World War I (1914–1918) peace conferences in Paris in 1919 with three goals. Japan had declared war against Germany early in the war, and expected the resulting treaty to recognize Japan's contribution. The Japanese delegation sought to take over German-held islands in the Pacific Ocean, to keep the German concession in Shandong, China that the Japanese army had seized during the war, and to secure approval for an amendment on racial equality among nations in the final Versailles Peace Treaty.

The so-called racial equality amendment challenged the comfortable European, Caucasian-controlled world. It aroused furious opposition from Australian Premier William H. Hughes. Hughes felt it threatened his clearly racist "white" Australia policy, and he worried at this early date about Japanese expansion in the Pacific. Hughes received support from Arthur Balfour and Robert Cecil and Dominion leaders who feared the amendment might threaten their control over native peoples. One reading of the amendment implied it could limit the sovereignty of nations in controlling immigration and rights of aliens. Britain worried about roiling the waters of its expanded Middle Eastern empire; French and British ruling classes in Africa and Asia had similar concerns. And Hughes threatened to lead a campaign to arouse opposition in the British Dominions and the United States.

The amendment and the opposition it aroused threatened the goals of U.S. president Woodrow Wilson. He wanted to contain Japanese expansion and obtain Japanese support for America's Open Door policy in China so that American business could find markets for trade. He believed the racial equality amendment would appease Japanese pride while he worked to return Shandong to China and to have Japan remove its 70,000 troops in eastern Siberia, which Japan initially sent as part of the effort to help keep Russia on the Allied side in the war. But Wilson could not afford the kind of vicious

debate that Hughes was threatening. Japanese immigration was a sensitive issue on the U.S. West Coast and a series of anti-Japanese measures, including the San Francisco School Board decision on segregation and alien land laws in California, indicated how contentious such a debate could be. This reflected the general racism in America, including the rise of Jim Crow laws in the South.

In the end, Japan was frustrated. The clause became merely an "endorsement of the principle of equality of nations and just treatment of their nationals," and even this mild statement failed to secure approval. The continuing threat of public debate in America and elsewhere caused President Wilson to rule against it even though the conference vote somewhat favored it.

To assuage Japanese sensibilities, Wilson conceded on Japan's territorial demands in the Pacific and in China, although he did receive approval of a "mandate" system that implied that the occupying nations would return control of the lands at some unspecified future time. Events in the 1920s would further inflame Japanese pride. The Washington Naval Conference of 1921–1922 appeared to many Japanese as a case of Anglo-American ganging up against them as it established ratios for capital ships, and seemingly favored the United States and Great Britain. Finally, U.S. immigration laws in the 1920s seemed particularly biased, and the act in 1924 barred legal entry to Japanese.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Japanese; Wilsonianism.*

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Charles M. Dobbs

RAFFLES, SIR THOMAS STAMFORD
1781–1826

Born July 6, 1781, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles is best known for his career in the East India Company, during which he played a central role in the British conquest and

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. *The industrious British colonial administrator and founder of Singapore, in a portrait engraving rendered in 1810.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

administration of Java, founded Singapore, devoted himself to ethnography and natural history, and published a seminal *History of Java.*

Raffles's first ten years with the East India Company were spent as a clerk in the company's London offices. In 1805 he secured an overseas appointment as assistant secretary to the Governor of Penang in 1805. Thereafter his avowed goals were the extension of British power over the key trade routes between India and China and the "improvement" of the territories he administered. His first action of note was to assist in planning an expedition led by Lord Minto, Governor General of India, which conquered the Dutch possession of Java in 1811. As a reward for his efforts, Minto appointed Raffles Lieutenant-Governor of the island and its dependencies. Raffles consolidated the conquest by deposing or intimidating Javanese rulers reluctant to recognize British supremacy. He also demonstrated his penchant for expansion by moving against Palembang in southeastern Sumatra (1812). Raffles deposed the sultan, set aside his only son and heir, and installed the sultan's more malleable brother as a British client.

In domestic terms Raffles's administration of Java (1811–1815) focused on the related goals of economic liberalization and "moral improvement." Between 1812 and 1815, he ended the Dutch system of forced commodity production at set prices and introduced a land tenure system similar to that found in the Ryotwari settlement, in which fixed land-rents were paid directly to the government by small tenants rather than intermediaries. Through such reforms, Raffles hoped to stimulate the economy, increase government revenues, and improve the prospects of the agricultural classes. He also forbade the sale of contracts for cockfighting and gaming (1811), took steps to restrict the trade in opium, and abolished the slave trade (1813). However, economic imperatives and resistance from the Company sometimes inhibited his efforts toward "moral" reform, as in the case of the opium trade.

Raffles's vision of Java as a permanent possession from which British influence would spread suffered a fatal setback in 1815, when it was returned to the Dutch as part of the Vienna settlement. In that same year, Raffles was dismissed and recalled to London by his superiors, who had become angered by his failure to make Java profitable, by allegations of financial impropriety on his part, and by his unapologetic expansionism. A vigorous defense of his administration, supported by his *History of Java* (1817), cleared him of all charges of wrongdoing and secured Raffles a knighthood and the Lieutenant-Governorship of Benkulu on Sumatra. Nevertheless, his appointment to such a backwater is a measure of the continuing official suspicion toward his policies.

At Benkulu (1817–1824), Raffles pursued his familiar policies of improvement and expansion. He sought to prevent the return of Dutch influence to Palembang and also advocated the extension of British control over the Straits of Malacca in 1818. Fearing a Dutch resurgence, Minto's replacement, Lord Hastings, approved Raffles's plan for the straits. Raffles then exploited a succession crisis in Johore to install (March 1819) a Sultan favorable to a British settlement at Singapore. Though put in an awkward position by this forward move into a region claimed by the Dutch, the British Government saw Singapore's strategic and commercial potential and recognized Raffles's acquisition. Raffles exercised direct supervision over Singapore only intermittently between 1819 and 1824, for less than a year all told, yet he remained the single most important influence over its early development: he designed the town plan, promulgated a constitution and code of laws, eradicated gaming, cock-fighting, and slavery, and founded a college.

His many professional responsibilities notwithstanding, Raffles was a devoted student of philology, ethno-graphy, and natural history throughout his career. His *History of Java* made important contributions to scholarship in all these areas and long remained a foundation of colonial understandings of Java. Raffles also acted as patron and partner for others with similar interests, such as the American naturalist Dr. Thomas Horsfield, and was likewise instrumental in resuscitating the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1812. An avid collector of artifacts, texts, and specimens, Raffles amassed an extensive collection, most of which was destroyed while en route to Britain in 1824. The remainder still constituted a significant addition to the body of scientific knowledge so important to quantifying, classifying, and possessing colonial holdings in Southeast Asia in later years. After his retirement to England, Raffles's interest in natural history occupied much of his time, and culminated in his foundation of the Zoological Society in London months before his death on July 5, 1826.

SEE ALSO *Java War; Singapore; Straits Settlements.*

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RAILROADS, EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, railroads played a crucial role in advancing multifaceted imperialist agendas. According to the colonizers' ideology, railroads, uniform postage, and the electric telegraph were considered to be the three developments of Western science that advanced social improvement. Standard reference sources indicate that by the early 1900s, Asian areas had some 90,120 kilometers (56,000 miles) of track, with about 48,280 of those kilometers (about 30 miles) in British India, about 6,430 kilometers (4,000 miles) in China, and about 29,770 kilometers (18,500 miles) in Africa. By connecting up hinterland and ports within particular regions, and then linking countries to one another in the complex network of land and sea transport, railroads helped forge the modern capitalist world economy, with

The Opening of the First Railway in Japan, 1872. *Japan was able to negotiate autonomy in railroad construction, using a loan from Great Britain to build its first railroad. This engraving, published in 1872 in the* Illustrated London News, *depicts the ceremony marking the completion of Japan's first railroad; both European and Japanese dignitaries were in attendance.*
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its enduring disparities between expansive, industrialized powers and the underdeveloped third world.

In some regions, railroads served a direct style of imperialism, where virtually enslaved indigenous laborers harvested cash crops or mined valuable commodities, and railroads hauled such goods to port cities for export. More significantly, however, railroads made possible and profitable what historians have come to describe as *informal imperialism*, where an indigenous government was held in place, and the tethers of dominance took the form of high-interest loans by private investors to the indigenous government, special treaty-based privileges, and spheres of influence. As historian Ronald Robinson notes in his introduction to *Railway Imperialism*, ''the railroad was not only the servant but also the principal generator of informal empire; in this sense imperialism was a function of the railroad'' (Davis et al. 1991, p. 2).

Beholden to foreign banks and financiers, indigenous governments could ensure repayment and continued investment only by harsh labor policies, suppression of anti-imperialist movements, and diversion of revenue away from, for example, education and housing initiatives. Local labor and capital markets, as well as seemingly autonomous indigenous political systems, were ever more pulled into the gravitational orbit of expansive, more developed nations. For indigenous populations, railroads brought a mix of possibilities and exactions. Affording unprecedented geographic mobility, modern conveniences, new areas of employment, and potential profits, railroads also displaced traditional occupations, such as barge workers, and carried ever more foreign settlers into colonial areas, exacerbating tensions with local communities. Although privately funded for the most part, railroad building in colonial areas depended upon home governments and colonial officials to provide the legal and political wherewithal, with financial guarantees, land grants, and a periodic deployment of troops to quash rebellion or teach locals a preemptive object lesson.

Japan was able to negotiate autonomy in railroad construction, using a loan from Great Britain to build

its first railroad in 1872, and drawing upon substantial exports of tea and silk to fund other related projects. The first foreign railway initiative in China came in the 1860s with the tiny Woosung Railroad, built by Anglo-American partners with the tacit permission of business-minded local officials in the Shanghai area, but shut down by central authorities in response to local agitation. Dynastic weakness and forced indemnities following defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War in the mid-1890s opened the way to foreign loans and investment, a situation redoubled by the terms imposed by treaty powers after the Boxer Uprising (1900). Much of the noted "scramble for China" at the turn of that century was a scramble for railroad concessions.

According to historian Clarence Davis (1991), Chinese officials were initially successful in playing off imperial rivals with selective railway concessions, but the dynamic set in motion by these railroads once built contributed to the spread of antiforeign insurgence, with "antiforeign" coming to include the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911). By the early twentieth century, a dense network of railroads concentrated in the eastern regions of the country connected up port cities, such as Shanghai and Tianjin, to supplies of coal, cotton, rice, tea, cassia, sugar, and silk. Cities such as Shanghai boomed as entrepôts, receiver and distribution points in an expanding network of trade linked to world markets. This, in turn, led to the proliferation of factories in port cities to process raw materials for export, the emergence of a wealthy Chinese commercial elite, and growing disaffection among urban workers.

In China as in Africa, even while promoting the interests of expansive governments, railroad building paradoxically generated intense conflict among imperialist rivals, with a high-stakes competition over huge swaths of exclusive "railway zones" in Africa and Asia. Russo–Japanese rivalries flared over Manchuria, as Russia sought to extend the trans-Siberian railway through Manchuria, posing a threat to Japan's colonial consolidation of Korea. Franco–British commercial rivalry led to ambitious claims over territorial blocs in China, while Germany established a railroad monopoly in Shantung to expand market possibilities and provide a naval base for its increasingly powerful navy. Japan's seizure of Manchuria in 1931 and eventual push to empire turned upon effective control of regional railroad systems.

SEE ALSO *Railroads, Imperialism.*

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RAILROADS, IMPERIALISM

As the age of high imperialism began in 1871, British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury (Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 1830–1903) said, "The great organizations and greater means of locomotion of the present day mark out the future to be one of great empires" (Davis, Wilburn, and Robinson 1991, p. 2). Salisbury believed that the railway of industrialized Europe would extend the imperial power of stronger industrial countries over weaker agrarian ones. By 1907, Salisbury's prediction had come to pass. European imperialists, with the capital investment of some £1.5 billion in railway stocks and bonds, brought much of the world under European rule. The effects of the engine of empire on people in the metropoles (centers of imperial power) and in the periphery (the colonies) proved to be profound.

The idea of nineteenth-century railway imperialism seems simple enough—use railways and the industry and money behind them to gain and maintain control of other people's countries and resources for the primary benefit and security of the imperial country. European economies and investors were to be the primary beneficiaries, not local economies or indigenous populations. Imperial incursions were often wrapped in national flags and humanitarian propaganda, including campaigns to end slavery, extend European civilization, spread Christianity, and encourage economic development throughout the empire. Yet critics have seriously challenged the realities and consequences of such alleged benefits.

Just a glance at railway lines throughout the African continent during the age of high imperialism reveals their intent. Trunk lines (the main railway lines that connect commercial centers with seaports and other commercial areas) were constructed to transport extracted resources from the African interior to the coast, where the raw materials were destined for European factories and markets. In South Africa, for example, trunk railway lines were constructed primarily to connect the diamond and gold fields to the ports. Even the inter-African dream of the Cape-to-Cairo railway of Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) was understood in the context of imperial interests. The locomotive was used similarly to extend European

imperialism in Argentina, Canada, China, India, Iran, Mexico, the Ottoman Empire, and Thailand.

Yet imperialism remains complex; as the Australian historian Keith Hancock (1898–1988) once quipped, "Imperialism is 'no word for scholars'" (Porter 1994, p. 6). Nonetheless, scholars have advanced several theories to explain imperial behavior. The German social philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883) emphasized economic causes related to oppressed workers and greed inherent in inevitable stages of capitalism.

Others have argued that nineteenth-century imperialism contained far more reluctance. To these historians, imperialists were driven less by economic motivations than by long-standing combinations of factors, including culture, religion, nationalism, military bases, ports, European settlers, and economies, which had previously quite satisfactorily bound together collaborators on the colonial periphery to officials in the imperial metropole. Now that these relationships were breaking down, reluctant imperialists had to react or lose much of their empire. Whether intentional or reluctant, imperialists built railways to repair those relationships, extend territory, and promote economic colonial-imperial bonds of European empire worldwide.

Another way to understand railway imperialism is to examine how railways contributed to formal and informal empire. When colonial railways were used primarily to transport soldiers and supplies, and assist the infrastructure of political rule, the locomotive served formal empire. Yet railways also contributed to informal empire, due to the large amounts of capital necessary to purchase European engines, rolling stock (railroad cars), and rails, and then to construct the lines. Europeans who invested in colonial railway stocks and bonds relied on colonial borrowers to guarantee dividends and keep trade flowing. In such informal ways, partnerships of imperial, financial, and commercial interests converged behind the locomotive to create railway imperialism.

Sometimes railway imperialism was opposed by railway republicanism; that is, when a colony sought its independence, it would use railways to weaken imperial control. The South African statesman Paul Kruger (1825–1904), for example, sought to sever the gold-laden Transvaal with its railway hub in the Witwatersrand from the British Empire by using railway ownership, railway rates, customs duties, and alliances with other European powers to oppose British rule and railways in South Africa. To those at the metropole, such anti-imperial policy put at risk not only the investments of thousands of Europeans, but also British rule worldwide. The challenge of Kruger's railway republicanism contributed to the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902).

Whatever their motivations, empire builders needed the support of local populations to carry out their imperial agendas. Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher (1953) have examined the lynchpin of imperialism—the collaborator, often the European settler with ties to Great Britain. The key to maintaining empire was knowing what colonials wanted, then providing them with that perceived need in return for allegiance. Wealth, security, state loans, economic development, power, and railways were often used to forge collaborators in colonies with officials at the metropole. Without collaborators in the colonies, Great Britain could not have controlled such vast expanses of the planet. In that imperial equation, the railway was crucial.

Robinson poignantly stated, "Europe's high age of imperialism, to a great extent, [was effected] because it was the railway age in other continents.... The grand central stations in cathedral style are the monuments" (Davis, Wilburn, and Robinson 1991, pp. 194–195). Former colonies continue to refine their relationships with European metropoles in the aftermath of nineteenth-century railway imperialism. The imperial foundation of the railway, which helped reduce time and space, along with the steamship and telegraphy, supports today's succeeding technologies of flight, nuclear power, and the information age, with all their ties to international capital and markets. Railway imperialism in this foundational sense remains under construction.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; Imperialism, Cultural; Imperialism, Free Trade; Kruger, Paul.*

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Kenneth Wilburn

RANGOON

SEE *Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia*

RELIGION, ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the centuries of European colonial expansion that began to take shape in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is complex, and at times enigmatic. The church acted as a legitimating institution for various colonial projects, at times as financier, and profited tremendously from the revenue generated by its increasingly global presence. It often acted to buttress colonial regimes in the face of internal and external criticism and in large part remained antagonistic toward later independence movements. Yet, the church also worked to impose strict laws regulating treatment of indigenous peoples, outlawed certain forms of exploitation and slavery, deeply criticized the violence of European wars of conquest, and purported itself to be the conscience of the European monarchs. The Roman Catholic Church was both a legitimator of the early phases of the colonial enterprise, and a critic of what it perceived to be its excesses.

The Roman Catholic Church, while hierarchical in organization and in control over its own official dogma, was by no means of one mind in its interactions with European colonial projects. Tension between the Vatican, members of the religious orders, and diocesan priests among themselves or with European monarchs and colonial administrators was often palpable. Debates over the legitimacy of European wars of expansion, the nature of colonial regimes, and the rights of indigenous peoples often created immense conflict.

Although it did occur in the colonial context, no church doctrine actually supported the forced conversion of peoples to Christianity, and there were ample resources for legitimating the use of force to create social, cultural, and political conditions in which conversion by "persuasion" was more likely to be successful. Yet the requirements for those conditions sometimes ran against the interests of the European monarchs, colonial administrators, and colonists themselves, who were at times less interested in the conversion of indigenous peoples than their potential for economic profit. Colonists who exploited indigenous labor for agriculture or mining were constantly reprimanded by the church for failing to see to the religious education and conversion of their laborers to Christianity. Hence, it is precisely the tensions and edges of the colonial experience that shaped the Catholic Church's complex relationship to European colonialism rather than its own dogmatic or ideological positions.

The colonial projects of early modernity were also not homogenous, and the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to those projects differed according to national context, shifts in the geopolitical realities of Europe, and significant variations in the church's own institutional and moral power vis-à-vis European states and monarchies. The first phase of modern European expansion coalesced around the efforts of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns—with church backing—in the middle of the fifteenth century. Hence the relationship between the Catholic Church and those colonial projects also reflected the political and ideological particularities of the Iberian empires.

By the seventeenth century, however, other European nations joined the race for establishing a global colonial presence. The power of the Spanish and Portuguese empires began to decline and those of England, France, and Holland began to ascend. As the religious experiences of both the English and Dutch colonial enterprises were quite different from those formed by Catholicism, marked shifts in the relationship of the Catholic Church to those colonial projects also followed, inaugurating what may be considered a second phase of European colonial expansion.

Each of those phases, however, witnessed a recurrence of certain themes of Christian thought and practice that marked the structural and cultural aspects of its relationship to European colonial projects. The transformation of the early Christian communities into institutions that wielded almost incomparable political, moral, and economic power was itself a long historical process. That process involved coming to terms with the legacy—political, theological, institutional—of the Roman

Empire and its successors. On the other hand, it may be rightly argued that throughout the Middle Ages and by the end of the seventeenth century the Catholic Church constituted an empire of its own, whose reach spanned from Canada to Patagonia (in southern South America), and from China to Madagascar. The Spanish and English colonial projects both constituted empires on which the sun never set, yet the reach of global Catholicism exceeded them both by constituting forms of colonial relations even where there was no formal colonial jurisdiction.

Thus, the first and foremost of the recurrent themes that emerged by way of defining or shaping colonial relations with the Catholic Church was the relationship between the Christian *evangelium pacis* (literally, "good news of peace") and the political, legal, and ideological superstructure of imperium that underwrote the Roman Empire and later European expansion. As the church acquired instruments of political power by the fourth century, debates emerged over the use of the coercive force of the Roman Empire for specifically Christian ends. As the debate sometimes divided the early Church Fathers, later Christians who were to reread the Fathers and dispute these things anew in the wake of the European colonial enterprises would find support for multiple and conflicting positions. Yet as a consequence of the Christianization of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, these disputes were not merely theological, but had deep ramifications for the institutions of civil and religious laws, patterns of commentary on those laws, and theological reflection over how those institutions and laws reflected upon the political and social shape of the church.

Centuries of Christian thought and practice also produced questions that deeply affected the intellectual culture and identity of the Catholic Church. The experience of missionaries sometimes served to remind Catholics that Christianity was no more natural to Italy than it was to China, and that the Christianization of the old Roman Empire and the remainder of the European continent had been a long, arduous, complex, and even violent process. The identification of Christianity with European cultural norms was therefore itself a historical product of significant cultural transformations in European history and in Christian thought and practice. The necessity of differentiating between what was European and what was Christian became important enough to be codified as instructions to missionaries in Vatican documents by the seventeenth century. Hence Christianity's views of its own history, attitudes toward other religions, and theological reflections on how God orchestrates history and ostensibly uses empires for his own purposes would deeply affect the ways that the church would interact with various colonial projects.

THE *PATRONATO REAL*

The tensions that shaped Catholic thought and practice in relationship to the first phase of European colonialism reflected very deep conflicts within the long history of Christian thought and the particularities of the Spanish and Portuguese imperial projects. These monarchies enjoyed a privileged relationship to the Vatican vis-à-vis other European nations, through direct rivalry over control of southern Italy and other cultural relations as much as through papal nepotism. Portugal established successful outposts in Africa, India, and eventually the coast of China, while Spain conquered the Canary Islands off the coast of Morocco in the late fifteenth century, with the islands becoming a staging ground for the further exploration to the west that covered much of the Americas and ended only with the conquest of the Philippines.

Spanish colonization of the Americas proceeded initially from wars of conquest and the establishment of territorial control and colonial governance, while the Portuguese were less concerned with large-scale colonization and worked rather to monopolize sea routes and established independent garrisons to protect commercial interests. The Catholic Church played a central role in both cases by sending missionaries to work in Spanish territories from California to Paraguay, and in the Portuguese territories from Africa to Japan. The church also granted ideological and institutional legitimacy to those imperial projects, if not always to what it perceived to be the excesses of the conquistadors.

However, the long history of Christian thought on questions of governance that ranged from scholastic theology and jurisprudence to commentary on canon and civil law would see to it that the relationship of the Catholic Church to European colonial projects was shaped in complex ways. First of all, it was commonly held and codified in canon law that neither popes nor Christian rulers had any authority outside their own jurisdictions; this meant that Christian rulers could not impose laws on lands not under their direct rule except in the case of a "just war," and that popes held no authority over nonbelievers and could not compel them to accept Christianity against their will. Yet the extension of Spanish jurisdiction over the New World, accompanied precisely by the use of violence, and ostensibly for the purposes of evangelism, created conditions in which many of the qualifications that accompanied those earlier arguments about the limits of authority were invoked or otherwise found to justify substantive aspects of the colonial projects even while working to check what were thought to be colonial excesses. Hence the church emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as both the enabler of and impediment to Spanish and

Portuguese imperial ambitions. It justified their possessions but required them to facilitate the evangelization of their respective domains—a requirement that often clashed with other commercial or colonial interests.

The success of the voyages of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) and of the Portuguese establishment of commercial colonies in Asia occasioned what was to become the defining structure of Catholic relationships with early modern colonial projects: the so-called *patronato real* ("royal patronage"), which legally obliged missionaries and other church representatives to work under the jurisdiction of the Catholic monarchs of Spain and Portugal. Thus, the dependence of Christian missionary work on commercial interests occasioned by new discoveries and sea travel was furthered by legally obliging the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs to oversee the missionary endeavors of the church in their own jurisdictions.

The occasion for this new arrangement was the "donation" made in 1493 by Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) of "temporal and spiritual dominion" over newly discovered territories in the east to the Portuguese and in the west to the Spanish monarchs. This papal bull, *Inter caetera* (1493), and related decrees and treaties were known collectively as the Bulls of Donation. They effectively carved the non-European world into two domains. Dispute over how to interpret the boundaries of the donations indeed raged, and the Portuguese eventually laid claim to Brazil in 1532 and the Spanish to the newly conquered Philippine Islands in 1565. Missionaries to the newly discovered Americas or to Asia included Italian, German, English, and Irish priests and members of religious orders, but they remained legally subject to the patronage of the Iberian monarchs.

The Bulls of Donation were not new to Catholic thought and experience, although by the time of Alexander VI's decrees, such donations were in substantial ways dubitable and disreputable. Alexander's own reputation was that of a warlord and nepotist, and the legality of such donations was subject to increasing critique. One Spanish theologian and jurist quipped that for the pope to donate what was not rightfully his was nothing short of theft.

The institutional and ideological cache of the donations was not, however, easily cast aside even by its critics. The Bulls of Donation and their precedents in church history were the vehicle by which claims to the legitimacy of European presence in the New World were carried, and the long history of canon and civil law upon which the donations rested determined much of the jurisprudential vocabulary that sustained property rights in the New World, rights over indigenous labor, rights to use at least indirect coercive force in the service of evangelization, and rights to suppress heresy, idolatry, and "crimes against nature" wherever they were found to exist under the jurisdiction of a Christian ruler. Other crimes ostensibly against persons, nature, or God that occurred not under the jurisdiction of a Christian ruler may be occasion for a "just war" that sought to vindicate the innocent against harm done to them. Both the proper jurisdiction of Christian rulers over territories granted to them and the occasion for a just war were invoked repeatedly as justifications for the Spanish conquest of the Americas and the Philippines. Although the terms of the Alexandrine donations and the applicability of the just war argument were subject to continuous criticism, rejection, and reinterpretation throughout the Spanish and Portuguese empires, the relationships of patronage and responsibility were established nonetheless.

The ideological weight of the Bulls of Donation rested on a long history within Catholic thought and practice that went back to the fourth century. Legend had it that as a token of gratitude to God for victories over the rival claimant to the imperial title at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (312) on the Tiber River, the Roman emperor Constantine (ca. 234–337) converted to Christianity and then "donated" jurisdiction over the city of Rome and the Western Empire to Pope Sylvester (d. 335). Constantine then relocated the seat of the empire to the Bosporus and the newly founded city of Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey), leaving the jurisdiction of Rome to the pope, who in turn bestowed "temporal" jurisdiction over the empire to a successor to Constantine while retaining "spiritual" jurisdiction to the papacy.

Although the so-called "donation of Constantine" was itself a fiction, papal coronations of Holy Roman emperors for the next several centuries were not. Later Christian theologians would argue that the papacy possessed "two swords" representing both temporal and spiritual power, and that it would grant the exercise of temporal power to secular rulers so that the popes could focus more exclusively on the needs of spiritual governance. The language of proper jurisdiction that remained central to the development of canon and civil law during the Middle Ages also drew extensively from Roman codes and the significant transformations that did occur with the conversion of Constantine to Christianity and the transformation of the Roman Empire from a pagan power to an empire thought to be divinely ordained for the service of Christianity.

Although the story of the so-called donation of Constantine was suspect throughout Christian history—not least by Holy Roman emperors who resented receiving their legitimacy from the popes, with whom they were sometimes at war—the documentary basis for the legend was definitively established as a forgery in the

middle of the fifteenth century by the Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla (ca. 1407–1457). The full impact of Valla's arguments was not immediately realized, but the practice of such donations was cast under a shadow from which it did not easily emerge. The donations of Alexander VI, made a half-century after Valla's exposure of that forgery, contain language explicitly reminiscent of the Constantinian donation, and wholly dependent upon it both theologically and institutionally. It was also a contested donation, and the practice of such territorial and jurisdictional donations ended with Alexander VI.

The institutional and ideological power of the Catholic Church to legitimate the new colonial enterprises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not rest on the theological legitimacy of the Alexandrine donations, but upon the terms of royal patronage made initially possible by the donations. Most importantly, the donations obliged the Catholic monarchs to finance and support the increasingly global Catholic missionary enterprise. Even critics of the Spanish conquests of the Americas, such as Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), accepted the donations of Alexander VI only insofar as they required the monarchs to finance and support the evangelization of the American Indians—and see to it that Spanish greed and avarice was restrained enough to allow missionaries to peacefully persuade indigenous communities to convert of their own accord. Other critics rejected the donations entirely. Augustinian missionaries first to arrive in the Philippines quite routinely denied the Spanish monarchs just title to dominion over the indigenous populations there, but also appealed to the crown for material support and stricter laws against exploitation of indigenous labor.

In 1580 King Philip II of Spain (1527–1598) also claimed succession to the crown of Portugal, offering to unite the Spanish and Portuguese domains into a single global monarchy that effectively undid the division of the world enforced by the terms of the Bulls of Donation. He was heralded by some as a "new Constantine" capable of bringing Christianity even to China, but his claims were fiercely contested by Portuguese and Italian missionaries in Goa in India, Macao in southern China, and Japan, who often used the Bulls of Donation to derail Spanish ambitions in the Pacific after Spain's conquest of the Philippines.

CONQUESTS AND JUST WARS

As the legitimacy of any claims to property rights in the New World rested on often contested and shaky ground, the predominant language of justification that emerged by the middle of the sixteenth century was that of the "just war." If the pope could not donate territory, it was often argued, it could be legally acquired as the legitimate spoils of a just war. Hence, whether or not the conquests of the Americas or the Philippines constituted just wars became a topic of not inconsiderable dispute among jurists, theologians, and missionaries.

The Spanish wars of conquest in the Caribbean, Mexico, Peru, and the Philippines were thought to be just wars by their protagonists. In fact, they were also *enacted* as just wars—not that they were fought justly, quite the contrary—but in that they imitated the very archaic Roman practices meant to establish just wars. Hernán Cortés (1484–1547), leader of the conquistadors responsible for the conquest of Mexico, established the practice of approaching an indigenous village and reading a formal complaint, followed by demands for restitution and a declaration of a just war should the community fail to comply by a certain time—precisely the formula that any Spanish schoolboy taught his Latin by reading Livy's histories of Rome could easily find.

The just war argument is often thought to be derived from the early Christian theologian Augustine of Hippo's (354–440) reflections over just and unjust wars in his monumental *The City of God*. However, both the ideological framework and the technical vocabulary of the *iustum bellum* (Latin, "just war") emerged a thousand years before Augustine, and remained deeply imbedded in Roman civil theology and legal practice from the time of the second Roman king Numa Pompilius (753–674 B.C.E.). A just war was properly defined, as Augustine affirmed, as the rectification of injuries done to an innocent party. In cases in which there was no formal court of appeal in which to settle the matter, an external authority could step in to act—by force if necessary—in order to rectify the wrong done. A just war had to be properly declared by a legitimate authority, had to have a just cause, and had to be fought justly and in accordance with its object of rectifying wrongs done.

Yet for all its theoretical nicety, the ideology of the just war sustained Roman imperial expansion for centuries, as it later did for the Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A point not lost on later critics of the Spanish Empire was that Augustine himself ruthlessly criticized Numa Pompilius for the fact that Roman wars became far more frequent after Numa's establishment of religious and legal codes determining just wars.

Centuries of Christian thought and practice found the Roman language of the just war—filtered in part through Augustine—highly adaptable for ostensibly Christian purposes. It was a language of proper jurisdiction, as only a legitimate authority had the right to declare a just war. The language of sovereignty was in some sense thus inseparable from just war arguments. And, especially as Christian thought turned to Augustine and even earlier Christian writers, such as Eusebius (ca. 275–339), the

language of the just war provided another account of how God worked in the world and used empires such as Rome both to establish justice and to pave the way for the successful evangelization of the world under the auspices of the Roman Empire. Augustine wrote that God granted dominion to Rome "when He willed and to the extent that He willed," and that Roman wars were generally just wars, thus establishing another language of donation that became immensely useful to later advocates of European empires.

The most vocal apologist for the conquests of the Americas as just wars was the Spanish royal historian Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (ca. 1490–1573). Sepúlveda was a classicist and highly respected translator and interpreter of the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.). Sepúlveda has become known today almost exclusively for his claim, drawn from an application of the first book of Aristotle's *Politics*, that the American Indians were "natural slaves" and fit to be ruled by "natural masters" like the Europeans. However, his famed dispute with the Dominican priest Bartolomé de las Casas over the humanity and rights of the Indians was primarily an argument about just wars rather than the status of the Indians as human beings or natural slaves—after all, Sepúlveda's book that led to the debate was titled *Democrates Alter, or On the Case for a Just War Against the Indians.*

Critics of Sepúlveda, particularly theologians and jurists at the University of Salamanca in Spain, such as Francisco de Vitoria (ca. 1483–1546) and Domingo de Soto (1494–1560), successfully blocked the publication of Sepúlveda's book while publishing material of their own that sought to define the perimeters of just and unjust wars that they considered more in keeping with the commentaries of the medieval Christian theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), and Thomas's own use of Aristotle. This so-called School of Salamanca became a formidable critic of the Spanish conquests of the Americas, and of the use of coercive force for the purposes of evangelization—both of which Sepúlveda vigorously defended.

The primary difficulty with the just war argument, whether in the hands of Sepúlveda or Vitoria, was that it simply did not describe the realities of the Spanish conquest nor exhaust the many reasons why the Spanish claimed legitimate title to the Americas—and especially why the Spanish and Portuguese empires continued to receive the support of the Catholic Church quite in spite of their ruthlessness and systematic exploitation of indigenous peoples and expropriation of what one Spanish critic called their "lands, liberty, and property in exchange for their faith in Christ." Cortés most certainly imitated the Roman practices of declaring just wars, but

the massive Spanish colonial enterprise that nearly covered two continents was self-evidently not about saving innocent Aztecs from human sacrifice or cannibalism. José de Acosta (ca. 1540–1600), himself a missionary in Peru and critic of the Spanish conquests who was deeply familiar with Vitoria's thought, was not alone in thinking the language of just wars ill-adapted to the realities of the Indies and something of an ideological distraction from the violent effects of the wars of conquest.

The support of the Catholic Church for the colonization projects of the Spanish and Portuguese empires rested in part on the long-established history of interpretation of the privileged role of Christian governance to establish conditions for successful Christianization. The rights and responsibilities of Christian rulers dominated medieval jurisprudence, just war theory, and political theology in a manner that sought to privilege institutional and political stability, and both strengthen and check the excesses of temporal Christian rulers. And most importantly, those rulers were necessary partners in establishing the conditions for successful evangelization of unbelievers.

The paradox of the preservation of order and the mediation of excess in the name of good governance was the very building block of Augustinian political theology inherited by the early modern church, and the colonial context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provided yet another stage on which to work out that tension. Only then does it become apparent that the same church that brought the Inquisition to Mexico and Peru and violently suppressed what it deemed idolatry by other measures was also the church that worked to stave off the excesses of colonial rapacity and protect indigenous communities with new laws, and which was able to exercise its influence even in places where colonial projects could not reach.

By the early seventeenth century, the church had largely repudiated what it considered the excesses of conquest, but worked diligently to sustain colonial political order. It also reserved, at least in theory, its right to endorse violence in cases where states or communities actively prohibited or impeded the free preaching of the gospel. This was the conclusion of the Spanish theologian Francisco Suarez (1548–1617), and it was institutionalized by 1622 in the founding documents of the new Vatican-sponsored Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith that was established to oversee the new global presence of Catholic missionaries on six continents.

STRUCTURES OF CULTURAL CONFLICT

The questions that shaped the relationship of the Catholic Church to the early modern colonial enterprises were not only political and institutional, but also

deeply embedded in the church's own cultural and intellectual history. The questions of how to conceive of non-Christian religions and their place in the "sacred history" of the world from a providential perspective was by no means new to early modern missionaries, as the intellectual topography had been established at least in contour by many of the Church Fathers and Augustine in particular. Hence the process of evangelizing the newly discovered New World sent many missionaries back to Augustine's texts, along with those of Pope Gregory the Great (540–604), the Venerable Bede (673–735), and other exemplary accounts of the conversion of Europe to Christianity in late antiquity. Further, the intellectual and cultural transformations experienced by Europe during the Renaissance—particularly the revival of classical learning—provided the impetus to include Herodotus and Thucydides as well as Livy, Plutarch, Pliny, and Tacitus to the sources within which missionaries sought out exempla for how to think about the new cultures that they encountered from Mexico to Macao.

The tendency to classify indigenous cultures in the Americas or Asia according to models derived from ancient Roman historians was evident in most of the missionary encounters. Hence, "barbarians" were often categorized according to their level of civilization—specifically measured by their customs and practices, the construction of cities, the level of literacy, and the institution or lack thereof of laws and governance recognizable to Europeans. Catholic thinkers did not always consider Europe the most advanced civilization, and sometimes wrote of China and Japan as more culturally sophisticated and advanced, but as lacking the one thing (Christianity) that would perfect them. Nomadic or hunter-gatherer civilizations, like many found in the Americas, were considered the lowest form of civilization. Missionaries amassed a tremendous amount of ethnographic material about other religions from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, although it most often remained simultaneously deeply invested in classical models and interpreted through Christian theological lenses.

As the consolidation of colonial control was most often the means through which the church sought to "civilize" indigenous peoples, cultural conflicts continually erupted in most missionary contexts. In some areas colonial administrators forcibly resettled populations, forced indigenous people to submit to religious indoctrinations and attend mass, and used force to "extirpate idolatry" by destroying indigenous religious sites and prohibiting participation in indigenous religious practices. Although not all of the missions were amenable to colonial control, most of the religious encounters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended toward religious paternalism and the affirmation of colonial

institutions as the order necessary to both civilize and evangelize indigenous populations. By the nineteenth century, new theories of scientific racism replaced earlier classicizing models of humanity and civilization, creating a perhaps more insidious version of the "white man's burden" to civilize and Christianize under the auspices of empire.

In areas subject to Spanish or Portuguese colonial control, attempts were nevertheless made by mestizo missionaries such as Blas Valera in Peru or others in Mexico to work outside of the structures of colonial cultural chauvinism and with more sympathetic approaches to indigenous religions. In areas not subject to Spanish or Portuguese colonial control, a different kind of encounter with non-Christian religions developed. Italians such as Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) sought to enter Japan and China as "wise men from the West," having worked to gain significant fluency in Asian languages and intellectual traditions. In many of those encounters, Catholics were invested in a kind of utopian impulse to rediscover the nature of primitive Christian communities and the missions themselves became experiments in pre-Constantinian Christianity.

COLONIAL CONSOLIDATION AND CONFLICTS

As the Catholic Church worked out its own internal conflicts and troubled history on the stage of the New World, the church was also forced to deal with its declining power in Europe. The Reformation and subsequent wars of religion that only subsided in the mid-seventeenth century permanently altered Catholic self-perception as the institution that acted as both legitimator and moral conscience of the European colonial regimes. The church after the mid-seventeenth century no longer possessed the power to coerce or control the remains of the Roman Empire, and certainly not the newly emerging European states that did not depend on the church for their own legitimation.

This second stage of European colonial expansion also witnessed the decline of the Iberian powers and the rapid ascendance of France and England as the architects of the next two centuries of colonial expansion. Catholic relations with Protestant England were clearly strained and clearly competitive on the colonial stage, and certainly papal bulls and moral injunctions held no force in England or the Netherlands.

Hence the shape of colonial relations during the second phase of European expansion did not and could not have invoked the complex history of the Roman past that so animated Catholic thought in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. The collapse of European Christendom precipitated by the Reformation

The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain. *In the wake of increasing anticlericalism in Europe, the Jesuits were expelled from Portuguese dominions in 1759, from those under French jurisdiction in 1761, and finally from Spanish territories in 1767. This late eighteenth-century engraving by Charles Maucourt depicts their expulsion from Spain.* **TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

and wars of religion left the Catholic Church working less to establish its own political power than to exert its moral influence in both supporting and regulating what were now the apparently permanent realities of a Spanish-American colonial presence, and to regulate its missions in areas not directly subject to the old and now quite antiquated terms of the *patronato real*. After the initial uncertainties and conflicts over the discovery and conquest of the New World subsided in the early seventeenth century, the Catholic Church sought primarily to consolidate its relationship with the colonial enterprises, and worked to augment and expand its institutions, newly founded universities for colonial elites, monasteries and convents, and social services such as poverty relief and hospital work.

The changed conditions that began in the seventeenth century that altered the Catholic Church's relationship to various colonial projects may be exemplified in particular by the fate of the Jesuits' missions to

Paraguay and the so-called Chinese rites controversy. The questions of civilization, language, history, and the urge to rediscover a primitive Christianity all found their way into what became the most famous of the Jesuit missionary enterprises. The new model of mission that was begun in the Peruvian altiplano and most fully implemented in the Río de la Plata region of modern Paraguay, Argentina, Brazil, and Bolivia was immensely successful, and imitated in Canada, California, and the Philippines.

The missions among the Tupi-Guaraní Indians in Paraguay were originally established in the early seventeenth century under the leadership of Antonio Ruíz de Montoya (1585–1652), a Peruvian mestizo and native of Lima. Although the model of a *reducción*—a village or compound set aside for indigenous people and to which Spaniards were denied access—was adapted from colonial practice in Peru, Ruíz de Montoya adopted what missionaries called the "apostolic model" of traveling in

pairs, refusing the protection of soldiers, and placing oneself at the mercy of another's hospitality. Spaniards and especially soldiers were denied access to the missions.

The missions were built on improvised classical models, with streets aligned on grids, ordered housing, and a central plaza meant to imitate the Greek agora (marketplace). These "Indian republics" were highly successful in agriculture and livestock husbandry and grew to be potent economic forces in parts of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Bolivia. However, the missions were also initially established as refuges for Indians from the slave trade, and Ruíz de Montoya traveled to Madrid to successfully lobby for the rights of the Indians to bear arms to defend themselves from Portuguese slave traders and Spanish accomplices.

Although the missions continued until late into the eighteenth century, their economic power and established tensions with the Spanish colonial authorities in the administrative provinces of Brazil, Peru, and the Río de la Plata resulted in accelerating the deterioration of church–state relations in Europe. Under various popes' attempts to improve relationships with European states in the wake of increasing anticlericalism, the Jesuits were expelled from all Portuguese dominions in 1759, from those under French jurisdiction in 1761, and finally from all Spanish territories in 1767. The *reducciones* in Brazilian territories were closed by Portuguese force of arms, and in the Río de la Plata by Spanish soldiers. The Jesuits were disbanded as a religious order and not reestablished until 1814.

Although no European power established a colonial presence in China, conflicts over Christian activity consistently raised questions that directly related to how the church thought of its global missions in colonial terms. Catholic presence in China was established in the late sixteenth century primarily through the work of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. However, important to Ricci's permission to reside permanently in China was the question of whether or not Chinese converts to Christianity would be subjects of the European monarchs or the pope. Ricci's denial undoubtedly contravened many theological opinions in Europe, and further developments led to strained relationships between Chinese Catholics and the Vatican.

As the Catholic Church could not resort to pressuring colonial administrators into controlling missionary activities in China, the tensions erupted on predominantly theological grounds. Ricci's tactic of aligning Christian thought with the teachings of the ancient Chinese philosophers Confucius (ca. 551–479 B.C.E.) and Mencius (Mengzi, ca. 371–289 B.C.E.) had proven highly controversial, especially when he held that the practice of Confucian rites of honoring ancestors was

not opposed to Christian teaching, and when Ricci chose to use Chinese names for God that were drawn from Confucian resources. The old questions of idolatry and syncretism quickly dominated the controversy, and tensions between the religious orders heightened the stakes. The Chinese rites controversy was settled by papal decree in 1715 when Clement XI (1649–1721) ruled that Chinese Catholics must use the Latin word *deus* to refer to the Christian God, and that the rites of ancestor veneration were forbidden to Chinese Catholics. In 1721 the Chinese Emperor Kangxi (r. 1661–1722) expelled all Catholic missionaries in retaliation and disgust.

The marked tendency of the Catholic Church toward the defense of colonial institutions as the arbiters of order in the New World while simultaneously seeking to restrain their excesses was highly visible both in Catholic attitudes toward the slave trade and eventually the wars of independence that in the early nineteenth century ended colonial control over the Americas. Popes continued to issue bulls condemning the enslavement of Africans from the sixteenth century through the nineteenth, although the tools of ecclesiastical discipline were rarely invoked on the slaves' behalf. Although formally condemned, Catholic ambivalence toward the slave trade remained intact, and Catholic colonists and even missionaries continued to hold African slaves in some areas well into the nineteenth century. Thought to be socially disruptive, antislavery pamphlets that circulated in the Americas also appeared on the Index of Forbidden Books drawn up by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Negotiation among European colonial powers and the force of the British Empire finally had more to do with ending slavery than Catholic moral injunction.

Many Catholic priests and members of religious orders were engaged in the nineteenth-century wars of independence that ended the colonial projects that began in the sixteenth century, as others were involved in ending the slave trade. But the Roman Catholic Church, especially after the anticlericalism of the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century, again tended toward the reinforcement of colonial regimes as the necessary order under which it sought to act alternatingly as legitimator and as public conscience. The Catholic Church thus entered the nineteenth century seeking to sustain a semblance of its old Augustinian political theology, but increasingly lacking the political and institutional power that earlier allowed the church to sustain—in spite of its internal and external tensions—a position as both institutional advocate and moral critic of the European colonial enterprises.

SEE ALSO *Catholic Church in Iberian America; Justification for Empire, European Concepts; Papal Donations and Colonization.*

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Patrick Provost-Smith

RELIGION, WESTERN PERCEPTIONS OF TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS

The colonization of the Americas, Africa, India, and Southeast Asia brought European Christians in contact with other religious groups never before known to the West. Historians and anthropologists have given considerable attention to the ways this encounter between peoples of different religious traditions unfolded. Western perceptions of traditional religions initially depended upon a Christian framework for understanding variations in religious beliefs and practices, which often resulted in the characterization of non-Christian religions as somehow unfit to be called religions or to be the work of the devil. At other times, Western observers romanticized and incorporated some components of traditional religions into Western philosophical and religious systems. Yet no matter the perception, the imaginative and actual interactions between disparate religious traditions transformed all involved parties.

Christian missionaries, philosophers, and explorers were most responsible for the creation of popular perceptions of traditional religions throughout periods of colonialism, all of which were contingent upon social and cultural changes over time and in particular places. These Western perceptions, however, rarely encapsulated the religious experiences of people in full. What is more, interaction with Westerners or conversion to Christianity rarely generated a total destruction of traditional religious beliefs and practices. Instead, through a process of accommodation and adjustment, many aspects of traditional religions survived the initial period of colonization and continue to demonstrate themselves in the twentieth century, but not without immeasurable changes.

NATIVE AMERICA

In 1492 Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) and his entourage of Spanish sailors landed on the Caribbean island of Guanahani and thus initiated a massive and destructive encounter with non-Western peoples in North America. The Spanish, under the sanction of both the Roman Catholic popes and the Spanish monarchs, arrived with the dual goal to Christianize and civilize the native inhabitants of the New World. Such missionary ideals, however, took well over a half century to become

even haphazardly implemented by the Spanish. During the sixteenth century, Bartolome de Las Casas (1474–1566), a Dominican missionary to New Spain, criticized Spaniards for killing, terrorizing, afflicting, torturing, and destroying the native peoples, who he considered to be by nature the most humble, patient, and peaceable of human beings. Indeed, it took the intervention of Pope Paul III (1468–1549) to officially pronounce that Native Americans were human beings worthy of conversion to Christianity. Franciscan missionaries provided the primary impetus for converting native peoples all over New Spain. They established mission settlements in order to indoctrinate native peoples in Christianity and thus purge them of what the missionaries perceived to be satanic and superstitious beliefs and practices. Franciscans also worked hard to repress the liberal sexuality of many native groups and then reorganize their societies based on European and Christian models.

French explorers brought a similar missionary zeal to the North American colonies of Canada. During the 1530s, Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) led an expedition through the waterways of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, and there referred to the god of the Stadaconans as a wicked spirit with deceptive powers over native peoples. However, it was not until the founding of Quebec in 1608 that the French Crown effectively supported the advancement of Catholic missions to native inhabitants of the Great Lakes region. Recollects and Jesuits began arriving in New France soon thereafter. Recollect missionaries, also known as Gray Robes, considered all native peoples to be so brutish and savage that it was futile to attempt conversion until they were properly civilized. They tried to transform the Huron people into Frenchmen by forcing them to live in small enclaves known as reductions. Jesuit missionaries, also known as Black Robes, differed from the Recollects in their consideration of all native peoples as innately good and civil. The Jesuits also demonstrated a willingness to convert Hurons without frenchifying them. Instead, they decided to live as traveling itinerants or temporary inhabitants of native communities far removed from French settlements. Such a total immersion brought the religions of the Jesuits and the Hurons in close contact with each other. Yet while Jesuits attempted to adapt Catholicism to native idioms, they also saw such adaptations as a necessary step toward conquering native superstitions and the religious authority of shamans.

English Puritans founded the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay during the 1620s and 1630s. These Protestant peoples brought with them the perception of native peoples as suffering from savagery and barbarism. The Protestant settlers associated Native American forms of ritual with those practiced by Roman Catholics, and thus referred to both traditions

as idolatrous. Yet they also believed that native peoples were easily susceptible to Christian education and conversion. This impression lasted well into the eighteenth century, and especially the notion that missionaries had to civilize the savages before converting them to Christianity. The English process of civilizing and converting native peoples required that the religious and social habits of native peoples be reduced to the level of false religion. It also required that native peoples leave their customary lifestyles and enter into the strictly ordered confines of praying towns. John Eliot (1604–1690), the leading English missionary of the seventeenth century, popularized this form of civilizing and Christianizing native peoples, a form very similar to that of the Spanish missions. Conversion to Christianity was necessary for the elimination of what was seen as demonism, Satanism, and devil worship in native rituals and beliefs.

By the nineteenth century, the conversion of Native Americans to Christianity was widespread. Many European inhabitants of the Americas, however, continued to question the extent to which native beliefs and practices could be incorporated into Christian systems. Many believed that Native Americans lacked the essential human qualities necessary for religious understanding. Native ceremonial practices received considerable attention from European observers, especially the popularization of the Lakota Ghost Dance in the Great Plains of North America. A Native American prophet and visionary named Wovoka (1858–1932) instructed fellow American Indians to perform a ceremonial dance in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ. Christian missionaries and federal officials became concerned about the native religious movement. In 1890 tension ultimately turned to violence at Wounded Knee, where the United States military killed 250 women and children. The legacy of Lakota religion remained throughout the twentieth century. Black Elk (1863–1950), an Oglala Sioux holy man, demonstrated how Catholicism and native religious traditions complemented each other, whereas members of the American Indian Movement laid siege to the village of Wounded Knee in 1973 in an effort to raise awareness of their civil rights concerns.

AFRICA

Slave traders and Catholic missionaries from Portugal landed on the west coast of Africa during the fifteenth century. They brought with them very little knowledge of traditional religions on the Dark Continent. Catholic missionaries of the Capuchin order quickly recognized the difficulty in converting Africans without first gaining the support of African monarchs. For this reason, European priests and African kings often acted out of

diplomatic and political necessity. As missionaries serving at the pleasure of African kings, Capuchins had to tread more softly than they would have liked when it came to the total conversion of Africans to Christianity. Africans, as a result, largely controlled the commingling of Catholicism and traditional religions, especially in relation to spirit worship, religious specialists and healers, rites of passage, and religious icons. The willingness to adapt Catholicism to traditional African religious systems, however, did not mean that missionaries thought favorably of African religions. In fact, when it was possible to get the support of a strong African-Christian leader, missionaries waged severe assaults on what they considered to be heathenish, pagan, and sinful abominations.

The political and economic alterations of the European Reformation allowed for a Protestant missionary presence in Africa. This new evangelization coincided with the explosive growth in the Atlantic slave trade. The correlation between missions and trade, though not always in complete accord, was evident in both Dutch and British ventures during the eighteenth century. Thomas Thompson (1708–1773), the first Anglican missionary sent to what was known as the Gold Coast, tried and largely failed to convert Africans to Christianity. Many Africans, upon identifying all Europeans as Christians, could not reconcile the ideas espoused by Thompson and other missionaries with the actions of European slave traders. Further south along the coast of Africa, Europeans of all religious backgrounds encountered the people of the Cape, also known as Hottentots, during the seventeenth century. Many observers of these native peoples disputed the legitimacy of the Hottentot religion. In fact, many Europeans refused to even recognize the beliefs and practices of Hottentots as religious, instead choosing to refer to them as beasts and savages devoid of reason. It was not until the establishment of a Dutch settlement at the Cape during the 1650s that Europeans recognized Hottentots as moon worshipers.

The international slave trade altered the traditional religions of Africa to an incalculable degree. Historians and anthropologists, however, have identified survivals of African religious beliefs and practices in both Africa and the Americas. The enslavement of Africans set in motion a series of ruptures in individual lives and communities. Enslaved persons experienced the Middle Passage from Africa to North America, South America, or the Caribbean islands. The British, alone, brought 1.5 million to the Caribbean, and another 500,000 to North America. Upon arrival, enslaved persons were sold to slaveholders without respect for family bonds or ethnic identification. Traditional religious systems, therefore, rarely survived the fragmentation of the slave trade in full. However, once settled into new slave communities

either on plantations or in cities, enslaved Africans generated new religious systems that incorporated many components of African traditional religions, especially herbalism and conjuring.

Enslaved Africans also experienced a new wave of Christian missionary activities in the American colonies. Many Anglicans, Moravians, Baptists, and Methodists attempted to convert the enslaved within the British colonies of North America and the Caribbean, often despite the unwillingness of slaveholders to allow for such attempts. The interaction between European and African religious traditions created new forms of Christianity that incorporated music, dance, and spirit possession. So, too, did Catholic priests convert, or at least baptize, many enslaved persons in French and Spanish colonies. The mixture of French and Spanish Catholicism with African religious traditions produced the religions of Vodou and Santeria.

INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

In 1498 the explorer Vasco de Gama (1460–1524) led a Portuguese expedition to the port city of Calicut in southern India. The first Catholic missionaries followed soon thereafter. However, they did not immediately refer to the traditional religion of India as Hinduism or Buddhism. It took centuries of Western encounters with the people of India to gather a comprehensive understanding of their many and diverse religious systems. Roberto Nobili (1577–1656), a Catholic missionary, exhibited an uncommon willingness to interact with the people and consume the culture of India. He studied the languages of India, translated the Catholic catechism into Tamil, and transcribed Indian texts, all with an effort to find Christian-like components of Indian religions. Many Catholic missionaries and travelers compared the idea of the Brahman, or the supreme deity, with the Christian godhead, and they compared the Brahmans, or the members of the highest caste in Indian society, with Catholic priests. The Indian texts of the Vedanta and Upanishads also appealed to missionaries because of their similar investment in sacred texts such as the Bible. Protestant missionaries tended to compare Indian religions with Roman Catholicism in derogatory ways.

European philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also contributed to the public perception of Indian religions. Voltaire (1694–1778), the French philosopher of the Enlightenment, viewed India as the cradle of world religion and civilization. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) described Indian religions as once the purest of religions that was now spoiled by superstitions. Some Romantic philosophers from Germany highlighted the pantheism of Indian religions, or the idea that all things were united in one Supreme Being. The German

Sioux Indians Performing the Ghost Dance. *Native American ceremonial practices, especially the Lakota Sioux Ghost Dance of the late nineteenth-century Great Plains of North America, received considerable attention from European observers.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Romantics then used their perception of Indian religions to criticize the science-based philosophy of the Enlightenment in Europe. Some scholars have identified August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845), a leading spokesperson for Romantic philosophy, as the first professional Indologist. Even the most influential of German philosophers, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), incorporated his perception of Indian religion and philosophy into his understanding of world history. For Hegel, India was the cradle of civilization, but he saw the progress of civilization as moving from the East in ancient India to the West in contemporary Europe.

Interestingly, the term Hinduism did not enter the common parlance of Europe until the nineteenth century. Friedrich Max Muller (1823–1900), an Oxford professor, translated a six-volume edition of the *Rig Veda*, an important Indian text, whereas another Oxford professor, Sir Monier Monier-Williams (1819–1899), wrote the book *Hinduism* in 1877 for a series entitled *Non-Christian Religious Systems*. Afterward, a large portion of Europeans began to regard Hinduism on par with the other world religions of Buddhism, Judaism, and Confucianism. Yet, according to Monier-Williams, most Indians did not recognize Hinduism as their religious system. It was not until the creation of Pakistan and the independence of India in the 1940s that Indians started to consider themselves Hindus on a massive scale.

By the 1620s, Antonio de Andrade (1580–1634), a Jesuit priest from Portugal, crossed the Himalayan Mountains north of India and entered into Tibet. Yet instead of recognizing Tibetan religion as a form of Buddhism, Andrade tended to notice similarities between Tibetan religion and Catholicism, such as the idea of the Trinity, the sacraments of baptism and confession, and the performance of exorcisms. He turned his observations into a book, which was soon translated into Spanish, Italian, French, German, Flemish, and Polish. The Italian Jesuit Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733) followed Andrade a century later in what he described as the false sect of the highly curious religion observed in Tibet. He considered it his responsibility to study the religion of Tibet in order to logically refute their claims and convert them to Catholicism. Protestant observers, and

particularly the British, also recognized similarities between Roman Catholicism and traditional Tibetan religion. However, whereas Catholics looked with favor on these findings, Protestants meant for such features to prove their illegitimacy. British explorers, in particular, likened the Dalai Lama to the pope, the city of Lhasa to Rome, Tibetan monasteries to Catholic monasteries, and Tibetan rituals to the Catholic mass. Non-Catholic observers, in addition to the negative associations with Catholicism, also perceived of some components of Tibetan religion with favor, including its social organization, diplomatic acumen, and rationality.

The Western attraction to Hindu and Buddhist traditions has resulted in any number of novel manifestations throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862), the famous American transcendentalist, brought the *Bhagavad Gita* with him on his now-famous stay at Walden Pond, which inspired the words, "The pure Walden water is mingled with the sacred water of the Ganges." The public notoriety of Hinduism reached a pinnacle during the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago. Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), a Hindu mystic, became an international celebrity after he spoke on several occasions before the parliament about the commonalities and discrepancies between Christianity and Hinduism. In an illuminating statement, Vivekananda admitted that it was difficult for an Indian representative to request humanitarian assistance from Christians because of the Christian interpretation of Hinduism as heathenism. In a similar fashion, the fourteenth Dalai Lama (b. 1935) of Tibet has captured the attention of many Westerners. The exiled Buddhist leader has redefined the Western perception of Tibetan Buddhism, mixing mysticism and contemplative practices with political interests and nationalism. *Free Tibet* bumper stickers and popular publications such as the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* have contributed to Western perceptions of Buddhism in both North America and Europe.

To the east of India and Tibet, in what is now referred to as Southeast Asia, the religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam form one of the most religiously diverse regions in the world. In 1511 Portuguese explorers attacked the port of Malacca in an effort to disrupt Muslim traders. Dutch, British, French, and Spanish expeditions followed soon thereafter, making contact with the peoples of Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. The Spanish capture of Manila in 1571 allowed for an extensive Western assessment of traditional religion and the large-scale conversion of the Filipino population to Roman Catholicism. Countries such as Thailand, Burma, and Cambodia remained Buddhist countries despite the best efforts of British missionaries and colonists. Portuguese Catholics and Dutch protestants encountered the syncretic religious cultures of Java and Bali during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The resilience of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and traditional Indonesian religions made it difficult for Western missionaries intent upon the conversion of the island peoples. And even where Protestant missions were somewhat successful, in places such as the Molucca Islands of the late twentieth century, religious violence often developed between Muslims and Christians.

During the 1950s, over four centuries after the European colonization of Southeast Asia, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (b. 1926) performed extensive research on the traditional religions of Indonesia, and particularly the religious beliefs and practices of Java and Bali. His perception of traditional religions lacked the missionary zeal of the past, relying instead on an emerging body of work in the sociological, psychological, and anthropological study of religion. Geertz, like his academic predecessors Max Weber (1864–1920), Emile Durkheim (1857–1917), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), and Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), looked to traditional religions in Africa, India, and Southeast Asia for insight into the origins and patterns of religions worldwide and throughout history. Geertz defined religion as a cultural system based on rituals and symbols that gave meaning to life for its participants. He did not ask questions of value, legitimacy, or truth when examining religious traditions of Southeast Asia. Instead, at least ideally, he attempted to interpret traditional religious systems on their own terms and in their own settings, all the while admitting that the process of interpretation always reveals just as much about the observer as the observed.

SEE ALSO *London Missionary Society; Missionaries, Christian, Africa; Religion, Roman Catholic Church; Religion, Western Perceptions of World Religions; Religion, Western Presence in Africa; Religion, Western Presence in East Asia; Religion, Western Presence in Southeast Asia; Religion, Western Presence in the Pacific.*

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Michael Pasquier

RELIGION, WESTERN PERCEPTIONS OF WORLD RELIGIONS

As one names the various religious traditions now grouped under the rubric *World Religions*—Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Jainism, Sikhism, Shinto, Confucianism, Zoroastrianism—it is important to note from the outset two very significant points. First, the category of "world religions" is itself a historical phenomenon, emerging through specific forms of academic and popular discourse in the nineteenth century. Human beings have not always named religions in this way, nor understood in the same way which human practices or beliefs should be described as "religious." Second, such a list of "world religions" by no means names the full range of religions around the globe. Those so named have become, through complex historical and ideological transformations, the "great religions of the world" that were thought to have grown out of more "primitive" religious practices such as shamanism, totemism, ancestor worship, or other practices more

commonly associated with "indigenous religions." Yet what makes one religion "great" and another "primitive" is not intrinsic to the religious practices or beliefs themselves. Rather, such designations are a reflection of the intellectual and cultural habits of an emerging "human science" of religious studies, which undertook the ordering and ranking of different religions in the world in a way that met the intellectual and social needs of Europeans preoccupied with managing a rapidly expanding colonial enterprise.

Indeed, the category of "world religions" emerged in part from that colonial experience. Like other intellectual practices developed by Europeans in the nineteenth century that sought to describe "religion" as an essential and qualitatively human experience with many diverse facets, faces, and practices around the globe, the study of World Religions was not itself an explicitly colonialist project, but it nevertheless participated in an ordering of the world that corresponded to rapidly expanding colonial ambitions and the needs of a new elite colonial administration. Certainly, some knowledge of the religious worlds in which colonial peoples lived—and of how their religious beliefs affected and shaped their political and social lives—was important to effectively governing such places as India during the time of the British *raj*. Civil servants faced with the diverse religious contexts found in the Middle East, India, Africa, and Latin America ranked high among those for whom the new science of religions was developed. In recent decades, this interaction between an emergent science of religion and the needs of a new elite colonial administration has become one of the focal points of the postcolonial critique of religious studies.

The emerging science of religious studies, as with other human sciences, required the accumulation of an immense body of knowledge concerning human practices, beliefs, and histories in diverse contexts around the world—but it was not as if the acquisition of this knowledge had to start from scratch. After all, Europeans had long encountered other religions, and it was in part from the history of these encounters that knowledge of non-European societies was made available to nineteenth-century theorists of religion. The data on which the new science of religious studies relied was found in the accumulated accounts of religious practices, beliefs, and histories written primarily by missionaries, adventurers, and later colonial administrators themselves. However, also like the other human sciences, the emergent discipline of religious studies sought to shape and transform such data on the basis of contemporary philosophical, theological, and scientific models. The goal was to make such enquiries into human customs and practices truly "scientific" in ways analogous to the transformation of the study of various natural phenomena into

the "natural sciences" of geography, geology, or zoology. But how did one find the "truth of religion" (rather than "the true religion") in such an array of "unscientific" and hardly disinterested accounts?

RELIGION BEFORE "WORLD RELIGIONS"

Postcolonial critics of the disciplinary presumptions of religious studies often argue that the very term *religion* is also a nineteenth-century phenomenon and derived from within the history of Christian thought itself, rendering problematic at best the use of the word to describe other forms of thought, practice, and ritual performance outside the Christian West. Yet it is also the case that religious studies inherited and subsequently transformed terms and models dating from the European Renaissance, which have their roots in a history of European interaction with non-European "others" that stretches back to late antiquity.

Renaissance humanists became outspoken advocates of the study of history, culture, and language (*studia humanitatis*), over and against the modes of theological and philosophical thinking that had dominated the Middle Ages. It was through their influence that Classical vocabularies and models for describing human practices as "religious" were recuperated and applied to contemporary cultures. It was also during those same centuries that both the largest expansion of the Christian missionary enterprise and the largest geographical expansion of European colonial projects took shape, providing ample opportunity to encounter and describe human practices.

The terms invoked to describe these practices were not originally Christian, but derived from Roman usage. The Latin language possessed no single word for "religion" as a set of beliefs, practices, and ritual performances, but it did rely on several terms to describe human practices now collapsed under the term *religion*. The cognate *religio* described not beliefs or practices *per se*, but rather one's orientation toward duties, ritual observances, and public rites—hence a "religious" person performed his or her obligations faithfully and was considered trustworthy. Classical and Renaissance writers contrasted this with the term *superstitio*, literally "in terror of the gods," which was applied to the performance of rites and rituals out of fear and as an attempt to manipulate the gods to do what one needed or wished. Renaissance writers often preferred the term *cultus* to describe the object or form of those rites and rituals themselves, and used the language of *mores* (customs and habits) to describe other aspects of belief and social practice. Therefore, to speak of "true religion," as some Renaissance writers argued, was not to describe a belief system but to speak of properly carrying out one's duties,

cultic practices, and obligations toward the gods. The application of these terms to the non-Christian practices of newly discovered peoples in the Americas, Africa, and Asia became possible in part out of the recognition that the terms were themselves pre-Christian and had already been adapted and put to multiple uses.

Such moments of adaptation and cultural transformation were nothing new to Christianity: as Renaissance writers argued, it was in late antiquity that the "pagan" religions of the Greco-Roman and Persian worlds were directly challenged by the rise of Christianity and Christianity emerged from its own conflicted history with Judaism. Classical understandings of the interaction of human beings with the world of the gods, Classical ritual practices, and debates over the nature of oracles and prophecies were now confronted with new exclusionary categories and the particularity of Christian claims. After the conversion to Christianity of the Roman emperor Constantine in the fourth century, Christians increasingly held positions of political and intellectual privilege, and new forms of imperial authority were instituted to ensure the suppression of pagan religious practices deemed idolatrous or heretical. Furthermore, in the early Middle Ages the combined impacts of the Christianization of the Roman Empire, early missionary movements in places as distant as Britain and Scandinavia, and resistance to Islamic expansion into North Africa and Spain coalesced to create a Europe distinct from the old borders of the Roman Empire. The "reconquest" of Spain that ended in 1492 with the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from the Iberian mainland—and Turkish threats to Christian kingdoms in Austria—furthered the identification of Christendom (as a matrix of religious, political, and social structures) with a new European consciousness. Latin Christianity achieved hegemonic cultural status, and the precepts and norms accompanying it were encoded in civil laws.

Although rich moments of interreligious encounter and dialogue did exist on the frontiers of Christendom in the Middle Ages, the European identity emerging in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tended to reinforce the privileged position of Christianity as a constituent of that identity. As a consequence, European approaches to the problem of religion were forcefully shaped by encounters in which "others"—like Jews and Muslims—were considered guilty of *invincible ignorance*; that is, inexcusable, willful, and irreparable rejection of religious truth given their presumed knowledge of Christianity. This orientation toward Jews and Muslims was to be sharply contrasted with the attitude taken toward the indigenous peoples of the Americas or the Chinese, Indians, and Japanese, who were thought to be guilty of *evincible ignorance*—unknowing and hence reparable rejection of Christian truth. The legal distinction between *evincible*

and *invincible* ignorance—formed in part to respond to problems posed by the Crusades and the treatment of Jews in parts of Europe—divided the world into Christians, Jews, Muslims, and *evincible* "others." Borrowing from their Greek heritage the term for non–Greek speakers, Europeans named those others *barbarians*. Although the term may have often been pejorative, it was not necessarily so—and it was at times invoked by those who favored better treatment of others, because "barbarians" were nonculpably ignorant and thus not subject to the legal or religious strictures applied to those guilty of willful rejection of Christian truth.

The complex mix of intellectual exchange, polemic, and politics that shaped Christian encounters with Judaism, Islam, and "others" shaped certain categories for understanding religion that would remain remarkably resilient in European thought until the nineteenth century. Among the most potent of early Christian claims was that Christian truths served to "fulfill" the promises or intentions of other religions. Hence, the life of Jesus was said to have "fulfilled" both the promises of God to the people of Israel and the intent of the Mosaic Law as understood by Judaism, thus rendering Jewish understandings to be imperfect in their originary form and now antiquated by the revelation of God in Christ. Christian writers such as St. Augustine of Hippo would extend that framework and write that Roman religious practices were also "shadows" of which Christ was the fulfillment, and were idolatrous by virtue of misdirecting the human drive for worship to "false gods" now that the "one and true God" had been revealed in Christ. Hence modes of thinking emerged that posited "true religion" as the implicit goal of all religions, and that rendered other religious practices outmoded, incomplete, or imperfect expressions of one essential religion. In this way the conception of "sacred history" as the processual narration of God's self-revelation—first in the people of Israel and then in Christ and the Church—often provided the basis for analogous narration of the history of other religions yet to be fulfilled in Christ.

RELIGION AND COLONIALISM IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The first religions to be described as such by Europeans were thus not conceived of as "World Religions" in the contemporary sense of the term: Judaism and Islam were seen as recalcitrant, and the newly encountered indigenous religions of the Americas were thought of as *evincible*. Furthermore, early modern discourses on religion were shaped by the most expansive phase of the European colonial enterprise that began in the fifteenth century with Spanish and Portuguese exploration in Africa and culminated with the conquest of the Americas by the

Spanish Empire. By the end of the sixteenth century, as the rapidly growing Christian missionary enterprise took shape around the globe alongside rapidly expanding European colonial interests, Europeans would begin to describe the religious worlds of Japan, China, and India. Although Christianity arrived in the Americas as part of the Spanish practices of "pacification, evangelization, and colonization," Christian missionaries, particularly in Mexico and Peru, began to learn indigenous languages and produced tomes full of detailed ethnographic descriptions of beliefs and ritual practices. The writings of Bernardino de Sahagun in Mexico and José de Acosta in Peru, deeply shaped by Renaissance humanism, formed the basis for what some contemporary historians refer to as *comparative ethnography*. Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* offers a naturalizing and developmentalist account of indigenous American *religio* that would be read by many nineteenth-century scholars of religion. Yet the ways in which Christian orientations informed the very basis of such accounts, and shaped their description of indigenous practices—seen as everything from innocent or benign to idolatrous and even demonic—demonstrate the extent to which the history of Christian thought about the "other" would reflect and shape histories of non-European customs, beliefs, and practices. Christian writers, adopting and shaping the model of "fulfillment" developed by Augustine, would often find indigenous religions to be precursors to Christianity; on other occasions, documentation of the practices of indigenous religions allowed for a more thorough "extirpation of idolatry" from the American religious landscape.

However, in areas not subject to Spanish or Portuguese colonial control, a different kind of encounter with non-Christian religions developed. Jesuit missionaries such as Alessandro Valignano sought to enter Japan as "wise men from the West," albeit, in the case of Valignano, dressed as a Buddhist and speaking Japanese. This strategy would be most successful with another Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, who adopted Confucian dress and customs after entering China from the Portuguese garrison of Macao. Roberto de Nobili lived in India as a Brahmin and learned Sanskrit from gurus, and Alexander de Rhodes lived in what is now modern-day Vietnam conversant with Buddhists. In those contexts, missionaries often studied Hindu, Buddhist, or Confucian doctrines, histories, and rites under the direction of practitioners, sought to introduce Christian teachings as sympathetic to aspects of those religions, and intervened in internal debates. The writings of these missionaries were among the primary vehicles for introducing Europeans to Asian religious thought, as evidenced in particular by the seventeenth-century fascination of European *philosophes* with China. The

comparatively positive approach to these other religions evidenced by the Jesuits in Asia may account in part for the early inclusion of Asian religions in the category of World Religions. In contrast, study of the indigenous religions of the Americas continued to be shaped by revulsion at the practices of human sacrifice, and the highly developed Aztec and Inca religious worlds were collapsed within the category of shamanic and natural religions.

WORLD RELIGIONS AND COLONIALISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The emergent human science of the study of religion took as its evidentiary base the mass of documentation about human customs, practices, and rituals provided in part by missionaries, travelers, and colonial administrators from previous generations. To this was added the new experiences of missionaries, travelers, and colonial agents in the early nineteenth century. However, what began to shift was not the nature of data, but the mode of interpretation. The problem for Europeans now, after the catastrophic loss of religious authority following the collapse of a unified Christendom in the years of the Reformation and subsequent wars of religion, was not to find in other religions imperfect forms of Christian revelation, but something more ostensibly universal. Religious particularity, Christian or otherwise, appeared to be yet another occasion for war, and dependence upon religious authority was seen—especially by philosophers like Immanuel Kant—as a form of intellectual immaturity that must be cast off with vigor. Kant framed in particularly potent ways the search for a new "cosmopolitan history" of humankind in the wake of the apparently irreconcilable cultural and historical differences among human beings, and argued that it was only the universality of reason that could transcend the differences of human particularity. From this argument flowed his assertion that religion achieved its highest level of development when casting off the culturally embedded history of language, forms of authority, and ritual practices—and that "religion within the limits of reason alone" would be realized only by finding universalizable ethical norms within the teachings of all religions. Theorists of Indian religions, such as the Sanskrit scholar Max Müller, would remain highly indebted to Kant's philosophical framework.

In Kant's philosophical reflections on history and religion, the old genre of "sacred history" began to give way to other forms of universality, and religion itself became something to be "fulfilled" not by universal revelation in Christ, but by universal reason embodied in the ethical life. Sympathetic critics of Kant, wishing to preserve aspects of human religiosity against excessive rationalization, insisted on the primacy of interior religious experience as a transformative moment that fulfilled the intent of external religious practices, and gave the ethical life an added experiential dimension. Hence, rites and rituals no longer were the primary referents for discussing human religiosity, but came to be seen as those things that hindered the realization of a true universal religion. Once there was a decreasing emphasis on rites, rituals, and structures of religious authority—along with increasing rationalization and an emphasis on ethical teaching and private religious experience—it was possible to speak of a common and essential core of all religiosity. These shifts would later allow Emile Durkheim to argue that religion was simply a primitive form of the modern institutions of law, science, and political life.

The search for the ethical teachings of religions and for transcendent religious experience was enabled by the hierarchical classification of religions into "lower" and "higher" forms according to the extent to which they could be freed from "externalities" such as ritual observances and forms of religious authority. Forms of developmental progression were certainly central to the older genre of sacred history, but the fulfillment now represented was to be realized in the ethical teachings of all developed religions and in private religious experience itself rather than in one particular "true religion." That passage from lower to higher religious forms could be expressed in evolutionary terms that were later made analogous to the passing of a species from less-developed to more-developed biological forms. The search for the common source of all religions, not unlike the search for common ancestral life forms that preceded all species differentiation, led to the creation of the elaborate diagrams, charts, and genealogical accounts of religions springing from one another that proved ubiquitous in literature on the newly categorized "great religions of the world." Only when categorized and organized in this way could the various World Religions be presumed to all share the essential defining characteristics of religion: identifiable *traditions*, canons of sacred *texts*, and sets of ethical *teachings*, all of which can be taught comparatively, and in each of which one may find the genuinely universal truth of human religious experience.

THE POSTCOLONIAL CRITIQUE OF WORLD RELIGION

Although the shift from religious particularity to universal ethics and experience has allowed many scholars of religion to remain committed to the idea of World Religions as a genuine celebration of religious plurality, critics writing in the wake of the collapse of the European colonial projects in the twentieth century have taken a dimmer view less amenable to Western culture's

celebrations of its own great accomplishments. Rather than seeing the study of World Religions as leading to the triumph of religious diversity, these critics point to the imposition—more insidious than in the past because more hidden from view—of Christian categories of interpretation on the diverse human cultures of the world. In their view, the developmentalist and evolutionary models upon which religious studies was built privileged highly rationalized forms of Protestant Christianity as the model through which other religions were to be interpreted. And, critics charged the discipline of religious studies with providing an indispensable service to colonial regimes—the rationalization of religions, thereby meeting the needs of an increasingly rationalized colonial bureaucracy. In the wake of that critique, many contemporary religious studies scholars remain committed to the "human science" approach, but are seeking new and less universalistic idioms to describe the various cultural and social practices of the world subsumed under the term *religion*.

SEE ALSO *Christianity and Colonial Expansion in the Americas; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions.*

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Patrick Provost-Smith

RELIGION, WESTERN PRESENCE IN AFRICA

The earliest contact between Western religious presence and Africa occurred when various European nations, including Punics, Greeks, and Italians, colonized the northern regions, the Maghrib. Africa served as their breadbasket. Cultural and religious flows linked this region to the Roman Empire, whose intellectual centers included Alexandria. Europe was pagan at this time. The nationalist Donatists contested foreign religious domination, while Circumcellions displayed the resentment of indigenous peoples against exploitative agricultural merchants.

HISTORY

Egyptian religions dovetailed with Roman mystery cults to produce a variety of enduring religious traditions. In the seventh century C.E., Islamic bands disrupted the Christian presence and constructed a cultural and religious heritage that overwhelmed the Maghrib. Various Muslim dynasties consolidated Islamic influence and attacked Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Iberian peninsula. Ethiopia survived and Iberians initiated the *reconquista* crusades of the fifteenth century after the military failures of the crusades.

The search for a sea route to circumvent the Muslim monopoly of the spice and gold trades brought Africa into contact with the West. But the Portuguese occupied islands and coastal strips, trading for gold, pepper, and
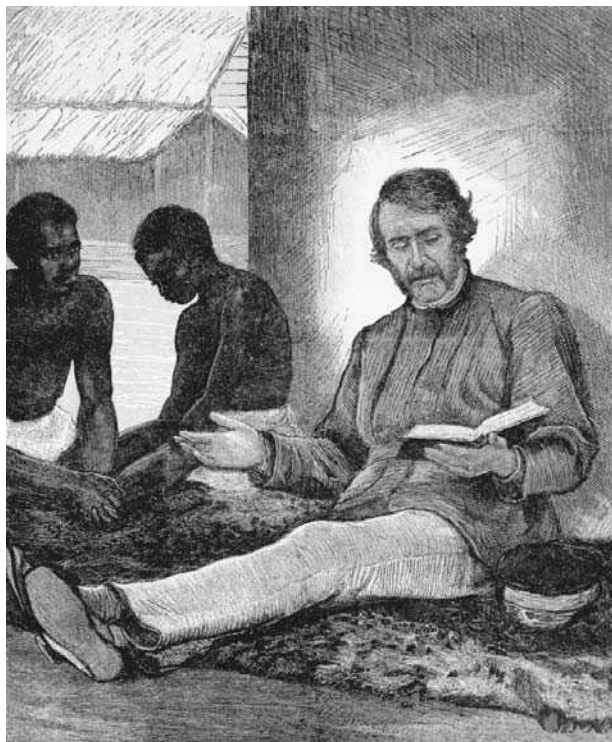
Livingstone Reads the Bible. *British explorer and missionary David Livingstone, who was sent to Africa in the mid-1800s by the London Missionary Society, reads the Bible to African natives.* © MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

slaves from their *feitoras* (forts) and avoided the full cultural clash. The lucrative trade attracted other European countries into Africa specifically for commerce and the glory of their nations. Mercantalism as a nascent form of capitalism overawed the subterfuge of missionary enterprise. Only in the Kongo-Soyo kingdoms did they penetrate inland to establish an ornamental Christianity based on court alliance. Popular religion represented by Beatrice Vita Kimpa, who claimed to be possessed by St. Anthony, and her *ngunza* (divinatory) cult predominated.

Gold trade declined as the pull of the Atlantic slave trade shifted the pattern of Western presence in the seventeenth century. African middlemen, colluding with Europeans, prosecuted internal wars and increased the appetite for gin and manufactured goods that served as the medium of exchange. In the ensuing rivalry, the Danes, Dutch, French, and English established more than twenty-one forts in West Africa, displaced the Iberians, and enlarged the scale of Western presence by the eighteenth century. Christianity survived mainly in the forts until the nineteenth century when the combination of abolitionism, evangelical revival, and imperialism

reshaped the scale and nature of Western presence: administrative officers, missionaries, commercial companies, educationists—surged with the intention to establish Western administrative and judiciary structures, a new economy, and Western civilization—mediated through Christianity.

Negative attitudes toward African political structures, religions, cultures, and worldview intensified after 1885 when European nationalist rivalry led to the partition of Africa. Armchair theorists provided the intellectual arsenal; enlightenment worldview supported new technologies, values, and ideas. Western presence created fundamental shifts as conquests and colonization destroyed autonomous African development. Colonialism was a process, an ensemble of institutional mechanisms created to protect European interests with violence, and a culture that regulated the material and mental lives of victims. Christianity domesticated colonial values through translation of the Bible into vernacular, education, and charitable institutions.

THE AFRICAN WORLDVIEW

The end of colonialism started in the 1960s but its impact endured, especially the attack on indigenous African worldviews. African cultures vary widely but possess a recognizable structure of a worldview. Africans share a cyclical perception of time and a three-dimensional perception of space. Time is measured as events, *kairos*. Life moves from birth through death to a reincarnation or return. Rites of passage celebrate each phase: naming, puberty, membership in secret societies for youths in age grades, participation in adult roles, membership in adult secret societies, death, first and second burial rites, journey through the ancestral world and back to the human world. The world is divided into the sky inhabited by the Supreme Being and powerful deities (thunder, moon, lightning). The earth is divided into land and water. The Earth Mother controls various spirits: nature (rocks, trees, hills, caves), human, evil, and professional/guardian spirits. In the water, marine spirits rule.

According to the African worldview, the ancestral world is a mirror of the human world; spirits continuously cross the frontiers. Human spirits become ancestral depending on how they lived and died: Those who died with strange diseases, were struck down by lightning, or committed suicide are punished for wickedness and may not reincarnate. They become malevolent spirits that haunt farm roads. Families honor the dead with proper rituals because they are "living-dead" who protect their families. Ancestors are feared because offending them brings bad luck and punishment. It is a charismatic, precarious worldview sustained by religious values,

Christian Mission, French Equatorial Africa, Early 1900s. *Christianity domesticated European colonial values in Africa through education, translation of the Bible into vernacular languages, and charitable institutions such as this mission in French Equatorial Africa.* © 2005 ROGER-VIOLLET/TOPHAM/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

rituals, and sacrifices that afford the powers of the benevolent gods for warding off the malevolent ones and witchcraft.

Festivals follow the agricultural cycle to turn daily human life into sacred activities and renew covenants with the gods of the fathers. Salient environmental ethics emanate from a sacred perception of land and a holistic world. Salvation has immediacy, solid, and material context: people seek for healing, security, protection, fertility, wealth, and harmony with other human beings and world of nature. Religion serves to explain, predict, and control space–time events. Spirits cause events and reshape life trajectories because what is seen is made of things not seen.

Enlightenment worldview essayed to destroy African cultures and their unique worldview and installed new scientific religions like Rosicrucianism, Freemasonry, and Eckanakar. Cultural transplantation ignored the fact that the biblical worldview that shaped Western imagination resonates prominently with African worldviews: Though the biblical worldview perceives time (*kronos*) as linear, measured in the abstract, it recognizes kairotic time and a three-dimensional space. It is charismatic because supernatural forces control and imbue human social and political realities with moral quality. Its rituals, prohibitions, symbols, the power attributed to blood, word, and name (*onomata*), resonate in African worldviews and provide pathways for inculturation.

In culture contact, receivers are hardly passive; they exercise agency, and appropriate through selection and reconstruction. In the twentieth century, Christianity grew massively in Africa by providing answers to questions raised in the indigenous worldviews. Local identities contested global processes because the broken indigenous worldviews had questions that the enlightenment worldview could not answer.

In the twenty-first century indigenous religions remain resilient; but emergent religions proliferate because Africans seek religions that would better perform the

functions of the old religions. Africans seek religious structures that are based on a wealth of indigenous knowledge.

SEE ALSO *Missionaries, Christian, Africa; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions; Slave Trade, Atlantic.*

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Ogbu Kalu

RELIGION, WESTERN PRESENCE IN EAST ASIA

Prior to 1450, Christian missionaries from the west (Nestorians in the seventh century and Franciscans in the thirteenth century) had failed to establish an enduring presence in East Asia. After 1450, the currents of global history generated a continual flow of missionaries to East Asia, where they planted the seeds for a religious presence that has continued to the present day.

The greatest receptivity was initially found in Japan, where Francis Xavier (1506–1552) arrived in 1549 in the wake of Portuguese traders who introduced firearms to Japan. Initially, Christianity was enthusiastically received along with a Japanese craze for Portuguese things; by 1600 there were 300,000 Christians and by 1615 possibly 500,000. However, the victory of the Tokugawa shogunate after a long period of feudal chaos was tenuous and made the Tokugawa fearful of foreigners as a subversive force. This led to a persecution of European missionaries and Japanese converts that intensified until the Portuguese traders and missionaries were expelled in 1639 and replaced by Dutch Calvinist traders who did not engage in proselytizing. The anti-Christian campaign and the Tokugawa's attempt to control foreign trade led to an exclusion policy that lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. Christianity was forced underground and thereafter was reduced to a tiny minority religion in Japanese history.

The Chinese initially were less enthusiastic about Christianity than were the Japanese. The syncretic culture of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) blended the three dominant religions of China (Buddhism, Confucianism,

and Daoism) into a unified whole that minimized their differences. Just as Buddhism had once been a foreign religion that was assimilated into Chinese culture by initially blending with Daoism, Christianity now underwent a similar process. With the assistance of eminent literati converts, the Jesuits realized that Confucianism was the most likely candidate for synthesis with Christianity. They believed Confucian moral teachings were compatible with Christianity and needed only to be supplemented with the truths of Christian revelation.

Missionaries became divided on the basis of nationalistic rivalries fostered by mercantilism. The early Portuguese monopoly *(padroado)* on shipping routes to the East enabled them to dominate the mission field prior to 1800. The Dutch and French began to make inroads on this monopoly in the seventeenth century.

Judaism also formed part of the Western religious presence in East Asia. In the seventeenth century, Jesuits encountered Chinese Jews whose ancestors had arrived in China during the Tang dynasty (618–1279) as part of the Diaspora, or dispersal of Jews from Jerusalem. In the nineteenth century, Shanghai became a growing magnet for Jews, beginning with the arrival of Iraqi Jews, followed by the arrival of Austrian and German Jews fleeing Nazi persecution during the late 1930s. While many Jews fled Shanghai after World War II, others were absorbed into the Chinese populace such that there are no identifiable Jews in China today.

Protestant missionaries (mainly from Great Britain and the United States) began entering East Asia after 1800 during the high tide of colonialism. Europeans and Americans used gunboat diplomacy to force the Japanese and Chinese to open their gates to trade. In a series of military defeats and unequal treaties beginning in 1842, Christian missionaries gained access to inland China. Both Protestants and Catholics proselytized a religious stew of Christianity and Western culture that most sophisticated Chinese found offensively alien. Consequently, most of the nineteenth-century converts in China were poor "rice bowl Christians" who sought baptism as much for the practical benefits offered by the well-funded missions as for spiritual salvation.

The message of the Protestants stimulated one of the most turbulent events in Chinese history. Gospel pamphlets distributed on the streets of Canton (present-day Guangzhou) evoked a mystical vision in a frustrated, poor examination candidate named Hong Xiuquan (1814–1864), who blended an incomplete knowledge of Christianity with peasant Chinese traditions and millennial Buddhism. Claiming in distinctively Chinese style that he was the younger brother of Jesus, Hong attracted thousands of destitute Chinese who followed their messiah's commands in what became known as the Taiping
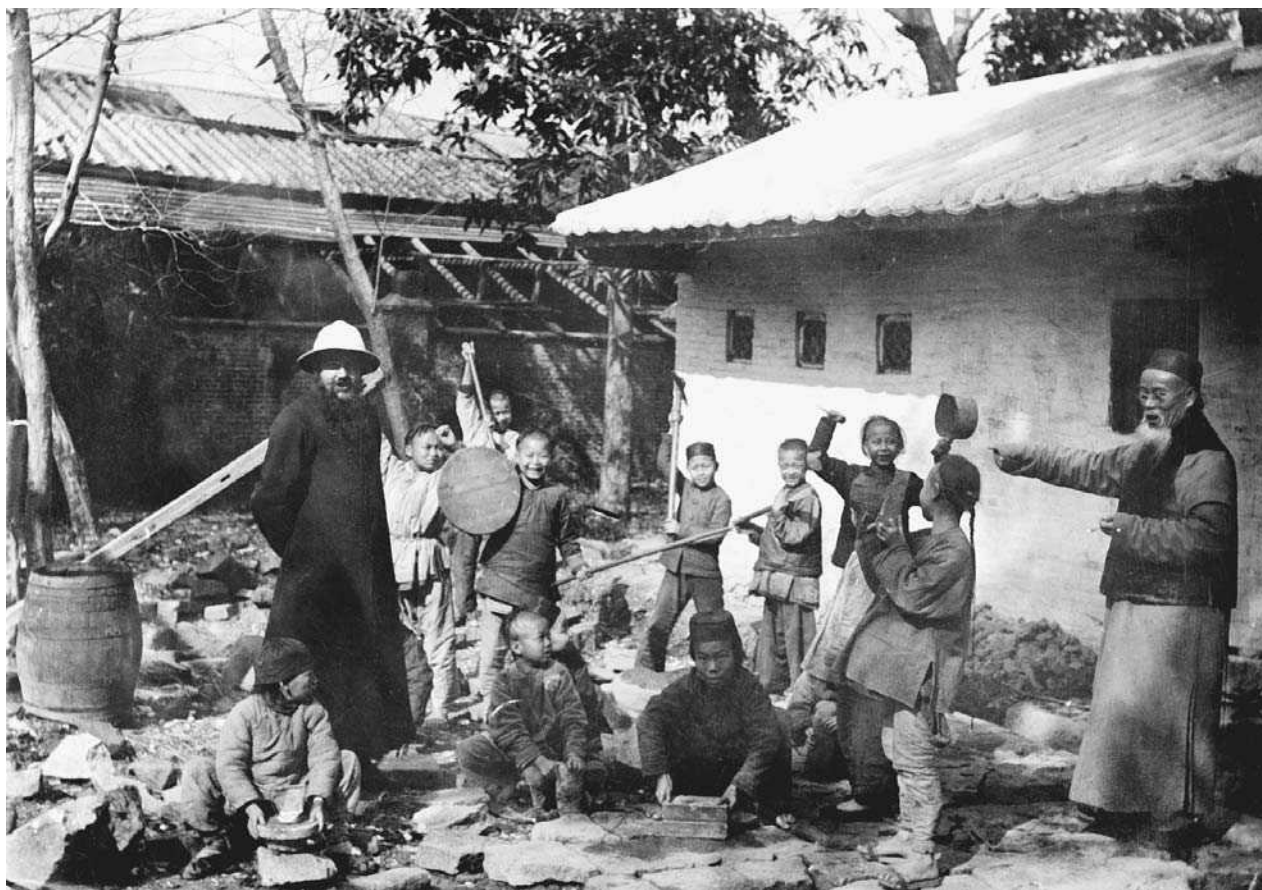
French Missionary School in China, 1911. *Chinese children play at a French missionary school in Mukden (Shenyang), the capital of Liaoning Province in northeastern China.* ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Rebellion. Had the Western powers not rejected Hong, he might have succeeded in toppling the Qing dynasty and replacing it with a theocratic "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace." By the time he died in 1864, the Taiping movement had caused the death of over twenty million Chinese.

By 1900, Christian missionaries were increasingly viewed in the Chinese countryside as foreign devils who should be driven out of China. This xenophobia blended with one of the indigenous traditions of Chinese peasant secret societies to produce the Boxer Rebellion. The Boxers claimed as part of their arsenal of martial arts the ability to render themselves impervious to bullets. Before this claim was disproved by a multinational military force, the Boxers killed many missionaries and Western businessmen in northern China and laid siege to the diplomatic quarters in Beijing.

The decline of traditional Chinese culture around 1900 fostered a new receptivity to Western religions among the youth of China, particularly in the coastal cities where the colonialist presence was greatest. Enthusiastic young Christians from the West flocked to China in the name of an interdenominational and international movement called the Social Gospel that focused on education and social work rather than saving souls. Capitalism was criticized, and religion was said to be compatible with science. However, World War I demonstrated the superficiality of this movement. The cynical treatment of China in the Versailles peace negotiations in Paris in 1919 provoked disillusionment with the Western democracies among Chinese youth, giving birth to the anti-Christian May Fourth Movement.

China attempted to break free of colonialist forces by reshaping Christianity on more indigenous grounds. The Chinese attempted to free themselves of Western denominational differences by merging sixteen different missionary-fostered Protestant churches in 1927. One of the most creative Chinese movements was an expression of indigenous Chinese evangelicalism led by Ni Duosheng (Watchman Nee, 1902–1972). While Ni

was reacting against the Western Social Gospel, he was deeply influenced by Margaret Barber (1866–1930), a missionary associated with the Brethren movement of England, which emphasized adult baptism. Ni believed in the principle of local churches, hence the name by which his movement became known, Little Flock, which represented an indigenous Chinese revivalism.

After the Communists took control of China in 1949, they expelled the foreign missionaries, who were seen as tools of colonialism, and they forced Chinese Christians to break off relations with foreign religious bodies. The government forced all Chinese Protestants into the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (self-management, self-support, and self-propagation), which was postdenominational. Catholics were forced into the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association. The members of these government-supervised organizations became targets during the anti-Christian campaigns run by the radical leftist government of Mao Zedong (1893–1976). In order to avoid government control and persecution, many Chinese chose to join underground religious organizations. With the Protestants, these took the form of "house churches," which met informally in private homes. With the Catholics, this took the form of an underground hierarchy of priests and bishops who refused to relinquish their apostolic relationship with Rome.

The Western notion of religious liberty has encountered difficulty in Chinese culture because of the lack of a tradition of separation of church and state. One of the major postcolonial legacies in East Asia stems from the fear among China's leaders that international efforts to secure religious freedom in China are disguised attempts to subvert the government of China.

SEE ALSO *Missions, China; Missions, in the Pacific; Religion, Roman Catholic Church; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions; Religion, Western Perceptions of World Religions; Religion, Western Presence in the Pacific.*

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D. E. Mungello

RELIGION, WESTERN PRESENCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The religious mosaic of modern Southeast Asia shows a unique pattern; the mainland has been dominated by Theravada Buddhism, the Malay Archipelago by Islam, and the Philippines by Catholicism. The island of Bali has maintained a Hindu identity, and Vietnam a blend of Confucianism and Mahayana Buddhism. The coming of the European colonial powers to Southeast Asia after the sixteenth century paved the way for the spread of Christianity in the region, as can be seen in Table 1.

Some parts of Southeast Asia were referred to in early Western literature as *Chryse,* that is, the Golden Island or the Golden Chersonese. Suggestions have been made that two early Christian sects, the Nestorians and Syriacs, might have established communities in Java and Sumatra (Indonesia) as early as the seventh century. Indeed, Southeast Asian ports became stopping stations for Europeans who were heading to or from the Yuan court (1279–1368) in Beijing, China. But it was only after 1497 that regular communication between the West and Southeast Asia became possible, and the work of evangelization of the region could begin in earnest.

Christianity was first introduced successfully to Southeast Asia by Iberian (Portuguese and Spanish) missionaries and colonists. After having secured their position in Malacca (Malaysia) in 1511, the Portuguese began spreading Catholicism in the region. They and the Spanish contributed significantly to establishing Catholicism in Maluku (the Moluccas) and eastern parts of Nusa Tenggara (Timor and Flores) in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Tonkin and Annam in Vietnam.

The Portuguese mostly directed their missionary activities toward people who had not been brought under Buddhist or Islamic influence. In Maluku, the Portuguese concentration on making Ambon their center resulted in steady conversion and a support base for their trading and political competition with the Muslim rulers of Ternate. Interestingly, after a fifteen-month stay (1546–1547) in Maluku, the Spanish Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier (1506–1552) remained unimpressed by the development of Catholicism in the area, and left for China.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese brought Roman Catholicism beyond Maluku to East Nusa Tenggara, and the extreme north of Maluku was missionized by Spaniards from Manila. In
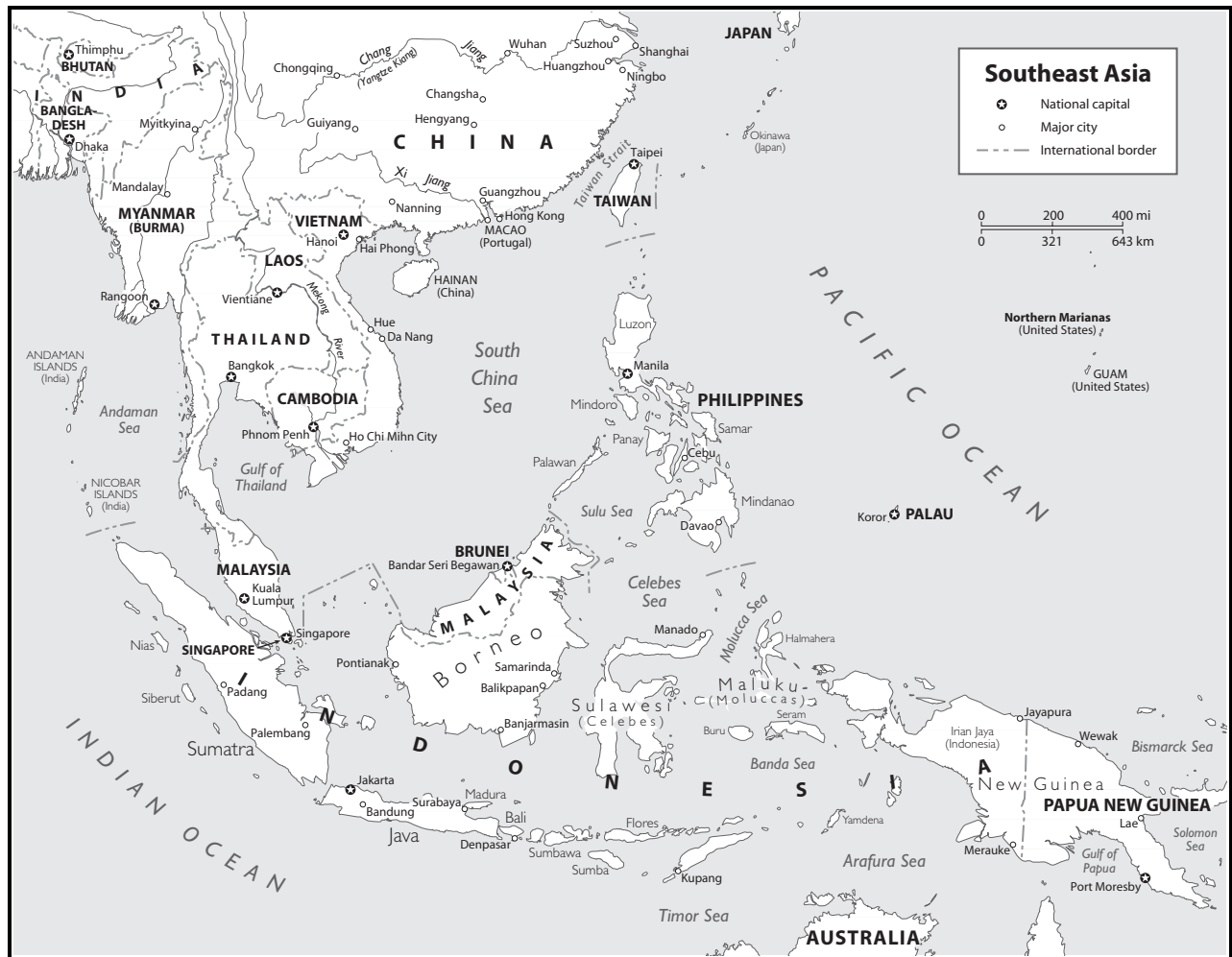
East Timor and Flores, the Portuguese successfully maintained themselves and their religion vis-à-vis the Dutch after 1605. Indeed, Catholicism in East Timor survived and even prospered under Portuguese rule. Some argue that the Indonesian occupation of East Timor from 1975 to 1999 made Catholicism in the region even stronger (see Table 1).

A more successful evangelism was led by the Spanish Catholic orders in the Philippines. The Spanish came to Southeast Asia with a concrete and feasible agenda of missionary activities: Manila served as the center for various Catholic orders to evangelize and plant the church in the country and other parts of Asia. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the entire country at least nominally was in the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, with the exception of the mountainous aborigines and the Muslims of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago.

INDONESIA

Christianity has had a long history in the islands of Southeast Asia. When the Dutch took the Portuguese fortress of Ambon in 1605, however, Catholic missionaries were forbidden to come to Maluku. The Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church was the only Christian church in the region during the time of the Dutch United East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC). Under the VOC, founded in 1602, Christianity made some advances in Maluku, northern Sulawesi, and eastern Nusa Tenggara. Protestantism also spread via the VOC-occupied port towns on Java's northern coast beginning in the eighteenth century. Christians were also found on a number of more remote islands as a result of Portuguese or Spanish missionary work or of Protestant activities. But these groups were more or less neglected.

Under the Dutch Reformed Church, the Protestant congregations were formally led by church councils in various towns, such as Ambon, Kupang, and Batavia (now Jakarta). The church council of Batavia acted as the central governing body. By 1795 there were about 55,000 Protestant Christians and a smaller number of Roman Catholics in the archipelago.

After the dissolution of the VOC in 1799, the Dutch permitted proselytizing in the territory, and various Protestant missions capitalized on this evangelical freedom. Active Protestant missions commenced principally among the non-Muslim ethnic groups. Waves of European missionary activity intensified from the beginning of the nineteenth century, especially by the Nederlandsch Zendelingsgenootschap (Netherlands Missionary Society), established in 1797.

Affiliates of the London Missionary Society began to engage in mission work in eastern Java in 1814. The German Rhenish Missionary Society worked from 1836 in South Borneo and from 1861 on Nias and among the Toba Bataks in northern Sumatra, where eventually the largest Indonesian Protestant Church, the Huria Kristen Batak Protestan, emerged. In 1820 Indonesia's various Protestant churches were brought under government supervision and united into a state-sponsored church, the Indies Church (Indische Kerk). From around 1900, this church began substantial missionary activities in Central Sulawesi, Maluku, and East Nusa Tenggara.

The earlier Nederlandsch Zendelingsgenootschap missionaries took care of the neglected Christian parishes in Java, and after 1830 they gradually reached neglected Christians in the outer regions, such as North Sulawesi and the Sangir Archipelago. Moreover, a number of new missionary bodies, informally linked with the Netherlands Reformed Church, were active in the Indies. They started work in West Papua (1855), North Sumatra (1857), the North Moluccas (1866), Central Sulawesi (1892), and South Sulawesi (1852/1913/1930). Southern Central Java and Sumba also became their mission field.

After World War I (1914–1918), the Basel Mission, a mission society founded in 1815 in Switzerland, took over missionary work in Kalimantan from the German Rhenish Missionary Society. These missions stressed the use of tribal languages instead of Malay, and aimed at individual conversion and sufficient Christian maturity. The Salvation Army came to Indonesia in 1894, the Seventh-Day Adventists in 1900, and the American Christian and Missionary Alliance in 1930. The Baptists reentered Indonesia in 1951 after they had abandoned their mission in the late nineteenth century. The Pentecostal movement was brought from Europe and the United States around 1920. In the twentieth century, the government allowed the Protestants to do missionary work in Sulawesi, the South Moluccas, and Timor.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, an independent Javanese Protestant community was founded in Central Java by Kiai Sadrach (d. 1924). Indigenous Protestant churches later conducted services in local languages. Protestantism was strongest in North Sumatra and in Maluku and Minahasa. But it was not until the 1930s that a number of autonomous churches emerged in various parts of Indonesia. Interestingly, it was the Japanese wartime occupation of Southeast Asia that gave local Christians the opportunity to assume prominent leadership positions and manage church affairs while the Europeans were interned or expelled. Most of these churches were later represented in the Indonesian Council of Churches.

The Dutch East India Company banned the promotion of Catholicism, and though formal freedom of religion was allowed with the fall of the company, many practical restrictions remained. The Catholic Church continued to be banned from certain regions, notably the Batak regions of northern Sumatra and the Toraja areas of Sulawesi, but from 1859 the church was allocated to Flores and Timor. Militarized Dominican friars claimed much of the islands of Flores and Timor for Portugal in the mid-sixteenth century, and they were the principal agents of Portuguese domination there until 1834, when the Portuguese government expelled them, following King Pedro IV's enunciation of an anticlerical policy in the same year.

Roman Catholic missions at first remained limited to the pastoral care of European Catholics. However, in time a number of societies were able to resume mission work, especially amongst the surviving congregations in Maluku, northern Sulawesi, Solor, Flores, and western Timor. The Roman Catholics concentrated their work in Flores (1860) and in Central Java (1894), but they also had important fields in North Sumatra (1878), West Kalimantan (1885), North Sulawesi (1868), Timor (1883), southeast Maluku (1888), and southern Papua (1905). From 1859 until 1902, all mission fields in Indonesia were served by the Jesuits, who established successful missions, schools, and hospitals throughout the islands of Flores, Timor, and Alor. After 1902, most areas were gradually handed over to other orders and congregations, and the Jesuits retained only the capital city of Batavia and Central Java.

Despite their small number, Catholics in Indonesia have been major players in modern sectors and professions. Their schools and publications also enjoyed fame and prestige among Indonesians.

Percentage of Christians in "Southeast Asia"

Country	Population	Percentage of all Christians	Catholics	Protestants and others
Brunei Darussalam	374,000	10.00%	7.55%	2.45%
Cambodia	14,071,000	0.28%	0.20%	0.08%
East Timor (Leste)	876,000	93.00%	90.00%	3.00%
Indonesia	222,781,000	8.92%	3.05%	5.87%
Lao P.D.R.	5,924,000	2.00%	0.70%	1.30%
Malaysia	25,347,000	9.10%	3.30%	5.80%
Myanmar (Burma)	50,519,000	4.00%	1.05%	2.95%
Papua New Guinea*	5,887,000	76.00%	32.00%	44.00%
The Philippines	83,054,000	92.00%	80.40%	11.60%
Singapore	4,326,000	15.00%	4.00%	11.00%
Thailand (Siam)	64,233,000	0.50%	0.44%	0.06%
Vietnam	84,238,000	8.00%	7.00%	1.00%
Total**	561,630,000	20.67%	14.97%	5.70%

Notes:
* Despite the fact that Papua New Guinea is part of the whole island of Papua or Irian, it is not normally included in the standard geography of SEA; nor is it a member of ASEAN.

**SOURCES: Nation Master Online 2003-2005; The Reformist Church Online; Catholic Missionary Union of England and Wales Online; International Religious Freedom Report 2004; UN Population Division.

Table 1 THE GALE GROUP.

BRUNEI, MALAYSIA, AND SINGAPORE

About 20 percent of Brunei's population is ethnic Chinese, of which half is Christian and half is Buddhist. There is also a large workforce composed mainly of expatriates that includes Muslims, Christians, and Hindus.

Despite early encounters with Christianity, the gospel did not take root in Brunei until the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1857, for example, a mission of the Milan Foreign Missions was started at Barambangan, across from Brunei Town (now called Bandar Seri Begawan). Italian Father D. Antonio Riva was put in charge of this mission for a few years (1855–1859). By this time, some members of the Chinese and indigenous communities in the interior were attracted to Christianity.

The period of the British residency (1905–1959) in Brunei paved the way for the coming of British officials and their families, followed by Indians and Chinese who had accepted Christianity. When the first Catholic priest began regularly visiting Brunei from the beginning of the twentieth century, a few Catholic families were already living there. Brunei was regarded as an outstation of Labuan (Malaysia) for Mill Hill missionaries who had worked in Labuan since 1881. By 1937 resident Catholic priests were appointed for Kuala Belait and Brunei Town. The old church in Brunei Town was rebuilt and named Saint George's Church in 1957. The Catholic Church opened schools for boys and girls in Kuala Belait in 1929. In 1997 Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) issued a decree for the establishment of the Prefecture Apostolic of Brunei.

From the beginning, the Anglican mission in Brunei fell under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Kuching, a port city in present-day Malaysia. Although an institution was created in 1848 to raise funds to support the first mission on the island of Borneo, it was only in 1854 that the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts became active in the region. The Borneo Mission Association was formed in 1909 to coordinate missionary activities in different parts of the island. The earliest Anglican parish in Brunei Town offered its services in a temporary shop building; only in 1934 was Saint Andrew's Church erected. This was followed in 1939 by the erection of Saint Philip's and Saint James's Church in Kuala Belait, mainly in response to the growing Christian population following the development of the oil industry in the area. Another church, Saint Margaret and All Hallows Church, was erected in Seria in 1954. Thus, in 2006 three Anglican parishes and several prestigious Christian schools prospered in Brunei Darussalam, which come under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Kuching.

In British Malaya (now part of Malaysia), the Christianizing effort remained largely confined to the British possessions of Melaka, Penang, and Singapore, where evangelical work among the Chinese migrant communities became an important part of the missionary enterprise. The Muslim populations of the Malay Peninsula proved unresponsive to Christian evangelism.

In East Malaysia and Brunei, the indigenous adhered to traditional beliefs, the Chinese were both Buddhist and Christian historically, and the Malays were Muslims. In Singapore in the first decade of the twenty-first century, 15 percent of the population claimed to be Christian.

The formation of Christian churches in North Borneo is closely connected with the immigration of Chinese in the late 1860s. The British Chartered Company entered North Borneo in 1878 and offered new homes to Chinese settlers who founded the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. The Basel Mission also began work there in 1882 that has continued into the twenty-first century.

Introduced by Portuguese colonists about 1511, the Roman Catholic Church was almost exclusively confined to Malacca until late in the eighteenth century. But the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1545 heralded a great era of expansion. He founded a school from which Roman Catholic missionaries eventually spread to Burma (Myanmar), Siam (Thailand), and the other parts of the archipelago.

The Vatican sent several Catholic missions to North Borneo as early as 1687. In 1881 the Vatican confided the mission of North Borneo and Labuan to the Society for Foreign Missions of Mill Hill, England. The society served two major stations in Labuan and Kuching, and supported the missionaries who regularly visited parishes throughout Sabah and Sarawak. Beginning with a tiny school at the port city of Sandakan in 1883, numerous Roman Catholic mission schools were established, and Catholic churches and vicariates also sprang up in East Malaysia.

The training of national clergy greatly enhanced the effectiveness of the missions. When Portuguese influence declined at the end of the sixteenth century, French Catholics took over. Concerted attempts were made in the mid-seventeenth century to launch missionary activities under the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. From the late eighteenth century, French priests and nuns made a significant contribution. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, priests were trained locally. They established a seminary in 1806 at Penang, from which more than five hundred missionaries were sent to other Asian countries. The evangelism of Singapore was entrusted to the Society of Foreign Missions in 1830, and the society is still the predominant foreign group among Catholics in Sabah and Sarawak, where they began their missions in 1855. The expansion of the Roman Catholic Church has been rapid. Between 1885 and 1905, for example, the Chinese Catholic congregations trebled in numbers. Since the 1970s, leadership of the local Catholic Church has been entirely in Malaysian hands.

Protestant missions in the region initially followed the British flag. The London Missionary Society started its missions in Malaya and Singapore in 1814. The first Presbyterian church in Singapore was established in 1841. After the London Missionary Society officially left Malaya for China in 1847, more churches were founded and evangelism among the Chinese began. By 1925 there were nine Presbyterian congregations. After World War II (1939–1945), a further expansion of the Presbyterian Synod occurred. In 1962 the Chinese Presbyterian Synod formed three presbyteries: Singapore, South Malaysia, and North Malaysia. In 1971 the expatriate congregations decided to join the Chinese Synod and to form the Presbyterian Church of Singapore and Malaysia.

Following the Presbyterians, the Anglicans planted churches in Penang in 1819 and Singapore in 1834. The Anglican mission to the Chinese and other nationals was launched in 1856. Since 1970, Malaysia and Singapore have seen the formation of two independent Anglican dioceses. After launching missionary work in Sarawak and Labuan in 1854, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel set up a center in Sandakan in 1882.

Other well-established Christian groups, such as the Brethren, Methodist, Lutheran, and Evangelical churches, also launched missions in Malaysia from the mid-nineteenth century. The Brethren focused on church planting in Penang (1859), Singapore (1866), and later in other cities of the Malay Peninsula. Many of the leaders in interdenominational movements in Malaysia and Singapore have come from among the Brethren.

The Methodists began their missions in the bustling port city of Singapore in 1885. From the beginning they focused on planting churches and schools among Asians. Churches were founded in Singapore (1885), Malaya (1891), and Sarawak (1900), and Methodist schools often followed or even predated church planting. The Australia-based Borneo Evangelical Church, founded in 1928, won the conversion of many indigenous groups in Sarawak. Following their successful mission in Sabah, in 1907, the Lutherans initiated church planting in Kuala Lumpur among the Tamils. After World War II, American and Swedish Lutherans began missionary work in Malaya. In 1962 the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Malaya and Singapore was formally constituted.

In addition, smaller but mobile and aggressive evangelical groups, such as the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, the Evangelical Free Church, the Southern Baptists of the United States, the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Mormons, and the Jehovah's Witnesses, have contributed to church growth in Malaysia and Singapore.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines has been a predominantly Roman Catholic nation since the seventeenth century. Roman Catholic missionary work dates back to the mid-sixteenth century. The conquest of Manila in 1571 by the Spanish conquistador Miguel López de Legaspi (d. 1572) paved the way for Catholic evangelism in the Philippines. Despite the successful military pacification after 1571, Catholicism had yet to be propagated among the Filipino population. Once started, the work of evangelization went smoothly and rapidly.

The first Catholic bishop in the Philippines, the Spanish Dominican Domingo de Salazar (1512–1594), arrived in 1581, accompanied by a few Jesuits. More friars from the major orders, such as the Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and the Recollect Fathers, soon followed, and eventually dominated the archbishopric of Manila. The members of these orders penetrated farther and farther into the interior of the country, and established their missions. Religious books were written in the local dialects, and Catholic schools were opened. The early missionaries emphasized church planting in new settlements, along with the conversion of chiefs *(datu)*, based on the principle of *cuius regio eius religio* (whose the region is, his religion). Since the principle of enforcing the religion of the ruler on the people had been endorsed by early Christian states, it was natural that Spanish missionaries adopted this approach in their work in the Philippines focusing, first of all, on winning the hearts of local chiefs.

From the beginning, the Spanish establishments in the Philippines were more like missions in character than colonies. They were founded and administered in the interest of religion rather than commerce or industry. Not surprisingly, the Catholic Church enjoyed a great deal of power on the local level. Even in the late nineteenth century, the friars of the Augustinian, Dominican, and Franciscan orders conducted many executive functions of government at the local level. The Catholic orders also had economic strength by virtue of their extensive landholdings. Moreover, the friars' monopoly on education guaranteed their dominant position in society and thus their control over cultural and intellectual life. When in 1863 the Spanish government introduced public primary education in the Philippines, the Catholic orders, including the Jesuits, remained indispensable.

There were several religious movements initiated by Filipinos during the nineteenth century. One of the most serious occurred in the 1840s. The movement was headed by a renegade cleric, Apolinario de la Cruz (1815–1841). Later, some native clergy participated in a revolt against Spanish authority in Cavite in 1872.

Three Filipino priests who were implicated in the uprising were executed. Moreover, although the Katipunan, a Filipino revolutionary society that emerged in 1896, originally did not explicitly endorse Catholic symbolism, it provided new life to the volatile antifriar movement when Gregorio Aglipay (1860–1940), a Catholic priest, was appointed chaplain-general of the rebel forces. In 1902 Aglipay accepted the leadership of the Philippine Independent Church (also known as the Aglipayan Church, which was founded and supported by Aglipay's followers) as its first supreme bishop. Under the slogan of religious independence, the church soon attracted new members, amounting to one-fifth of the total population.

The American Period and After. Following the establishment of American sovereignty in the Philippines in May 1898, the first non-Spanish archbishop of Manila, American Jeremiah Harty (1903–1916), a secular priest, who unlike a regular priest was not a member or friar of the locally dominant Roman Catholic orders, was appointed by the Vatican in 1903. In 1949 Gabriel M. Reyes (1892–1952), a Filipino, became the first Filipino archbishop of Manila. From the beginning, U.S. presidents and their representatives in the Philippines defined American colonial mission as tutelage, preparing the country for eventual independence. In 1902 the Catholic Church was formally disestablished as the state religion of the Philippines, and freedom of worship and the separation of church and state were instituted. After negotiations, the church agreed to sell the Spanish friars' estates and promised the gradual substitution of Filipino and other non-Spanish priests in the friars' posts.

Protestant missionaries first came to the Philippines following the U.S. takeover. The earliest groups included Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists. After World War II, many more groups entered the country, including denominational missions aiming at church planting and nondenominational agencies undertaking evangelism and training among the youth.

The first Presbyterian missionary arrived in Manila in 1899. From 1899 to 1902, eight Presbyterian church-planting missions worked in the Philippines, laying out a noncompetitive plan to evangelize the islands, commonly known as the comity agreements. Indeed, in 1901 these Protestant missionaries agreed to form the Evangelical Union and to fix geographical areas for each mission. Manila was kept open to all missionaries. However, two churches—the Seventh-Day Adventists and the Episcopalians—did not endorse the noncompetitive plan.

Movement toward an organic union of Protestant churches in the Philippines resulted in 1929 in the holding of the first general assembly of the United Evangelical

Church, the forerunner of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, formed in 1948. The majority of the leaders who formed the new church were Filipinos. As of 2006, however, American Baptists and Methodists remained separate and distinct bodies.

The Protestant population of the Philippines continues to grow. The gains are chiefly from conversions among nominal Roman Catholics and Aglipayans. The principal Protestant churches, once predominantly rural, are becoming stronger in the towns and cities and evolving into urban middle-class denominations. Although the pioneer churches have continued to grow, a few non-Union-related groups, such as the Seventh-Day Adventists, Assemblies of God, and the Foursquare Gospel Church, have grown even faster.

MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mainland Southeast Asia provides an interesting pattern of Christian evangelism. In the countries that endorsed Theravada Buddhism, Christian missionaries, as can be seen in Table 1, were not very successful in evangelism, except among minorities and tribal groups, such as the Karen in Burma and the Hmong in Laos. In Vietnam, the situation is slightly different. In Cambodia and Siam, Portuguese Dominicans began to arrive as early as 1555. However, until 1584, local opposition prevented these missionaries from settling for long in the country. In Burma, Portuguese mercenaries under Diogo Soarez de Mello (d. after 1551) were instrumental in the wars of the Toungoo conquerors in the mid-sixteenth century. Overall, the Portuguese indirectly contributed to the introduction of Catholicism to various parts of mainland Southeast Asia.

The Spanish launched several missionary activities on the Southeast Asian mainland. In response to the invitation of King Satha (r. 1576–1594) of Cambodia, missionaries were sent from Manila in 1593. Rivalry among the elite in Phnom Penh, however, led to the elimination of Spanish influence in Cambodia by 1603 as Siam became increasingly powerful in the country.

In 1887 French Indochina was formed. Vietnam, which had been fertile ground for Confucianism, also saw the growth of Catholicism, whereas Cambodia and Laos, which had endorsed Theravada Buddhism, did not become an easy target for Christian evangelism.

Vietnam. Christianity was introduced to Indochina in the beginning of the sixteenth century by Portuguese and Spanish missionaries. However, the early missions seem to have made little impression on the population. In 1615 the Jesuits established a permanent mission in Annam in central Vietnam. Leading Jesuit missionaries advocated a policy of adaptation to traditional culture.

Among them, the French Jesuit missionary Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660) conceived a romanized Vietnamese alphabet *(quôc ngu)* that is still in use today. He also succeeded in baptizing many Vietnamese. After 1658, under the direction of missionaries from the French Society of Foreign Missions, Catholic churches were planted, parishes established, seminaries built, and many Catholic foundations instituted.

Jesuit missionaries spread their activities in practically all fields. They focused on influencing the cultural and political top echelons of Vietnamese society. The rapid growth of Catholics in the country, however, led both the Nguyen (circa 1510–1954) in the south and the Trinh rulers (1539–1787) in the north and the Trinh rulers in 1631 and 1663, respectively, to launch persecution of Catholics. By 1663 Catholicism had been formally banned in Vietnam. Only at the end of the eighteenth century were some French priests able to enter the country by acting as intermediaries in military affairs. Bishop Pierre Pigneau de Behaine (1741–1799) performed this service for Nguyen Anh (1762–1820), who in 1802 proclaimed himself the emperor with the title Gia Long. The presence of Christian communities came to be openly tolerated in Vietnam during this period. In fact, the Catholic Church at this time was more successful in Vietnam than in any other part of Asia except the Philippines. Spanish friars were active in Tonkin in northern Vietnam, and French priests worked in Annam and Cochin China in the south.

The privileges that the Catholic Church had enjoyed under Gia Long quickly gave way to excesses, which generated a negative response from the Vietnamese. Gia Long's successor, Minh Mang (1792–1841), was dominated by conservative Confucianists. In 1825 he inaugurated a policy aimed at harassing Christian missionaries and converts. The court at Hue was particularly alarmed in the 1820s by the arrival of aggressive French missionaries. In fact, persecution of Christians became more violent after 1833. King Minh Mang ordered that all foreign priests be held at the capital as virtual prisoners, and ten Catholic missionaries were killed between 1833 and 1840.

Vietnam's Catholic communities reacted by organizing revolts that were often directed by missionaries and supported by French national and commercial interests. After 1841, the Catholic missions were boycotted and the practice of Catholicism was again banned, although French missionaries continued to enter Tonkin secretly from Portuguese Macao in southern China. The French eventually retaliated against the ban. War vessels were sent to Vietnamese ports, and in June 1862 the French imposed a treaty on Vietnam. One of its clauses provided the Catholic Church with total religious freedom.

Not surprisingly, Vietnamese Catholicism came to be associated with French colonialism. By 1893, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia had become French colonies, and Roman Catholic missionaries were given privileges throughout the country. Indeed, prior to World War II, Catholics practically monopolized the entire civil and military administration.

When Catholics who resisted Vietnam's Communist guerrillas were defeated in the 1954 partition, many took refuge in the South, forming the largest Catholic concentrations around Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City). In the north, major Catholic concentrations can be found in the provinces south of Hanoi. The unification of the two Vietnams in 1975 under Communist rule had a mixed effect on Christians. Despite many restrictions on religious missions, they were fundamentally allowed to evangelize, as long as they did not use religion against the state. In the mid-1990s Catholicism saw a modest revival and in 2004 the Vatican filled the vacant bishoprics, including the appointment of a cardinal for the country.

The first Protestant mission in the region was launched in the late 1820s by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Because of hostility from both the Vietnamese and the French, the society operated from abroad, particularly from Shanghai. In 1895 two missionaries from the American Christian and Missionary Alliance visited the north. In 1911 permission was granted by the French authorities to begin a Christian and Missionary Alliance mission in Da Nang in central Vietnam. The movement first spread north to Haiphong and Hanoi, and then by 1918 to Saigon and to other cities in the south. Missions among ethnic minorities, including the Montagnards in the south-central region, began in 1929.

The first Christian and Missionary Alliance missionaries focused on the training of national workers and the widespread use of literature to evangelize the French colony. The period 1922 to 1940 was a fruitful phase for the Christian and Missionary Alliance missions in Vietnam, particularly in the Mekong Delta region and in central Vietnam. In 1928 the Vietnamese congregations were organized into a church body, the Evangelical Church of Vietnam.

The turning point in Vietnam's missionary history took place with the Pacific segment of World War II, as a series of wars erupted in Vietnam for the next four decades almost without interruption. Evangelization efforts underwent adjustments that resulted in mixed outcomes. However, the division of the country in 1954 into North Vietnam and South Vietnam left fewer than two thousand Evangelical Church of Vietnam members in North Vietnam. In the south, the church soon recovered its strength. Between 1954 and 1965, the Evangelical Church of Vietnam made great gains, and by the early 1970s the church was one of the most successful foreign missions of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. The virtual monopoly of the organization came to an end when other missionary societies, such as the U.S.-based Seventh-Day Adventists and Assemblies of God, entered the south.

By the early twenty-first century, almost 70 percent of Vietnamese Protestants are ethnic minorities, especially those in the western and central highlands and rural villages. Hmong missionaries have contributed significantly to successful evangelism.

Cambodia. Roman Catholic missionary efforts began in the sixteenth century in Cambodia, but the Christian presence developed slowly. Portuguese missionaries arrived in the second half of the sixteenth century, but they had more success among the Vietnamese than among local Khmers. In 1658 Cambodia was included in the Apostolic Vicariate of Tonkin, administered by the Society of Foreign Missions. By 1842 there were four churches and approximately two hundred Roman Catholics in Cambodia.

In the mid-nineteenth century, numerous Vietnamese Catholics seeking refuge from persecution swelled the Cambodian Catholic population. In 1885 France declared Cambodia a protectorate. In 1953 Cambodia gained independence, and three years later the first Khmer priest was ordained. By 1962 the number of Catholics in Cambodia had increased to 62,000, but most of them were Vietnamese, Chinese, or European. In 1970 most Vietnamese Catholics were forced out of Cambodia by Khmer hostility, greatly reducing church membership.

From 1975 to 1979, the Cambodian government was seized by the Khmer Rouge, a repressive Communist regime that expelled all foreigners, including French missionaries, from the country. Many leaders of the Cambodian Catholic Church disappeared during this period. Following the signing of a peace treaty in 1991, the holding of elections in 1993, and the promulgation of a new constitution guaranteeing religious freedom, diplomatic relations were established with the Holy See (the office of the pope) in 1994, and in 1997 the Catholic Church was given official status by the new Cambodian government.

The American Christian and Missionary Alliance began a Protestant mission in the country in 1923. From the capital of Phnom Penh, evangelism and church planting were launched. By 1964 thirteen Protestant congregations were established in more than half of the provinces. The majority of the proselytes came from among the Khmer population. Missionaries also worked

among the ethnic minorities in the northeastern part of the country, but they were forced to leave in 1965. Many returned in 1970 when Lon Nol (1913–1985) came to power.

During the regime (1975–1978) of Pol Pot (1925–1998), the leader of the Khmer Rouge, many Cambodians, including Christians, were either massacred or fled the country. During the subsequent pro-Vietnamese regime, Protestants, like other religionists, were again able to congregate. In 1996 an Evangelical Fellowship of Cambodia was founded. By 2006 some twenty-five Protestant denominations and congregations can be found in Cambodia, mainly in the capital city and in Battambang.

Laos. The capital city of Laos, Vientiane, possesses a special interest for Catholics as the scene of the first attempt to preach Christianity in the then-extensive Kingdom of Laos. Roman Catholic missionaries began visiting Laos in the seventeenth century, when the Portuguese Jesuit, Giovanni Maria Leria, proselytized in the country for five years until he was compelled to leave in December 1647. The Catholic missions did not resume their activities in Laos until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, concomitant with the French proclaiming a protectorate over the country. Although the Society of Foreign Missions began working in Laos in 1876 and established an apostolic vicariate on May 4, 1899, the country's Roman Catholic Church has been separated from that of Siam only since 1911. The mission won a significant number of proselytes in the late nineteenth century.

By 2006 most Lao members of the Roman Catholic Church were ethnic Vietnamese living in the most populous central and southern provinces of the country, where Rome has appointed three resident bishops.

The first Protestant mission in Laos was carried out by a Presbyterian missionary based in Chiang Mai, Thailand, who regularly visited northern Laos beginning in 1872. In 1902 the Brethren churches in Switzerland sent two missionaries to preach the gospel in southern Laos. The Brethren focused on church planting, establishment of a Bible school, and translation of the Bible into the Lao language.

The American Christian and Missionary Alliance sent missionaries into northern Laos in 1928. From then until 1975, when all missionaries had to leave the country, the Christian and Missionary Alliance worked in northern Laos and the Swiss Brethren worked in the south. Throughout this period, the two missions maintained cordial relations; thus, the church was eventually able to proclaim itself a single united body, the Lao Evangelical Church.

A change of government in 1975 had a dramatic impact on the church. Despite the exodus of about half of all Lao Protestants in 1975, by the late 1990s there were over 160 churches in the country. Since the early 1990s, concomitant with increased freedom, the Lao Evangelical Church has formally organized into an official church body. Several foreign Christian organizations and churches have increased their work in Laos. The vast majority of believers and churches are located in rural areas. In 2006 only three Protestant churches were located in the cities.

Although the present government recognizes two Protestant groups—the Lao Evangelical Church and the Seventh-Day Adventists—it does not permit public evangelism. In periodic state-sponsored political seminars, for example, the population has been taught that Roman Catholicism is a remnant of French colonialism and Protestantism is a remnant of American imperialism. Nevertheless, such evangelical churches as the Methodists and the Jehovah's Witnesses have found ways to preach the gospel in the country.

Thailand. Siam, officially renamed Thailand in 1939, has developed close ties with the Christian powers since the sixteenth century. Yet, like its Theravada Buddhist neighbors, it has not been fertile ground for Christianity.

The majority of Thai Roman Catholics are located in northeast Thailand and in Bangkok. Many are of Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cambodian origin. The earliest Christian incursions into Siam were by Catholic priests accompanying a Portuguese embassy of Alfonso de Albuquerque (d. 1515) in 1511; however, only in 1555 did the first resident Dominican missionaries arrive. They were followed in 1662 by missionaries from the Society of Foreign Missions under Bishop Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624–1679), who set up his headquarters in Ayutthaya, where they found a sizeable Christian community.

The growth of the Society of Foreign Missions in Siam was clearly evident during the reign of King Narai (r. 1657–1688), who opened the country to foreigners and gave liberty to the missionaries to preach the gospel. Narai built closer ties with France and withdrew from the increasingly rampant Dutch power. On the other hand, the French influence in the country strengthened the role of the missionaries and the progress of evangelization. Between 1665 and 1669, the Society of Foreign Missions central seminary for Southeast Asia and the first hospital were erected in Ayutthaya. Despite the major debacle of 1688 and later restrictions, the Society of Foreign Missions continued working in Siam without interruption. More priests from Portuguese orders followed.

They worked until the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, but the fruit of their evangelization was miniscule.

With the advent of the Chakri dynasty in 1782, particularly under the reign of kings Mongkut (1804–1868) and Chulalongkorn (1853–1910), the Catholic Church gradually enjoyed more peace, despite diplomatic complications between France and Siam in 1894. Significant results did not come until after World War II, however, when the community grew from approximately 3,000 Catholic adherents in 1802 to about 170,000 in 1972.

The Catholic Church in Thailand put great emphasis on building schools and convents, largely in Bangkok. Encouraged by the steady growth of the church, Pope Paul VI (1897–1978) divided the country into two church provinces in 1965 and appointed its first archbishop. By the early twenty-first century, the percentage of Thai clergy is increasing; half of the archbishops and bishops are Thai. In 2006 Thailand had two archbishops, eight bishops, thirty religious orders, and an apostolic delegate headquartered in Bangkok.

Protestants dominate in the north of the country. These are distributed among Thais and ethnic minorities. Protestantism was introduced to Siam through the works of diverse Protestant missionaries beginning in the 1810s. The first Protestant missionaries to live in Thailand, representing the Nederlandsch Zendelingsgenootschap and the London Missionary Society, arrived in 1828. In 1833 American Baptist missionaries arrived, and in 1837 they planted the first indigenous Protestant church in Southeast Asia, which survives today.

Early Protestant missionaries to Thailand saw the first fruits of their evangelism efforts mainly among the Chinese. The first American Presbyterian missionaries arrived in 1840. By 1910 the Presbyterian church was flourishing in the north. The English Disciples of Christ, who entered in 1903, joined their American counterparts in 1945 to evangelize within the Church of Christ in Thailand. The Seventh-Day Adventists arrived in 1918 and focused their activities on hospitals. The American Christian and Missionary Alliance followed in 1929, taking missionary responsibility for nineteen provinces in northeast Thailand.

Following World War II, new streams of Protestant missions grew steadily in Thailand, starting with the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade and the Finnish Free Foreign Mission. The largest of all these was the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, originally the China Inland Mission, which in 1949 sent hundreds of missionaries to all parts of the country. Their missions were followed both by major groups, such as the American Southern Baptists, the Church of Christ, the Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission, and the New Tribes

Mission, and smaller ones, including the American Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal Assembly of Canada, and the Japan Christian Missions.

Two Protestant church bodies have been officially recognized by the Thai government. They are the Church of Christ in Thailand and the Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand. The Thailand Church Growth Committee, started in 1971, has served to bridge these two bodies with Baptist and Pentecostal organizations.

Myanmar. Although the majority of the population of Burma (renamed Myanmar in 1989) follows Theravada Buddhism, there are significant numbers of Christians, mostly Baptists but also some Catholics and Anglicans. The Kachin ethnic group in northern Burma and the Chin and Naga in the west are largely Christian, and Christianity is also widespread among the Karen and Karenni in the south and east. After World War II, the situation of Christian churches became more complicated when Christianity became a mark of identity for ethnic minorities that were opposed to the government in Yangon, the capital.

Christianity was introduced to Burma in the sixteenth century through the efforts of Roman Catholic missionaries and Portuguese traders and mercenaries. The actual work of evangelizing Burma did not begin until 1722 when two Barnabite fathers were sent there. In 1741 the Vatican mission was fully established after more Barnabites were sent to Burma. However, prolonged wars in Burma during the eighteenth century resulted in the termination of this mission. In 1842 Pope Gregory XVI (1765–1846) placed the Burmese mission under the Italian Oblates of Pinerolo, and appointed the first vicar apostolic, but the British invasion in 1852 led to the withdrawal of the mission almost immediately.

In response to the leadership vacuum in the Burmese vicariate, it was placed in 1855 under the control of the vicar apostolic of Siam for ten years. Burma was then divided into three independent vicariates: Northern, Southern, and Eastern Burma. In 1870 the vicariate of Eastern Burma was entrusted to the Milan Foreign Missions, and those in Northern and Southern Burma came under the control of the Society of Foreign Missions. The vicariate of Southern Burma was more successful in advancing Christianity than the other two, particularly among the Karenni. This is understandable in view of the intensity and number of rival Protestant missionaries in the north and east since the mid-nineteenth century and the near invincibility of Burmese Buddhism. The territorial division persists as of 2006, with three Catholic archdioceses headquartered in Mandalay, Taunggyi, and Yangon.

Protestant missionaries began their work in Yangon. The Baptist Missionary Society of England opened its first mission in 1807 and remained there until 1814. The London Missionary Society sent two missionaries to Yangon in 1808, but within a year the mission was abandoned. In 1813 an American Baptist began working in Burma and translated the Bible (1834). Other missions followed: Anglican (1852), Methodist (1879), Seventh-Day Adventist (1915), and Assemblies of God (1924). Efforts at evangelism made slow progress, however. While the Burmese Buddhist population showed little interest, the gospel was received by the highlanders, especially the Karen, Shan, Kachin, and Chin, beginning in the 1820s.

The Reformed churches owe their existence in the country both to missionary efforts and spontaneous movements. Reformed churches serve different parts of the Burmese hill population, especially the Chin and Kachin. American Baptist missionaries started work among the Chin in 1899. They remained in the Chin Hills until 1966, when the socialist government expelled all foreign missionaries from Burma. Apart from evangelism, the Baptists planted Bible schools and translated the Haka Bible.

A few American Pentecostal missionaries from the Assemblies of God were sent to Burma. Accompanying them were Pentecostal missionaries from Sweden and Finland, and the Go Ye Fellowship, which labored in Myanmar prior to World War II. In spite of the war and the absence of missionaries, especially after 1966, the Christian church showed progress under the leadership of indigenous workers.

Under the leadership of Assemblies of God missionaries from the United States, indigenous Pentecostal believers took up the challenge of evangelizing their own communities. This occurred in earnest after 1966, when authority and responsibility were handed over to the national church leaders. Local churches soon became centers for evangelism, outreach, and ministry among different people and groups in the capital city, as well as among the Kachin and Chin in the north. After 1966 many street preachers were trained by Burmese Christian leaders, and a Bible training school started by missionaries continued to operate.

SEE ALSO *London Missionary Society; Netherlands Missionary Society; Religion, Roman Catholic Church.*

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Iik Arifin Mansurnoor

RELIGION, WESTERN PRESENCE IN THE PACIFIC

The Christianization of the Pacific world can only loosely be described as a "Western" process. As in many parts of Africa, it was the large number of indigenous teachers and clergy who prompted conversion. The role of European or American missionaries was important, and Christianity arrived in conjunction with Western imperial expansion, but it was accepted (or not) for indigenous reasons.

The earliest attempts at Christianization are a case in point. Spain claimed the entire Pacific for its empire in the early modern period, but did little to explore or colonize it beyond the routes of the silver galleons between the Americas and the Philippines. One exception was a series of expeditions between 1567 and 1605 that produced brief and unsuccessful attempts to settle colonists in the Solomon Islands and elsewhere. These small, tentative settlements included Roman Catholic clergy but were abandoned quickly amid internal dissent, high mortality from disease, and indigenous hostility.

Only at the end of the eighteenth century were renewed attempts made to Christianize the Pacific, and this time it was the expanding empire of the British that took the lead. Some of the earliest British Protestant missions, which began in 1797 with the London Missionary Society, were as unsuccessful as the earlier Spanish ones had been. The sending societies persisted, however, and by the mid-nineteenth century, there were thriving British missions in many island groups, including New Zealand and a strong American presence in Hawaii.

British colonies had also been established in Australia (from 1788) and New Zealand (in 1840), although the connection between colonization and indigenous Christianization was not a straightforward one. Australia's Aboriginal peoples, nomadic and diverse, were relatively unenthusiastic about Christianity well after settlers had arrived in large numbers. Only later in the nineteenth century, when dispossession and disease began to bite more deeply, did the mission stations find it easier to persuade Aboriginal groups to stay with them. A partnership between governments, missions, and churches in Australia eventually led to the establishment of residential schools for Aboriginal children. The degree to which Christianization was a matter of choice under these conditions is debatable, and the legacy of the mission stations and schools is a deeply controversial one.

The story in New Zealand and other Pacific Island groups is very different. Here, indigenous Protestant teachers and their missionary patrons were extremely successful throughout most of Polynesia long before the islands were formally colonized by European powers or

the United States. One explanation might be the hierarchical nature of Polynesian societies, including the Maori in New Zealand, whereby the conversion of chiefs led to the conversion of their people. Other explanations concern the nature of indigenous belief systems. Polynesia's polytheism, with its priesthoods and temples, could be compared with the polytheistic societies described in the Bible. For their own reasons, then, Polynesians were interested in the new faith and adopted it rapidly.

To counter these Protestant influences, French Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in the early nineteenth century with the fathers of the Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (known as the "Picpus Fathers") in 1834. This society and others found that Roman Catholicism was welcomed by islanders, especially where indigenous power struggles created a fruitful climate for Christian sectarian rivalry. This situation mirrored the political rivalry by which Tahiti and the Society Islands became a French colony in 1843, followed by the western island of New Caledonia in 1853. Both Europeans and Islanders used religious commitments for their own purposes.

Sometimes a combination of acceptance and resistance was found in the shape of syncretic movements, such as the early "sailor cults" in Polynesia, where a rudimentary Christianity gained from European beachcombers was combined with indigenous religious practices. In other cases, indigenous prophets arose to create distinctive Christianities that were denounced by the mission stations. Western influences could also prompt the rejection of Christianity, as in the cargo cults of Vanuatu in the western Pacific. These cults drew inspiration from the sudden arrival of Western people and goods during World War II.

Where Christianization was most successful, the role of indigenous teachers and clergy was most critical. This did not mean an easy transition, however, from mission stations to indigenous-led churches. It was often difficult for indigenous teachers to obtain ordination, let alone independent leadership of their own congregations.

Indigenous ordination became more common by the early twentieth century, but the status of Pacific churches was still in question. Many remained under the supervision of missionary societies, or of Australian or New Zealand bishops, reflecting the degree to which Pacific peoples were often considered to be childlike Christians unready for full responsibility. By the early twentieth century, the Anglican mission in Papua New Guinea began recommending revised liturgy for islanders, acknowledging the importance of indigenous cultural perspectives, but treating them condescendingly as well.

Missionaries are still active in the Pacific, and Pacific Christianity is more diverse than ever, including Mormons, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Pentecostal groups alongside the long-established denominations. The process cuts both ways, however: the Pacific also sends missionaries to the Western world. Indigenous clergy concerned about liberalizing attitudes toward the ordination of women in the Anglican Church of Australia, for example, feel that their own conservatism better reflects true Christianity. Like their Asian and African counterparts, many Pacific Christian leaders feel that the Western world is losing its way. Historical distinctions between a "heathen" Pacific and a "Christian" Western world are being reversed.

SEE ALSO *Missions, China; Missions, in the Pacific; Religion, Roman Catholic Church; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions; Religion, Western Perceptions of World Religions; Religion, Western Presence in East Asia.*

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Jane Samson

RHODES, CECIL
1853–1902

Cecil John Rhodes, a mining entrepreneur, colonial politician, and empire builder, was born in Bishop's Stortford (Hertfordshire, England) as the fifth son in a family of eleven children headed by Francis William Rhodes, the local vicar, and Louisa Taylor Peacock.

Cecil Rhodes was educated at the local grammar school, supervised by his father. A wished-for higher education in Oxford did not materialize. Instead, Rhodes went to South Africa in 1871 to join his eldest brother Herbert, a cotton planter in the British colony of Natal. On his arrival, Cecil left for the newly discovered diamond fields in Griqualand West. Rhodes set himself up as a cotton planter, but he was unsuccessful and became one of the region's many diamond prospectors within the year.

The brief Natal experience made Rhodes aware of his latent managerial skills, which he later exploited to the maximum, first as manager of his brother's diamond claims at Kimberley, and later as a businessman in his own right and as a politician. In the social conundrum of the diamond mines of the early 1870s, Rhodes formed a group of close friends, including John X. Merriman (1841–1926), a member of the Cape Legislative Assembly and future prime minister, and John Blades Currey (1829–1904), secretary of the British administration in Griqualand West. They introduced Rhodes to colonial politics.

By 1873 Rhodes had accumulated enough capital to go to Oxford University. The first phase of his Oxford career was short and incomplete, and it would take until 1881 and several more short periods of study before Rhodes acquired a degree. Although he was admitted at the Inner Temple in London (one of the traditional English "law schools") in March 1876, he never seriously pursued a career in the law. Though not much of an academic himself, Rhodes's relationship with academia extends to the present day with a legacy of scholarships and fellowships, the Rhodes House Library in Oxford, and funds set up to support several South African universities. In 1891 Rhodes received an honorary degree from his alma mater.

In the mid-1870s the diamond industry went through a crisis and rapid change. Adverse weather, the

Cecil Rhodes. *The nineteenth-century British diamond magnate, colonial politician, and empire builder, photographed with his pet collie.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

need for complex technologies to work hard rock in deep open pits, and the resulting squabbles between black and white small-claim holders led to unrest and the departure of many diggers from the business. On his return from Oxford, Rhodes positioned himself in the camp of the larger claim-holders and colonial authority. With his partner, Charles Dunnell Rudd (1844–1916), Rhodes strongly advocated rationalization and amalgamation of the mines, not only for the common good of the mining industry, but also with personal motives.

By the late 1880s, the De Beers Consolidated mining company, grown out of the De Beers mine set up by Rhodes and Rudd, had turned into a worldwide concern with a board in the Cape and in London and a virtual monopoly over diamond production and trade from South Africa. The amalgamation of the mines also meant extensive rationalization of business practices. De Beers introduced new systems of labor control, including the reorganization of black migrant labor into closed

compounds, and rigorous and systematic strip searches of workers to prevent theft and smuggling of diamonds.

The enforcement of labor-control measures went hand in hand with British imperial expansion and the annexation of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony. It bought Rhodes a seat in the Cape parliament, and made his labor-control laws and institutions a model for twentieth-century South Africa.

Rhodes's entry into Cape politics in 1881 was forceful and set the tone for his imperial ambitions and handiwork in later years. He became the spokesman for the mining industry, pushing forward the Diamond Trade Act of 1882 in parliament, with the help of the *Cape Argus* newspaper, which he had bought for the purpose. Mining interests were soon allied to an expansionist imperial interest when Rhodes successfully argued for the disannexation of Basutoland (now Lesotho) from the Cape Colony and the expansion of British rule toward the north of Griqualand West in order to curb both Afrikaner and Tswana ambitions for control over land and water in the area.

After 1886, when gold was first prospected on the Witwatersrand, the northward expansion of British colonial control increased its pace. Rhodes was interested in gold, but decided to go for the exploration of this mineral north of the Limpopo River in the Ndebele kingdom, thus bypassing the Boer-controlled South African Republic (Transvaal) and at the same time leading the British effort in the scramble for this part of Africa, now contested by Britain, Germany, Portugal, and Belgium.

The formation of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), chartered by the British government in 1889, allowed Rhodes and his partners to exploit and extend administrative control over a vast, if ill-defined, area of southern and central Africa. Within a couple of years, the BSAC not only annexed most of the territory now known as Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia), but the company also incorporated what are now Zambia and Malawi by way of treaties with local leaders. Underlying the BSAC's actions was a promise to populate the areas brought under its control with settlers, which would allow for an effective British occupation against contending European powers, and introduce the necessary capitalist development to the interior at minimum cost.

In the Cape, Rhodes's political star was rising. From the mid-1880s, Rhodes supported the policies of the powerful Afrikaner Bond, a political party founded in 1880, with regard to the control of African land ownership, franchise, and labor in the Cape. Through judicious agreements with the Afrikaner Bond and some of the liberal parliamentarians, Rhodes managed to become prime minister of the Cape Colony in 1890. When he lost the support of the liberals in 1893, a general election brought him back stronger and with enhanced support from the Afrikaner Bond.

Rhodes's second ministry, in which he also acted as minister for Native Affairs, saw the inclusion of all the remaining independent African polities into the Cape Colony. In Britain, his status as a colonial politician was confirmed with his appointment to the Privy Council, the traditional council of advisors to the British Crown, similar to a council of state, in 1895.

The construction of a railway line between the Cape and Transvaal in 1892 was popular with the Bond, but eventually led to a sharp conflict with the South African Republic led by Paul Kruger (1825–1904). In the next four years, the conflict built up and eventually led to a plan to incorporate the South African Republic. Rhodes and others, backed by British businessmen on the Witwatersrand and the British colonial secretary, made use of a trumped-up conflict about disenfranchised British immigrants (Uitlanders) in the South African Republic to stage an armed overthrow.

Leander Starr Jameson (1853–1917), a BSAC agent, invaded the Republic on his own accord, and against Rhodes's wish to postpone the invasion, in late 1895 with the British South Africa Police Force, only to find that there was no support from inside. The raid forced Rhodes to resign and lost him much of the Afrikaner sympathy he had so carefully built up. It also caused a final rift between Afrikaners and the British, both in the Cape and the Boer republics. The affair also lost Rhodes his position as managing director of the BSAC and threatened the charter of the company. It was only Liberal parliamentarian Joseph Chamberlain's (1836–1914) support of Rhodes before a House of Commons inquiry, in exchange for Rhodes's silence about the former's complicity, that prevented the revocation of the charter.

In the aftermath of the raid, the Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia rose against the white settlers in their area, and they were soon followed by the Shona people. Rhodes intervened personally and managed to diffuse the uprising by initiating successful secret negotiations with the Ndebele leadership, against the wishes of the white settlers. One result of the uprising was that the British government for the first time intervened directly in BSAC affairs by appointing a resident commissioner to the area. The era of colonialism and settler domination had started.

Despite the political setbacks of the 1890s, Rhodes returned to the political scene of the Cape Colony in the 1898 election, now as leader of the so-called Progressives in the Cape parliament, and against the Afrikaner Bond.

When the latter party won the general election, Rhodes's role in Cape politics was finally over.

In the last four years of his life, Rhodes stayed in England for a considerable time. He also took time to fight legal battles against accusations made over his role in the Jameson Raid, and against the Polish fortune-seeker Princess Catherine Radziwill (1858–1941), who first tried to attach herself to Rhodes and later—when unsuccessful in her attempts—blackmailed him. Suffering from deteriorating health, Rhodes died at his Cape cottage on March 26, 1902. At his own request, he was buried on the Matopo Plateau in Southern Rhodesia two weeks later.

SEE ALSO *Afrikaner; Cape Colony and Cape Town; Diamonds.*

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RIO DE JANEIRO

Rio de Janeiro means *River of January* in Portuguese. It was so named because the bay on which it is located, Guanabara Bay, was discovered on January 1, 1502, by European explorers who believed it to be the mouth of a river. The leader of the expedition was Gaspar de Lemos, a Portuguese captain following in the wake of Pedro Alvars Cabral (1468–1520) who was the first discoverer of the Brazilian coast in 1500. In 1530 the Portuguese court sponsored a further expedition, this time to colonize the region and establish a permanent settlement. There was much rivalry with French and Dutch colonists with whom there were frequent skirmishes. The first settlement in the bay area was called Antarctic France and was founded by Nicolas de
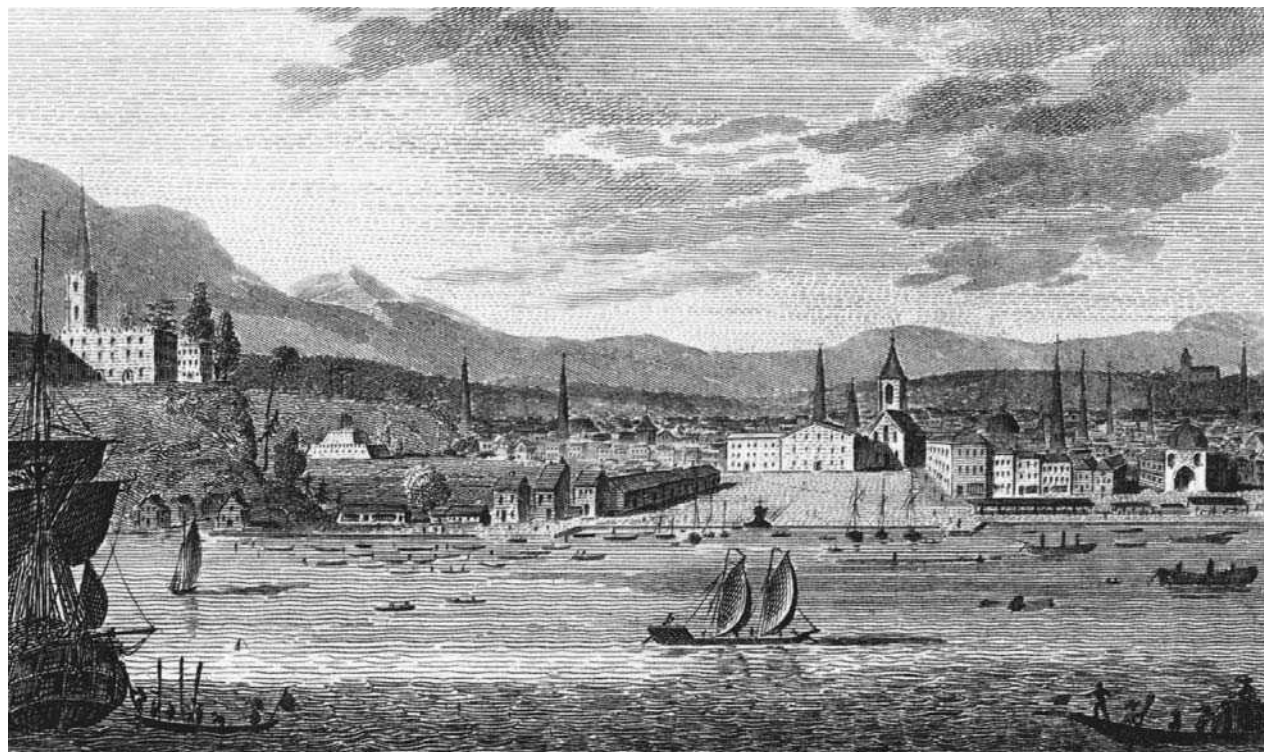
Rio de Janeiro. *Now Brazil's second largest city after São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro is pictured here in 1809 when it served as the capital of Brazil and the Portuguese Empire.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Villegagnon (1510–1571) in 1555, but by the 1560s the Portuguese achieved preeminence despite the French alliance with the Tamoio. The city of Saint Sebastian of Rio de Janeiro was founded on March 1, 1565, by Estacio de Sá (1520–1567). It was named after the namesake of Sebastian (1554–1578), the king of Portugal. By 1585 Rio de Janeiro's population was 3,850, including some 750 Portuguese and approximately 100 Africans who had been brought to the Americas as slaves.

During the 1600s Rio de Janeiro developed into an important port, especially for the export of sugar derived from sugar cane production in the hinterland using enslaved indigenous people. Brazil wood (*Cesalpina echinata),* known as *pau-brasil,* a dense hardwood red in color, also became a major export. The city also benefited from the discovery of gold in the state of Minas Gerais (meaning General Mines) toward the close of the seventeenth century. This brought growth, wealth, and influence, and in 1764 Rio de Janeiro replaced Salvador as Brazil's capital. During the period 1808 to 1821 the Portuguese royal family, led by the prince regent (to become Dom João VI [1767–1826]) adopted it as their home as Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) threatened their homeland. By the time they returned to Portugal, Brazil had declared independence in 1822, under the direction of Dom Pedro I (1798–1834), the son of Dom João VI, as its first emperor. He was a weak ruler abdicated in favor of his son, Dom Pedro II (1825–1891), who was then only five years old. A triple regency provided rule but only until Dom Pedro II came of age; he ruled for 50 years and established a state that would eventually deny the monarchy. The gold mines had been exhausted by this time but coffee production provided a new wealth to boost Rio de Janeiro's economy. The city continued to expand, first to the north and then to the south, and enjoyed a buoyant period until the late 1880s. The abolition of slavery and a series of poor harvests then resulted in economic hardship as labor and primary produce became increasingly expensive. Political problems ensued and in 1889 Brazil declared itself a republic after a military coup; the emperor was exiled and died in 1891. Rio de Janeiro remained the capital of the new republic until 1960 when it was moved to Brasília.

SEE ALSO *Brazilian Independence; Empire in the Americas, Portuguese; Minas Gerais, Conspiracy of.*

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ROYAL DUTCH-INDISCH ARMY

During the Java War (1825–1830), the Dutch government was forced to create a new type of military force to deal with that rebellion. This military force consisted of a professional army of Dutch officers, coupled with native Indonesian troops. These troops made up an army that operated against native populations, and a force that was not dependent on Dutch citizens to maintain its strength.

In 1830 Governor-General Johannes van den Bosch (1780–1844) officially organized these colonial forces into the Oost-Indisch Leger (East Indies Army). This army operated as the military arm of the colonial administration, with naval assistance provided by the Royal Netherlands Navy. From 1830 to 1870, the Oost-Indisch Leger was employed to control the numerous rebellions cropping up throughout the physical territory of the colony. Many wars, such as the Padri War (1821–1836), were ongoing conflicts that were downgraded to allow the Oost-Indisch Leger to concentrate on more pressing matters, like the Java War. In the case of Bali in 1846 and 1848, the Oost-Indisch Leger, or Leger, was employed to force the local raja to honor agreements, and to prevent other nations from influencing Indonesian trade.

In 1867 the "Accountability Law" separated the finances of the Netherlands and its colony in the East Indies. This ruling enabled the East Indies to create its own Department of War (Department van Oorlog), and the colony became responsible for its own financing of military operations.

Beginning in the late 1860s, the problem of Aceh, a province on the island of Sumatra, began to rise to prominence within the colony. Aceh had operated independently for several decades, but the opening of the Suez Canal renewed its importance to trade within the Dutch East Indies. The rising influence of other nations in the internal politics of Aceh compelled the Netherlands Indies to send forces to control the region and force its submission to Dutch authority.

The Aceh War lasted from 1873 to 1903, and the conflict forced the Oost-Indisch Leger to change its tactics in the field. Initially, efforts were made to control Aceh's territory through the use of a fortified line of outposts intended to contain the guerillas and marshal the limited resources of the colony. Soon, the Geconcentreerde Linie (Concentrated Line), which was a fortified line of sixteen forts protecting the town of Kutaraja, operated more as a prison for colonial troops that were constantly being harassed by Acehnese guerillas. The Leger employed a more modern force in the field that was made up of infantry battalions supported by

artillery, cavalry, and engineers who were led by more professional officers like Colonel J. B. van Heutsz (1851–1924). These officers were also employed as civilian administrators *(officier-civiel gezaghebber)* as a way to control the outer reaches of the colony. These officers acted as civil administrators during times of peace, and as military officers during war.

To further control areas occupied by the government, a force known as the *Korps Marechaussee* (District Police) was created in 1893. This corps consisted of select native infantrymen commanded by Dutch officers. These companies were armed with carbines and *klewangs* (native short swords), and operated without coolie trains (supply trains consisting of forced native labor), which allowed them to rapidly move against a native threat. The operations of the Korps Marechaussee were mostly directed toward the native population in an effort to control the resistance. These light troops committed atrocities against local tribes in their attempts to control the Acehnese people and find suspected guerrillas.

By the twentieth century, the Leger began to change its focus from subjugation of rebellious island natives to the control of Indonesian society. The colony was nearly pacified, but the influence of Islamic and communist groups began to grow into a source of trouble for the colony. The Leger began to experiment with aircraft in 1914, and an airborne auxiliary was soon started for field service. To maintain force levels, laws were soon passed to make military service mandatory for Dutch citizens, and native conscription was being considered by the colony.

In the 1920s, two attempted revolts by the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia) signaled efforts by both the colony's police and army to control dissent within the islands. Units were established to monitor political groups with the threat of exile or imprisonment in the Boven Digual Prison for political prisoners. In 1927 the Hague government set down the "Principles of Defense," whereby the colony was to protect Dutch authority within the islands against possible rebellion first, before assisting the Netherlands in its national obligations.

In 1933 the Oost-Indisch Leger was renamed *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indsch Leger* (KNIL), or the Royal Netherlands Indies Army. During that time, the KNIL numbered around 35,000 men, of which 5,000 were deployed from the Netherlands. In addition, there was a militia *(landsturm)* that fielded a force of 8,000 men. The KNIL operated training facilities at Meester Cornelis and Magelang on the island of Java for all branches, as well as its small armor force. The air forces of the colony operated second-rate aircraft from counties such as the United States and Great Britain. The navy

remained under the control of the Royal Netherlands Navy, and consisted of three cruisers, seven destroyers, a number of smaller ships, and fifteen submarines.

With the German invasion and occupation of the Netherlands in 1940, the colony became one of the last areas of Dutch control. But the East Indies soon found itself facing an outside foe in Japan. The Netherlands declared war on Japan on December 8, 1941, but faced invasion in January 1942. The Japanese conquest of Indonesia lasted roughly three months. The KNIL found itself overwhelmed by the Japanese military forces, and the fighting renewed regional guerrilla activity in the field. The Dutch prisoners were sent to labor and prison camps, and native KNIL troops were given the opportunity to join the Japanese local forces, known as PETA (Pembela Tanah Air).

In 1945 Australian and Dutch forces landed in Tarakan to begin the liberation of the Dutch colony. The Japanese formally surrendered, and agreed to return the East Indies to the Dutch in August 1945. PETA units soon converted into an active revolutionary front against the Allied forces to win freedom for Indonesia. A month later, the government of the Netherlands East Indies was formally back in power, and KNIL prisoners were ordered back into service to regain control over the colony.

For a period of five years, the KNIL units fought to reestablish their colony against the Indonesian independence movement. Regular Royal Dutch Army units soon joined the KNIL in an attempt to win back their former colony. The KNIL units were mostly made up of troops of Dutch citizenry, and the total Dutch commitment ranged from 20,000 to 92,000 troops fighting in Indonesia. One of the worse units was the KorpsSpeciale Troepen, which was led by Captain Raymond Westerling (1919–1987). This force was similar to the Korps Marechaussee, and war crimes were committed to control the growth of the rebellion. In 1947 roughly 3,000 people were executed by elements of the KNIL over a period of two months. Due to pressure from the international community and a successful guerrilla movement, the Netherlands agreed to transfer control to the new Republic of Indonesia on November 2, 1949.

On July 20, 1950, the KNIL was officially disbanded by the government of the Netherlands. The effects of this force on Indonesian politics were still being felt after the collapse of the Dutch colonial administration. Much of the military training of the early leaders of the Indonesian independence movement was obtained when the men served as privates and noncommissioned officers of the KNIL. One example was Suharto (b. 1921), president of

Indonesia from 1967 to 1998, who rose from private to sergeant in the KNIL before World War II.

SEE ALSO *Aceh War; Empire, Dutch; Indonesian Independence, Struggle for.*

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RUBBER, AFRICA

Rubber, also known as hydrocarbon polymer or latex, comes from plants and vines that once grew abundantly on the African continent. During the nineteenth century, French Guinea, Angola, the Gold Coast, French Congo, and the Congo Free State were among the five top rubber-producing states on the African continent. The Ivory Coast, German East Africa, and Nigeria also experienced rubber booms.

Nineteenth-century inventions, such as the pneumatic bicycle tire, and growing industrial uses of rubber products (tubing, hoses, springs, washers, and diaphragms) created a worldwide demand for rubber. During boom years, rubber was the most sought-after export commodity and the greatest income earner for many African states. The African rubber boom lasted from 1890 to 1913 with significant economic, social, and political consequences for many African states. Exploitation and hardship became standard for Africans in the colonies that produced rubber. However, the most devastating impact wrought by the demand for rubber occurred in the Congo Free State, the personal colony of King Leopold II of Belgium (1865–1909).

African rubber came from two sources, trees and vines. Rubber vines were far less durable than trees. Rubber-producing vines, *landolphia*, were fragile and easily killed. Areas in which rubber was harvested from vines were constantly threatened by the exhaustion of supplies. For example, in Angola, rubber extraction from vines began in the Quiboco forest in 1869; by 1875 no rubber was left in the forest. Similarly, rubber production from Dahomey (now Benin) reached a peak of 14.5 tons per year in 1900, and then declined to 5.9 tons in 1901 and 1.6 tons the year after that as the vines died. Likewise, in French Guinea, the majority of the rubber vines were used up between 1899 and 1905.

Unlike the vines, rubber trees, *Funtumia elastica,* were hearty and tolerated frequent tapping. If the trees were overtapped they went dormant, but they did not die. Generally, within five years an overused tree was once again producing rubber and could be tapped. Methods of tapping trees to harvest rubber varied greatly from state to state. Early in the rubber boom, in the Gold Coast for example, workers simply cut down the trees to extract as much rubber as possible. Later, they began to climb the trees and tap them with a series of shallow cuts to the tree trunk.

In the Ivory Coast, local people harvested rubber with great care so as to not damage the trees. Unfortunately, increased demand for rubber lead to poaching practices and rubber poachers, whose only goal was to extract as much rubber as quickly as possible, often invaded the Ivory Coast's forests and damaged the trees. The never-ending quest for rubber lead to boundary disputes between local peoples. Perpetual warfare broke out over access to rubber-harvesting territories as people crossed indigenous boundaries looking for rubber.

Rubber was acquired by colonial powers either through free-trade practices or by forced labor under the direction of a European-controlled concession company. In the areas in which rubber was bought and sold under free-trade agreements, world prices influenced the collection of rubber. High prices encouraged traders and harvesters to collect as much rubber as fast as possible. When worldwide rubber prices dropped, so did production; harvesters turned to other pursuits and traders moved on to more lucrative markets.

However, in areas in which rubber production was managed under a system of concession companies, rubber gatherers were not paid market rates for their rubber and the world price of rubber had little effect on demand. In areas controlled by concession companies, such as the Congo Free State, all rubber was gathered by using forced labor and coercion. When rubber prices dropped, in order to keep profits steady, concessionaires simply increased the quota demanded from rubber gatherers.
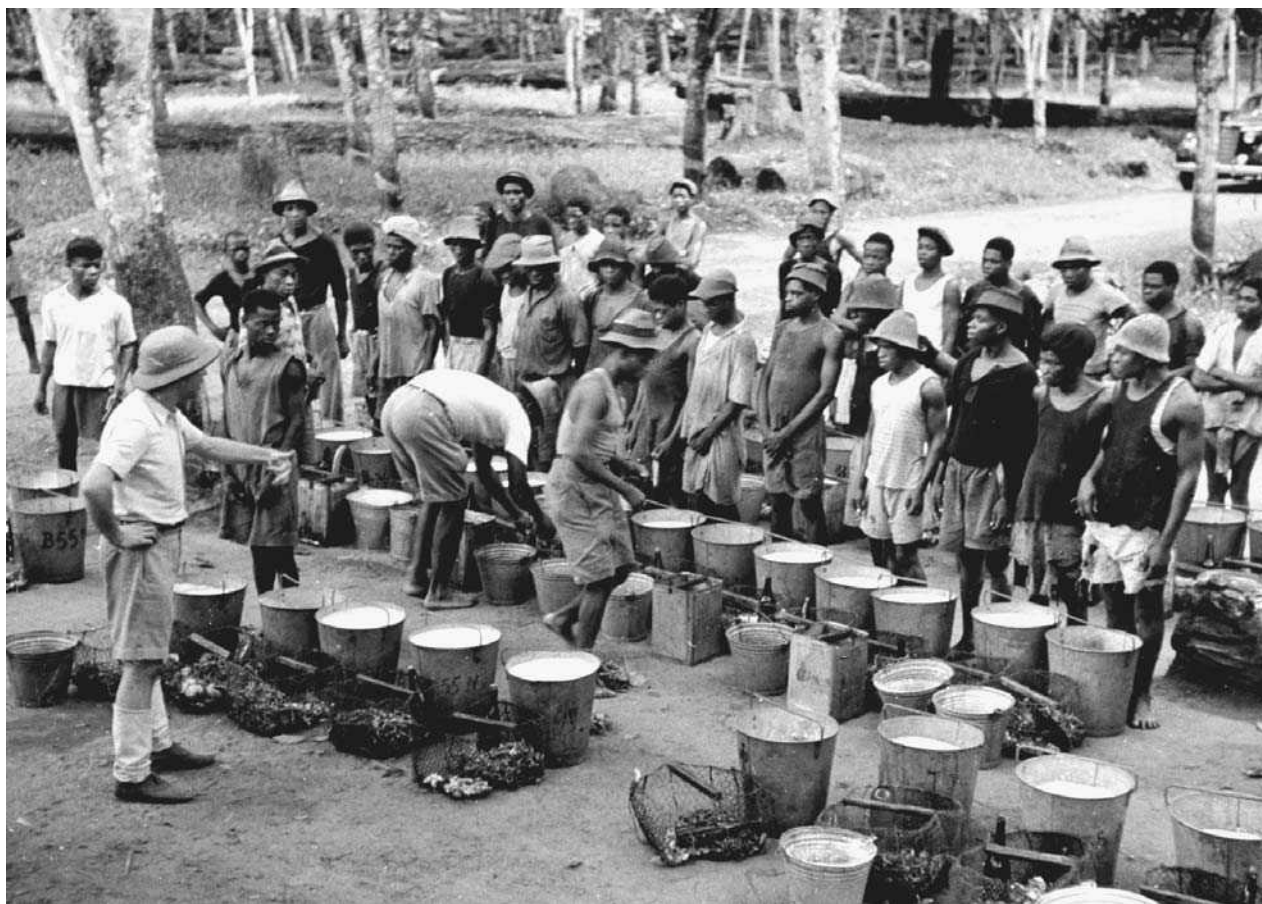
Rubber Gatherers in Cameroon. *Inspectors check the latex collected by native laborers in 1941 in Cameroon. Although the African rubber boom ended in about 1913, rubber production continued in Africa into the later decades of the twentieth century.*
GEORGE RODGER/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

LEOPOLD'S RUBBER EXTRACTION IN THE CONGO

Using the premises of scientific exploration and the need to end the Arab slave trade in Africa, Leopold established the International Association of the Congo. He recruited Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904), the famous Welsh-born explorer of Africa, to seek out and establish several trading and administrative stations along the Congo River and to establish monopoly control over the rich ivory trade in the Congo.

Stanley was instructed to secure treaties from local clan chiefs. Unbeknownst to the local chiefs, they signed documents that ceded their lands and the labor of their people to Leopold. Based on treaties that Stanley acquired with some 450 chiefs, Leopold was granted the Congo as a personal possession at the Congress of Berlin (1884–1885). Leopold's Congo encompassed a vast territory, covering nearly one million square miles and inhabited by twenty million people. It was larger than England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy combined. The Congo region was primarily composed of thick, dense rain forest; however, savannahs and snow-covered volcanic mountains were also part of this terrain.

In the Belgian-controlled Congo Free State, Leopold carried out a massive plunder of the region's resources from 1885 to 1908. He designed policies to loot its rubber, brutalized the people, and ultimately slashed the population by 50 percent (some 10 million people). Almost all exploitable land was divided among concession companies.

The extraction of rubber was accomplished with the imposition of brutal practices against the local people. Forced labor, hostages, slave chains, starving porters, burned villages, paramilitary company "sentries," and the use of the chicotte were standard practices imposed on local peoples. (The *chicotte* was a whip made out of raw, sun-dried hippopotamus hide cut into long, sharp-edged corkscrew strips. It was most often applied to the

bare buttocks of a man staked spread-eagle to the ground. These whippings left permanent scars. Twenty strokes of the chicotte sent a victim into unconsciousness, and one hundred or more strokes were often fatal. The chicotte was freely used in Leopold's Congo.)

In the Congo, concession companies were granted exclusive rights to exploit all the products of the forest for a period of thirty years. The people of the area were expected to collect ivory and wild rubber for the company in lieu of paying taxes to the state. Extra economic coercion in the form of beatings, kidnapping, mutilation, and rape of family members was necessary to force local people to gather rubber.

Rubber agents collected the names of all the men in the villages under their control; each man was given a quota of rubber to collect every two weeks. The rubber agents who worked for the concession companies signed two-year contracts. Their goal was to make a lot of money and return home as quickly as possible. In order to do this they assigned armed sentries, supported by the villages, to watch and ensure proper amounts of rubber were collected. The agents had a personal stake in the amount of rubber collected because they received a 2 percent commission on all rubber they shipped. More importantly, if an agent did not meet his quota he was docked the value of the missing rubber.

The majority of rubber in the Congo came from vines, which eventually died off. In order to increase the supply of rubber being produced, agents insisted that women and children gather rubber as well. In order to avoid exploitation and hardship, some rubber gatherers destroyed the vines on purpose. They believed that if the rubber was gone, the concession company would go away.

The search for rubber created a crisis in the Congo. The agents were irrationally harsh toward gatherers who could not produce enough rubber fast enough. Rubber gatherers abandoned their villages and went into hiding for fear of losing life, limb, or family members. Force Publique officers (Leopold's army) sent their soldiers into the forest to find and kill fleeing villagers and rebels hiding there. To prove they had succeeded, soldiers were ordered to cut off and bring back the right hand of every person they killed. Often, however, soldiers cut off the hands of living persons, even children, to satisfy the quota set by their officers.

This terror campaign succeeded in getting workers to collect rubber. A few villages attempted rebellion, attacking agents and killing sentries. However, resistance by villagers was met with extreme and immediate brutality. Whole villages would be massacred and burned to the ground. Some local people simply gave up and accepted massacre, preferring death to the ceaseless search for rubber that kept them searching in the forest for up to twenty-four days each month. The violence used against the people of the Congo was so extreme that in 1908 Leopold was forced to turn his colony over to the Belgian government.

The tactics used by the agents of the concession companies in Leopold's Congo were perhaps little different than methods used by other colonial powers. The striking thing about Leopold's Congo was the vast deception of his philanthropic mission there. Leopold convinced European powers and the United States to grant him the colony of the Congo. He promised to rid the area of the Arab slave trade and develop free trade on the Congo River. Leopold may have ended the Arab slave trade in the Congo, but he simply replaced it with his own form of slavery. He took possession of the land and its twenty million inhabitants and forced them to work for his personal enrichment and to the benefit of his business associates. He neither developed the region nor provided any benefit to the local people.

SEE ALSO *Belgium's African Colonies.*

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Lorna Lueker Zukas

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) was the struggle between the two dominant nations in northeastern Asia for supremacy in Korea and Manchuria (a region in northeastern China bordering Russia and Mongolia). Russia had begun its expansion into Siberia in the sixteenth century. Its first border conflicts with China were solved via the treaties of Nerchinsk (1689) and Kyakhta (1727). During the eighteenth century, Russia built an empire reaching as far as Alaska, and during the nineteenth century, Russia intensified its empire-building efforts in East Asia. In 1858 China ceded the Amur region to Russia, and in 1860 China further surrendered parts of the coast, where in the same year the Russians established a naval base with the programmatic name Vladivostok ("ruler of the east").

Japan Tramples Korea. *In this illustrated postcard, printed in Russia around 1905, Japanese soldiers heading toward Russia march over a prostrate Korean man.* © RYKOFF COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

After the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), Russian and Japanese interests started to collide. When Japan demanded control of the strategically important harbor of Lüshun (Port Arthur) on China's Liaodong Peninsula, Russia combined forces with Germany and France and forced Japan to back down. Russia then took the harbor for itself in 1898. At the same time, Russia acquired the rights to build railways through Manchuria, providing a vital connection to Vladivostok and the new base at Port Arthur.

Under the pretext of aiding besieged legations in Beijing during the Boxer Uprising of 1900, Russia sent considerable reinforcements into Manchuria. In addition, Russia became interested in extending its influence into Korea, an area that Japan regarded as a potential future colony. Japan and Russia thus failed to reach an agreement on their mutual interests, causing Japan in 1903 to consider going to war. On February 4, 1904, Japan broke diplomatic relations with Russia.

Hostilities commenced without a declaration of war on the night of February 8, 1904, when Japan launched a torpedo boat attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur.

At the same time, the Japanese fleet under Admiral Heihachiro Togo (1847–1934) was on its way to blockade Russian harbors and secure landing operations for the Japanese army on the Korean Peninsula.

Several indecisive naval engagements ensued. At first, the Russian fleet mainly stayed near the coastal batteries at Port Arthur. A brief period of greater Russian activity under Admiral Stepan Osipovich Makarov (1849–1904) ended with the admiral's death when his flagship, *Petropavlovsk,* struck a mine on April 13, 1904. Meanwhile, the Japanese blockade gave their army cover for landing operations in Korea. Japanese forces occupied Korea in February and March 1904, and by the end of April, Japanese troops started to cross the Yalu River into Manchuria.

On May 1, 1904, Russia was defeated in the Battle of the Yalu. Japan combined the advance into Manchuria with further landings on the Manchurian coast, and the Russians were forced to fall back. Russia was thus cut off from Port Arthur, which came under siege from Japan. In August, the Russian fleet attempted to break through to Vladivostok, but was defeated by Togo's forces in the

Battle of the Yellow Sea (August 10). Russia's relief operations failed, and after the Battle of Liaoyang (August 26–September 3), Russian land forces were forced to fall back on Shenyang (Mukden).

After several attempts resulting in high numbers of Japanese casualties, Port Arthur fell to the Japanese on January 2, 1905. The Russians had originally counted on gaining the upper hand with the arrival of reinforcements via the Trans-Siberian Railway, but the connection was too slow and the Russian forces were continually driven back. After victory in the Battle of Mukden (February 19–March 10, 1905), Japanese forces gained the upper hand in Manchuria.

Russia had earlier dispatched its Baltic fleet under Admiral Zinovy Petrovich Rozhestvensky (1848–1909) to relieve Port Arthur. After a long journey around the Cape of Good Hope, the fleet was intercepted by Japan in the Tsushima Strait and was almost annihilated in the Battle of Tsushima (May 27–28, 1905).

Peace between Japan and Russia was negotiated by U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919), and on September 5, 1905, the Treaty of Portsmouth was concluded. Russia ceded Port Arthur and the Liaodong Peninsula to Japan and recognized Korea as a Japanese sphere of influence. Russia's disastrous defeat in the Russo-Japanese War led to the Russian revolution of 1905. After the war, Russia withdrew from the power struggle in East Asia and concentrated on inner reforms and the reconstruction of its military. This first major victory of an Asian power over a Western one came as a surprise. The Japanese success inspired resistance against Western imperialism in all of Asia, and especially in China. Without Russian competition, Japan rapidly expanded its sphere of influence, a development that eventually culminated in World War II in the Pacific.

SEE ALSO *Central Asia, European Presence in; Empire, Japanese.*

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Cord Eberspaecher

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The connections between science, technology, and Western colonialism are strong and complex. The connections were driven and shaped by the European scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, as well as the growing authority of science in the eighteenth century Enlightenment period. Together, these developments established a modern mentality of dominance and expansion, which differed significantly from the premodern period. The new methods of science drove and seemed to vindicate humankind's dominance over, and knowledge of, nature. This ambition frequently translated into exploration, expansion of territory, and consolidation of European authority over indigenous people.

There are four domains of activity where scientific and technological developments intersected most clearly with Western colonialism. First, ever-changing technologies of travel both facilitated and encouraged exploration and territorial expansion. These related both to ocean travel and land travel, in particular the railroad. Second, communication technologies evolved rapidly, especially in the nineteenth century, linking continents and people in novel ways. Innovations in transport and communication in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were spurred by industrializing Britain, and later France, Germany, and the United States. Crucial new technologies were created, themselves requiring extensive circuits of colonial trade in raw materials.

The third domain involves scientific advancements in the field of medicine and health care. Western colonialism created vast medical problems of illness, especially epidemics of infectious disease in indigenous communities. But conversely and paradoxically, one of the driving forces of Western colonialism came to be an apparently curing and caring one, whereby Western hygiene and public health were understood to be one of the great benefits brought to different parts of the world. Fourth, Western science and technology facilitated the development of new arms and weapons. While the contest of arms between colonizers and the colonized was not always as one-sided as might be expected, firearms technology permitted colonization of local people, often in the most brutal way. Differential arms technology also determined the outcome of territorial wars between colonial powers. Since 1450, the European idea of progress has applied to scientific knowledge, imperial territorial, military and administrative expansion, and the increasingly dominant adherence to a Western "civilizing" mission.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

Technologies of transport and travel have enabled and shaped Western colonialism from the Renaissance period onward. The Iberian powers of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic honed sailing and navigating skills for military and fishing purposes over many generations. Square sails were increasingly used alongside lateen sails, an innovation from the Islamic world, which permitted ships to beat into the wind. Spanish and Portuguese sailors in particular developed skills, knowledge, and technology for increasingly wide Atlantic voyages, to the Cape Verde Islands, the Madeiras, and the Canary Islands; along the African coast; and to the Americas.

Technology to make great ocean voyages was within the grasp of not just the Europeans, however. Chinese
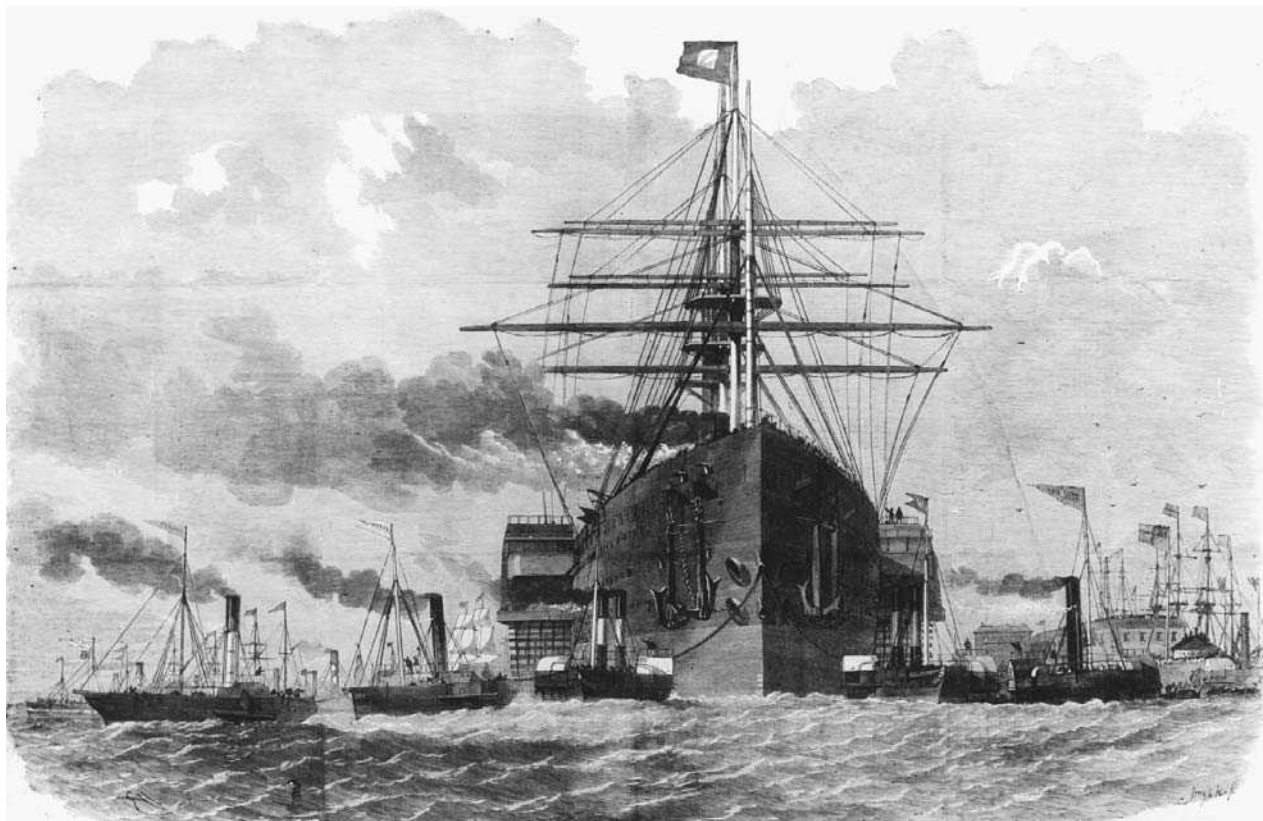
The Great Eastern. *This legendary ship, designed by the British engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel and built in the 1850s, laid the first successful transatlantic telegraph cable, but was scrapped as financially unviable in 1889. This illustration appeared in 1859 in the* Illustrated London News. **ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

navigation and shipping knowledge was comparable in the early period, and Polynesian cultures made long Pacific voyages, between the Hawaiian Islands and Aotearoa/New Zealand, for example. In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Atlantic, and in the eighteenth-century Pacific, European explorers, traders, missionaries, and military often adopted and adapted local means of transport, especially inland. Hudson Bay Company traders around the North American Great Lakes, for example, typically traveled by canoe. However, European navigating, sailing, mapping, and shipbuilding technology incrementally increased over many generations, facilitating the establishment of seasonal coastal trading posts, the permanent plantation settlements, and the commercial endeavors of the Atlantic: slavery and the sugar, tobacco, and fur trades.

Steam power and iron were the twin innovations of the British industrial revolution, and both revolutionized transportation, in turn shaping events in the colonial world. In the nineteenth century, there was a transition away from wooden to iron-hulled ships. With so many European forests denuded, and British shipbuilding largely importing timber, iron offered many advantages for the shipbuilding industries. Wrought iron ships weighed far less, were more durable and the design of ships—their possible size and shape—was more flexible. From the late 1870s, a further transition from wrought iron to steel made ships lighter and more adaptable again.

The nineteenth-century transition from sail to steam affected both oceanic transport and river transport, and facilitated Western exploration of interior African, Asian, and American waterways. Especially in the African continent, steamships made travel possible deep inside a region previously largely closed to Europeans. Developing from the navigation of the Hudson River in New York in 1807, the steam-powered ship appeared in colonial contexts from the 1820s, especially in India, in British movement around China, and later in Africa.

As early as the 1830s, steamers were regularly carrying passengers and freight along the Ganges, and steamers came to be central to various military encounters, for example in the war between the British East India Company and the Kingdom of Burma from 1824. Steam navigation between Britain and India soon also became a

reality. The British government invested in exploratory navigation by steamer across two overland routes: via Mesopotamia and via Egypt, the latter becoming the main route after the Suez Canal opened in 1869. Hybrid steam/sail transport across the Atlantic was possible from 1819, and from 1832 by steam alone. While the steamers did not entirely eclipse sail, especially for navies, they nonetheless reduced travel time considerably between west and east, north and south.

The development of railroads in the 1840s and 1850s consolidated internal expansion and investment in many areas, tying western and colonial economies ever more tightly. In Britain, for example, railroads interested the Lancashire cotton industry in particular, which sought rapid access to cotton-growing districts, as well as to Indian consumers of cotton garments. By the 1860s and 1870s, railway lines criss-crossed the Indian subcontinent. This involved building large bridges across frequently flooding rivers, themselves considerable engineering feats. In the same period, the transcontinental railroads spanned North America from east to west, bringing an infrastructure and a cultural and administrative permanence to territory and people, who had previously been in a more ambiguous and flexible frontier relationship with colonizers. Thus while railroads often brought easy transport, commercial reliability, and predictability to colonial sites, it was usually at the expense of local trade, communications, economies, and cultures.

COMMUNICATION

Part of the drive for quicker transportation was to speed up communication services between colonial peripheries and centers. By sail, letters between, for example, France and Indochina, between Britain and the Straits Settlements, took months, on both outward and return voyages. The steamer revolution steadily shortened this over the nineteenth century, and steam companies competitively coveted much-sought government contracts to deliver mail. For example, the Peninsular and Orient Steam Navigation Company (P&O) won the contract to deliver mail from Britain to Gibraltar and then to Alexandria in Egypt, connecting with the Indian Navy's mail service from Bombay to Suez, where mail was transported between seas on camels. The Suez Canal, opening in 1869, was largely a French initiative. It was impressive less in terms of engineering technology, than in terms of scale and significance. Built mainly by Egyptians, it was used largely by British ships. The territorial acquisition of Egypt in 1882 by the British was almost entirely about strategically securing the crucial Suez Canal route.

It was the technology of cable telegraphy—first land, and then submarine—that enabled even quicker communication. By 1865 a cable linked Britain with India, but ran across land, through much non-British territory. Land cables could always be sabotaged and cut, and it was not until a new line was laid in 1870—mainly submarine from Britain to Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria and then to Suez and India—that telegraph between Britain and India was rapid and reliable.

French colonies were also increasingly linked by telegraphy, with a line laid between France and Algeria in 1879. The increasing reliance on cables for communication was occasionally the rationale for gaining control of territory. At other points it was crucial for communication in times of war, for example the Anglo-Boer War. Telegraphy reduced global communication time from weeks and months, to hours and days, thus promoting and enabling ever-expanding trade and business around the colonial world of the late nineteenth century.

Cables and telegraphs were interrupted as a technology by the use of radio waves and wireless communication in the early twentieth century. In 1901 the first radio waves were transmitted across the Atlantic, from Cornwall to Newfoundland. Soon after, wireless stations appeared in the British, French, and German colonies, often with the ambition to create seamless "wireless chains" around the empires. After 1924 shortwave transmission gave another burst of energy to imperial telecommunications, bringing the most isolated places within instant reach. Much cable telegraphy business had switched to shortwave wireless communication by the late 1920s.

MEDICINE AND HEALTH

Questions of health and medicine were linked to the colonial enterprise from the outset. As soon as Europeans crossed the Atlantic, and explored and colonized the lands and people of Central America and the Caribbean, high mortality and illness rates became evident. Because of this experience of mortality, and because of longstanding climatic understanding of health and disease, in which elements of heat, moisture, air, and environment were seen to be causative, a new field of medicine and science emerged. Initially under the rubric of "the diseases of warm climates," the discipline of tropical medicine arose explicitly from the colonial experience. To some extent, this colonial medicine was concerned with the mortality of Africans on the slave ships and on American plantations, often less for humanitarian than commercial reasons. In the main, however, the concern was to reduce the massive mortality rates of European military, settlers, missionaries, and travellers.
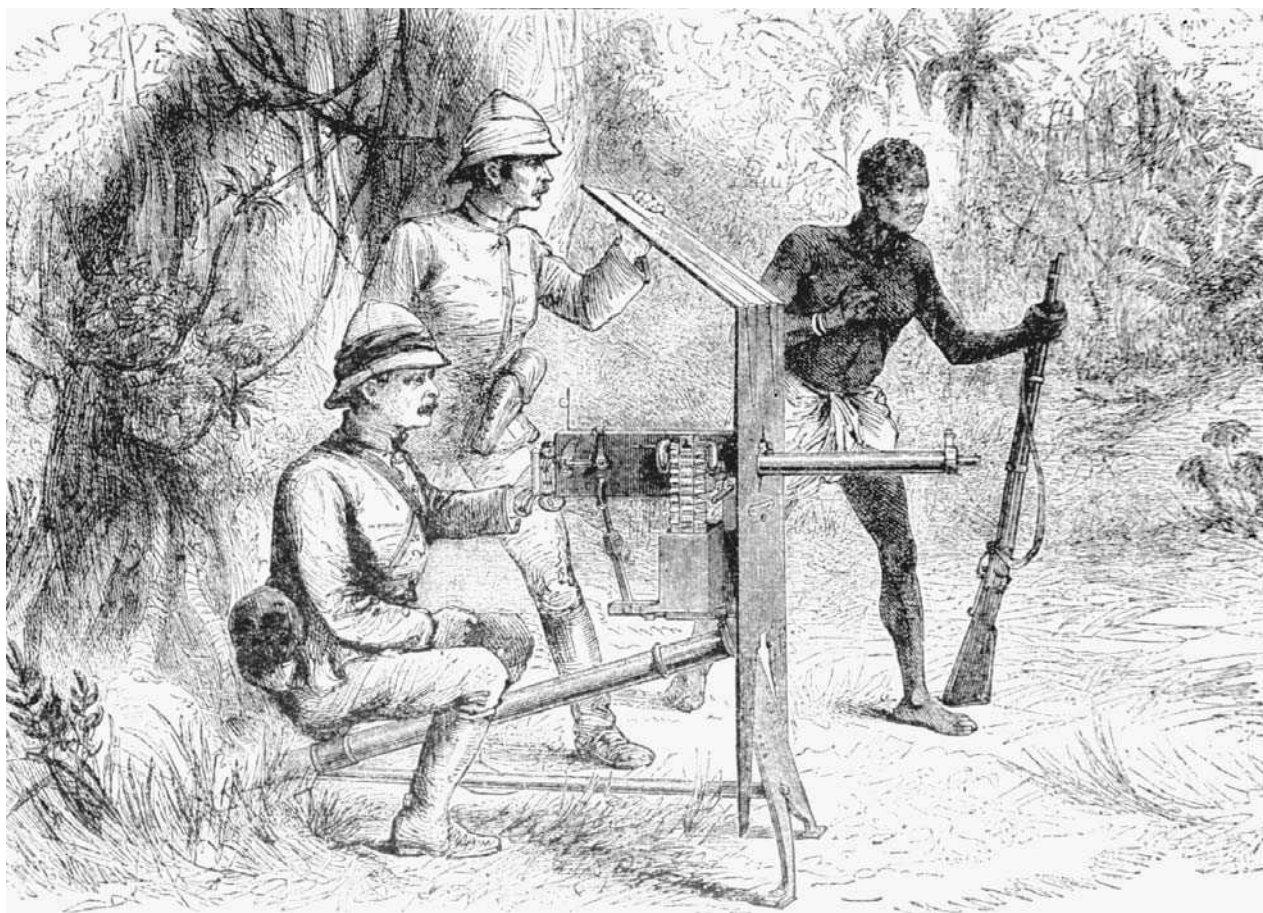
The Maxim Gun. *This late nineteenth-century illustration depicts the first trial of the automatic Maxim machine gun by British Troops in Africa in 1887. The gun was designed by Hiram Maxim in the early 1880s.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The colonial advance from the sixteenth century onward brought hitherto unknown microbes to the New World and brought others back to Europe, an interaction sometimes called the Columbian exchange. The demographic effects between colonizer and colonized populations were vastly different, however. For the Aztecs and Maya of Central America, for the Hawaiians, and for the Eora of eastern Australia, epidemics of infectious diseases meant illness, death, and often rapid depopulation. Smallpox and tuberculosis killed some people, diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea frequently rendered others infertile, seriously altering patterns of reproduction and population replacement. Moreover, the massive changes in land use that often accompanied European colonization seriously compromised indigenous people's health through hunger and starvation, thus unravelling the viability of traditional social and political organization.

Western colonialism, then, created health and medical problems for Europeans, for indigenous people, and for the growing diasporas of people in forced and free migration. But colonialism was also driven by a desire to ameliorate these problems, and increasingly so over the centuries. Thus, for example, if the Hudson Bay Company traders brought smallpox—both wittingly and unwittingly—they also sometimes brought the technology and the material of the smallpox vaccine. Often practical assistance with health and hygiene were the first moves made by colonial missionaries around the world. Western and Christian health care undoubtedly relieved some suffering, but it was also political: it was a means of buying goodwill and, not infrequently, dependence and obligation. By the nineteenth century, when European, North American, and Australasian governments were developing public health bureaucracies and infrastructures in their home countries, the extension of hygiene as rationale for colonial rule of indigenous people became increasingly common.

Pharmacological developments also had a mutual relationship to colonialism, both deriving from and

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facilitating European expansion. The anti-malarial drug quinine is one example. Local people in the Andes had long recognized the curative and preventive properties of the bark of the cinchona tree. Jesuits brought the bark to Europe in the seventeenth century, and thereafter securing sources of the bark was one reason for increasingly penetrating journeys into the region. Prompted by the need to reduce death rates from malaria in the military, French scientists successfully extracted quinine from the cinchona bark in 1820, undertook experimental research in Algeria, and began commercial production.

Thereafter, large quantities of quinine as anti-malarial prophylaxis were widely used, especially by British and French troops in tropical colonies. Its well-known efficacy clearly assisted British, U.S. and German explorations through Central Africa, and enabled a more permanent French presence in both North and West Africa. Mortality rates for European military as well as civilian populations in colonies began to fall dramatically, and the demand for the bark grew accordingly. This in turn spurred other colonial initiatives to cultivate the tree outside the Andes. The Netherlands East Indies government grew it successfully in Java, as did the British government in India. In the case of malaria, the cinchona tree, and quinine, colonialism created the conditions both of demand and supply.

ARMS

The history of colonialism is also the history of war. Armed combat took place between invading colonizers and indigenous people, from the Spanish invasion of central America, to the British expansion into the Australian continent, to Germans in the Congo. It also took place between competing colonial powers, often involving local people as well. The wars between the French and British in North America through the eighteenth century, for example, were consistently about securing territory on that continent. Especially from the middle of the nineteenth century, the technologies of firearms, and what historians sometimes call the arms gap, decided outcomes.

The arms gap sometimes enabled the massacre of local people by colonizers, with or without government consent. For example, the mass killing of the Kenyan Mau Mau rebels and civilians by the British after 1952 took the force it did partly because of technology available. But it was not always the case that those with firearms were at an unquestioned advantage in colonial wars. For example, when British colonists came to settle in Sydney from 1788, they were often anxious about the spearing skills of the local men, used both to kill and for ritual punishment. The muzzle-loading muskets, which British soldiers and settlers held in that instance, took

around one minute to load, and they had to be kept dry. They were simply not always a match for spearing technology. Nor was it consistently the case that colonized people were without firearms. People long involved in the slave trade in Africa, for example, were often armed with muskets and ammunition. The exchange of slaves for firearms was a basic one in that commercial circuit, although often the crudest and cheapest kind of firearm was bartered.

In another example, the Cree in present-day Canada exchanged furs for guns, dealing as middlemen between the Hudson Bay Company and other Native groups, who gradually incorporated traded firearms into their way of life. The world of colonialism was constantly involved in firearms dealing.

Partly because of this trade, and driven by the demands of Western warfare, firearms technology gained pace in the nineteenth century. The invention of the small metal cap for explosives meant that after 1814 the imperative to keep muskets dry was minimized. New oblong bullets were invented in France in 1848, and were tested in the colonies: the French used these bullets first in Algeria, and the British against the Xhosa in the Kaffir War of 1851–1852. Around the 1860s there was a crucial technological shift from muzzleloaders to breechloaders. It was the breechloading gun that created a major discrepancy in power between those with and those without. The American-developed "repeating rifle" and the Maxim, invented by Hiram S. Maxim in 1884, only increased this discrepancy in power. The Maxim was light and could shoot multiple bullets each second. The explorer of Africa, Henry Morton Stanley, had a Maxim gun on his 1886–1888 expedition, as did Lord Kitchener in his conquest of the Sudan in 1898. Both used the gun to achieve their respective colonizing goals.

Knowledge, technology, and power go together. The history of colonialism is a history of often vastly different knowledge systems encountering one other. It is a history of competing, transferring, and evolving technologies. And it is a history of power relations, not always expressed physically and technologically, but frequently so. Major changes in the European world from the Renaissance onward, including the scientific revolution, the development of mercantile capitalism, the industrial revolution, and the communications revolution—all occurred in the era of colonialism, not incidentally, but relatedly. The search for a newly valued scientific knowledge itself explicitly drove many European expeditions, especially in the eighteenth century. The development of technology often facilitated new places and means of travel, exploration, and colonization. Sometimes, science and technology were actively employed to rationalize extended colonial rule of people and territory, under a

humanitarian and civilizing logic. Always, technologies established new Western infrastructures in foreign places, which created a momentum of exponential expansion for trade, commerce, government, and settlement.

SEE ALSO *China, Foreign Trade; Railroads, Imperialism; Sugar Cultivation and Trade; Tobacco Cultivation and Trade.*

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Alison Bashford

SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

Between 1875 and 1914, European countries invaded and subjugated almost all of the African continent. Historians have long debated the causes for this break with past European policies toward Africa. The rising European appetite for conquest, and the willingness of European governments to pay for imperialist ventures, has become known as the "New Imperialism" to distinguish it from older traditions of colonialism before 1850. Earlier policies focused more on seeking commercial influence rather than formal occupation.

CAUSES OF THE SCRAMBLE

No one cause can explain the Scramble. Rather, a conjunction of attitudes favorable to empire, technological advances, and political and social concerns led different governments to believe the occupation of Africa would be
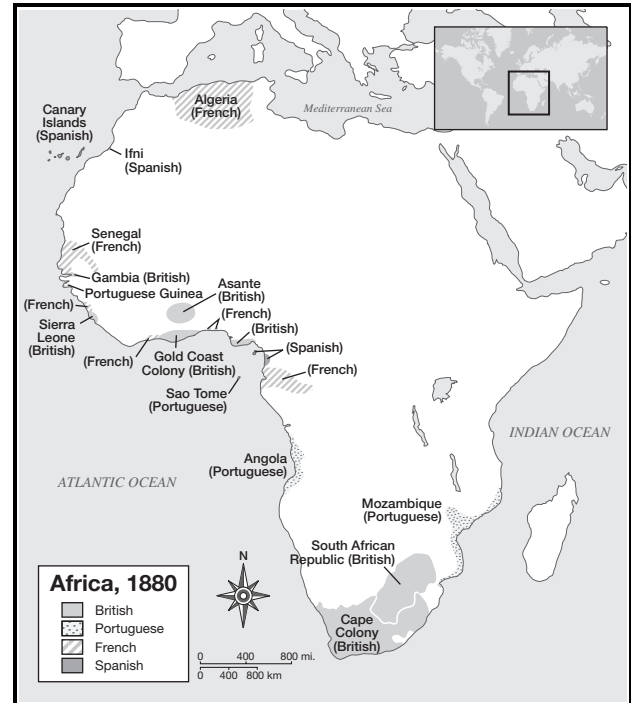
Europe's Colonies in Africa, 1880. *Britain, France, Portugal, and Spain had established a number of colonies in Africa by 1880, four years before the Berlin Conference was convened to resolve territorial disputes between these and other colonial powers.* MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

possible, necessary, and cheap. Technological developments created a short-lived, but radical, discrepancy between African and European countries. Quinine, steamboats, and new armaments like the machine gun gave Europeans a tremendous advantage over most African states. Many Europeans also considered technological prowess a sign of their moral superiority over Africans.

Economic needs also helped lead to occupation, although it was often done for getting quick profits rather than tangible benefits that resulted from colonization. J.A. Hobson (1858–1940) and Communist leader Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) argued that imperialism stemmed from the need of capitalist societies to find new markets for their factories and raw materials so as to fuel production. However, this economic explanation fails to acknowledge that very few colonies turned a profit before World War I (1914–1918) and that most European investors preferred to put their money elsewhere. Only South Africa, where gold and diamonds were discovered before 1880, attracted many companies and extensive capital.

Other factors entered into the equation of African colonization. French politicians and military officers bitter at the loss of Alsace and Lorraine saw the domination

of Africa as a chance for their country to remain a world power. Nationalists from many countries clamored for wars of conquest. Some politicians, like the Conservative Party minister Lord Salisbury and German premier Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), personally disdained Africa, but felt the balance of power in Europe could only be kept through an equitable division of African spoils. Missionary writers like David Livingstone (1813–1873) presented Africa as ravaged by the slave trade and primitive superstition. The popularity of social Darwinist doctrines of European biological superiority led others to espouse empire, like South African magnate Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902). Finally, ambitious Europeans in Africa proved more willing to carve out empires using indigenous troops than their home country's regime ever planned.

HOW THE SCRAMBLE HAPPENED

Events in North and West Africa set the foundation for the occupation of Africa. The Egyptian government under Khedive Ismail (1830–1895) ran up enormous debts building the Suez Canal and other modernizing projects. Because of its debts, the British and French government took over much of Africa in 1879. European disagreements during the Balkan Crisis of 1875–1878 led to the British occupation of Cyprus. The French government received the tacit agreement of London to the occupation of Tunisia in 1881 as compensation. Once British forces put down a nationalist revolt in Egypt in 1882, French politicians demanded compensation. French officers also began expanding their authority in Senegal from 1879 onward.

By 1882 others entered the competition. Leopold II (1835–1909) of Belgium had long dreamed of creating an empire, and hired Anglo-American journalist Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904) to help promote a supposedly scientific association, the African International Association, that had as its real goal the creation of a Central African state controlled by Leopold II himself. French officer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza (1852–1905) and Stanley both persuaded African chiefs along the Congo River to sign dubious treaties on behalf of their rival sponsors. The Portuguese government, alarmed by British designs on Southern Africa as well as these moves into Central Africa on territory it had long claimed but never controlled, signed an agreement in 1884 with the British respecting Portuguese rights on the Congo River. To resolve these disputes, Bismarck organized the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885.

The Berlin Conference set up a procedure for how African territory could be taken over by European countries. France and Germany decided to permit Leopold II to form the Congo Free State as long as he allowed free
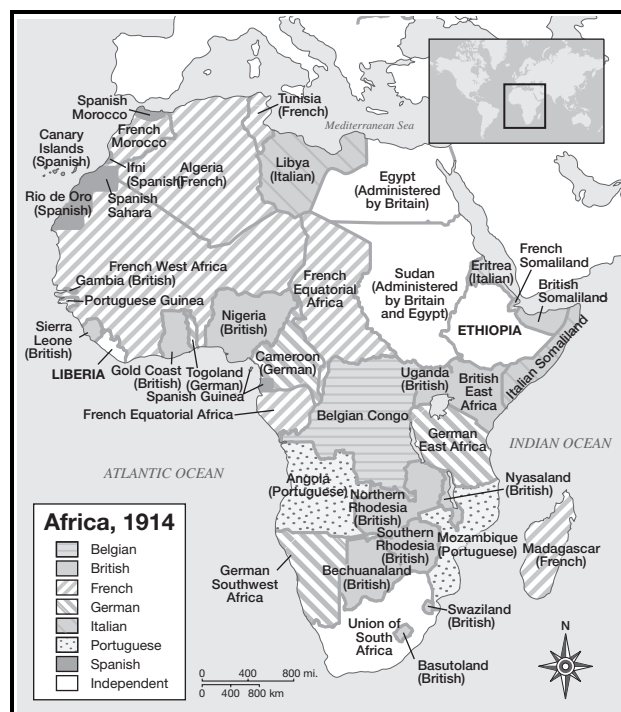
Colonized Africa, 1914. The scramble for Africa began in the 1880s, when the European colonial powers raced to establish formal colonies in Africa. By the time World War I began in 1914, most of Africa was under European control. MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

trade within its borders. Representatives from most European nations attended. The Niger and Congo Rivers were declared free for naval travel. Countries could claim territory with signed treaties and proof of "effective occupation." General "spheres of influence" were created, but the colonial borders were only fixed between 1885 and 1911.

After the Scramble, European countries did not immediately leap into invasion. French officers set their sights on the destruction of the Umarian Muslim kingdom in the late 1880s, but only succeeded in defeating it and other African leaders like Samory Touré (1830–1900) in the following decade. Attempts by European countries to rely on private companies, like Sir James Goldie's National African Company, to save expenses usually led to formal occupation once these firms proved unable to pay for and maintain colonial occupation. Competition between European countries for African land continued until World War I. French and English forces nearly squared off over the Sudan at the village of Fashoda in 1898, for example, but their disputes eventually were resolved through diplomacy.

African communities could sometimes fight guerilla wars for decades, but only once succeeded in completely

defeating invaders. Ethiopia, led by Menelik II (1844–1913) and his well-prepared army, defeated Italian plans of conquest at the battle of Adowa in 1896, forcing Italy to recognize it as a sovereign nation. The white Boer republics defeated British forces in 1881, but a second war between the two resulted in English victory after a long conflict from 1899 to 1902. One of the reasons for European victory lay in the use of African auxiliaries. Another lay in political divisions between Africans. Vying factions in Buganda, the Tanzanian coast, and elsewhere tried to enlist European aid, often at the ultimate cost of their own independence. Some Africans profited from invasion, but many more suffered from taxes, forced labor, epidemics, and forced migrations in the initial years of European rule.

SEE ALSO *Berlin Conference; Stanley, Henry Morton.*

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Jeremy Rich

SCRAMBLE FOR CONCESSIONS

China's defeats in the so-called Opium Wars brought on the unequal treaty system. Its main features, extraterritoriality and the 5 percent ad valorem tariff, clearly reflected imperialist imposition on China's integrity and the decline of the Qing dynasty. Still, led by Great Britain, and perhaps best symbolized by Sir Robert Hart and the China Maritime Customs Service, these efforts led to an informal empire, China's semi-colonial status, and rule, in a way, by missionaries and merchants, defended when necessary by military force.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the situation changed greatly. In 1884–1885, France easily defeated China and took control of Indochina, a peripheral part of the traditional empire. Matters worsened when, in 1894–1895, Japan equally easily defeated Qing forces and demanded a series of territorial concessions including the island of Formosa, the nearby Pescadore Islands, Korea, and the Liaotung Peninsula in southern Manchuria.

The "triple intervention" in which France and Germany joined with Russia temporarily halted Japanese expansion onto the Asian mainland. Russia demanded a reward for keeping Japan from taking southern Manchuria, and used construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway to gain approval for a shortcut across Manchuria. This shortcut, the Chinese Eastern Railway, saved 1,036 square kilometers (400 square miles) on the 12,949-square-kilometer (5,000-square-mile) trip from Moscow to Vladivostok, and became a vehicle for Russian expansion into Manchuria. Similarly, Germany demanded a concession in eastern Shandong. France also used railway construction to move from Indochina into the Chinese provinces, Yunnan and Guangxi, along the border. Japan sought control over Fujian and Zhejiang provinces that faced Formosa across the Taiwan Straits. And Great Britain, not wanting to lose out as its informal empire gradually collapsed, sought control of Guangdong province adjacent to its leasehold in Hong Kong and Kowloon as well as territory along the lower Yangtze River.

Indeed, many Chinese feared that China would soon go the way of sub-Saharan Africa, and that the Middle Kingdom would disappear from world maps. This hatred of foreign imperialism and the Chinese who, in converting to Christianity, seemed to turn their back on tradition, led to the rise of a secret society, the Righteous and Harmonious Fists, the so-called Boxers that conservative elements of the Qing dynasty encouraged to throw off the foreign yoke. The resulting rebellion surged to Beijing in 1900 and besieged the foreign embassies and the Chinese Christian converts hiding in the legations; a relief expedition advanced to Beijing and rescued the besieged.

For the United States, the scramble for concessions was troubling. After the 1890s depression and America's new empire after war with Spain and the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, American business wanted markets for surplus production, and the China market was tempting. The U.S. secretary of state, John Hay, with encouragement from the British government, issued two "Open Door" notes in which he called on the imperial powers

not to cut China to pieces and not to incorporate those pieces into mercantile empires closed to American business. Most of the foreign powers ignored Hay, and the situation in China devolved as the Qing dynasty collapsed, and Yuan Shikai seized control and the world moved to World War I (1914–1918). Thereafter, in the 1920s and 1930s, Japan and China began to move down the road to war.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; Open Door Policy.*

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Charles M. Dobbs

SECULAR NATIONALISMS, MIDDLE EAST

Prior to World War I (1914–1918), secular nationalism in the Middle East was largely confined to military and administrative elites with Western educations. In the Islamic and multiethnic Ottoman Empire, such elites established Turkish and Arab cultural associations and secret nationalist societies after the constitutional revolutions of 1908 and 1909. Of the Middle Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire, only in Egypt did nationalism emerge as something approaching a popular movement before World War I. The country had become almost independent under a dynasty of governors established by the ethnic Albanian, Mehmet Ali (1770–1849).

By the end of the 1870s, bureaucrats, journalists, military officers, and landowners had begun to protest intensive political and economic intervention in Egyptian affairs by European powers. The protests were expressed in terms of Ottoman and Islamic identity as well as Egyptian territorial nationalism. A broadly based movement against European intervention and for constitutional government coalesced around Ahmad 'Urābī (1839–1911), a military officer and minister of war. In 1882 a British invasion force suppressed his movement and thus began the occupation of the country. Until after

World War I, the Egyptian independence movement remained primarily one of Western-oriented landowners, journalists, and lawyers, exemplified by Mustafa Kamil (1874–1908) and his National Party.

World War I brought the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. Soon after, ethnic Turks in Anatolia fought a two-year war of independence against Greek and Allied invaders. The leader of the independence movement, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), along with other former Ottoman officers and officials, established the Turkish Republic in 1923 in the reconquered areas. The new state's ideology, known as Kemalism, emphasized secularism, Turkish nationalism, and republicanism as the basis of political identity. These ideas were inculcated with remarkable rapidity through the school system and the conscript army.

Egyptians resumed their struggle against British control after World War I with a popular revolt in 1919. The country gradually gained independence through a series of treaties signed with Great Britain in 1922, 1936, and 1954. The most influential party in this period was the secular, nationalist Wafd (Delegation) Party, led first by Sa'd Zaghlūl, (1857–1927), another landowning lawyer. The Wafd's influence peaked in the 1930s, while in the same period the Muslim Brotherhood emerged as a popular movement and a critic of the secularism of the Egyptian elite.

Egyptian nationalism was initially distinct from Arab nationalism, which became predominant in the Arab Levant and Fertile Crescent after World War I. During the war, in 1916, Sharif Husayn (1835–1931) of Mecca had launched a British-supported Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire. Although some members of the prewar secret Arab nationalist societies joined his revolt, most of his followers were motivated by tribal loyalties and British subsidies, rather than by nationalist ideals. Following the war, the Arab Levant and Fertile Crescent were divided into four League of Nations mandates. These were Iraq, Syria (including Lebanon), Palestine, and Transjordan, each of which was promised eventual independence as a nation-state. Iraq, established as a monarchy under British supervision, gained independence in 1932. Iraqi Arab nationalism, with strong overtones of Pan-Arab nationalism, was inculcated through the newly established school system, youth organizations, and the conscript army. Army officers in particular resented continued British influence in Iraqi affairs. The mandate for Syria, under French tutelage, was constituted as two republics, Syria and Lebanon, both of which gained independence in 1946.

After an anti-French revolt lasting from 1925 to 1927, leading Syrian politicians formed the National Bloc as the principal association working for independence. The Bloc's
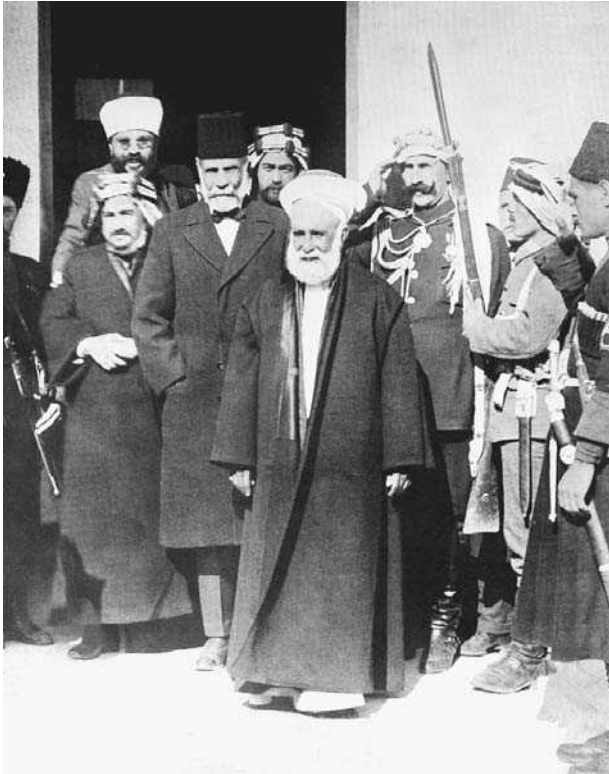
Hashemite King Hussein ibn 'Ali. *The king of Hejaz and the caliph al-Islam (front center), photographed on April 3, 1924, leaving the royal palace in Amman.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

supporters spread Syrian Arab and Pan-Arab nationalism through the school system, Boy Scout troops, and athletic clubs. Syrian and Pan-Arab nationalism expanded similarly in Lebanon, but they competed with a specifically Lebanese nationalism that was strong especially among Maronite Christians, who were traditionally close to the French. The most significant political party expressing Lebanese nationalism was the Phalange, established in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel (1905–1984).

Palestine, under British control, also saw the spread of Arab nationalism in much the same manner as Syria. However, the Zionist movement, benefiting by British protection, made the quest for Palestinian independence even more difficult. By 1935, five Arab nationalist political parties had been established in the country, though some had no popular followings. Palestinians launched an uprising against Great Britain and the Zionists in 1936, which the British put down by 1939.

The Arab world in the 1940s experienced the intensification of Pan-Arab nationalism. This was true even in Egypt, where the League of Arab States was headquartered after its creation in 1945. Widespread support in the Arab world for the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs against Zionist colonization further magnified Pan-Arab sentiments, although allied Arab armies were defeated by the new state of Israel in the 1948 Palestine War.

Outside of the former Ottoman Empire, Iran also experienced secular nationalism after World War I. There, as in Turkey, the emergence of secular nationalism was a state-led development. In 1926, the army's commander in chief, Reza Khan (1878–1944), brought an end to the ruling Qajar dynasty and established himself as shah, taking the name of Pahlavi for his dynasty. Modeling his program on that of Atatürk, Reza Shah strove to inculcate in the Iranian people a secular Persian identity drawing on Iran's pre-Islamic traditions.

With considerably less success than Atatürk, Reza Shah advanced these ideas especially through a new secular school system and the military, and he created a secular legal system intended to replace Islamic courts. He abdicated and was replaced by his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), in 1941, early in the British-Soviet occupation of the country. In the same year, the Iran Party was formed as a secular nationalist party opposed to the authoritarianism of the shah and to foreign interventionism. The Iran Party joined Islamist and leftist parties in the National Front, established in 1949 and led by the democratic reformer Muhammad Musaddiq (1881–1967). The National Front government of 1951–1953 was overthrown in a military coup supported by the United States and Great Britain, thus restoring effective authority to the shah.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Ottoman.*

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Weldon C. Matthews

SEGREGATION, RACIAL, AFRICA

The arrival of Europeans in southern Africa in 1487 set in motion a long period of upheaval that transformed the region and eventually led to white domination of the black population. Years of violent clashes between the Portuguese, Dutch, Germans, and numerous African peoples, Dutch settlers and the British, and the British and Africans left millions dead and black Africans subject to white laws and regulations. Foremost among these was segregation, expropriation of African property, the restricting of Africans' movement and activities within their own countries, and the forcing of blacks to relocate to special "reserves" apart from white society. Throughout the southern Africa region (South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia), whites claimed a monopoly over political power, the right to exploit local people economically, and eventually the right to determine where people lived and worked and the type of education they received.

From 1487 until the 1870s southern Africa was a hodgepodge of African kingdoms, white Afrikaner republics, and European colonies. However, by the late nineteenth century all of southern Africa's peoples fell within the domain of a European power. The segregation policies that transformed Africans from independent producers to squatters, wage laborers, and primarily rural-based female reproducers of laborers were first set out on the preindustrial frontier in the Afrikaner republics and in the British colony of Natal. In the Afrikaner republics, the principle was established that only those of white ancestry were eligible for citizenship rights, creating a white monopoly on political power; in Natal, policies of territorial segregation designated separate living areas for blacks and whites. Each group coexisted, with the British focused on commerce and trade and the Africans and the Afrikaners concerned with farming.

Developing economies and the need for cheap labor led to laws created by whites that legally separated races to the benefit of those of European descent and to the detriment of those of African descent. In 1809 the British introduced the Hottentot Code. This racially discriminatory legislation forced Khoikhoi and other free blacks to work for low wages. The law required that Africans carry passes stating where they lived and who their employers were. The law compelled
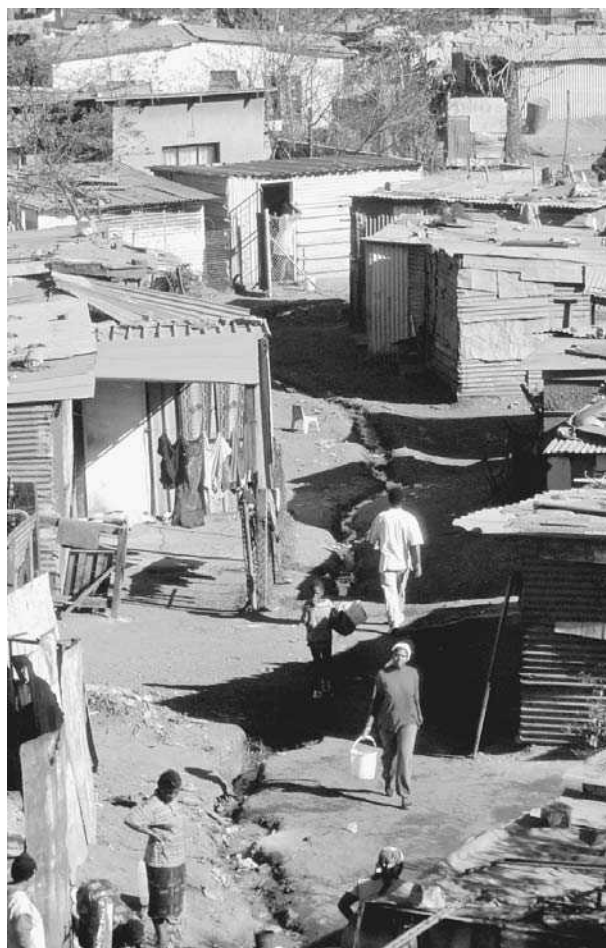
A Neighborhood in Soweto, South Africa. Soweto, a group of urban townships near Johannesburg, was built during South Africa's apartheid era. Many Soweto residents are poor and live in shacks in overcrowded neighborhoods like the one pictured here. © SERGE ATTAL/VISUM/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

blacks to work for whites since whites issued the passes, and without a pass blacks could not move about freely.

In the late nineteenth century, when gold and diamonds were discovered in South Africa, and copper and other minerals, as well as rich agricultural lands, were encountered in other parts of southern Africa, white settlers established booming industries that relied heavily on low-paid black labor. These discoveries led to increased segregation and stratification between blacks and whites. To compel Africans to work in the migrant labor system, blacks throughout southern Africa were moved to reservations set aside as African homelands (sometimes called tribal trust lands, native purchase areas, or native reserves). Africans could not live outside the black areas without permission. The way they got permission was to work on a white-owned farm or in one of the many mines.

Mine owners organized a system to recruit and distribute black migrant labor from neighboring colonies. In South Africa, legislation was passed that required blacks to carry a pass stating their legal entitlement to work in an area, whether or not they had completed their contractual obligations, and whether they could leave the city. The passes limited the mobility of the workers and thus their ability to seek better-paying jobs. Segregation policies affected the rights of Africans to own land, to live or travel where they chose, and to enjoy job security or the freedom to switch jobs, leading finally to a limit on black power in southern Africa.

In the twentieth century, segregation restricted Africans to dangerous, unskilled, low-paid jobs in mining and industry or to laboring on white-owned farms, while supervisory jobs in all economic sectors were held by highly paid whites. Africans went to extensive lengths to avoid working in the white economy with its embedded discriminatory practices. Expropriation and hardship were not enough to force African men into mining work or work on commercial farms. In an effort to coerce the men to work, artificial monetary needs, mostly in the form of hut taxes, were introduced into the economy. Taxes—which had to be paid in cash—were imposed by white law. Unable to raise the necessary cash for taxes through subsistence farming, African men were forced to sell their labor-power in a white-designed system of male migratory work. The white political system completely colonized the life-world of black Africans. There was little room for autonomy on the part of Africans. By the 1940s many rural areas were nearly dependent on migrant remittances.

The men migrated to work, leaving their families in the rural native reserves; men were paid barely subsistence wages. Whites assumed that women and children in the African homelands produced their own income through subsistence farming, so they did not pay African males enough to support their families. This kept African wages very low and ensured poverty in the rural areas. The black homelands became domestic labor reservoirs and were used as a backup for the men when they were sick or could no longer work in the mines or on the farms.

Throughout southern Africa, whites maintained attitudes of superiority, paternalistic benevolence, and social distance toward Africans. Segregationist policies, legitimated by scientific claims from biologists, anthropologists, and other experts provided whites with higher social status and enabled them to maintain economic and political advantages. The system forced separation of African families, disenfranchised Africans from governance of their nations, and forced men to work in prison-like compounds. In South Africa, contemptuous superiority toward Africans created the most drastic form of white domination. South Africa's policy of segregation stripped nonwhite residents of virtually all their civil rights, including the right to move freely within the country. Blacks were forced into separate schools, driven out of white areas in towns and cities, and made into a permanent underclass with no chance of improving their lives. Apartheid sanctioned discrimination against nonwhites until it was abolished in the 1990s.

SEE ALSO *Apartheid.*

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SELF-DETERMINATION, EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

While most of the former colonies of Asia achieved independence in the decade after 1945, only in the 1970s did the smaller, more remote and resource-poor colonies of Oceania gain sovereignty. Decolonization, however, did not satisfy all nationalist aspirations, and not all possessions have become independent states.

In Indonesia, for example, a secession movement in the Moluccas in 1949 proved unsuccessful; support for independence remains strong with both the local and diasporic populations. In the 1990s, pro-independence movements gained ground in Aceh (on the island of Sumatra) and in West Papua (on the island of New Guinea), although Indonesian authorities used military force to repress these contestatory movements. Only in East Timor did the campaign for independence succeed. The former Portuguese colony was annexed by Indonesia in 1975, but a long clandestine struggle finally secured a

referendum favorable to independence. The Indonesian army and local anti-independence militias thereupon ravaged the territory, but intervention by United Nations troops allowed recognition of East Timor's sovereignty in 2002. The world's newest independent state faces formidable challenges of reconstruction, economic development, and the creation of a republican political culture.

Elsewhere in eastern Asia, the most prominent (and violent) movement for self-determination has occurred in the southern Philippines. In each of these cases, nationalist ideology has been based on ethnic, cultural, and regional differences between insurgent areas and the nation-state of which they sometimes unwillingly formed a part. Religious differences have pitted Christians in East Timor, the Moluccas, and West Papua against predominantly Muslim Indonesia, and stimulated Muslim sentiments in the largely Catholic Philippines. (Acehnese, who are Muslim, base their nationalism on the historical and cultural specificities of the region.)

Contemporary moves to self-determination in the Pacific islands have been most obvious in the French overseas territories, though there was a protracted, violent, and unsuccessful effort by Bougainville islanders to secede from Papua New Guinea. In New Caledonia, indigenous Melanesians undertook a campaign for independence that provoked strong "loyalist" reactions by descendants of settlers in the 1980s. Kidnapping, hostage taking, and assassination punctuated various attempts to solve the conflict, which ultimately resulted, in 1988, in the declaration of a moratorium on constitutional change for the next quarter century.

In French Polynesia, a similar but less intense and violent campaign brought together Polynesians in opposition to the French state and local elites. Both island groups remain integral parts of the French Republic with increased autonomy. Nationalist movements among Maoris in New Zealand and Polynesians in Hawaii have managed some political and cultural gains, but without major constitutional changes. West Papuans, who are Melanesian, see their efforts to win self-determination as part of a wider struggle by native populations of Oceania. Several island groups, particularly in Micronesia, have meanwhile opted for continuing formal ties with the United States, the former administering power. Throughout Oceania, rebel movements have based their ideologies on indigenous culture and heritage, Western-style nationalism and constitutionalism, and, in some cases, at least until the 1990s, vaguely Marxist analyses of economic exploitation. Christian ideals have been incorporated into the discourse of self-determination in a region where religion continues to play a strong role.

The boundaries of most Southeast Asian and island Pacific states are inherited from the colonial epoch, and populations seldom form homogeneous nations. The cohabitation of Europeans and indigenous peoples in New Zealand, New Caledonia, and Hawaii, of islanders and Indians in Fiji, of Malays and Chinese in Malaysia, and of a plethora of ethnic groups in such countries as Indonesia has inevitably created deep and abiding tensions. Political circumstances—most evident in the ideological and military clashes of the Korean War of the 1950s and Vietnam War of the 1960s and 1970s—are also linked with self-determination, state formation, and big-power intervention. The rise of a militantly political Islam and the resurgence of nationalism in such areas as West Papua, suggest renewed campaigns for self-determination, even while globalization continues to effect changes throughout the region.

SEE ALSO *Decolonization, East Asia and Pacific; French Polynesia; Moluccas.*

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Robert Aldrich

SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENTS, EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

In the nineteenth century, the self-strengthening movement represented a common strategy among East Asian countries facing the challenge of Western imperialism. In China, Japan, and Korea, self-strengthening programs signaled a compromise between conservatives who longed for a return to Confucian tradition and radicals who embraced wholesale westernization.

The slogan "Eastern ethics and Western science" popularized by the Japanese samurai-scholar Sakuma Shōzan (1811–1864), and the distinction between base *(ti)* and utility *(yong)* articulated by the Chinese scholar-official Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909), indicate an implicit assumption among advocates of self-strengthening that culture and technology could be compartmentalized. The goals of self-strengthening—creating institutions and procedures for handling foreign affairs and acquiring Western technology to build up the military and industrial bases of the country—would not affect the

fundamental nature or character of the national culture. Indeed, the ultimate purpose of self-strengthening, its sponsors insisted, was to protect the national essence by using Western techniques.

Among the East Asian countries, Japan emerged the strongest as a result of self-strengthening. Its long history of cultural borrowing and the tradition of Dutch learning provided precedents for learning from foreigners. Continuing with this practice, the Tokugawa shogunate created the Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books in 1857 and sponsored study-abroad expeditions. The immediate task was to strengthen Japan's military capabilities and land fortifications, which had grown weak after two centuries of relative peace. Embodying the spirit of the self-strengthening movement, the acquisition and application of Western knowledge and methods were accompanied by moral exhortations to strictly follow Confucian ethics. As Japan's self-strengthening program accelerated and the emperor system became the basis of the new national ideology, however, Japan's modernization program shed its Confucian veneer and opened the door to sweeping changes.

In contrast, the self-strengthening movement in China did not trigger dramatic transformations; the orthodox conservatives were too entrenched in the Qing bureaucracy and stymied any reforms they felt threatened the Confucian basis of Chinese civilization. Consequently, the Chinese self-strengthening movement was limited and gradual. Beginning with the Tongzhi Restoration in 1861, the Qing court initiated a program to modernize the military and create new institutions to deal directly with the foreign powers, the most notable of which was the Zongli Yamen (Office of General Management). In later years, the self-strengthening movement broadened to include modernization programs in transportation, communications, mining, and light industry.

Less cohesive and successful in Korea and elsewhere in the Pacific, self-strengthening movements nevertheless appealed to traditionalists who recognized the urgency of adopting Western techniques if they wished to preserve their civilization. Self-strengtheners did not promote assimilation, for they consciously sought to preserve the core of the original culture; East and West were never to merge. And although they relied on foreigners for advice and direction and were labeled traitors to their culture by those resistant to any interaction with the West, self-strengtheners were not collaborators; during the self-strengthening movement the countries in East Asia retained their territorial sovereignty.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonialism, East Asia and the Pacific; Self-Determination, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Lisa Tran

SENGHOR, LÉOPOLD SÉDAR
1906–2001

Born on October 9, 1906, in Joal-la-Portugaise to a Serer father (Basile Diogoye Senghor) and a Fulani/Peul mother (Gnilane Bakhoum), Léopold Sédar Senghor was arguably Africa's best-known poet-statesman of the twentieth century. In 1922 he enrolled in a Dakar seminary (Collège Libermann) with the hope of becoming a Catholic priest, but his ambition ended abruptly when he was expelled for participating in a protest against racism. After graduating from high school in 1928, he received a scholarship to France where he studied French literature at the prestigious École Normale Supérieure. In 1932 he became a French citizen. He taught in French schools before serving in an all-African unit in the French army during World War II. Mobilized in 1940, he was captured by the Germans and spent eighteen months in a detention camp. In 1948 Senghor married Ginette Eboué, with whom he had two children; when that marriage ended in divorce in 1957, he married a French woman, Colette Hubert, from Verson, Normandy.

Senghor participated actively in the vibrant intellectual environment of "Black Paris" in the 1930s, when black students, artists, and writers from Africa, North America, and the Caribbean were reclaiming and reaffirming their heritage and defining their identities. In 1934 Senghor and two fellow students—Aimé Césaire and Léon Damas—founded the review *L'Etudiant noir* in which they first elaborated the concept of *negritude*, which evolved into an intellectual, cultural, and artistic movement—the Negritude Movement. In 1947 Senghor collaborated with Alioune Diop to found the journal *Présence africaine*. A gifted poet and prolific writer, Senghor produced numerous volumes of poetry and essays. Some of the themes explored in his writings include the identity crisis of the African intellectual, cultural *métissage* (cross-pollination), and the possibility of a universal culture based on a common humanity.

Senghor's political career began in 1945 when he was elected as a Senegalese representative in the French Assembly, where he served until 1958. In 1956 he was elected mayor of Thiès, Senegal. He became president of the legislative assembly of the Mali Federation in 1959 and the president of the newly formed Republic of Senegal in 1960. Senghor was drawn to pan-Africanism and a brand of African socialism that reserved a major role for the state, particularly in the economy. He worked vigorously for the creation of a pan-African organization—the Organization of African Unity—in 1963. He was, however, criticized for replacing the multiparty system in Senegal with an authoritarian one-party system that monopolized power and stifled debate and opposition.

Senghor registered many firsts in his long life and brilliant career. He was the first African to successfully complete the grammar *agrégation* (1935), which qualified him to teach in the French university system; the first African to be elected into the French Academy (1984); and the first president of Senegal (1960–1980). His extensive work in politics, arts, and culture earned him many international awards. After retiring from public life, he spent most of his time in Verson, where he died on December 20, 2001, at age ninety-five.

SEE ALSO *Negritude.*

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Obioma Nnaemeka

SEPOY

Derived from the Persian word *sipahi*, meaning "regular soldier," the term *sepoy* designates Indian infantrymen trained and equipped to European standards and employed in the armies of the East India Company and later the British Crown. A significant majority of the East India Company's armed forces from the middle decades of the eighteenth century, sepoys were absolutely crucial to the expansion, consolidation, and maintenance of the company's interests in India and Asia. As the British diplomat, soldier, and historian John Malcolm (1769–1833) wrote in 1826, "Our government of India is essentially military and our means of preserving and improving our possessions through the operation of our civil institutions depends on our wise and politic exercise of that military power upon which the whole fabric rests."

The sepoy was the foundation of this military power, and the mutiny that sparked the great Revolt of 1857 did not alter this reality. Though the proportion of sepoys to European troops was reduced thereafter, they remained majority participants in every campaign undertaken by the Indian Army through 1947.

From the early seventeenth century, the East India Company employed modest numbers of Indians as an economical solution to the need for guards and escorts, particularly in troubled times. However, these troops should not be confused with sepoys, since they were neither trained nor equipped in European fashion. The East India Company's first sepoy units were raised in

1748 by Major "Stringer" Lawrence (1697–1775). He simply emulated the French, who had shown the potential of Indian troops that were trained and equipped to European standards in the Anglo-French struggle over the Carnatic (1744–1748), a region in southeast India.

Sepoys proved to be cheaper than European recruits, as well as morally and physically superior. Thanks to the extensive military manpower market that existed in India, especially in the north, potential sepoys were also easy to find. From their perspective, service in the East India Company's armies was attractive because it provided relatively high and regular income, as well as certain legal and social privileges. These factors, combined with perceived threats from European rivals and local potentates, ensured that company armies became increasingly reliant on sepoys from the 1750s.

The British military leader and colonial administrator Robert Clive (1725–1774) was quick to appreciate their value: sepoys comprised two-thirds of the troops at his command during the heroic defense of Arcot (1751). It was he who raised the first battalion of sepoys, known as the "Lal Paltan" (red coats). Clive also took the innovative step of introducing three European officers to train and command each sepoy battalion. His expansion and reorganization of the sepoys paid considerable dividends at Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764), where sepoy-dominated forces won the victories that made the East India Company a territorial power in Bengal. From this point forward there existed a profound disparity between the number of sepoys and the number of Europeans in the company's armies. By 1782 to 1783 the ratio was four to one. In 1805 it was six to one. As of 1856 it was nearly nine to one.

The prevalence of sepoys in the East India Company's armed forces made them the most significant military contributors to the expansion of company authority through the Indian Subcontinent. Sepoys participated in the campaigns against Mysore (concluded in 1799), as well as the long struggle against the Marathas (concluded in 1818). They were equally important in the conquest of the Sind (1843), the Punjab (1845–1849), and Awadh (1856). The systematic reduction of these regions enabled the growth of the East India Company's armies to 350,000 in 1856 by providing pools of newly unemployed, experienced soldiers from which to recruit.

Even as the process of expansion continued, sepoy units were deployed to consolidate the East India Company's authority in the face of "civil" disturbances, including communal disputes, agricultural and economic disaffection, succession crises in princely states, banditry, and religious or political movements bent on destroying or diminishing the company's influence. Nor was their

Sepoys in their Native Costume. *Sepoys were Indian infantrymen trained and equipped to European standards and employed in the armies of the East India Company and later the British Crown during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

utility restricted to India. As early as the 1762 attack on Manila in the Philippines, sepoys were deployed overseas. From that point forward they were instrumental in the expansion of the East India Company's, as well as Britain's, power in the region. They provided the backbone of the forces used to secure Sumatra (1789), Ceylon (1795), Egypt (1800–1801), Java and Mauritius (1810–1811), Burma (1823–1824 and 1852), Aden (1839), Afghanistan (1839–1842), and the treaty ports in China (1839–1842).

In spite of all this, the British displayed a marked ambivalence toward the sepoys practically from the moment of their incorporation into the East India Company's armies. While most British officers praised the sepoys for their valor, discipline, regularity, and loyalty, certain company policies betrayed a degree of mistrust. When the first sepoy units were formed in 1748 they were excluded from the artillery, a proscription that was reaffirmed in 1770. Likewise, Clive's division of the

Bengal army into three separate brigades (1765), each with a sepoy and European element, has been interpreted as an attempt to divide and rule by ensuring that the sepoys would not form a single corporate identity. Moreover, payment and seniority policies placed sepoys on the lowest rung of the company's regular infantry forces, beneath Crown troops seconded to the company and the European troops in company service. Such inequities contributed to the series of sepoy mutinies that began in 1764 and culminated in 1857.

Pay became a particular point of acrimony from the 1820s, when the East India Company's position seemed secure enough to warrant a reduction in military expenditures. This meant stagnant salaries and the reduction of field pay, which lowered real wages and threatened the social standing of sepoys. Just as serious in terms of long-term sepoy disaffection was the issue of promotion. From the moment Clive introduced European officers into sepoy battalions in 1757, the status of Indian officers declined. The army reforms of 1796, which mandated twenty-two European officers for each sepoy battalion, effectively ended opportunities for promotions to positions of command.

The reforms of 1824 confirmed this situation. Continuing resentment over pay scales; changes in the conditions of service insensitive to sepoy religious and cultural concerns, such as those that sparked the Vellore mutiny of 1806; and the continued exclusion of sepoys from higher ranks provided fertile ground for more specific grievances to take root. While the East India Company's policies were intended to put the army that had won and maintained its empire on a more secure footing, they in fact progressively alienated the sepoys who were that army's mainspring, which ultimately sparked the mutiny of 1857.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; Indian Army; Indian Revolt of 1857.*

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Chris Hagerman

SEX AND SEXUALITY

The various economic, social, and political underpinnings of European colonialism created a powerful psychosexual residue that asserted itself as a driving ambiguous impulse in the imperial project. Sex was the core of vulnerability at the center of colonialism. It undermined the presumed gender, race, and class or rank categories upon which colonizers constructed individuals' identity, rights, obligations, and behavior.

Colonizers and the colonized read sexuality from their own cultural scripts, and because they usually had very different ways of defining the meanings of sexuality, sex became a source of confusion, contention, manipulation, and transformation. Colonizers attempted to use sex with colonized people for pleasure, economic or political profit, and as a means of signifying their superior status; colonized people, caught in the economic, political, and often physical constraints imposed on them by colonizers, sometimes used their sexuality to gain favor or advantage with colonizers. In that process, both colonizers and the colonized labeled unfamiliar sexual characteristics and behaviors abnormal, used them as evidence of inferiority, and redefined themselves by claiming to be untainted by those characteristics or behaviors.

Through the coercive nature of colonial domination, colonizers sought to create a sexualized native bereft of will, desire, or gaze. This native was to be a tabula rasa for European sexual imaginings. But desire and the sexual gaze moved in two directions. Because the colonizer and colonized desired one another—even when laws or authorities prohibited such desire—the very characteristics and behaviors that were supposedly markers of inferiority became signifiers of exotic allure and therefore, perversely, emblems of superior sexual appeal and limited empowerment.

In Europe, during the entire colonial period, Europeans understood sexuality very differently from most of the people they colonized. Europeans' understandings were based on patriarchal hierarchies of gender, class, and race that placed men superior to women; aristocrats superior to common, indentured, and enslaved men; and white men superior to Moor, oriental, black, or savage men. In general, aristocratic white men encoded those differences of status in religious and civil laws that regulated rights, obligations, and behavior. Clothing and public behavior (also frequently regulated by law) exemplified status and signaled how men and women of

different classes and races were to interact; it also indicated who was sexually available or exploitable. In practice if not in law, white aristocratic men had complete sexual liberty—even to the extent of sex with other men if they so chose—with very little repercussion.

Women and lesser-status men in Europe were vulnerable to the sexual demands of aristocratic men because they were politically and economically dependent on aristocratic men. Aristocratic white women were expected to remain virgins until they married, were usually only sexually available for marriage through explicit negotiations with their families, and were only sexually exploitable by members of the aristocracy. Common, indentured, and enslaved women could be exploited by both members of their own classes and the aristocracy, and were, in legal terms, available to anyone who wanted them or who they wanted. Lesser-status men could also be sexually exploited and, like their women, sometimes used that vulnerability to gain opportunity; they could sell sex or trade it for advantage. Courtesans, prostitutes, and an underground of establishments that catered to male same-sex eroticism and sex provided aristocratic men with a richly diverse sexual preserve.

Religious law dictated celibacy as the ideal state for Christians, and recognized only procreation as the valid justification for sexual relations within marriage. Men and women rarely conformed to those expectations. Although church officials refined confession to be a mechanism for revealing and discouraging unsanctioned sexual activity, confession became, too, a way for people to relieve themselves of the guilt and shame of perceived illicit sexuality. The common denominator of sexuality for all classes was that respectability and the full rights of adulthood could only be achieved through heterosexual marriage, but both men and women assumed some degree of secrecy and license was necessary in the various permutations of their sexual world.

Most of the people Europeans colonized held different attitudes toward sex because they were patrilineal or matrilineal, not patriarchal, and their identities, rights, obligations, and behaviors—including sexual interaction—were based on kinship and lineage rather than strict male control of political and economic power and individual behavior. While lineage, age, and gender defined identity and regulated behavior, sometimes hierarchically, in general both men and women had greater choice about what they did, how they dressed, and even what gender they were than Europeans did. In many matrilineal and patrilineal societies boys and girls could choose to take on the roles of men or women regardless of their biological sex, and in some societies they were granted sacred or third sex status if they did so. That initial freedom of choice was often reinforced by sexual

liberty prior to marriage, polygamy, and socially sanctioned participation in same-sex physical relationships even, with discretion, after marriage. Like people in patriarchal European societies, men and women in matrilinies and patrilinies could only achieve the full rights of adulthood through heterosexual marriage, but privacy rather than secrecy generally shaped their sexual world.

In the early colonial period (1450 to roughly 1800), when Europeans, Africans, Pacific Island peoples, Americans, South Asians, and Australians encountered one another in the lopsided relations of colonization, they read each other's personal appearance and behavior through their understandings of sexuality. Europeans' unequal layering of sexual rights and privileges permeated their interaction with the people they colonized. They exported their sexual practices, beliefs, and hierarchy to colonized societies. Europeans understood elaborate dress as a sign of high status that implied sexual exclusivity; they read nakedness as primitivity, sexual invitation, and promiscuity. The fact that African, Pacific Island, and American women had more sexual freedom than European women seemed to confirm European beliefs of native sexual promiscuity, and when high status men offered them women for sexual use those beliefs were reinforced, despite the fact that European men also trafficked in sexual favors.

European men were drawn to their own erotic projection of native sexuality because it reverberated with the stereotypes of Middle-Eastern harems and dancing girls, and the silent and accommodating boys and girls of the Far East, both known to European men through their own travels or, more prevalently, the tales that such men told about their adventures. They raved about the sexual appetites of colonized women and the pleasures to be found with them, and they also remarked on the beauty, virility, and manliness of colonized men. The explicit and implicit sexual praise they lavished on the bodies and behaviors of the people they colonized filtered back to Europe in contradictory ways. Colonized people were considered savage and primitive—and therefore uncivilized—but also they seemed to represent a pure and even noble connection with physical pleasure and freedom.

Colonized people read little more into clothing than the fact that Europeans rarely bathed and seemed dirty, but they welcomed Europeans as sexual equals, frequently forming emotional as well as physical bonds with them and sometimes marrying. In Africa, the Pacific, and the Americas, European men insinuated themselves into indigenous cultures by forming loving and often long-lasting relationships with colonized women and men. Those relationships eventually gave birth to an aristocracy of children of mixed racial descent who became minor bureaucrats, diplomats, interpreters, and merchants, often educated in

European schools. Such offspring frequently became part of a cosmopolitan elite that locked indigenous and European colonial cultures together.

In the 1740s in the British North American colony of Georgia, for example, Mary Musgrove (1700–1763), the daughter of a white man and a Creek woman, was a major landowner, trader, and negotiator on the Creek-Carolina border. Alexander McGillivray (1759–1793), the son of a Creek mother and a Scotch father, became a leader of the Creek Indians. He preferred to speak with his people through interpreters, claiming that he could not speak the Creek language, and he chose as his *tustenegee*, the highest Creek military office, a Frenchman, Leclerc Milfort, who was married to McGillivray's sister. During the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865) and its aftermath in Louisiana, the role of the French-descended, mixed-race community became a point of contention as efforts to limit the social, political, and economic mobility of newly freed people was disrupted, and these propertied, educated, and articulate elites represented the interests of the larger African-American community.

As colonial settlements stabilized and Europeans tried to establish more political and economic control of their colonies, European elites became alarmed at the number of European men who had adopted indigenous dress and behaviors, abandoning any pretense of being civilized and threatening the racial, cultural, economic, and political security of the colonies. Most colonial governments instituted strict anti-miscegenation laws to prohibit racial unity mixing and keep white men within colonial boundaries except for purposes of trade and military operations.

Though they rarely prosecuted elite white men for the rape or sexual abuse of colonized women, they fined and whipped white women and lesser-status white men for breaking those sexual laws, and sometimes castrated or killed colonized men. Rape or sexual coercion of colonized women became a way of demonstrating to colonized men that they were powerless. European elites intended such laws to reestablish the hierarchies of domination and power that were the essence of manhood and womanhood in Europe, but forbidden sex with exotic, primitive, and especially dark-skinned colonized people also became an exercise of rebellion against that domination.

By the nineteenth century the lure of sex with "Others" (those of different race, or economic and social status) was firmly embedded in European, Euro-American, and colonized psyches. European and Euro-American men—and women, though it was more dangerous—sought out sexual experiences with the colonized Others, which made rape and sexual coercion commonplace, and fed a growing sex industry among colonized populations. Colonized people saw sexual activity with colonizers as an opportunity for social, racial, and economic mobility. Colonized men and women recognized prostitution as a viable, often lucrative, and sometimes emancipatory career, and sought European men and women as sexual partners to improve their status and reassure themselves that they were equals to European men and women.

Sex with Others had not only the value of immediate experiential gratification, but also a patina of enhanced prowess for both men and women. They seldom recognized the ambivalent results of their desires, or the ways enacting them transformed both the worlds they came from and the worlds they were trying to inhabit. European and Euro-American men's taste for Other women masqueraded as rescue, conquering-hero, and freedom-from-restraint fantasies, but the women with whom they had sex often rejected any connection that was not purely financial, and used that income to buy themselves lives that were more European. Colonized people also flocked to imperial homelands to demonstrate their ability to be equals, in part by sexual liaison or marriage with white Europeans or Americans.

Sex subverted the imperial project. Colonizers attempted to transform colonies into replications of European and American political, economic, and social hierarchies, where whites dominated indigenous elites, and both white elites and indigenous elites dominated the urban and rural hinterlands of potential laborers and sex-workers. But Europeans adopted (often subconsciously) primitive styles, art, and fabrics as marks of their sophistication, and lost confidence in their repressive sexuality and sexual mores if not their sense of racial and cultural superiority. Europe's transformation is most memorably demonstrated with Sara Bartman (1790–1816). She was a twenty-year-old Khoikhoi captured by Englishmen in South Africa in 1810 and exhibited like an animal in European capitals as an example of African women's bodily makeup, her abnormally voluptuous buttocks receiving particular attention. She attracted and titillated crowds of European men and women whose horrified fascination was paralleled by the appearance of the bustle in the 1870s, which exaggerated women's posteriors as the height of feminine allure. White men in England and the United States began to worry publicly about their loss of manhood and praise primitive savagism as a mark of real manhood when recurring slave insurrections, the Indian Mutiny (1857), the post-U.S. Civil War emancipation of slaves, and the South African Boer War (1899–1902), among many other revolts, threatened notions of white male supremacy across the colonial world.

The irony of colonization is that it made primitive and exotic the hallmarks of a pure, undisturbed idea of humanity for Euro-American and North Atlantic cultures. Native American men became symbols of environmental unity, Asian men the embodiment of spiritual balance,

and African men the personification of masculine virility; women of those colonies became the epitome of all that was proud, feminine, and sexually satisfying. Sex and sexuality in the colonial arena fundamentally remained yet another avenue of European control, determination, and domination of colonized people, but the appropriation and valorization of native bodies and cultures and the incremental subversion of imperial European ideas of racial, sexual, economic, political, and cultural superiority transformed sexual belief and practice in ways that remain etched on the lives of the former colonizers and formerly colonized to this day.

SEE ALSO *Imperialism, Gender and.*

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Karen Taylor

SHANDONG PROVINCE

Shandong Peninsula (156,008 square kilometers, or 60,235 square miles) borders the Yellow River, the Bohai Sea, and the Yellow Sea, making it northern China's most prosperous coastal trade center, with excellent natural ports at Weihaiwei and Qingdao. Historically, Shandong was home to the Shang dynasty (1766–1122 B.C.E.), the earliest Chinese state, and was the birthplace of Confucius (ca. 551–479 B.C.E.), China's most famous philosopher and teacher, as well as the fifth century B.C.E. Sun Wu (better known as Sunzi or "Master Sun"), the author of the classic military treatise *The Art of War.*

Although Japan invaded Shandong during the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), Shandong was not part of the Shimonseki Peace Treaty ending that war. However, in the 1895 "Triple Intervention," Germany, Russia, and France blocked Japan's claim for a concession in Manchuria's Liaodong Peninsula, to the north of Shandong. Soon afterward, in 1897, two German missionaries were killed in Shandong. Using this as a pretext, Germany forced China to cede Qingdao as an exclusive concession, establishing a port at Qingdao, constructing the Qingdao-Jinan railway, and opening coal mines to develop Shandong's industry.

With the beginning of World War I, Japan sought revenge against Germany for the Triple Intervention. It seized the Shandong concession in 1914, promising to return it to China after the war. In the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, the Allied Powers decided that Germany should first cede Shandong to Japan, which actually occupied Shandong, before Japan handed it over to China. While this decision assuaged the Japanese desire for vengeance against Germany, it outraged the Chinese, who considered it a "loss of face" that China—which also fought with the Allies in World War I—did not obtain the return of Shandong directly from Germany. The May Fourth movement was a student-led protest in Beijing demanding that China reject the Versailles Treaty.

Although the Chinese have long accused U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) of betraying China at the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson successfully negotiated a compromise with Japan guaranteeing Chinese sovereignty over the Shandong concession until Japan returned it in 1922. Rejecting this compromise, Chinese negotiators in Paris refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles, thus delaying the return of this concession to China. In 1921, while this question was still being negotiated, the Chinese Communist Party was founded, based in part on the Chinese desire to reclaim their lost colonial possessions.

Unfortunately, the resulting Nationalist-Communist United Front and then civil war during the late 1920s and early 1930s created the underlying conditions for the Soviet Union's increased influence in China, which spurred the Japanese reoccupation of Shandong during its 1937 invasion of China. Although the Nationalists temporarily reclaimed Shandong in 1945, the province changed hands for the final time in 1948, when it fell to the Communists, who proclaimed the creation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

SEE ALSO *East Asia, American Presence in; East Asia, European Presence in; Empire, British, in Asia and Pacific; Empire, Japanese.*

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Bruce Elleman

SHANGHAI

Shanghai was not born in 1842 with the Nanjing Treaty that opened five Chinese port cities to foreign trade, nor in 1845 when the British were granted the right to establish a settlement (technically, "leased territory") in the outskirts of the walled city. For decades before these events, Shanghai had served as a major hub for trade between inland provinces and other port cities in China.

Located in the estuary of the Yangzi River, the main artery into inland China, Shanghai was connected to a vast hinterland through a dense network of rivers and canals that reached well into remote Sichuan Province 2,500 kilometers (about 1,550 miles) away. The Huangpu River that runs through the city provided a ready avenue both into the Yangzi River and Shanghai's surrounding area. In the foreign settlements, its bank—the Bund—became the place where westerners manifested their presence and power, with an impressive row of neocolonial-style multistoried buildings. With about 300,000 residents in the mid-nineteenth century,

Huangpu River in Shanghai, Circa 1920. *Shanghai was connected to a vast Chinese hinterland through a network of rivers and canals that reached well into remote Sichuan Province. The Huangpu River provided a ready avenue into both the Yangzi River and Shanghai's surrounding area.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Shanghai was far from an empty land that awaited civilization from the outside.

There is no denying, however, that the inclusion of Shanghai into the extended trade routes that supplied Western countries with the materials and goods that their fast-growing economies consumed in increasing quantities changed the trajectory of the city. Initially, three groups of nationals obtained the right to open a settlement: British, American, and French. The first two merged their territory in 1863 to form the International Settlement, while the French, after some hesitation, eventually maintained their own autonomous concession. Both areas were repeatedly extended, up to 1914 when they reached their final limits. By that time, the two settlements had displaced the original walled city and its suburbs as the beating heart of Shanghai and its most populated section. Symbolically, but also to remove what was perceived as an obstacle to modernization, the local Chinese elites tore down the wall that confined the original city after China's 1911 revolution.

The population of Shanghai grew by leaps and bounds due to natural disasters, such as floods, but more often to wars and rebellions in the surrounding provinces. The Taiping Rebellion in the mid-1850s brought Shanghai's first wave of unwilling migrants. It marked the actual demographic takeoff of Shanghai. The internecine wars that raged between Chinese warlords in the 1920s, the 1931 Yangzi River flood, the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), and the civil war (1946–1949) all contributed to massive movements of population to Shanghai. Yet, population increase was also due to the growing attractiveness of the city. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Shanghai truly offered a "new frontier" that attracted all sorts of people from all over China, from poverty-driven peasants, to craftsmen and merchants. By the turn of the century, the emergence of a modern sector, both in industry and services (especially leisure), generated new waves of immigration. From half a million in 1852, the population of Shanghai jumped to 2 million in 1915, close to 4 million in 1937, and 5.5 million in 1948.

The change in population was not just quantitative. The establishment of the settlements brought migrants from a wide range of countries in the world, even if the larger communities came from Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, and France. Yet, even with the Japanese that came to be Shanghai's largest foreign community by 1905, foreigners never represented a significant share of the population, ranging from a few thousand in the late nineteenth century to 150,000 at its peak in the 1940s. The Japanese alone formed a 100,000-strong community. Altogether, foreigners never represented more than 3.8 percent of Shanghai's total population. Nevertheless, by virtue of the privileges accorded in the treaties, foreigners enjoyed strong positions of power, at least formally, and benefited from conditions of life, even for the lower ranks of foreign residents, far better than in their home countries. The

only foreigners who suffered from social debasement were the Russians who chose to flee the Bolshevik revolution and flocked in China's northeastern cities before moving to Shanghai. Deprived of diplomatic protection and extraterritorial rights, these Russian migrants struggled to make ends meet and by and large occupied menial jobs. In the late 1930s another group of Jewish refugees who had escaped Nazi persecution in Central Europe and Germany eventually settled in Shanghai. Because most of them had lost all resources, they also met a difficult fate until 1945.

The Land Regulations (1854) that defined the conditions for the establishment of settlements carried several provisions that foreigners took advantage of, especially in times of internal turmoil and the weakening of Chinese central power, to assert rights and powers far beyond those outlined in the original text. By virtue of the treaties, foreigners enjoyed extraterritorial rights that placed them beyond the reach of the Chinese legal and judicial system. In cases of misconduct or crime, foreigners were tried before their respective consular courts. But after the 1911 revolution, foreigners took full control of judicial administration, including the mixed courts where all Chinese residents were brought for civil and penal affairs.

By 1854, already, foreigners had taken over Shanghai's maritime customs, a major source of revenue for China. In the city proper, they set up their own municipal agencies: the Shanghai Municipal Council and the *conseil* (council) *municipal* in the International Settlement and French Concession respectively. When the Chinese organized their own local administrative bodies, first as elite-managed and district-based councils, then as a unified modern administration after 1927, the city ended up being administered by three different and unrelated municipal governments. This system was not dismantled until 1945.

The existence of foreign settlements in Shanghai created the conditions for the assertion of colonial power, though with limitations, but also an opportunity for complex games in politics, intellectual creativity, and social transformation. While formal power resided with Western institutions, the actual governance of the city relied very much on cooperation with local elites, especially the powerful Chinese merchant organizations that structured local society. Little could be achieved, in fact, without their support or against their will. Be it for tax matters, education, or in times of crisis and confrontation, foreigners had to deal with the Chinese representative organizations to implement a policy or to find a way out of a crisis.

Colonial power in Shanghai reached its limits with the existence of a well-organized polity within the broader context of a Chinese state that never lost its prerogatives and sovereignty, even with a weakened and at times powerless central administration. In other words, the system worked because both sides found it to its advantage to run a space that escaped the reach of a Chinese state perceived as predatory or simply unreliable.

Undoubtedly, Shanghai offered a place for great games. Chinese entrepreneurs benefited from an environment that was predictable in fiscal and legal matters. The protection afforded by the foreign settlements attracted a regular influx of capital that was available for investment in new economic ventures, especially industrial companies. The city developed sophisticated services that propelled it to the rank of first financial center in East Asia. Leisure and entertainment became not just a hallmark of Shanghai "glamour" but, in fact, an industry for its own sake on which thousands of people thrived.

From a plain commercial center in the mid-nineteenth century, Shanghai emerged as the major economic engine for the whole country, ranking first on all counts: industry, finance, and foreign trade. The wealth of the city, combined with the lack of strict controls on culture and education (except for political activism), also offered a breeding ground for the formation of a modern urban culture. Shanghai opened a whole new intellectual milieu that branched out in various directions with the creation of numerous modern schools and universities, the publication of a wide spectrum of journals and newspapers, the rise of a flourishing publication industry, the multiplication of associations of all sorts, and the broad circulation of new ideas among widening circles of the population. While still tainted with the suspicion of having been a Western Trojan horse in China, Shanghai played a major role in redefining the conditions of China's interaction with the outside world at the same time that it worked as a laboratory for the expression and construction of a modern Chinese society. After 1949 the city paid a dear price under the Communist regime, which literally milked Shanghai without making the necessary investments.

SEE ALSO *British American Tobacco Company; Chinese Revolutions; Compradors; Empire, Japanese; Extraterritoriality; Treaties, East Asia and the Pacific; Treaty Port System.*

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Christian Henriot

SHA'RAWI, HUDA
1879–1947

Huda Sha'rawi, an Egyptian nationalist, leading women's rights activist, philanthropist, and founder of the first Egyptian feminist organization, was also an inspiration to women throughout the Middle East and the colonized world.

Sha'rawi was born in Minya, Egypt, in 1879 to an elite Muslim family, and she was raised in Cairo. Her mother was a Turko-Circassian emigrant, and her father, who died when Sha'rawi was five years old, was a high-ranking government official. As was common for affluent Egyptian girls in the late nineteenth century, Sha'rawi studied French, her first language and the lingua franca of the elite, and music. Margot Badran, the translator of Sha'rawi's memoirs, notes that Sha'rawi was also allowed to participate in her younger brother's lessons on the Qur'an, Arabic, Turkish, and calligraphy.

Although many middle-class Egyptian girls attended primary schools by the turn of the century, most elite girls were still educated in their homes. Sha'rawi was an excellent student and memorized the Qur'an when she was nine years old, which was a remarkable achievement for a girl during this period. Sha'rawi was very close to her brother, and she was able to undertake more rigorous studies because of him, yet her memoirs indicate that her family's preferential treatment of her brother afflicted Sha'rawi throughout her childhood. Moreover, she was traumatized at the age of thirteen when her mother arranged Sha'rawi's marriage to an older man without her knowledge.

However, circumstances permitted Sha'rawi to suspend her marriage until she was twenty-one. During the interim, Sha'rawi became friends with Eugénie Le Brun, a Frenchwoman who had married an Egyptian. Along with the Egyptian elite's partiality for all things Western (save colonialism), Le Brun extended Sha'rawi's exposure to Western-oriented feminism. Badran suggests that Le Brun's influence contributed to Sha'rawi's unveiling in 1923 after returning from an international feminist conference. The removing of her face-veil symbolized Sha'rawi's unapologetic entry into the male-dominated public sphere and her determination to break traditional gender roles and restrictions.

Le Brun opened the first women's salon in Cairo in the 1890s, a public space in which women could meet to discuss current events and debate diverse issues from education to women's rights in Islam. After returning to her marriage in 1900, Sha'rawi had two children, founded a medical clinic for women and children, and arranged the first women's public lectures in Cairo. This period was one of significant changes for Egyptian women: middle and upper-class women were increasingly abandoning seclusion practices as they became more involved in charities and literary societies, women were entering the teaching profession, and a women's press was flourishing. However, gender separation was customary for the middle-upper classes until the events of 1919.

Sha'rawi played a leading role in the nationalist movement from 1919 until 1922, when Egyptians struggled to gain independence from Britain. After World War I (1914–1918), a delegation *(wafd)* appealed to the high commissioner, seeking to present their case for independence in London and at the Paris peace talks, but they were denied these opportunities. After publicizing their demands to the Egyptian people, the members of the *wafd* were arrested and spontaneous protests and strikes ensued. The *wafd* quickly morphed into a nationalist organization and would later become a political party; the Wafdist Women's Central Committee (WWCC) soon emerged to support it. Sha'rawi, the president-elect, led the WWCC in mobilizing women's demonstrations, sending petitions and protests to the colonial authority and Western governments, raising funds, and maintaining communications for their male counterparts. The WWCC was particularly critical to the male nationalists when *wafd* members were imprisoned or exiled. Sha'rawi also visited girls' schools and encouraged them to participate in the nationalist effort, and the WWCC helped mobilize women's groups nationwide to join the movement.

In 1922 Egypt won nominal independence from Britain, but the WWCC was frustrated because Britain retained a military presence and ultimate power over Egypt's foreign affairs. Egypt had gained control over internal matters, however; soon Egyptians promulgated a constitution and convened a representative parliament.

Sha'rawi continued to propagate her nationalist views, but she also promoted women's issues, often framing her arguments in nationalist or religious terms. In 1923 she founded the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU) in order to advance a feminist agenda that addressed social and economic concerns, and to continue fighting

for full independence. Only a month later, an electoral law that denied women suffrage rights was passed. Despite the tremendous support that Egyptian women had given male nationalists, women were now expected to withdraw to their homes as second-class citizens. The EFU was outraged by the affront and added equal political rights to their long agenda, which included socialist reforms, family law reforms, an end to legalized prostitution, more employment options for women, and equal educational opportunities for women. Along with other women's groups, the EFU also strove to increase social services, and established its own clinics, schools, scholarships, and literacy programs.

While Sha'rawi's feminism was rooted in her childhood, personality, and philanthropy, it certainly evolved in the nationalist context of the 1919 to 1923 resistance. This period was extremely valuable for Egyptian women because their contributions to the nationalist movement were indispensable; therefore, they were able to carve new public roles for themselves. Additionally, Sha'rawi's feminism was linked closely with her nationalism. Badran demonstrates that Sha'rawi and other feminists considered their struggle against patriarchy to be similar to that against colonialism.

When Sha'rawi died in 1947, Egyptian women had made progress in employment and education, but the only family law reform enacted was the raising of minimum marriage ages; women did not achieve political rights until the 1950s. Sha'rawi's legacy for the modern period is complicated by the "Islamic trend" since the 1970s; some Islamist women may remember Sha'rawi more for her comparatively secular, Western perspectives than for her feminist goals. However, many Egyptians continue to uphold Sha'rawi for her efforts to improve women's status, because she laid the groundwork for women's political activism and fought for many similar objectives, such as family law reform and greater employment opportunities. Furthermore, Sha'rawi's legacy extends beyond Egypt because of her support for women and movements in other colonized countries, her advocacy of the Palestinian cause, and her presidency of the Arab Feminist Union (1944–1947), which she founded a year before the formation in 1945 of the Arab League, an organization of Middle Eastern and African nations.

SEE ALSO *Egypt.*

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SHIPPING, EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

Western imperialism and colonialism took diverse forms in East Asia, from the formal colonies of the Dutch East Indies and French Vietnam to the multinational "informal empires" established by commercial treaties in China and Japan. Shipping was the lifeline of Western involvement in East Asia, as it both linked European metropoles and East Asian possessions and created new routes and relationships within East Asia itself.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European powers entered the spice and luxury goods trades with Asia. In the 1500s, Portuguese merchant ships traveled along a network of trade settlements secured by the Portuguese navy, from Goa in western India, to Malacca (Melaka) in Malaysia, to Macao in southern China. The Portuguese were joined in the 1600s by Dutch ships journeying between the East Indian archipelago, Taiwan, and Japan. Later the "East Indiamen" of the British East India Company voyaged to India, the East Indies, and the China coast. By the early eighteenth century, British merchant sea power had outstripped its competitors, and would continue to dominate trade with Asia for the next two hundred years.

The withdrawal of the British East India Company's monopoly on trade with China (1834) introduced greater competition into Asian trades and drew greater numbers of merchant ships from Europe and the United States to Asia. Under these new conditions, the speed and efficiency of ships could have a much greater impact on trade profits. From the late 1840s, British and American clipper ships carried opium from India to the China coast, and delivered the freshest crops of China teas to London.

Although oceangoing steamships still burned too much coal to be viable for commercial shipping, a few lines such as the British Peninsular and Oriental Company and the French Messageries Maritimes received subsidies from their home governments to carry mail to colonies and settlements in Asia. Technological

improvements in steamships and the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869 opened the routes to Asia to private steamship companies.

Steamship lines also traversed the Pacific to connect the ports of the western United States and Latin America to East Asia. After the American (1869) and Canadian (1885) transcontinental railways were completed, goods could be shipped via the Pacific and across the North American continent to Europe. British companies were the largest presence on these routes, challenged somewhat by German and Austrian companies in the late nineteenth century and by Japanese companies in the early twentieth century.

Shipping did not only intensify communication between Western countries and their interests in Asia, European ships also participated in intraregional and domestic carrying trades within Asia. Steamship companies established routes among the islands of the Indonesian Archipelago, carried agricultural goods and immigrants from China to settlements throughout Southeast Asia, and developed lines between China and Japan and later between East Asia and Australia. After the opening of multiple treaty ports in China, European shipping companies participated in China's domestic carrying trade by transporting goods among the open ports along the coast and Yangzi River. In some cases, these steamships displaced traditional carrying trades, but in others, steamships stimulated the demand for junk shipping between treaty ports and other places.

European domination of shipping in East Asia made it a significant field for contestation by emerging Asian nations. Japan's shipping industry saw the earliest and most dramatic success: while in the 1870s, 90 percent of Japan's foreign trade was carried in Western ships, a program of cooperation between government and industry developed Japan's merchant marine to the point that it participated not only on routes within Asia but also the Suez, Pacific, and Australian routes. By World War I (1914–1918), Japan was recognized as a world shipping power.

In China, officials of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) established the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company in 1872 to compete with Western shipping companies in Chinese waters, and "take back" some of the profits of the domestic carrying trade for China. Although Western steamship companies (joined by Japanese in the late 1890s) continued to hold the largest share of China's coast and river traffic until the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company maintained a consistent presence on domestic routes, and was joined by several private Chinese companies in the 1920s. China, however, was not able to establish its own overseas lines until after World War II.

SEE ALSO *China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company.*

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Anne Reinhardt

SHIPPING, THE PACIFIC

The Pacific is the world's largest and deepest ocean, occupying one-third of the earth's surface. The countries along the western coast of North and South America have links in a North Pacific route with Japan and China, and in a South Pacific route with Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, and southern Asia. Over half the world's merchant fleet capacity and more than one-third of the world's ships sail through straits between the Indian and Pacific oceans. The chief Pacific ports include those on the U.S. West Coast and the Chinese coast, as well as those in Tokyo-Yokohama, Japan; Manila, Philippines; and Sydney, Australia. The protection of these trade routes through Pacific waters has greatly affected the lives of Pacific Islanders.

There are about twenty thousand islands in the Pacific Ocean, and there has been continuous trade among Pacific Islanders since native settlement. Many of these original familial and ceremonial exchanges among Pacific Islanders are active today, connecting island-based populations with diaspora communities in the Americas and elsewhere who return cash remittances for the continuance of communal systems back home.

The potential of such early nineteenth-century industries as whaling and sandalwood were quickly exploited by Western countries and gave way to plantations and the establishment of coaling stations for shipping routes. It was the search for Pacific routes to Asia and Australia that prompted the United States to establish its hold on the great natural harbors at Pearl River in Hawaii and Pago Pago Bay in the Samoan Islands. Both were strategically mapped and explored in 1839 by a U.S. expedition led by the American naval officer Charles Wilkes (1798–1877).

Pandemics of Western diseases had greatly diminished the native populations of the Pacific islands by the mid to late nineteenth century. Missionaries from Europe and the Americas, who inevitably followed in the wake of these diseases while proselytizing Western monotheism as the best protection from them, exploited the much-weakened condition of the islanders by claiming their lands. Their actions eventually led to the takeover of many Pacific island nations by the United States and other Western nations.

U.S. naval strategists were inspired by the theory of sea power as a key to world power advanced by Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914) in his 1890 book *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783*. In this work, Mahan listed three key elements to sea power: "production, with the necessity of exchanging products, shipping, whereby the exchange is carried on, and colonies, which facilitate and enlarge the operations of shipping and tend to protect it by multiplying points of safety" (chap. 1). Following Mahan's advice, the U.S. Navy later based part of its Pacific Fleet in Hawaii. By the twenty-first century, most of the transpacific sea-lanes passed through the waters of the Hawaiian Islands, including a great deal of the drug traffic from Asia to the United States.

While international law guarantees foreign ships the right of passage through the waters of island nations, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which went into effect in 1994, established "exclusive economic zones" within 200 nautical miles (370 kilometers, 230 miles) from each country's shoreline. Pacific island nations control undersea resources, primarily fishing and seabed mining, within these zones.

SEE ALSO *Exploration, the Pacific; Indigenous Responses, the Pacific.*

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Dan Taulapapa McMullin

SIAM AND THE WEST, KINGDOM OF

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to trade regularly with, and to settle in, the kingdom of Siam. They sent an envoy to the court of Ayutthaya around 1511, the year of their conquest of Melaka. The Portuguese wanted to ensure that there would continue to be Siamese shipping to their new possession, Siam being a major supplier of rice to that port. By 1516 a treaty had been signed, according the Portuguese the right to trade in Siam, in return for Portuguese sale of European firearms to the Ayutthayan court. Hundreds of Portuguese became mercenaries of the kings of Siam, who in the sixteenth century fought several wars against neighboring states. A Portuguese settlement, which became largely *mestizo,* sprang up in the city of Ayutthaya. Relations and trade with Spanish Philippines began in 1598, but were at best sporadic.

For the king and court of Siam, the seventeenth century was a time of intense commercial and diplomatic activity. The Dutch and English came to Siam in the first half of the century, and inevitably came into conflict and competition with the Portuguese and Spaniards. First to arrive were the Dutch, in the form of the United East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC), which sent envoys to Ayutthaya in 1604. The first Siamese embassy to Europe left Ayutthaya in 1607, traveling to the Dutch Republic, where the envoys were received by the *stadhouder* Prince Maurice. Dutch trade in Siam consisted largely in the export of the dye wood sapan and animal skins to Japan, and also the buying up of other produce and tin in exchange for Indian textiles, silver, and cash. The Dutch had a trading office and small settlement in Ayutthaya, which survived until late 1765, when the Burmese had begun to besiege Ayutthaya and there was no more trade to be done.

The English East India Company (EIC) arrived in Ayutthaya via Patani in 1612. The EIC established a factory at Ayutthaya, hoping to establish a lucrative Japan-Siam trade, but were disappointed. The EIC withdrew in 1623, and reestablished its Siam factory in 1675. But it was still not successful in its trade, closing down the office in 1684 amid much acrimony in its relations with the Siamese court. Anglo-Siamese relations were complicated by the roles of the "interlopers," many of whom had previously been employed by the EIC and were now undercutting or even obstructing the company's own trade. Some of these interlopers were in the employ of the king of Siam.

Among the many foreigners who joined Siamese royal service was the Greek Constantine Phaulkon, who had been an employee of the English EIC, but once he had entered the Siamese king's service, rose to a very high rank, becoming the de facto controller of the kingdom's foreign affairs and overseas trade in the 1680s. A supporter of the French cause in Siam, he was the favorite of Ayutthaya's most outward-looking king, Narai (r. 1656–1688).

The first French people to establish sustained contacts with Siam were the missionaries of the Société des Missions Etrangères, who first arrived in 1662. The missionaries of this society were to stay on until the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767, though they gained few native converts to Christianity. The French diplomatic initiatives in the 1670s and 1680s were based on a mistaken assumption that King Narai (along with the Siamese people) would convert to Roman Catholicism, and thus afford Louis XIV's government a secure political and commercial foothold in Asia. The French government sent garrisons to man fortresses at Bangkok and Mergui in 1687. In 1688 a palace revolution broke out against King Narai, ending with Phaulkon's execution and the withdrawal of the French officers, soldiers, and traders from Siam.

WESTERN INFLUENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

After the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 Europeans did not trade directly in Siam again until 1818. The Portuguese returned to Siam and set up a trading office on the banks of the Chao Phraya River in Bangkok. But the more significant arrivals during the first half of the nineteenth century were the British traders and diplomats and the American missionaries, the latter bringing in new medical knowledge, technology, and ideas.

The key geopolitical factor of this era was the establishment of the free port of Singapore by the British in 1819. The British, eager to increase trade with Bangkok, signed the Burney Treaty with Siam in 1826 but Siamese relations with the British and the Americans during the reign of King Rama III (r. 1824–1851) were notable for increasing Western impatience with Siam's refusal to give in to demands for free trade and extra-territorial rights.

The scholarly King Mongkut (Rama IV, r. 1851–1868) was deeply interested in the West, learning English from an American Protestant missionary and Latin from a French Roman Catholic missionary. It was during his reign that the Siamese court decided to begin a process of Westernization, to bring Siam up to the level of the modern Western world. The signing of the Bowring Treaty of 1855 with Great Britain was a key event in the history of Siam's relations with the West. It led to the end of the royal monopoly system in Siam (fixing import and export duty rates), and through the terms of the treaty extraterritorial rights protected the subjects of the British Empire. The treaty became the model on which all subsequent treaties with Western countries were based. Following the example of the British, the United States, France, Denmark, The Netherlands, and Portugal (among others) all concluded almost identical treaties with Siam. Siam became a major rice-exporting nation,

Mongkut, Circa 1859. The scholarly Mongkut, who ruled Siam from 1851 to 1868 as King Rama IV, initiated a process of Westernization meant to raise Siam to the level of the modern Western world. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and Western trade with the country increased. But serious problems also followed. First, the rights and activities of non-European subjects or protected persons of the imperial powers became an issue of contention between Siam and the Western countries, especially France. More importantly, the economic and territorial ambitions of Great Britain and France began to threaten the very independence of Siam.

Yet Siam, alone among the Southeast Asian countries, remained the only independent kingdom during the age of high imperialism. There were two major reasons for this. First, the Westernizing and modernizing reforms started by King Mongkut and carried forward with decisive vigor by his son Chulalongkorn (r. 1868–1910) transformed the country into a modern nation state, with institutions modeled on the West. Many Western experts and advisers were hired by the Siamese government to help reform of the country's legal, administrative, and military systems, and in the modernizing of transport and communications. Western nations and companies competed for contracts and an increased economic role in

Siam. As a result of the reforms, the monarchical government in Siam became more absolute than ever because Western technology and Western-inspired administrative reforms enabled the center to exert more effective control over most outlying provinces.

Second, a stalemate was reached between Britain and France in this region. From 1896 the two great powers agreed to use Siam or, more precisely, the Mekong River, as a "buffer" zone between their territories in Southeast Asia. The Siamese, however, still had to cede territories under its suzerainty to both France and Great Britain, notably the left bank of the Mekong (1893), the provinces of Siem Reap, Battambang, and Sisophon in Cambodia (1907), and the Malay states of Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, and Perlis (1909). The severest crisis occurred in 1893 when the French brought gunboats up the Chao Phraya River right into Bangkok, having forced the Siamese defenses at the river mouth. King Chulalongkorn was forced to accept a treaty giving France Siam's Lao territories on the east bank of the Mekong, and to pay an indemnity of 3 million francs for perceived offenses against the French in Laos.

The heartland of the kingdom, however, remained secure. In the reign of Chulalongkorn's son King Vajiravudh (1910–1925), Westernizing reforms continued to be implemented. The English-educated Vajiravudh also sent a Siamese expeditionary force to join the Allies in the later stages of World War I, thus earning Siam a place at the negotiations table at the Versailles Peace Conference. Although the Siamese delegation in Versailles lobbied unsuccessfully for an end to extraterritoriality and full autonomy in taxation, a negotiating strategy was soon put in place for a revision of all the nineteenth century treaties concluded with the Western powers. With the help of American advisers, Siam by 1926 was able to put an end to the Western powers' treaty privileges, thus regaining its full legal sovereignty.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; English East India Company.*

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Dhiravat na Pombejra

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone is a strip of mountainous peninsula on the Atlantic coast of West Africa, 67 square kilometers (26 square miles) long and 31 square kilometers (12 square miles) wide, bounded by the Republics of Guinea and Liberia. The first European contact with Sierra Leonean coastline occurred in 1460 when Prince Henry the Navigator's sea captains voyaged beyond Cape Verde Islands in the quest for a sea route to the spice trade in the Far East. Christianizing the heathens camouflaged a crusading spirit and economic and political motives. Between 1418 and 1460 when the prince died, they had discovered Madeira, Canary Island, Cape Bojador, Cape Blanco, River Senegal, Cape Verde, and Sierra Leone.

In the seventeenth century, the Portuguese established about ten settlements, the major ones being Beziguiche (near the mouth of the Senegal River), Rio Fresco, Portudal, Joala, Cacheo, and Mitombo (in Sierra Leone). These depots sustained the shoe-string commercial empire from Iberia to Java and Sumatra. Portuguese power declined under the attack from other Europeans who took over the settlements, but various river tributaries and swaths of coastline contiguous to Sherbro, Turtle, and Banana Islands remained in the hands of mulatto offspring of Portuguese sailors and other adventurers, some of whom became "African" chiefs. These later contested the missionary work and colonization of Sierra Leone.

British settlement occurred in the bid to abolish slavery and slave trade by attacking the source of supply. The motives in the abolition campaigns by different groups changed over time. For instance, Lord Mansfield's legal declaration, in the case of the slave John Somerset in 1772, did not fully abolish slavery but catalyzed liberal opinions and philanthropists who promoted the abolitionist cause.

Freetown, Sierra Leone. *A neighborhood in the port city of Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone, photographed between 1900 and 1933.*
© HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Committee for the Black Poor's report that the numbers of slaves overburdened its capacity compelled the government's attention. Initially, Anglicans were prominent because the members of St. John's Church, Clapham, first concerned with the aftereffects of industrial revolution on the nation, came upon the inhuman slave trade. Other religious supporters, such as the Quakers, joined the affray. Some African ex-slaves, such as the Ghanaian Cugoano and the Nigerian Olaudah Equiano, published their experiences, urged military intervention in the coasts, and pointed to the economic inefficiency of the immoral trade that could be replaced with legitimate trade.

COLONIZING SIERRA LEONE

While sugar planters in the colonies were adamant, it was clear that their profit margin was in decline. Dubbed the Clapham Sect, the evangelicals advocated in Parliament, and organized the establishment of a colony in Sierra Leone as a means of countering the slave trade with a black community that engaged in honest labor and industry. A number of the leaders included Henry Smeatham, the amateur botanist and brain behind the project, the indefatigable Granville Sharp, who finally organized it, William Wilberforce, the parliamentarian advocate, Henry Thornton, the banker who took over the consolidation of the Sierra Leone Company, and later Fowell Buxton, whose book, *African Slave Trade and Its Remedy* (1841) would summarize the basic contentions: deploy treaties with local chiefs to establish legitimate trade, use trading companies to govern, and spread Christianity to civilize and create an enabling environment.

The Sierra Leone experiment took three phases: On May 10, 1787, Captain T. Boulden Thompson arrived in Granville Town, situated in the "Province of Freedom" (as the settlement was called), with a few hundred black men and white women. By March the following year, one-third died because of harsh weather and infertile soil that had an underlying gravel stone. In 1791, as the Committee of the Privy Council heard the appeal against the slave trade, the Sierra Leone Company was incorporated, and Granville Town, a small community with only seventeen houses, relocated near Fourah Bay. Disaster struck when a local chief, Jimmy, sacked the town.

To salvage the colony, the British Buxton's book linked the experiment with the fate of African Americans who were promised freedom and land for fighting for the British during the American Revolution. The British lost

but sent them to Canada, West Indies, and Britain. The experience in Nova Scotia was brutally racist, with little access to agricultural land. Thomas Peters, a Nigerian ex-slave, traveled to London to complain. He met Sharp, who enabled twelve hundred African Americans to sail for Freetown in May 1792. They arrived with their ready-made churches and pastors: Baptist, Methodist, Countess Huntingdon's Connection, and a robust republican ideology to build a black civilization based on religion. Their charismatic spirituality set the tone before the Church Missionary Society (CMS) was formed; their dint of hard work consolidated the colony through attacks by indigenous Temne chiefs at the turn of the 1800s.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In September 1800, 550 ex-slaves, the "Maroons," arrived. These fought their slave owners in Trelawny Town, Jamaica, in 1738–1739 and set up free communities. But in 1795, hostilities broke out again with the slave holding state. Deported to Nova Scotia, they bombarded the government with petitions, memoranda, and sit-down strikes between 1796 and 1800. George Ross, an official of the Sierra Leone Company, was asked to organize their repatriation to Freetown. The Sierra Leone Company ruled the colony for seven years before the British government declared it a British "crown" colony in January 1808. But the French attack in 1894 hastened the conversion to a Protectorate status in 1896.

Before then, major transformations followed the Slave Trade Abolition Act of 1807 that provided for naval blockade against slave traders, and installed a Court of Admiralty that would seize slave ships and resettle the recaptives in Freetown. A process of evangelization intensified when the CMS started work in Sierra Leone with German missionaries in the 1840s. Soon, it became the dominant Christian body, enjoying the government's patronage while the Catholic and Quaker presence remained weak. The recaptives (67,000 in 1840) soon outnumbered the settlers, became educated, massively Christianized, enterprising, and imbued with the zeal that Africans must evangelize Africa. Representing the first mass movement to Christianity in modern Africa, they carried the gospel and commerce to their former homes along the coast. By the end of the nineteenth century, argued P. E. H. Hair, Sierra Leone "provided most of the African clerks, teachers...merchants, and professional men in Western Africa from Senegal to the Congo." Freetown became the "Athens of West Africa" (Hair 1967, p. 531).

SEE ALSO *Abolition of Colonial Slavery; Christianity and Colonial Expansion in the Americas; Slave Trade, Atlantic.*

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Ogbu Kalu

SILK

Silk is a lightweight, soft, durable fiber produced from the cocoons of several related species of *Bombyx* or *Saturniidae* moths native to Asia, and the thread or cloth made from this fiber. *Bombyx mori,* a domesticated Chinese caterpillar that feeds on mulberry leaves *(morus),* is widely preferred for silk production, but lower-quality silk is also produced from other species that are generally grouped as wild silk or tussah, from the Hindi word *tussar.* The word *silk* originates from the Greek *serikos,* thus the manufacture of raw silk is called *sericulture.*

An estimated 300 pounds (136 kilograms) of mulberry leaves are necessary to feed the 1,700 to 2,000 caterpillars that produce 1 pound (.45 kilograms) of raw silk. Silk production is labor-intensive. Worms need to be kept clean, warm, and supplied with fresh leaves. Once the cocoon has formed, the worms are killed, usually by steaming. The cocoon is then submerged in boiling water to remove the gummy binding agent, after which it is carefully unraveled as a single thread. Sometimes these threads are spun into yarn (thrown).

Cocoons were first processed into silk in China, where silk remnants have been dated to as early as 3630 B.C.E. India, also home to a large variety of silk fauna, is the first region outside of China known to have cultivated silk, although it is not clear whether this technology spread from China or was developed independently; references to silk in India date from about 1400 B.C.E. Silk production later spread to other Asian nations, such as Korea (ca. 1100 B.C.E.), Persia (ca. 400 B.C.E.), and Japan (ca. 100 C.E.).

Silk textiles trickled to Europe along a land route, as evidenced by biblical references in the *Psalms* (ca. 950 B.C.E.) and in the works of the Greek poet Homer (ca. eighth century B.C.E.). That silk was rare is apparent
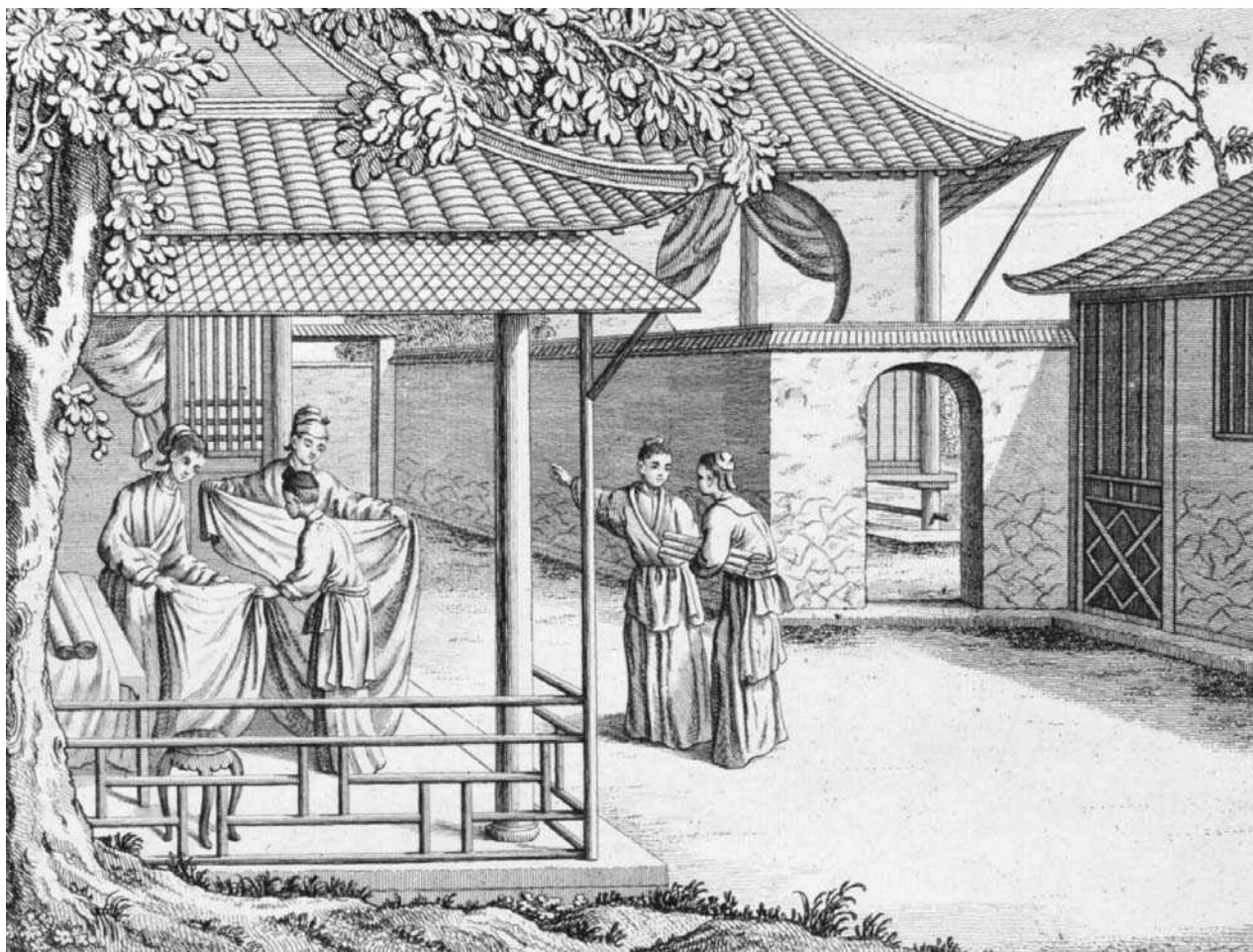
Selling Silk in China. *Cocoons were first processed into silk in China, where silk remnants have been dated to as early as 3630 B.C.E. This eighteenth-century woodcut depicts Chinese women buying and selling newly woven silk.* © **HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

in the sparsity of references before Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.E.) invaded Persia in 334 B.C.E. Active use of the Silk Road, a land route from China to Europe used until the age of sail, dates from about the second century B.C.E. For centuries, Persia monopolized silk trade to the West by producing raw and woven silk, unraveling and reweaving Chinese fabrics, imitating Chinese designs in wool, and regulating any silk that passed across its borders.

In the West, silk was worn by important people in Greece, and later, the Republic of Rome, and Byzantium. War between the Persians and Romans cut off European silk supplies, so in 550 Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (482/3–565 C.E.) dispatched two Nestorian monks to China to find out how to produce silk. They returned about three years later with stolen mulberry seeds and silkworm eggs hidden in their staffs. Byzantine production was a royal monopoly until Justinian's death in 565 but then began to spread through the region.

European sericulture was limited, so Greek and Arab traders transported silk back to Europe in small boats from about the seventh century, and Moorish invasions of Spain introduced the silk industry there. The Crusades introduced many commoners to silk after knights brought back souvenirs from the Middle East.

Italy became the European capital of sericulture after 1130 when King Roger II of Sicily (1095–1154) brought weavers from the Middle East. Production on the mainland did not become significant until the mid-fifteenth century, fueling extravagant dress styles during the Italian Renaissance. Italian workers brought sericulture to southern France, but France never approached Italian production levels. Rather, by the eighteenth century the French focused on weaving, especially in Lyons. While Italian silk was regarded as of high quality, it could not be produced in sufficient quantities to replace foreign trade. Most imports were of raw silk because

differing market demands made this more profitable than finished textiles.

Venice controlled European silk imports after successful conquests in the First Crusade of 1095 gave them virtual control of the Mediterranean. The Venetians carried Persian silk as the Mongols were disrupting Asian caravan trade, although demand temporarily dropped during the spread of the bubonic plague. Venetian domination lasted until 1453 when the Ottomans closed down shipping lanes and disrupted Persian silk production. Once Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) circumnavigated Africa in 1498, establishing a sea route east, Asian trade slipped to the Portuguese. Silk became an integral part of both East-West and intra-Asian commerce conducted by Europeans.

Throughout the early modern period, China, Persia, and Bengal were the most important suppliers of raw silk to Europe. Ming dynasty restrictions on trade caused Malacca (in present-day Malaysia) to become a major entrepôt for Chinese silk bound westward. Portuguese trade was fundamentally intra-Asian. Macao in southeast China was colonized by the Portuguese in 1557 to facilitate trade with Japan. Until the Spanish were banished in 1624 and the Portuguese in 1639, Japan trade consisted largely of Chinese silks purchased with New World silver, exchanged again for Japanese gold and silver. Similarly, the Spanish, who followed the Portuguese into Asia, traded New World silver for Chinese goods from a colony in Manila established in 1565. Profits were used to buy more silk and other luxuries to be brought to Europe or traded at Goa, Manila, Mexico, Peru, and Indonesia.

As a result, silk became widely available in the New World, leading to sumptuary legislation, such as a seventeenth-century Peruvian ban on blacks wearing silk. In 1718 and 1720 silk imports to the Spanish Americas were prohibited to halt the outflow of silver. Europeans brought Chinese silk to India, but there was no interest in China for Indian textiles. Rather, Indian textiles were sold in Europe, widely in Southeast Asia, and in the seventeenth century some Indian silks were used to trade for slaves in Africa.

The Dutch East India Company, the dominant trading force in seventeenth-century Asia, entered the Asian silk trade in 1604 after profiting from the captured Portuguese carrack *Santa Catharina*. Amsterdam became one of the most important silk markets in Europe. For much of the seventeenth century, Taiwan was an important source for Chinese silk bound for Japan, although Bengali raw silk was also sent. From 1623 Persia served as the main Dutch source for imports to Europe, but problems with the Persian shah led the Dutch to turn toward Bengal. Bengali silk came to replace Persian silk on the European market because it was of equal or better quality but could be produced more cheaply. Chinese silk remained the most desirable import.

Desire for silk spurred the English to expand into Bengal in the 1670s. Quality control was difficult and competition was stiff because Europeans were forced to deal through local brokers in Kasimabazar (the central market in Bengal). Both the Dutch and English East India companies brought European experts to Bengal to improve quality. From around 1700 to 1760 Bengali silk was an important East India Company commodity. The Bengal Revolution (1757) damaged the silk industry and caused the English to focus on obtaining silk from Canton (present-day Guangzhou) in China, even though they had expelled the Dutch completely from Bengal by 1825.

In China, sericulture generally benefited peasants by increasing the standard of living and creating cash that allowed imports of food. International demand for silk flooded the silver-based Chinese economy with New World and Japanese silver. New requirements of cash tax payments caused farmers to turn to cash crops like silk, which offered a high yield on land use and a quick return. More supply meant increased use among the Chinese populace. Once the Qing government lifted the export ban in 1683, foreign trade rose, but the larger market did not exploit the Asian producers because they fit into an already complex and sophisticated intra-Asian trade.

The Dutch brought less Chinese silk to Europe, using it for trade to Japan. The English East India Company usurped the Dutch position in China, trading through Canton after 1759. Exports increased so much that in the same year exports of raw silk were banned to keep weavers from becoming impoverished. The restrictions were partially lifted after two years but kept China from monopolizing the silk market.

Interest in Asian silk, especially woven silk, actually dropped in the eighteenth century as European production increased. Protective restrictions against imported silk were passed in the early eighteenth century in England and France. Silk became more affordable, and was used not just in clothing but also in bed hangings and covers and even wallpaper.

The Opium War (1839–1842) between China and England led to a colonial presence in China. The Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the war, facilitated silk exports, but they did not increase dramatically until foreign demand did. Rather than mechanization (although the first steam-powered filature, a silk reeling factory, dates from 1785), the spread of pebrine, a silkworm disease that ravaged European sericulture, created the need in

Europe for imported raw silk, which was paid for primarily with opium.

The sharp decrease of European supplies, the establishment of industrialized silk weaving in the United States, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the lower cost to westerners from the decline of the price of silver to gold in China created a huge demand for Chinese silk, overtaking tea in 1887. Production shifted from local producers to factories, and silk became available to the middle classes, usually in smaller pieces like shawls. Chinese sericulture came to comprise 30 to 40 percent of all Chinese exports until the 1911 revolution in China.

When Western imperialism opened East Asian trade, Japan was initially at a disadvantage to China, which supplied France. But Japan supplied the growing U.S. market, and quickly improved quality, mechanized faster, and lowered production costs. In addition, Japan's proximity to the United States offered lower freight and insurance prices. The Japanese silk industry also had government support, which Chinese producers had to do without. By 1912 Japan had overtaken China as the largest exporter of silk in the world.

The commercial manufacture of rayon, originally known as "artificial silk," along with the Great Depression and World War II, caused a sharp decline in silk production. Today China is the leading producer of silk.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; Gama, Vasco da; Guangzhou.*

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Martha Chaiklin

SINGAPORE

In 1827 George Windsor Earl, a British colonial official and ethnographer, having completed his tour of Java, Borneo, the Malay Peninsula, and Siam, had this to say of Singapore:

> Singapore is situated on an island at the extremity of the Malay peninsula which affords communication between the China Sea and the Bay of Bengal. In addition to the extensive commerce carried on by Europeans, native traders encouraged by freedom from duties enjoyed there, flock from all parts of the world, while the manufactures of Hindustan are there exchanged for rich productions of the archipelago. This port is visited by vessels of all nations and the flags of Britain, Holland, France and America may be seen intermingled with streamers of Chinese junks and fanciful colours of native prahus.
>
> (EARL 1837, P. 345)

Earl's observations were both penetrating and accurate. His description summed up the telescopic growth of Singapore in less than a decade after its establishment and suggested the immense potential the city had for its future expansion. From its very inception, Singapore was conceived of as a free port, a status that contributed to its rapid development.

The early history of Singapore remains obscure. Chinese sources refer to Temasek as an outpost of the Sumatran Sri Vijaya Empire; in the succeeding centuries, Singapore remained part of the sultanate of Johore.

The history of Singapore as a modern port city may be dated to the year 1819, when Sir Stamford Raffles (1781–1826), lieutenant governor of the English East India Company's settlement at Bencoolen (present-day Bengkulu, Indonesia), successfully persuaded company authorities to give him permission to find ports south of Malacca and thereby to further British trade in the Southeast Asian archipelago. In 1819 Raffles hoisted the British flag in the island, and established Singapore as a trading post and settlement after signing a treaty with the ruler of Johore. According to the treaty, British jurisdiction would extend over a limited part of the island. Five years later, final arrangements were made for the entire cession of the island and a treaty was concluded between the English East India Company with the sultan of Johore whereby "the island of Singapore together with the adjacent seas,

Singapore. *The British established Singapore as a trading post and settlement in 1819 after signing a treaty with the ruler of Johore. In the early twenty-first century, Singapore became one of the world's major centers of finance and industry.* **WENDY CHAN/IMAGE BANK/ GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

straits and islets to the extent of 10 geographical miles from the coast of Singapore were given up in full sovereignty and property to the English East India Company."

For the first years of its founding, Singapore was one of the dependencies of Bencoolen. The city subsequently came under the control of the Bengal government and thereafter in 1826 was incorporated with Penang and Malacca to form the Straits Settlements under the control of British India. By 1832 Singapore had become the center of government for the three areas. On April 1, 1867, the Straits Settlements became a crown colony under the jurisdiction of the colonial office in London.

The founding of Singapore was largely intended to protect the China trade of the English East India Company and of its private servants, which consisted largely of the exchange of tea from Canton (present-day Guangzhou) with the opium of Bengal. The two principal routes for the trade between Europe, India, Southeast Asia, and China were the Straits of Malacca in the north and the Straits of Sunda in the south. The southern route

had been under Dutch control, but with the founding of Penang situated at the southern Straits of Malacca in 1781 and Singapore in 1819, both entrances to the straits came under British control, thereby assuring Britain full control over the China trade.

The Anglo-Dutch hostilities in the second quarter of the nineteenth century kept the situation fluid, but Singapore flourished, encouraging the English to press for its retention in the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1825. The treaty secured a division of the spheres of influence— with the British controlling the northern sector of the Straits of Malacca and the Dutch the southern segment. Even by this time, Singapore had become a much sought-after port by the English private traders who in 1813 had secured the opening of the India trade and had begun to participate extensively in the trade with China.

Singapore became a valuable transshipment base— Europeans picked up Chinese silks from Singapore and left English cloth to be shipped to China by Chinese traders. In 1833 the China trade was also thrown open

with the result that Singapore's role as a transshipment center came to an end. But by this time, the status of Singapore as a free port had already established its potential for spectacular growth both within the region as well as within a larger global network.

The initial phase of Singapore's commercial development accommodated local and Asian enterprise, with the Chinese dominating the scene. The Bugis, for instance, were important carriers; from their headquarters in the Celebes (present-day Sulawesi, Indonesia), they made their way in sailing boats called *prahus*, collecting and distributing the produce of the eastern half of the archipelago to Singapore and taking away in exchange European and Indian textiles and other products. After 1837 the Chinese dominated the trade of Singapore. Around this date, Singapore was recorded to have imported British manufactures to the annual amount of several hundred thousand pounds and to have attracted a polyglot population of Chinese, Malays, Indians, Javanese, Bugis, Balinese, and Arabs.

With the advent of steam shipping, Singapore's advantages increased even further due to its location as a coaling depot. The expansion of steam-based commercial transport threatened to increase congestion and undermine trade, but this was averted with the development of the New Harbour (later known as Keppel Harbour), which began in earnest in the 1860s. Between 1860 and 1912, a number of companies competed against each other for contracts related to dock building and wharfing facilities. In 1912 the Singapore Harbour Board was reconstituted and the government began an extensive program of wharf accommodation and dock building.

The emergence of Singapore as the seventh largest port in the world in 1916 was a consequence of its strategic location as the hub of Southeast Asian steamship communication, lying as it did in the mainline shipping routes. Singapore's trade, as well as the trade of the Straits Settlements, was divided almost entirely between European and Chinese merchants. The Europeans handled the trade centered at New Harbour, while the Chinese monopolized the trade of Singapore River. These two sectors of trade were carried on in two different languages, English in the foreign markets and Chinese in the bazaar.

Singapore's trade flowed along two channels that may be called the east-west axis—that is, trade directed toward Europe involving the import of European manufactures and the export of Southeast Asian produce. In 1897 there were twenty European import-export firms engaged in the trade westward; the number had increased to sixty by 1908. These export-import firms took on the management of business enterprises, usually tin mines and rubber estates that were owned by companies located

in Europe, England, and elsewhere. European merchants worked through Chinese intermediaries on two to three months' credit. They bought from their Chinese connections the raw materials and foodstuffs for exportation to the West.

Chinese merchants were middlemen in a middleman's economy. They stood between the European merchants who imported Western manufactures and the producers of Southeast Asia, who bartered their produce for the manufactures. The Chinese merchants distributed manufactured goods by adopting three modes of exchange. One method was to barter cotton piece goods; a second method was for the merchant to dispose of goods to agents in Southeast Asia. Finally, the Chinese merchant could sell directly to native consumers, and this was occasionally done in the Malay Peninsula. Here, a greater degree of enterprise was required; besides textiles, the merchant took along necessities.

The ability of the Chinese to trade directly and effectively in Southeast Asia was due to the fact that they had established connections in all these islands and that they had agents stationed in Sumatra, Borneo, and the Indonesian mainland. The Chinese were also able to command corresponding facilities, which were enjoyed by European firms in the trade westward. Shipping in particular gave the Chinese a big advantage—Chinese steamers shipped European manufactures or intra-Asian commodities, such as fish and rice, and brought the produce to be sold to the Europeans. The development of Chinese shipping was encouraged by legislation passed in the colony in 1852, whereby old Chinese residents could become naturalized British subjects. By the 1860s Chinese-owned vessels flying British colors plied the ports between Singapore, Siam, Cochin in China, and the archipelago.

European and Chinese merchants complemented each others' activities. Europeans depended on the Chinese to dispose of their imports of manufactured goods and for a supply of exports of Southeast Asian produce. The Chinese depended on the Europeans for their credit facilities.

Euro-Asia trade constituted only one segment of Singapore's trade. A second component was the intra-Asian trade that involved huge exchanges with Southeast Asia, rice and fish being the most important commodities. Here, too, British political control was an important factor in the expansion of the colony's trade with the larger region. British control over Malaya had an appreciable effect on the trade of the Straits Settlements, whose merchants had substantial investment in tin and rubber, the natural resources of Malaya. Imports from and exports to Thailand were of equal value in 1870; imports increased thirteen times by 1915, exports increasing only

by four and a half times. Thailand exported rice to Singapore and the Straits Settlements, while Malaysia exported rubber and tin.

Exports from Burma (Myanmar) were not appreciably significant; Burmese rice exports were diverted to the British and European market after the opening of the Suez Canal. The case of Borneo was different: Exports (rice, fish, cloth, opium, machinery, and railway materials) from Singapore made their way to Borneo, while the port received substantial imports of rattan, gambier, sago, gum, copra, coffee, and tobacco. Among the other items of Southeast Asian produce that entered Singapore's trade, mention must be made of such Indonesian imports as pepper, rattan, gambier, and small amounts of rubber.

Between 1870 and 1915, the trade of the Straits Settlements had become one of trade in Southeast Asian produce. By the end of the period, Malaysia had become Singapore's single most important trading partner, with tin and rubber figuring as the key imports. The phenomenal commercial expansion of the city was reflected in an impressive development of infrastructure related to expansion of dock facilities and civic amenities.

By the 1920s, Singapore became increasingly important in British perception as they began building a naval base in the city in 1923, partly in response to Japan's increasing naval power. A costly and unpopular project, construction of the base proceeded slowly until the early 1930s, when Japan began moving into Manchuria and northern China. A major component of the base was completed in March 1938, when the King George VI Graving Dock was opened; more than 300 meters (984 feet) in length, it was the largest dry dock in the world at the time. The base, completed in 1941 and defended by artillery, searchlights, and the newly built Tengah Airfield, caused Singapore to be hailed in the press as the "Gibralter of the East." The floating dock, 275 meters (902 feet) long, was the third largest in the world and could hold sixty thousand workers. The base also contained dry docks, giant cranes, machine shops, and underground storage for water, fuel, and ammunition.

The outbreak of World War II did not affect most Singaporeans until the first half of 1941. The main pressure on the Straits Settlements was the need to produce more rubber and tin for the Allied war effort. However, by 1942, following sustained bombing by Japan, Singapore came under Japanese control. During the period of Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945, Singapore remained a witness to Japanese aggression and brutality. The occupation produced a huge wave of anti-Japanese agitation in Singapore, particularly among the Chinese population, which had borne the brunt of the occupation in retribution for support given by Singaporean Chinese to mainland China in its struggle against Japan.

The Japanese surrender in 1945 did not immediately guarantee Singapore's slow recovery to normalcy and prosperity. The end of the British Military Administration in March 1946 was followed by Singapore becoming a crown colony, while Penang and Malacca became part of the Malayan Union in 1946, and later the Federation of Malaya in 1948.

Postwar Singapore saw its merchants clamoring for a more active political role. Constitutional powers were initially vested in the governor, who had an advisory council of officials and nominated nonofficials. This evolved into the separate Executive and Legislative Councils in July 1947. The governor retained firm control over the colony, but there was provision for the election of six members to the Legislative Council by popular vote. These developments were followed by Singapore's first election on March 20, 1948.

The efforts of the Communist Party of Malaya take over Malaya and Singapore by force produced a state of emergency. The emergency that was declared in June 1948 lasted for twelve years. Towards the end of 1953, the British government appointed a commission under Sir George Rendel (1889–1979) to review Singapore's constitutional position and make recommendations for change. The Rendel proposals were accepted by the government and served as the basis of a new constitution that gave Singapore a greater measure of self-government.

The 1955 election was the first political contest in Singapore's history. David Marshall (1908–1995) became Singapore's first chief minister on April 6, 1955, with a coalition government made up of his own labor front, the United Malays National Organization and the Malayan Chinese Association.

Marshall resigned on June 6, 1956, after the breakdown of constitutional talks in London on attaining full internal self-government. Lim Yew Hock (1914–1984), Marshall's deputy and minister for labor became the chief minister. The March 1957 constitutional mission to London led by Lim Yew Hock was successful in negotiating the main terms of a new Singapore constitution. On May 28, 1958, the Constitutional Agreement was signed in London.

Self-government was attained in 1959. In May of that year Singapore's first general election was held to choose fifty-one representatives to the first fully elected Legislative Assembly. The People's Action Party (PAP) won forty-three seats, gleaning slightly more than 50 percent of the total vote. On June 3, the new constitution confirming Singapore as a self-governing state was brought into force by the proclamation of the governor, Sir William Goode, who became Singapore's first *yang di-pertuan negara* (head of state) from 1959–1961. The first government of the state of Singapore was sworn in

on June 5, with Lee Kuan Yew (1923–) as Singapore's first prime minister.

The PAP had come to power in a united front with the Communists to fight British colonialism. The contradictions within the alliance soon surfaced and led to a split in l961, with pro-Communists subsequently forming a new political party, the Barisan Sosialis. The other main players in this drama were the Malayans, who in 1961 agreed to Singapore's merger with Malaya as part of a larger federation. This federation was also to include the British territories in Borneo, with the British controlling the foreign affairs, defense, and internal security of Singapore.

On May 27, 1961, the Malayan prime minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman (1903–1990), proposed closer political and economic cooperation between the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo, and Brunei in the form of a merger. The main terms of the merger, agreed on by Abdul Rahman and Lee Kuan Yew, were to have the central government responsible for defense, foreign affairs, and internal security, but local autonomy in matters pertaining to education and labor. A referendum on the terms of the merger held in Singapore on September 1, 1962, showed the people's overwhelming support for the PAP's plan to go ahead with the merger.

Malaysia was formed on September 16, 1963, and consisted of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo (now Sabah). The merger proved to be short-lived. Singapore was separated from the rest of Malaysia on August 9, 1965, and became a sovereign, democratic, and independent nation.

Independent Singapore was admitted to the United Nations on September 21, 1965, and became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations on October 15, 1965. On December 22, 1965, it became a republic, with Yusof bin Ishak (1910–1970) as the republic's first president.

SEE ALSO *Batavia; Calcutta; Colonial Port Cities and Towns, South and Southeast Asia; Malaysia, British, 1874-1957; Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford; Southeast Asia, Japanese Occupation of; Straits Settlements.*

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Lakshmi Subramanian

SLAVERY AND ABOLITION, MIDDLE EAST

The history of enslavement and abolition in the Middle East after 1450 is in fact mainly a chapter in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans rose to the status of a major regional power in the course of the fourteenth century, becoming a universal empire during the second half of the fifteenth century, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The Ottomans took over the heartlands of the Middle East, Egypt, and Syria in 1517, wresting these areas from the weakened Mamluk sultanate. Having later expanded their rule into North Africa, Arabia, and the Horn of Africa, and also northward and eastward to the Caucasus and Central Asia, the Ottomans came to control the entire network that acquired and distributed unfree labor within the Eastern Mediterranean basin and its hinterland for four centuries.

INTRODUCTION

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the main source of slaves in the Middle East was the series of wars that expanded the "abode of Islam" at the expense of the "abode of war," the territories ruled by non-Muslim sovereign powers. Prisoners of war were routinely reduced to slavery and employed in a variety of jobs, including agricultural, domestic, and other kinds of menial work. Although this practice continued into the nineteenth century, it became rare.

Consequently, because Ottoman expansion and large-scale conquests came to an end, importation from outside the Ottoman Empire and internal trade in already enslaved persons offered the main viable alternative. By the late eighteenth century, and until the demise of the Ottoman Empire following World War I, the slave trade was virtually the only source of unfree labor in the sultan's realm. From the second half of the nineteenth century, attempts to suppress the traffic, influenced to a large extent by British pressure, gradually reduced the number of slaves forcibly entering the Ottoman Empire.

The emergence in 1923 of the Republic of Turkey out of the ashes of the empire brought along a major

social transformation under President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938). With the collapse of the sultanate, its major institutions and practices also disappeared, including slavery. But in some of the successor states, especially in Arabia and the Persian Gulf region, enslavement persisted for much longer, sustained by tribal monarchies that clung to their old ways, protected by a stubborn willfulness to preserve a lifestyle and a tradition that became an anathema to modernity. Using their oil wealth and other strategic assets, rulers and elites colluded to hold on to slavery and shield it from the outside world well into the second half of the twentieth century.

Enslavement of humans by other humans was a universal phenomenon, not peculiar to any culture, not deriving from any specific set of shared social values. Thus, there was nothing exceptional in the fact that it existed also in Islamic, Ottoman, Arab, Middle Eastern, or Mediterranean societies. Since biblical times, all monotheistic religions sanctioned slavery, though they did try to mitigate its harsh realities, and hardly any belief system was free from some form of bondage. Something in human nature made slavery possible everywhere, and it took major transformations in human thinking to get rid of it—and that too, barely a century and a half ago, an admittedly late stage in human history.

The Ottoman Empire, as one of the last great empires to survive into the modern period, inherited enslavement from its previous Islamic and non-Islamic predecessors, but developed its own version of it. The Ottoman brand was complex, with a variety of slave types, functions, countries of origin, cultural backgrounds, and modes of integration into society.

SOURCES OF SLAVES, NUMBERS, AND THE TRAFFIC

If during the earlier period of Ottoman history and up to the seventeenth century, the bulk of the enslaved population was recruited through conquest on the European and Black Sea frontiers, the majority of captured and enslaved persons in the following centuries came from Africa, with a small but significant minority originating in the Caucasus, mainly in Circassia and Georgia. Towards the end of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth centuries, Africans were being captured in the Sudan (the White and Blue Nile basins, Darfur, and Kordofan), Central Africa (mostly Waday, Bornu, and Bagirmi), and Ethiopia (mainly Galla, Sidamo, and Gurage provinces).

Africans were enslaved and forcibly transported along several historic trade routes crossing the Sahara Desert, then traversing the Mediterranean to reach Ottoman ports in the Balkans and the Middle East. Other major routes included the Nile Valley, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the network of pilgrimage roads leading to and from the holy cities in the Hejaz (a region along the Red Sea in present-day Saudi Arabia). From the Caucasus into the Ottoman Empire, enslaved people were being moved along the Black Sea and eastern Mediterranean routes and the overland roads of Anatolia (part of present-day Turkey). This human commodity was being transported via the same network as nonhuman merchandise, often by the same caravans and boats.

Scattered data and reasonable extrapolations regarding the volume of the slave trade from Africa to the Ottoman Empire yield an estimated number of approximately 16,000 to 18,000 men and women who were being coerced into the empire per annum during much of the nineteenth century. The large majority of these were African women. It is estimated that the total volume of involuntary migration from Africa into Ottoman territories was from the Swahili coasts to the Ottoman Middle East and India—313,000; across the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden—492,000; into Ottoman Egypt—362,000; and into Ottoman North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya)—350,000. Excluding the numbers going to India, a rough estimate of this mass population movement would amount to more than 1.3 million people. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the shrinking Atlantic traffic swelled the numbers of enslaved Africans coerced into both domestic African and Ottoman markets.

These figures should have resulted in a fairly noticeable African diaspora in Turkey and the successor states of the Middle East, North Africa, and even the Balkans. However, if one looks for persons of African descent in most of these regions, only scattered traces of them can be found. In Turkey, there are African agricultural communities in villages and towns in western Anatolia, with a larger concentration in areas around Izmir, as well as in the regions bordering the Mediterranean coastline. Even in the city of Izmir itself, where the largest African population in the Ottoman Empire lived at the end of the nineteenth century, an estimate of two thousand in the first half of the twentieth century is disputed as possibly too high.

Since Africans were considered as both Muslim and Ottoman (or later Turkish), they are statistically nonexistent in the official demographic records (e.g., yearbooks, directories, and statistically-compiled indexes). By comparison, in the post-Ottoman Levant (the countries bordering the eastern Mediterranean), as in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, and North Africa, one can find many more persons of African extraction among the various Bedouin tribes in desert areas and in settled villages bordering on them. In Egypt, Africans seem to have a larger presence than elsewhere in the Middle East.

The question is where have all the Africans gone to? One explanation is that many of the enslaved perished because they were not used to the colder weather, they suffered from contagious pulmonary diseases, and their life expectancy was quite low. An additional factor is that Islamic law and Ottoman social norm sanctioned concubinage and subsequent absorption into the host societies. An enslaved woman impregnated by her owner could not be sold, her offspring were considered free, and she herself would be freed upon the death of the owner. Thus, exogamy and the passing of several generations ensured not only the social absorption of free, mixed-race children, but also their visible disappearance from the observer's gaze.

In any event, by the end of the nineteenth century, the size of the enslaved population in the Ottoman Empire was around 5 percent, and slavers were a small, privileged minority, which scarcely reflected the experience of the majority. The overwhelming number of Ottoman families were monogamous, and did not own slaves nor employ free servants.

TYPES OF SLAVES AND TASKS THEY PERFORMED

Enslaved persons in the Ottoman Empire performed a variety of tasks, with the majority being employed as domestic servants in elite households, mostly in urban areas. Others engaged in menial jobs as mine workers, pearl divers, and manufacturers of various goods, but a certain number did work as agricultural laborers. Agricultural slavery was common in the Ottoman Empire until the sixteenth century, when captives in wars were sent to till the land in large, cash-crop farms. But this practice disappeared with the breakup of large estates into smallhold farms, and the loss of manpower supplies due to the end of military expansion by the end of the seventeenth century. Agricultural slavery resurfaced in the second half of the nineteenth century in two separate cases that were the exception rather than the rule.

During the late 1850s and early 1860s, the Russians drove out large numbers of Circassians from the Caucasus. Allowed to enter the Ottoman Empire, these refugees were settled in villages in strategic areas of Anatolia and the Balkans. Circassian landlords brought with them their serfs, who were classified by Ottoman law as slaves. Thus, several tens of thousands—some estimates go as high as 150,000, or 10 percent of the entire Circassian refugee population—worked as unfree agricultural laborers in the sultan's domains.

Another case was the employment of enslaved Africans on cotton farms in Egypt during the 1860s. This was the result of peaking demand for Egyptian cotton owing to shortages on world markets created by the American Civil War (1861–1865).

But the intriguing and analytically perplexing problem within Ottoman enslavement is that of military-administrative elite slavery. The men recruited to serve as the empire's generals, top ministers, provincial governors, and ranking bureaucrats were known as the sultan's household *kul*. They were levied as teenagers in Balkan villages according to certain criteria and entered into the Palace School, where they were trained to join the imperial elite. Legally, they were the sultan's slaves, but many of them attained powerful positions within the government, and enjoyed a lifestyle that one hardly would associate with the travails of the other types of slaves in the Ottoman Empire or elsewhere.

The corresponding female institution was elite harem servility. It was in the harem that the women and children of the sultan's household, and those of his elite members, lived. Contrary to Western perceptions of harem life, the women who ran those large and complex households were not mere sexual objects catering to the carnal pleasures of the sultan and his male elite members. Rather, the harem was a hub of political, social, cultural, and economic activity, where important decisions were being made by the sultan's mother and his wives, that were later negotiated with the leading men of the imperial court. Many, though not all, of the women in the harems were slaves bought in the Caucasus or the Balkans and educated in the palaces of the elite.

A small number of eunuchs served in the harems as intermediaries, facilitating contact between men and women in what was a gender-segregated environment. There were white and black eunuchs at the imperial palace, but during the seventeenth century, the corps of African eunuchs became dominant in court politics.

The question here is whether the *kul*-harem group of slaves should at all be subsumed under the category of Ottoman enslavement. Some leading Ottomanists have suggested alternative terms to describe the predicament of people in that group, feeling that they cannot properly be lumped together with domestic, menial, and agricultural slaves in Ottoman society. Thus, terms such as "the sultan's servants" or "servitors" were suggested, but since the privileges of these persons were of a temporary nature, they should be considered as essentially unfree. *Kul*-harem slaves were not allowed to bequeath their property nor their status to their offspring, and their wealth reverted to the treasury upon their death. The sultan not only controlled his enslaved servants' religious and cultural identity and their material assets, but also their right to life, which he could take if they were judged to have violated their bond of servitude. In fact, the status of elite slaves in the Ottoman Empire presents a true paradox at the heart of the Ottoman system—that is, that ordinary subjects enjoyed rights denied to those by whom

they were governed, such as the right to immunity from the sultan's direct power over life and death.

Over the centuries of Ottoman imperial rule, certain aspects of *kul* servitude were gradually being mitigated in practice, especially during the major reforms of the nineteenth century, known as the *Tanzimat*. There was really no difference of kind between *kul*-harem slaves and other types of Ottoman slaves, although there certainly were differences of degree among them within the category of Ottoman slavery. It follows that the life-quality of enslaved people in the Ottoman Empire depended upon several criteria: (1) the task they performed (*kul*-harem, agricultural, domestic, or menial); (2) the status of the slaveholders whom they served (urban elite members, rural notables, smallhold cultivators, artisans, or merchants); (3) whether they were located in core or peripheral areas; (4) their type of habitat (whether urban, village, or nomad); and (5) their gender and ethnic background.

Thus, on the whole, enslaved domestic workers in urban elite households were better treated than enslaved people in other settings and predicaments. Slaves living farther from the core, on lower social strata, and in a less densely populated habitat, normally received better treatment, and the lives of enslaved Africans and enslaved women were usually harder.

WAS OTTOMAN ENSLAVEMENT MILDER? WERE THE ENSLAVED TOTALLY POWERLESS?

Slavery in Islamic societies has been deemed to have been of a milder nature than the stereotyped model of enslavement in the American antebellum South. Especially in the Ottoman case, the near-absence of agricultural slavery and the mitigating circumstances of domestic service were seen as offering the enslaved a better life than elsewhere. The path to freedom and relative protection bestowed upon concubines was also regarded as extenuating the lot of enslaved women in Ottoman and Islamic societies.

It is true that not a few slaves were better cared for than many of the sultan's free subjects and would not have traded their position for the uncertainties and vulnerabilities of the free poor and other marginalized persons in society. However, even in domestic slavery situations, especially when women were concerned, it would be inappropriate to describe the slaves' experience of enslavement as "mild." The intimacy of home, family, or household did not guarantee good treatment, nor was concubinage always bliss. A gendered view of female enslavement brings out a much harsher picture of realities.

There is ample evidence to show that, regardless of the alleged "mildness" of Ottoman slave experiences, bondage was a condition most enslaved people tried to extricate themselves from. Many went to a great deal of trouble, took enormous risks, and fought against heavy odds to achieve freedom. In that, enslaved Ottoman subjects were not different from enslaved persons in any other society, and their efforts deserve to be recognized and appreciated.

Throughout Ottoman history, enslaved persons would abscond from abusive slavers, or commit acts classified as criminal by the state, in order to achieve freedom or register protest. But they also tried to work within the system to ameliorate their conditions. The latter occurred much more often during the second half of the nineteenth century, when the reforming Ottoman state was assuming the role of protector vis-à-vis the enslaved population of the empire, while at the same time attempting not to raise conservative opposition to its emancipatory moves.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, absconding was becoming a legitimate way of getting out of enslavement in most societies under Ottoman rule. The Tanzimat state was increasingly siding with the enslaved and gradually abandoning its long-standing policy of supporting slaveholders' property rights. Its growing interference in the slaveholder-enslaved relationship benefited the weaker partner in that relationship, and many of the enslaved learned how to use the various means and opportunities made available to them by the state. The government also fully realized that once freed, ex-slaves were vulnerable and in need of protection—that is, of placement in a new job and of reattachment and patronage.

But absconding and assertion of freedom before the courts and government agencies were not the only types of action to which the enslaved resorted in their attempts to change their predicament. Some of these alternative actions were criminalized by the Ottoman state because the governing elite saw them as threatening to the existing order. Admittedly, the choices made by those enslaved Africans and Circassians who committed crimes were not always intended to achieve freedom, though not a few certainly were.

Another way of resisting enslavement in the Ottoman Empire was a cultural one. By retaining African and Circassian cultural components, enslaved persons served their spiritual and emotional needs and challenged the dominant culture of the slavers. Thus, for example, the trance and healing cult of Zar-Bori was carried by enslaved Africans into Ottoman territories and helped them cope with the tough realities of displacement and oppression.

CONCLUSION

To better understand enslavement in Ottoman and other societies, it needs to be viewed as a relationship between

human beings, rather than as an institution with nameless and faceless structures. Enslaved persons were part and parcel of the network of social patronage that made up Ottoman society. Slaves were attached to a patron household regardless of the job they performed, and that attachment gave them social and economic protection and an identity as household members. Thus, after being brutally snatched out of their homes, successful attachment to the slaver's family was key to their absorption into the community at which they arrived. Resale to another slaveholder threatened that attachment, as did manumission, which despite its attraction to the enslaved, also raised fear of known and unknown vulnerabilities. This inevitably constrained the slaves' choice of action, such as when considering the consequences of insubordination, absconding, or mounting a challenge to criminalized and noncriminalized norms of conduct. Therefore, when they did resort to actions of this type, they had to be strongly motivated to achieve liberation.

It is therefore important to note the complexity of the phenomenon of slavery in general, and that of Ottoman enslavement in particular. As we strive to understand the social, economic, political, and cultural circumstances in which enslavement was widespread and universally acceptable in historic societies, we also should not hesitate to condemn it as reprehensible, regardless of where and by whom it was practiced. Understanding why enslavement was so natural in so many societies does not lead to condoning it. Ottomans and non-Ottomans alike had a choice in this matter regardless of sociocultural conventions: they could decide not to own slaves, and those who elected to use unfree labor could also choose not to mistreat their slaves, and—according to common Ottoman practice—manumit them after a reasonable period of service, commonly deemed in the empire as between seven and ten years. In addition, the enslaved had a measure of choice too, although theirs was much more constrained and involved greater risks and sacrifice.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Ottoman; North Africa; Slave Trade, Indian Ocean.*

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Ehud R. Toledano

SLAVE TRADE, ATLANTIC

Throughout history, there have been various forms of social oppression of the weak by the powerful and rich. These include, among many other forms, the exploitation of the labor of peasants by ruling elites (feudalism, serfdom), peonage, and slavery. Slavery is one of the oldest institutions in human history. For millennia, in different countries and continents, people have been enslaved. Unwritten rules of war in ancient times permitted the enslavement of prisoners of war, who were made to perform all kinds of tasks. Records from classical antiquity show that the Assyrians, Phoenicians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, and Chinese all utilized slave labor. In the Middle Ages, both Christians from Europe and Muslims from North Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere enslaved each other during the struggle for supremacy between the Christian and Muslim worlds. Thus, in Europe, China, Japan, and Africa, slaves made important contributions to society.

The Atlantic slave trade, the trade that linked up Africa, the Americas, and Europe, differed from ancient slavery in one fundamental respect, though—it was predicated on race.

SLAVERY IN AFRICA

The nature of slavery in Africa has been the subject of much scholarly debate. Some scholars argue that slavery as practiced in Africa differed from slavery in the Americas in that slaves were not viewed as chattel and could be absorbed into the owner's family over time. This perspective is found in the work of Suzanne Meirs and Igor Kopytoff, who see slavery in Africa as existing along a continuum. In their view, the slave's position in traditional African society varied from total marginality to incorporation into the society or group. R. S. Rattray, who did field research in Asante in the 1920s, also belongs to this functionalist-assimilationist school of thought.

On the other hand, scholars like Claude Meillassoux, Paul Lovejoy, and Martin Klein belong to the economic paradigm school, which sees slavery in Africa as an economic institution predicated on the outsider status of the slave. They argue that as an outsider the slave had no rights and was only considered property. As a result, the slave could in no way become part of the owner's family, and could only live on the margins of society.

A Band of Captives Driven into Slavery. *This illustration of slaves captured in Zanzibar was published in* The Life and Explorations of David Livingston, LL.D. *(1875) by John S. Roberts.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

FROM AFRICAN SLAVERY TO THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

The gradual transformation of indigenous slavery into what became the largest intercontinental migration in history began with the trans-Saharan slave trade. The expansion of Islam into Africa led to the increased export of African slaves across the Sahara to the Mediterranean region and the Middle Eastern countries of the Persian Gulf. The wars of expansion into "infidel" territory that lasted several centuries enabled Muslim slave merchants to acquire Africans for enslavement. Some African slaves were used in the Mediterranean sugar islands, thus laying the basis for the plantation system that later developed in the Caribbean.

The number of Africans sent across the Sahara, while not as significant as the number of enslaved Africans sent across the Atlantic from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, actually increased after the era of Portuguese exploration began. What eventually led to
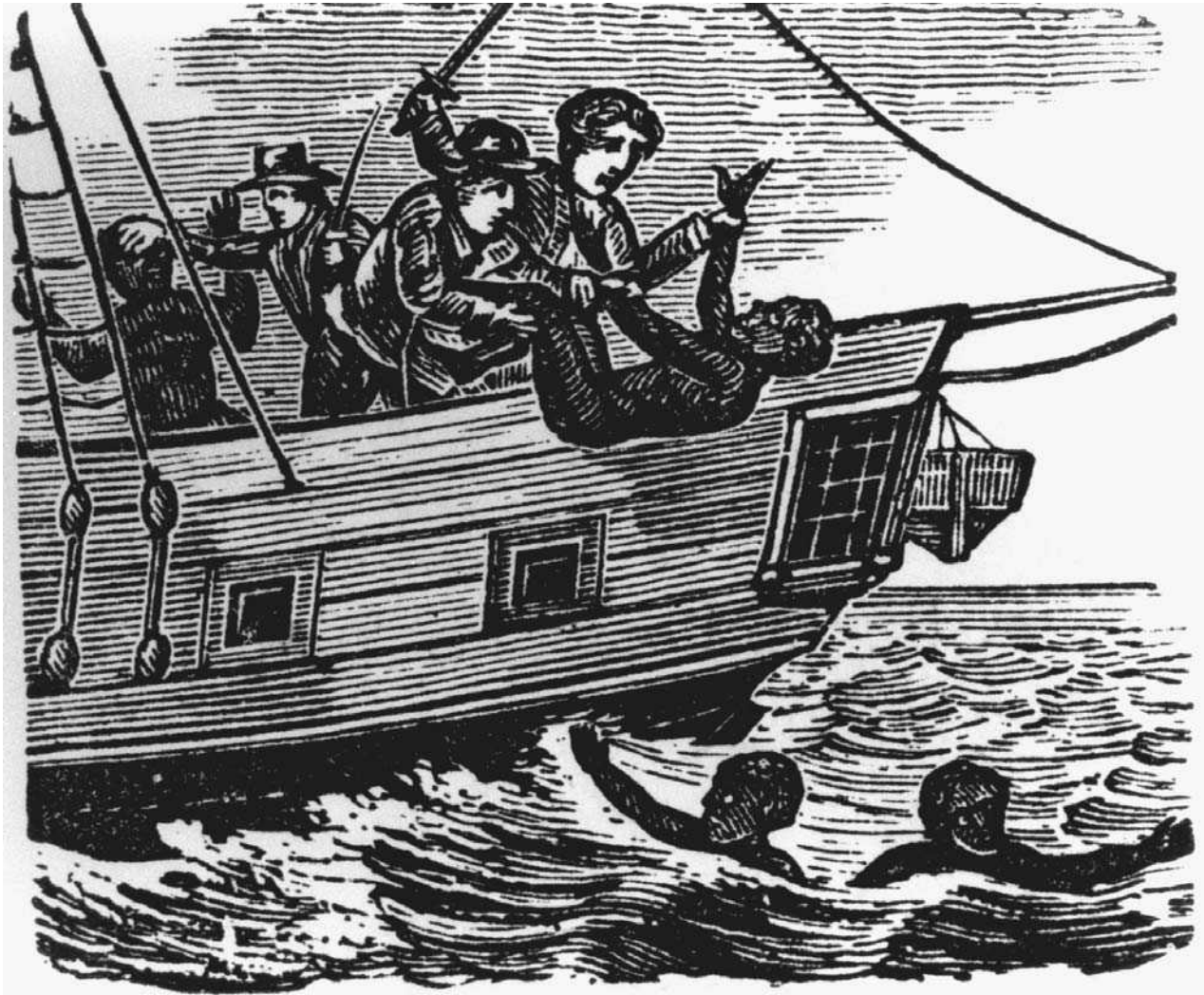
The Middle Passage. *Sailors throw sick and dying slaves overboard during the Middle Passage, a term used to refer to the voyage of loaded slave ships across the Atlantic from Africa to the Americas.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the trans-Saharan trade petering out and the rapid growth of the Atlantic slave trade was the commercial revolution that occurred in Europe starting in the fifteenth century. This commercial revolution, which led to economic competition, was partly facilitated by a revolution in maritime technology in Europe between 1400 and 1600. Superior navigational and military technology gave Europe naval supremacy and enhanced the overseas activities and expansion of European states. Spain, Portugal, France, England, and Holland took advantage of these developments.

In the fifteenth century, Europeans began to search for new sources of wealth—gold, land for sugar production, and new routes to the Far East, with its spices and silk. The Portuguese led the way and soon "discovered" the Atlantic coast of Africa. They quickly monopolized the

production of sugar in the region by establishing sugar plantations worked by slave labor on the Atlantic islands of Madeira, Cape Verde, São Tomé, and Príncipe.

When the Reconquista diminished the number of captives available by largely ending warfare between the Christian and Islamic worlds, the Portuguese resorted to kidnapping, raids, and purchases from African traders in order to obtain slaves for the sugar plantations. Prince Henry the Navigator made their job easier by sanctioning the import of Africans—the first party of ten was sent to Portugal in 1441 (to be Christianized and for use in mission work). In addition, Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455) issued a papal bull granting Alphonso V of Portugal the right to enslave non-Christians captured in "just" wars in any regions that the Portuguese might discover.

Spain sought to challenge Portuguese supremacy and thus commissioned Christopher Columbus, whose voyages of exploration led to the 1492 contact with America and the subsequent exploitation of the hemisphere's aboriginal peoples.

SLAVERY IN THE NEW WORLD

Slaves were only imported to the New World in great numbers after other sources of labor proved inadequate. The new commercial enterprises first used forced aboriginal ("Indian") labor, but this approach met with little success for a number of reasons. First, the aboriginal lifestyle was not adapted to systematic agriculture. Second, Indians who escaped from the plantations could easily melt into the countryside. Third, Indians were very susceptible to European diseases and died in large numbers.

The persistent need for labor also led to the use of indentured servitude. Indentured servants, largely from Europe, were given free passage to the Americas and in return, worked for plantation owners for a fixed number of years (usually seven), after which they were freed from all obligations. However, indentured servitude proved inadequate as a source of labor because the labor it provided was temporary. Also, competition for labor in Europe made the cost of indentured servants high.

The Portuguese, the Spanish, and the English soon realized the advantages of using African slaves in the New World. Africans had had a longer period of contact with Europeans, and thus did not die of European diseases at the same alarming rate as the Indians, who were encountering diseases like syphilis for the first time. As transplants from Africa, it was harder for them to successfully escape. Because the Portuguese had used Africans as slaves in their Atlantic Islands, Europeans were also already familiar with the sources of African slave labor.

THE SOURCES OF AFRICAN SLAVES

Several studies have revealed that a large number of African slaves were acquired through warfare and that indeed warfare was the major cause of enslavement. As J. E. Inikori and others have shown, the high point of the Atlantic slave trade coincided with a period during which a large quantity of guns were being imported into Africa. Many wars were initiated for the purpose of acquiring slaves, but even wars whose origin had nothing to do with the Atlantic slave trade could produce large numbers of slaves. For example, the Yoruba civil wars, though inspired by political conflicts, became the largest single source of slaves during the last decades of the trade.

A different perspective has been offered by J. D. Fage, who argues that slaving wars and raids were not the outcome of the export slave trade, and would have occurred even without the trade. According to Fage, "the motive of warfare and raiding in Africa . . . was not to secure slaves for sale and export, but to secure adequate quantities of this resource and diminish the amounts available to rivals."

Besides warfare, other means of enslavement included raids and kidnapping. While recognized as illegal, slave-raiding parties roamed the countryside and snatched unsuspecting youth. One of the most famous enslaved Africans who was snatched in this way was Olaudah Equiano.

The judicial system was another vehicle through which people were enslaved. Some leaders exploited the judicial system by feeding people accused of heinous crimes like murder into the Atlantic slave trade.

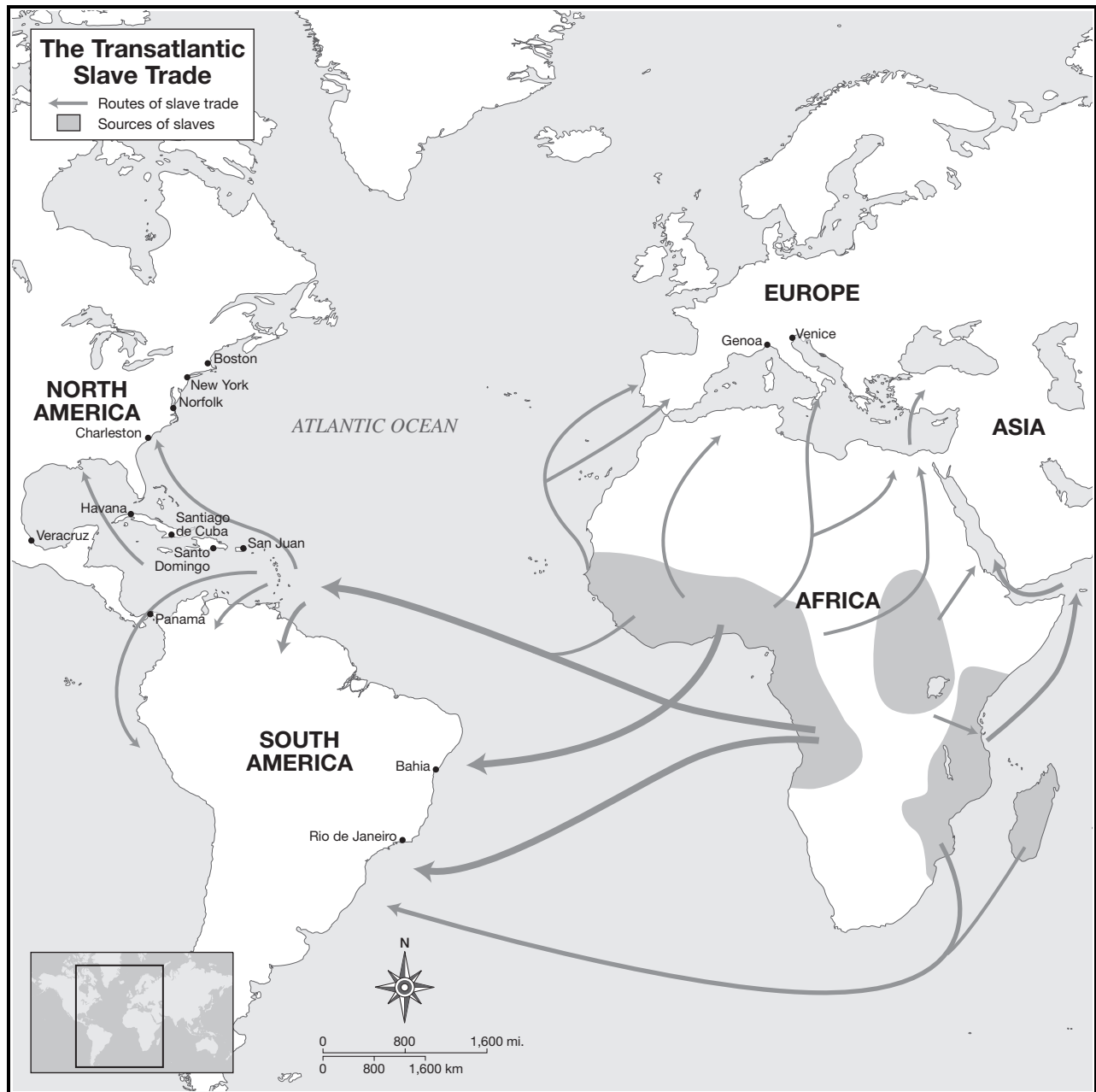## EFFECTS OF THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE ON AFRICA

Scholars have long debated the impact of the transatlantic slave trade on Africa. Some, such as David Eltis, maintain that the impact of the trade on Africa was minimal; others claim the impact was profound. Different scholars focus on different aspects of the trade—including its economic impact, its political impact, its social impact, and a host of demographic issues.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT

Among the most prominent of the scholars who argue that the slave trade led to the underdevelopment of the continent are Walter Rodney and J. E. Inikori. According to Rodney (1972), when the European slave trade removed millions of children and young adults, it robbed Africa of the most productive segment of its population. Furthermore, the slave trade and the wars it engendered created a climate of uncertainty and fear. As a result, economic development was rendered almost impossible in the areas affected by the trade. Many local industries that once existed no longer flourished. For example, many West African metallurgical and textile industries were partly ruined by the slave trade.

Rodney argues further that African industries were hurt by the type of imports that came with the slave trade. European imports into Africa did not stimulate the production process, but, rather, were items that were rapidly consumed or stored away. He adds that most of the imports were of the worst quality—cheap gunpowder, crude pots, and cheap gin. Inikori concurs, maintaining that the uncontrolled importation of cheap textiles and other manufactured goods from Europe and Asia retarded the development of manufacturing in Africa.

Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (1979) conclude that the Atlantic slave trade caused not only enormous social dislocation, but also long-term economic decline in West Africa. They argue that when all

The Transatlantic Slave Trade

→ Routes of slave trade
▨ Sources of slaves

EUROPE

Genoa • • Venice

NORTH AMERICA
• Boston
• New York
Norfolk
• Charleston

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ASIA

AFRICA

Havana •
Veracruz •
Santiago de Cuba •
Santo Domingo • • San Juan
• Panama

SOUTH AMERICA
Bahia •
Rio de Janeiro •

N

0   800   1,600 mi.
0   800   1,600 km

MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

costs are counted—social, political, and psychological—the welfare of West African society as a whole deteriorated markedly over the centuries of its involvement in the trade.

On the other hand, a number of scholars have argued that the economic impact of the Atlantic slave trade on Africa was minimal. Basil Davidson, for example, refutes the claim that indigenous industries collapsed. He points out that even after the trade was in place, Africans continued to weave textiles, smelt and forge metals, practice agriculture, and employ the manifold techniques of daily life.

In support of this view, A. G. Hopkins (1973) points out that as far as West Africa is concerned, no general evidence has been presented to support the claim that foreign imports led to the decline of local industries. To the contrary, he asserts that, "many indigenous manufactures, such as cloth and pottery, remained important, and it seems likely that the market was enlarged" (p. 121). He argues further that there is no evidence that

the export of labor from Africa was one of the major causes of underdevelopment. Most of the slaves taken, he claims, were peasants lacking technical or entrepreneurial skills. He does agree, however, that in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, "when the economy began to expand very rapidly, there was undoubtedly a serious shortage of labor in West Africa, and it could be argued that at that point the pace of advance would have been faster if the slave trade had not retarded the population" (p. 122).

THE POLITICAL IMPACT

While some scholars maintain that the political impact of the slave trade on African society was minimal, most scholars now agree its impact was profound. One of the major political repercussions of the slave trade is related to the practice of exchanging firearms for slaves, which in turn led to an organization of force aimed at capturing more slaves to trade for more guns. According to some scholars, the slave trade and the importation of guns led to the expansion of militaristic states like Oyo and the subsequent devastation of the regions surrounding them. Due to this militarization, guns became important for national survival and prosperity, and because guns could only be bought with slaves, militaristic African states found themselves trapped in a "gun-slave-gun cycle." While some states acquired slaves in order to get more guns, other states sold slaves to get guns in order to protect themselves.

Inikori (1977) quantified the trade in firearms in some parts of West Africa and argued that there is a strong relationship between guns and the acquisition of slaves. Similarly, R. A. Kea and Richards point to the large volume of firearms imported into West Africa in the eighteenth century and the impact of these guns on interstate warfare, economic life, relations between Africans and Europeans, and the political organization of states along the Gold and Slave Coasts. Dahomey is often cited as a classic example of a militaristic state that expanded through the gun-slave-gun cycle. Dahomey maintained a slave-trade economy through a royal monopoly, exchanging slaves for guns. However, Werner Peukert (1978) points out, the bulk of the recent evidence seems to imply that there is nothing to suggest that Dahomey was completely subject to the influence of the Atlantic slave trade.

A number of scholars, including Paul Lovejoy, maintain that the export slave trade also indirectly increased the incidence of wars by exacerbating socioeconomic and political tensions within and between African states. Similarly, Inikori forcefully argues that "the export slave trade helped to create values, political and social structures, economic interests, social tensions, and intra-group

The Alantic slave trade	
ARRIVALS IN AMERICA, 1451–1700	
Destination	**Imports**
Europe	50,000
Atlantic Islands	25,000
São Tomé	100,000
Spanish America	367,500
Brazil	610,000
English Colonies	263,700
French Colonies	155,800
Dutch Colonies	20,000

SOURCE: Adapted from Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Appendix, Table A.2, p. 210.

THE GALE GROUP.

or inter-territorial misunderstandings . . . which encouraged warfare" (1982, p. 20).

THE DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT

Scholars have long debated the question of how many people were sent from Africa to the New World. Philip D. Curtin's pioneering work, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969), estimates that the number of slaves sent to the Americas and other parts of the Atlantic basin from 1451 to 1870 was 9,566,100. Although his figures challenged old estimates, which ranged from 15 million to 50 million, Curtin nonetheless concluded that the impact on the continent was profound.

The debate over Curtin's figures has divided scholars into different camps: those who accept Curtin's estimates; those who essentially accept his conclusions, but argue that the estimates should be revised within a roughly 20 percent margin; and those who consider the estimates far too low to be meaningful. Paul E. Lovejoy (1982; 1983) and J. D. Fage (1978) are examples of scholars who have slightly modified Curtin's figures, but not his conclusions. Inikori, by contrast, believes that Curtin's estimate should be higher by about 40 percent. He argues (1982) that Curtin seriously underestimates the mortality rates of slaves between the time of their capture and their arrival in the New World; according to Inikori, at least 50 percent of slaves died before reaching the Americas.

There are also controversies about the demographic effects of slavery on African societies. Basil Davidson (*The African Trade,* 1961) and John Thornton (1977) argue that the demographic impact of the Atlantic slave trade on Africa was minimal. Thornton asserts that the population of the slave-exporting Sonyo province of the

Kongo kingdom did not decrease. Similarly, J. C. Miller (1982) concludes that depopulation in Angola was less a consequence of trade than of periodic droughts, famines, and epidemics—natural disasters that caused population movements, which in turn fed the slave trade and replenished the populations of slave-providing regions.

On the other side of the debate, scholars like Fage, Rodney, Lovejoy, Inikori, Reynolds (1985), and Manning (1981; 1988) are convinced that the demographic impact was profound. In *A History of Africa* (1978), Fage argues that substantial numbers of lives were lost in Africa as a result of the violent means used to secure slaves, and that as a result West Africa experienced an overall decline in population. Manning's simulation model (a statistical device used to measure demographic change under conditions of enslavement, slave trade, and slave exports) provides data that contradicts the findings of Thornton and Miller. For Western Africa, Manning's analysis shows that population growth declined in response to the slave trade, particularly between 1730 and 1850. This trend was accompanied by a change in the sex ratio, in which the number of men fell to under 90 for every 100 women. Manning's model suggests a cumulative decline of the West African population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The region's population in the early eighteenth century is estimated at twenty-two to twenty-five million with a growth rate of 0.3 percent throughout the era of the slave trade.

THE SOCIAL IMPACT

Patrick Manning (1981) shows that the ratio of males to females in the export trade affected marriage and birth rates in Africa. In support of this view, John Thornton (1983) points out that, among other things, imbalanced sex ratios altered the institution of marriage. While polygyny was already present in Africa at the time the trade began, the general surplus of women, he asserts, tended to encourage it and allowed it to become much more widespread. Claire Robertson and M. Klein, Inikori, and Lovejoy indicate that the ratio of women to men was generally 1:2. Be that as it may, gender imbalance had serious implications for population growth in many African states.

CONCLUSION

The Atlantic Slave Trade, the largest intercontinental migration in history, had serious implications for Africa as well as for those areas that received enslaved Africans. For one thing, it led to the emergence of African diasporic communities in the "New World." For another, it created serious economic, political, and social problems in Africa. The loss of about 10 million African people

The Atlantic slave trade	
ARRIVALS IN AMERICA, 1701–1800	
Destination	**Imports**
Spanish America	515,700
Brazil	1,498,000
British Colonies	1,256,600
French Colonies	1,431,200
Dutch Colonies	397,600
British North America/USA	547,500

SOURCE: Adapted from Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Appendix, Table A.2, p. 211.
Based on the estimates made by Philip Curtin and revised by David Eltis.

THE GALE GROUP.

severely hindered African development. The influx of firearms and the predatory activities of militaristic states and bands of individuals affected political development in many parts of the continent. The emergence of new lines of political allegiance and new political and economic elites altered centuries-old social formations. Finally, the gender imbalance that resulted from the slave trade affected African population growth. That the able-bodied segment of the population was the most desirable for slavers only worsened the demographic impact of the slave trade on Africa.

SEE ALSO *Abolition of Colonial Slavery; Commodity Trade, Africa.*

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Edmund Abaka

SLAVE TRADE, INDIAN OCEAN

Whereas the Atlantic slave trade has been mapped out in detail in numerous studies, its Indian Ocean counterpart has remained largely uncharted territory. Two notable exceptions exist to the "history of silence" surrounding the Indian Ocean slave trade: the east coast of Africa (though mostly centered on the period after 1770) and the Dutch Cape Colony (1652–1796/1805). The "Afrocentric" focus of Indian Ocean historiography is a derivative of the Atlantic slave trade in general, and reflects the "take off" of plantation slavery on the Swahili coast and the Mascarene Islands (Mauritius and Réunion) in the late eighteenth century along with its obvious connections with the modern biracial system of Apartheid in South Africa (1948–1994) in particular.

Slavery was a defining component, slaves constituting 20 to 40 percent or more of the populations of European colonial settlements throughout the Indian Ocean. Slavery in this region was grafted onto a preexisting open system of slavery in the commercialized, cosmopolitan cities of Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the Indian Ocean region. In the open system, the boundary between slavery and other forms of bondage was porous and indistinct, and upward mobility was possible. In contrast, in the closed systems of South and East Asia, it was almost inconceivable for slaves to be accepted into the kinship systems of their owners as long as they remained slaves because of the stigma of slavery; instead they were maintained as separate ethnic groups.

The European Indian Ocean slave systems drew captive labor from three interlocking and overlapping circuits: (1) the westernmost, African circuit of East Africa, Madagascar, and the Mascarene Islands; (2) the middle, South Asian circuit of the Indian Subcontinent; and (3) the easternmost, Southeast Asian circuit of Malaysia, Indonesia, New Guinea (Irian Jaya), and the southern Philippines. The Indian Subcontinent remained the most important source of forced labor until the 1660s. The eastward expansion of the Mughal Empire (1526–1857), however, cut off supplies from Arakan and Bengal, though Coromandel remained the center of an intermittent slave trade that occurred in various short-lived booms accompanying natural and human-induced disasters.

After 1660 more slaves came from Southeast Asia, especially following the collapse of the powerful sultanate of Makassar in southwest Sulawesi (in present-day Indonesia) in 1667 to 1669. The slave-trade network in the archipelago revolved around the dual axis of Makassar and Bali. East Africa, Madagascar, and the Mascarenes provided a regular supply of slaves to the Portuguese, English, and French, and in the eighteenth century the Dutch. These European powers profited from African and Afro-Portuguese slaving expeditions on the mainland, as well as from frequent warfare among the major confederations and kingdoms of Madagascar, a situation compounded by the rise of militant Islamic sultanates, such as Maselagache, on the northwest coast of the island.

Europeans supplemented the slavery-related prescriptions of preexisting indigenous traditions and normative texts (Hindu law books, Islamic authoritative sources, and Southeast Asian legal codes) with an intellectual, theoretical mentality steeped in Christian humanism combined with a healthy dose of pragmatism. In Europe, pro-slavery apologists used the authority of the Old and New Testaments—most notably, the so-called Ham-ideology, based on Noah's cursing of Ham's son, Canaan, for pointing his two other brothers, Shem and Japheth, to the nudity of their drunken father (Genesis 9:25–27). David Goldenberg (2003) believes that the biblical name Ham bears no relationship at all to the notion of blackness, and is now of unknown etymology. Instead, the growing insistence on the chimerical curse coincided with increasing numbers of black Africans taken as slaves, first in the Islamic East in the seventh century and then in the Christian West in the fifteenth century. Biblical sources were supplemented by the writings of Greco-Roman authors, to condone slavery "within natural limits."

In Asia, slavery found virtually universal acceptance on a practical level among self-righteous religious, military, and civil officials. A variety of ad hoc arguments included Christian humanitarian compassion (saving the body and soul of the slave); the need to establish and populate settlement colonies; the right of war and conquest; the uncivilized nature of the "servile" indigenous peoples; natural law based on the inviolability of contractual agreements (*pacta sunt servanda*) and financial-budgetary considerations.

The Europeans acquired the majority of their slaves indirectly through purchase from indigenous suppliers. Throughout the Indian Ocean region, war captives came largely from animist, stateless upstream societies of slash-and-burn farmers or hunter-gatherers and from micro-states too weak to defend themselves against the stronger and wealthier downstream Muslim societies of the region's cities and rice-growing lowlands.

Inheritance and judicial punishment were the most common avenues to forced labor in closed systems where

Numbers of Dutch East India Company slaves and total Dutch slaves along with estimates of the size of the accompanying annual slave trades, ca. 1688.

	Year	Company slaves	Year	Total Dutch slaves	Size of annual Company slave trade	Size of annual total Dutch slave trade
Ambon	1687–1688	74	1688	10,569	6–7	800–900
Banda	1687–1688	166	1688	3,716	10	150–200
Batavia	1687–1688	1,430	1689	26,071	70–140	1,300–2,600
Cape	1688	382	1688	931	20–40	45–60
Ceylon	1687–1688	1,502	1688	c. 4,000	75–150	200–400
Makassar	1687–1688	112	1687–1688	c. 1,500	6–11	75–150
Malabar	1687–1688	32	1687	c. 1,000	2–4	50–100
Malakka	1687–1688	161	1682	1,853	8–16	90–180
Moluccas	1687–1688	0	1686	c. 400	0	20–40
Others	1687–1688	268	1688	16,308	15–30	1,000–1,800
Total	1687–1688	4,127	1688	c. 66,348	c. 200–400	3,730–6,430

SOURCE: Adapted from Vink, Markus, " 'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of World History* 14(2) (2003): Table 4, 166–167.

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a money economy was little developed. Sale and indebtedness were more important routes to slavery in cities and other areas open to the money economy. Numerous "just wars" with indigenous societies also provided Europeans with a major source of captive labor, though the distinction between legal acquisition and illegal kidnapping and robbery was often nebulous. In addition, "rebellious" peoples, once subdued, were frequently forced at gunpoint to sign treaties with slaving clauses whereby they promised to deliver a fixed number of slaves and other commodities as fines or tribute. Enslavement of indigenous subjects via debt bondage also arose, despite recurrent prohibitions. People suffering judicial punishment as political exiles and convicts represented a small but distinct category of captive labor.

Slaves were general laborers who worked in a wide variety of occupations in the European slave societies across the Indian Ocean basin. Specialization, however, occurred in accordance with the size of the household and the particular position the settlement occupied within the overall trade network. The majority of slaves acted as domestic servants. They also performed heavy coolie labor, and worked in agriculture, mining, fishing, manufacturing, trade, and the service sector.

The division of slave labor roughly followed ethnic, gender, and age lines based on colonial classification schemes and preexisting indigenous beliefs and practices that characterized local slave systems. Indian and Southeast Asian slaves in general were deemed to be cleaner, more intelligent, and less suited to hard physical labor than African slaves. Slave women did not regularly perform fieldwork, but were mostly involved in domestic labor. Slave children could be employed in seasonal work, or they could serve as companions to their master's children or guard younger white children and babies.

The number of slaves and the annual volume of the slave trade were subject to great volatility and varied significantly from year to year. Famine, wars, epidemics, and natural disasters could wreak havoc among local slave populations, which already had a tendency to melt away due to high mortality rates, low levels of reproduction or creolization, manumission, and widespread desertion. Whereas the slave population of the Iberian crown enterprises (Spain and Portugal) and northern European chartered companies and their officials was relatively stable, that of European and Asian subjects in areas under European jurisdiction displayed a distinct upward trend between the sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries.

According to a 1688 "tentative census" (Table 1), there were about 4,000 Dutch East India Company slaves and perhaps 66,000 total slaves in the various Dutch settlements scattered across the Indian Ocean basin. To replenish or increase these numbers, 200 to 400 Dutch East India Company slaves and 3,730 to 6,430 total Dutch slaves had to be imported each year. Assuming average mortality rates en route of around 20 percent on slaving voyages, 240 to 480 company slaves and 4,476 to 7,716 total Dutch slaves were exported annually from their respective area of capture.

To put these numbers in a comparative framework: the annual volume of the total Dutch Indian Ocean slave trade was 15 to 30 percent of the Atlantic slave trade (29,124 slaves per year), and 1.5 to 2.5 times the size of the Dutch West India Company slave trade (2,888 slaves per year) during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Further research will be necessary to fill in the

details and shed more light on the "world's oldest trade" in the Indian Ocean basin, but the protracted history of silence has finally ended.

SEE ALSO *Indian Ocean Trade; Slavery and Abolition, Middle East.*

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Markus Vink

SNOUCK HURGRONJE, CHRISTIAAN
1857–1936

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, born in Oosterhout in the Netherlands on February 8, 1857, was one of the most important Dutch scholars of Arabic studies and Islam. On account of his position as government adviser in the Netherlands Indies during a crucial stage of colonial development, his publications about Islam, and his role as professor of Arabic language and culture in Leiden, he was and remains a scholar of international standing.

Snouck Hurgronje went to the Dutch equivalent of a grammar school in the provincial town of Breda, where he studied classical languages. In 1874 he went to the prestigious University of Leiden to study theology, in which subject he acquired his first degree. He then continued his studies in Semitic languages, more specifically Arabic, under the tutorship of the well-known professor M. J. de Goeje. In 1880 Snouck finished his Ph.D. thesis with the successful defense of his dissertation, *Het Mekkaansche feest* (The Mecca Festival). After his graduation Snouck spent a year in Strasbourg, where he studied with professor Th. Nöldeke, before returning to Leiden to take up a position as lecturer at the College for East Indian Officials (Opleiding voor Oost-Indische Ambtenaren) and at the Higher Military School. These institutions trained civil and military personnel, respectively, for service in the Netherlands Indies. In 1887 Snouck returned to the university as a lecturer in Islamic organizations.

Snouck Hurgronje was quite unique in his approach to the study of Islam, which up until then had received little systematic scholarly analysis. First and foremost, his interest was in the language of Islam. His dissertation was a first effort at a new critical historical examination of Islam, and promised much in the way of new and original departures and a possible paradigm shift. After his dissertation, in which the emphasis is on religious culture, Snouck started to study Islamic law, or rather, as Snouck himself preferred to call it, the "Islamic duties." This subject has been at the heart of Islamic scholarship for many centuries, but was much neglected by European scholars in Snouck's time. Through a range of publications in article form, Snouck paved the way for new and original research focusing on the basis and content of Islamic law. These writings also made him one of the founders of the modern study of Islam.

Snouck, trained in the ethnographic tradition of Leiden, was not content to remain in the Netherlands, however: he wished to visit Mecca as a participant-observer and to discuss his ideas at first hand with fellow Muslim scholars. For this it was necessary for Snouck to convert to Islam, and thus his study of Islamic law and duties had a functional as well as scholarly purpose. After setting off for the Middle East, Snouck stayed in Djeddah, the port of Mecca for almost six months, before traveling on to Mecca, where he concluded the welcoming ceremony of encircling the Ka'aba seven times. However, here Snouck's scientific and personal adventure came to an abrupt halt. In a French newspaper article,

Snouck was accused of trying to steal the possessions of the murdered French scholar C. Huber, which were left behind in Mecca. The French consul had a hand in this intrigue and stopped short what Snouck later called "the great event in my life" and "the beginning of a medieval dream." Just before the beginning of the Hajj, the annual pilgrimage at the heart of the Islamic belief system, Snouck was deported from Mecca. The unfairness of the incident could still make Snouck angry many years later. It did not, however, diminish his scholarly energies in any way, because soon after he concluded his second large publication, *Mekka*. This two-volume book, based on his experiences during his travels in the Middle East, reports the results of his fieldwork research in Mecca, and is one of the first Western scholarly descriptions and analyses of the town. The first volume describes the town and its rulers, while the second looks at day-to-day life in the town as Snouck found it in 1885. In addition, Snouck included an atlas with images to complete the set. The fact that the book was published in German made Snouck's research and ideas accessible to an international public for the first time, and made him internationally famous. In later years, Snouck would publish several other overview studies that were received well.

After the publication of *Mekka*, Snouck began a period of strong academic and political involvement with the Netherlands Indies. While in Mecca, he had encountered numerous Muslim pilgrims from the Netherlands Indies. At the time, this Dutch colonial possession was providing more pilgrims than any other region. These encounters imbued in Snouck the conviction that the Netherlands, then confronting frequent revolts in the Islamic state of Aceh in northern Sumatra, should study Islam thoroughly if it wished to rule its colony without problems. Snouck convinced the Dutch Ministry of the Colonies to let him make a study trip to the Netherlands Indies, though they would not permit him to start work in Aceh. During 1889 and 1890 Snouck first traveled through West and Central Java as a government advisor, tasked with making suggestions for the supervision of Islamic education and the functional improvement of Islamic councils. He produced numerous volumes of travel notes, which remain unpublished and have hardly been touched since they were deposited in his archives in Leiden. The Java trip did, however, yield several well-received articles on Javanese customs and traditions.

Finally, in 1891, Snouck had the opportunity to travel to Aceh, now as a government advisor on Asian languages and Islamic law. The visit lasted just over six months, but Snouck was not allowed to travel outside the Dutch military safety zone, which restricted the scope of his fieldwork studies considerably. Nevertheless, within three months he produced his report, the first two chapters of which were to form the basis for the two-volume

government-sponsored publication *De Atjehers* (1893–1895; published in English in 1906 as *The Achenese*). The other chapters of the original report outlined Snouck's iconoclastic ideas about Dutch policies on Aceh. Snouck proposed a departure from the wait-and-see policy that had dominated Dutch actions for over a decade, and advised the government to break the resistance with force in the district of Aceh and Dependencies and thus achieve pacification of the whole area. The government was not enthusiastic about Snouck's proposal, however, and it would take several incidents in the area and a change of governor-general before his policy advice was implemented, starting in 1896.

The policy of pacification by force turned out to be very effective, in no small part due to the military skills of Colonel J. B. van Heutsz, who was in charge of the operations. Van Heutsz and Snouck cooperated closely in the field for several years. The chemistry between them was good, and in terms of devising policies and executing them in the greater Aceh area the two men were complementary. Snouck pushed strongly for the appointment of Van Heutsz as civil and military governor of Aceh, as he felt Van Heutsz was the best man to complete the task of full pacification. Snouck himself was appointed as advisor for Indigenous and Arabic Affairs in 1898, and in this position he was Van Heutsz's second-in command from 1898 to 1903, though he was only in Aceh until 1901. At the end of this period the relationship between the two men turned sour. Snouck did not agree with the way in which Van Heutsz pushed through the final submission of Aceh. In 1903, the same year a final treaty heralded an end to hostilities between the Dutch government and the sultan-pretender, Snouck asked to be relieved from his post. His request was honored, but it meant the end of his involvement with matters of colonial policy for five years. Only in 1908, when the new Dutch governor of Aceh, G. C. E. van Daalen—Van Heutsz's successor since the latter had been appointed governor-general of the Netherlands Indies in 1904—was sacked because of gross misbehavior during a number of military campaigns, did Minister A. W. F. Idenburg propose that Snouck be given a government commission to undertake an inquiry in Aceh. Snouck refused this offer, however, because, he claimed, his acceptance would cause Van Heutsz's resignation. Snouck, although not in agreement with Van Heutsz policy-wise, did not find Van Heutsz's resignation a viable option at that time.

In the following years, Snouck focused on the problem of pacification in other parts of the archipelago, and limited his political advice to those areas. It was only in Djambi that Snouck did research on the ground and kept a somewhat strong interest in developments over time. This put him in the position to advise the Dutch government concerning the Djambi Rebellion of 1916.

Mecca, Saudi Arabia, 1880s. *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch government advisor and scholar of Islam, photographed this scene during the 1880s in Saudi Arabia, where he had traveled to study the practices of Muslim pilgrims.* © **CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

In the meantime, Snouck published prolifically, both under his own name and under several pen names. He wrote about topical issues in the press, but also kept up his academic work. Snouck prepared an orthography in Latin characters for the Aceh language, and wrote two important articles about the language. He began studying the Gajos language and culture in 1900, and in 1903 published *Gajosland en zijn bewoners* (Gajosland and Its Inhabitants). Though only based on materials collected outside of Gajos, the book became a standard work, and the linguistic material in it found its way into the dictionary prepared by another scholar, G. A. J. Hazeu, some years later.

Snouck's social skills were well developed, and during his life he developed friendly relationships with numerous people in the Netherlands Indies and the Arab world. For this reason, he was often better informed about developments in the Islamic world than were many of his contemporaries. The numerous opinions and recommendations Snouck offered during his long career—he would remain an official adviser to the colonial minister until 1933—comprised over two thousand pages in print and were published twenty years after his death.

Snouck left the Netherlands Indies for good in 1906, in order to escape his contentious relationship with Governor-General Van Heutsz. Having refused the offer of a chair in the Malay language in Leiden in 1891, and several other offers of a professorship in later years, Snouck was ready to return to academia. In 1907 he accepted the chair of Arabic language and culture in Leiden, succeeding his teacher De Goeje. His inaugural lecture, presented on January 23, 1907, was entitled *Arabia and the East Indies*, and dealt with the subject of study Snouck had first embraced in his Ph.D. dissertation, though now set in a mature context of a quarter of a

century of personal involvement, field research, and extensive study.

Professor C. van Vollenhoven, occupying the chair in East Indian law, transferred his lecture series on Islam to Snouck. Snouck used these as a platform for his ideas on Islamic politics based on neutrality toward religion as such, and a strict intolerance toward politics based on (extremist) religion. In many respects, Snouck showed himself to be a child—if not a proponent—of the Ethical Policy in both its theoretical form and its development over time. Beginning in the 1890s as a proponent of the unification of the colonial state through the subduing and incorporating of rebellious regions, Snouck shifted in the 1910s and 1920s toward support for emancipation and the development of an indigenous administration. This was most evident in the pleasure he took in educating the sons of traditional political leaders. Snouck and his colleague Van Vollenhoven became staunch defenders of the thorough reform of the administrative structure of the Netherlands Indies through Western education and the association of elites on both sides of the political divide. In reaction to this, a conservative group set up and financed alternative courses at the University of Utrecht aimed at preparing aspiring civil servants for service in the East Indies. At the same time, Snouck kept on promoting the interests of the population of the Netherlands Indies in his lectures and publications.

After 1903 Snouck published no large works. The list of his smaller and often topical publications is impressive, however. He wrote about the demise of the Ottoman caliphate and the rise of the Turkish state, about the Arab revolt against the Turks, about the rise of the Saudi kingship in Arabia, and about Islam and race relations. In this period several articles were also published in English or French, which enhanced his international status further. He was asked repeatedly to give advice on international matters, and in 1925 he was offered the chair in Arabic language and culture of the National Egyptian University in Cairo. In 1927 Snouck resigned his chair in Leiden, though he remained closely connected to the university until his death, not least because of his appointment to a special chair in modern Arabic and the language of Aceh.

Snouck's family ties were interrelated with his work as an academic. The son of a Dutch Reformed minister, he married Ida Maria Oort, who came from a family that boasted several Leiden-based scholars of early Christianity, the Old Testament, the history of the Middle East, and law. His main teacher, De Goeje, was also part of this family group. At the same time, during his years in the Netherlands Indies, Snouck married two women according to Islamic rites, and had five children with them. For political reasons he never publicly acknowledged either of these wives or his children with them, although he did look after them. Snouck died in Leiden on June 26, 1936.

SEE ALSO *Aceh War; Ethical Policy, Netherlands Indies.*

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Michel R. Doortmont

SOCIAL DARWINISM

The term *Darwinism* refers most centrally to the theory of natural selection, according to which only the fittest species in organic nature survive, whereas the unfit become extinct. The extension of these ideas to social thought is known as *Social Darwinism.*

The application of models of evolution to human societies long preceded the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, however. Already in the eighteenth century, historians influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment—including William Robertson and Adam Smith—had constructed a universal vision of history in which all societies advanced through four stages (from hunter-gathering to commercial society) as they progressed from "rudeness to refinement." This theory of development by stages influenced European notions of progress and of civilization among non-Europeans: peoples engaged in trade were held to be

superior to those who relied exclusively on agriculture while the latter, in turn, were considered more advanced than subsistence hunter-gatherers.

In the early nineteenth century, the notion that world history and human society proceeded in evolutionary stages was purveyed in the works of Auguste Comte, G. W. F. Hegel, and Karl Marx, each of whom searched for general laws that underpinned social change. Unlike later theorists, these earlier political writers had a universal outlook that did not exclude non-European peoples from following the road already taken by European nations. By the time of Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), however, this optimism had given way to a bleaker, Malthusian conception of competition between human beings for the scarce resources required for subsistence. In the late nineteenth century, this notion became linked directly to imperialism. It provided a framework for understanding the rise and decline of nations and enlivened competition among European nations.

Spencer—who coined the term *survival of the fittest* several years before Darwin set forth his theory—developed an all-encompassing conception of human society and relations based on evolutionary principles. His conviction that a general law for all processes of the earth could be formulated led him to apply the biologic scheme of evolution to society. The principles of social change must be the same, he supposed, as those of the universe at large. Although Spencer clung to outdated scientific ideas, such as Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's debunked thesis concerning the inheritance of acquired characteristics, it would be inaccurate to argue that he corrupted Darwin's pristine scientific ideas. Many of Darwin's ideas emerged from the social context in which he lived. As Marx noted, "it is remarkable how Darwin recognizes in beasts and plants his English society with its divisions of labor, competition, [and] opening up of new markets" (Dickens 2000, p. 29).

Spencer's ideas about selection also were born from his political beliefs: He repudiated government interference with the "natural," unimpeded growth of society. He maintained that society was evolving toward increasing freedom for individuals and so held that government intervention should be kept to a minimum. This belief led him to oppose all state aid to the poor, a group he maintained were unfit and should be eliminated. Spencer viewed state intervention to ameliorate their condition as the "artificial preservation of those least able to take care of themselves." As Spencer wrote, "the whole effort of Nature is to get rid of such, to clear the world of them, and make room for better" (Hofstadter 1955, p. 41). Although he personally was against colonization and the European rivalry this activity engendered, Spencer's ideas were catalysts for a generation of influential writers on
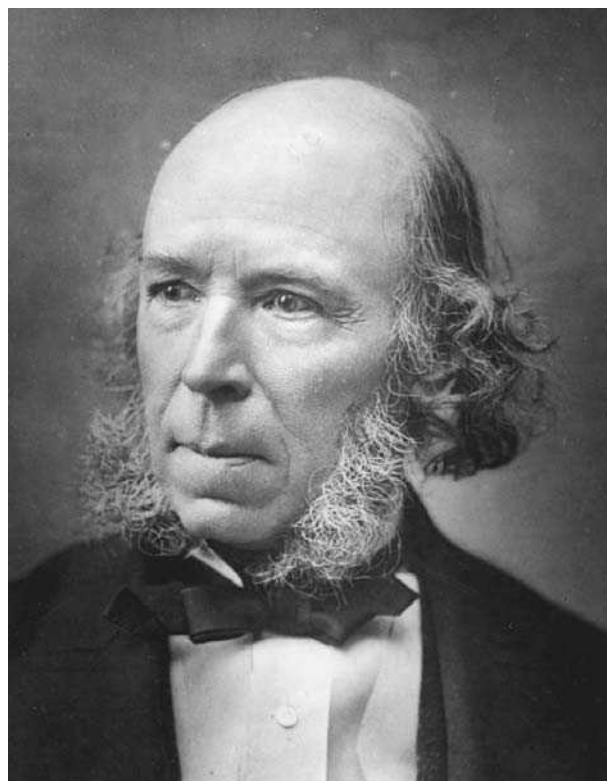
Herbert Spencer. *The English philosopher Herbert Spencer—who coined the phrase survival of the fittest—developed an all-encompassing conception of human society and relations based on evolutionary principles.* EDWARD GOOCH/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

international relations and empire. Social Darwinism played a key role both in imperial rivalry among European states and in the justification of empire over non-European peoples. Social Darwinistic arguments about the struggle to be the "fittest" were utilized to justify rising military expenditure, to press for increased national efficiency, and to promote certain types of government. For example, Walter Bagehot harnessed biology to defend liberal democracy in the 1870s. Emphasizing cultural rather than individual selection, he sought to prove that the institutions and practice of liberal democracy were the guarantor of evolutionary progress. "In every particular state in the world," Bagehot wrote in *Physics and Politics* (1872), "those nations which are the strongest tend to prevail over the others; and in certain marked peculiarities the strongest tend to be the best" (Baumgart 1982, p. 84). In 1886 the Russian sociologist Jacques Novikov defined the foreign policy of a state as "the art of pursuing the struggle for existence among social organisms." War, in this view, was a determinant of the "fittest" nation: Karl Pearson claimed that should war cease, "mankind will no longer progress," for "there

will be nothing to check the fertility of inferior stock, [and] the relentless law of heredity will not be controlled and guided by natural selection" (Baumgart 1982, p. 87).

Darwinism was put at the service of imperialism, as a new instrument in the hands of theorists of race and civilizational struggle. Competition with other European states urged the securing of colonies to prevent raw material, land, and potential markets from being seized by rapacious rivals. In Theodore Roosevelt's "The Strenuous Life" (1899), the future American president warned against the possibility of elimination in an international struggle for existence. America, he said, could not shrink from "hard contests" for empire or else the "bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by, and will win for themselves the domination of the world" (Hofstadter 1955, p. 180). Successful imperial ventures thus were perceived to indicate the vitality, and hence "fitness," of a nation.

Social Darwinism also proved to be a justification for the subjugation of non-European peoples, who were deemed less "fit" than Europeans. Nature, theorists argued, intended the rule of superior European nations over inferior colonial races. Racial arguments permeated the language of adherents of Social Darwinism as well. The French political leader Jules Ferry (1832–1893) explicitly argued that "the superior races have rights over the inferior races" (Baumgart 1982, p. 89). After World War I, the mandate and trusteeship system set up by the victors over much of the colonized world utilized arguments that derived from Social Darwinism. In 1922 Baron F. D. Lugard argued that the British Empire had a "dual mandate" in tropical dependencies "unsuited for white settlement," calling for the "advancement of the subject races" and "the development of [the territories'] material resources for the benefit of mankind." He insisted that indigenous populations were benefiting from "the influx of manufactured goods and the substitution of law and order for the methods of barbarism" (Lugard 1922, pp. 616–618). Social Darwinism thus lent a pseudoscientific veneer to colonial subjugation and bolstered the alleged civilizing mission of Europeans to non-Europeans.

The most extreme form of Social Darwinism was eugenics. Proponents of eugenics claimed that particular racial or social groups were naturally superior, and sought the enactment of laws that would control human heredity by forbidding marriage between people of different races and restricting the reproductive activities of people they considered unworthy, such as criminals and the mentally ill. In the late 1920s and 1930s, Nazis drew on such extreme precepts of Social Darwinism in their attempt to create an idealized Aryan race, an effort that culminated in the Holocaust and the brutal deaths of millions of Jews, Roma (gypsies), and members of other groups considered inferior by the Nazis.

SEE ALSO *Imperialism, Liberal Theories of; Imperialism, Marxist Theories of.*

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G. B. Paquette

SOUTHEAST ASIA, JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF

The Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia developed out of what was arguably the first international conflict that was truly "global," in that it mounted a challenge to the Eurocentric world system and to increasing American intervention in the region. Japan's leaders in the occupation championed the fight for Japanese hegemony in East Asia, which they saw as a legitimate right, and led what they conceived as a pan-Asian struggle to throw off the yoke of Western imperialism.

Prior to World War II (1939–1945), Japan controlled Korea (formally annexed in 1910), Taiwan (colonized in 1895), Karafuto (or Sakhalin Island), the Guangdong Leased Territory, and the Pacific Islands (most of Micronesia), and sought to integrate their economies with its own as suppliers of raw materials and foodstuffs in exchange for Japanese investment and technology.

In September 1931, units of the Japanese army stationed in Manchuria in northeastern China took steps to protect the security of the Russian-built railroad that Japan had acquired a quarter-century earlier. Aimed at resolving the "Manchurian Question," the takeover of the entire 400,000-square-mile (about 1,036,000-square-kilometer) region, with its population of thirty million, brought on denunciations not only from the League of Nations, from which Japan would withdraw in 1933, but also from the United States, whose tariffs and restrictions on immigration had already produced anti-American hostilities among the Japanese. The subsequent freezing of Japanese financial assets by the United States and its embargo on all oil exports to Japan led to the latter's decision to wage war against its Western adversaries.

The powerful Japanese army subscribed to the colonialist theory that the key to Japan's future prosperity and strength as a world power lay in control of Chinese raw materials and the vast market that that country had to offer. The Great Depression of the 1930s meant a loss of sales to foreign clients and the imposition of tariffs on Japanese imports. Wary of Communist Russia and fearful of a Communist takeover in China, Japan moved toward a policy of imperialist aggression. In 1937 Prime Minister Konoye Fumimaro (1891–1945) declared a "New Order in East Asia"; in political reality, its mission was to erect a buffer or Asian hinterland to ensure the security of an expanded Japanese Empire. Indeed, the slogan of "Asia for the Asians" pointed to an Asia liberated from Western domination but unified under Japanese rule.

In September 1940 Japan signed the Tripartite Pact, becoming therewith the ally of Germany and Italy. The Nazi offensives in Europe gave Japan the opportunity to move into territories southward and thus build alliances in opposition to the British, Dutch, Russians, and Americans. On invading northern Indochina, Japanese troops tried to close the Burma Road by which the Americans and the British brought supplies to the Chinese Nationalists. This action on the part of the Japanese brought them into opposition with the Allied powers. Japan subsequently proclaimed the expansion of its new order into French Indochina and the Dutch East Indies.

Japan had joined Vichy France in enforcing a protectorate over the entire French colony. Japanese troops invaded French-controlled Cochin China (southern

Vietnam), entering Saigon (later called Ho Chi Minh City) in July of 1941. With the conclusion of the Hanoi convention in Spring of 1940, Japan had obtained permission from France to occupy northern Indochina. Japan in these movements was seeking to acquire control over the tin, rubber, and oil of Indonesia. Once the Nazis had taken over the Netherlands in May of 1940, Japan sent its delegates to Batavia (Jakarta), but it was not until after Japan's incursions in 1942 and its subsequent occupation that the Dutch conceded rights to oil and other resources in the Indonesian archipelago. With the internment of some 100,000 Dutch and Eurasians, many Javanese rejoiced, welcoming the invasion as a step in the process of "liberation from the colonial yoke."

Japan invaded British-controlled Malaya in December 1941 from the east coast at the same time that Singapore was bombarded. In this confrontation, the British fleet was sunk in the South China Sea. North Borneo would be occupied, then, in February, Singapore and Bali. Japan finally conquered Malaya in January 1942 and soon thereafter the Dutch East Indies, the great prize in this contest, in March 1942. British rule in Asia had ended. Wanting control over raw materials in Malaya, the Japanese chose to impose direct rule. By January 4, 1942, the Japanese took control of Manila, and the Japanese Imperial High Command announced the "liberation" of the formerly American-controlled Philippines.

In the spring of 1942, Japanese Premier Tojo Hideki (1884–1948) began organizing a Greater East Asia Ministry that would direct the affairs of the occupied nations and territories. The Greater East Asian Coprosperity Sphere was inaugurated in November 1942 with a promise to create a pan-Asian union. A year later, leaders of Japan, China, Manchukuo (Japanese Manchuria), Malaya, Thailand, Burma (Myanmar), Singapore, and the Philippines met at the Greater East Asia Conference in Tokyo, where they declared their solidarity and united opposition to Western imperialism. The Coprosperity Sphere was heralded as a pact of "mutual cooperation" between the signatory nations that aimed to "ensure stability of their region and construct an order of common prosperity and well-being based upon justice."

In reality, the Japanese occupation entailed harsh measures of control over national governments, economies, and cultures, with the settlement in the colonized countries of thousands of Japanese officials and laborers, all mainly for the benefit of Japan itself. Typically, Japanese officials held the bulk of authority in colonial administrations, whereas locals were consigned to subordinate functions. Indeed, Japan had promised independence to the Dutch East Indies but placed more than 23,000 Japanese officials in its colonial bureaucracy. Throughout the occupied territories, Japanese soldiers

acted under no obligation to obey officers or even sentries of the "host" countries' military forces.

In the countries it occupied, Japanese authorities imposed educational reforms that would replace Western teachings with principles consistent with the "new order." Textbooks and periodicals were censored or banned, and *Nippongo* (the Japanese language) became a required part of the curriculum. Yet the brutality of Japanese rule and the establishment of a pro-Japanese hierarchy produced disillusionment throughout Southeast Asia. Japan suppressed shows of anti-Japanese nationalism in the occupied countries and exacted forced labor from their peoples. In mobilizing the masses for their cause, the Japanese high commands broadcast pro-Japanese propaganda on the radio and controlled the media. Throughout the occupied territories, moreover, Japanese troops inflicted violence on the local populations, which included the forcing of females into sexual slavery as "comfort women." Such outrages bred dissatisfaction but also catalyzed nationalist movements. Indonesia's Sukarno (1901–1970) would declare independence for his country on August 17, 1945, eight days after the atomic bomb fell over Nagasaki.

The temporary victory of Japan in Asia signified an end to the myth of Western invincibility and gave the European colonial regimes in Southeast Asia a shock from which they never recovered. In a unique confluence of historical movements, the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia set countries of the region into multiple conflicts against powers that were fascist or imperialist or both. Japan's own imperialist drive extended its control over the broadest expanse of territory that Japan would ever know. Yet the defeat of Japan at the end of the Pacific War meant both the end of the Japanese Empire in Southeast Asia and the sunset of Western colonialism in the region.

SEE ALSO *Empire, Japanese; Occupations, East Asia; Occupations, the Pacific.*

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Eugenio Matibag

SPANISH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The humiliating defeats suffered by Spanish forces during the Seven Years War (1756–1763) included the capture by British forces of Havana, one of the economic and strategic jewels in the imperial crown. In response, the administration of Charles III (1716–1788), who ruled from 1759 to 1788, sought to increase the rate of the reform of colonial government in order to secure its grasp on its overseas possessions in the second half of the eighteenth century. José Gálvez (1729–1787) came to epitomize these Bourbon reforms; he was appointed minister of the Indies in 1776. New administrative territories were created (such as the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata and the captaincy-general of Venezuela) in order to increase efficiency and hence revenues. The new position of intendant was established in order to centralize power and increase accountability to Spain. In addition, measures were introduced to facilitate colonial trade, and to increase mining output and taxation yields. The Bourbon reforms were aimed at maintaining and reinforcing colonial America's economic dependence on Spain; they were essentially a program of modernization within the established order.

IMPERIAL REFORMS, COLONIAL TENSION

The reforms were generally successful in bringing about growth in colonial commerce and income from taxation. They also brought to a head simmering tensions about taxation and identity in the colonial world, particularly in the Andean regions that saw themselves as benefiting less from imperial rule than coastal urban centers. This contributed to some major rebellions against colonial rule. Tax increases fostered resentment and, often, a desire to return to the colonial consensus when imperial officials and their local alliances had enjoyed considerable autonomy to interpret official laws in accordance with local circumstances. Two major rebellions seriously threatened the colonial project in the Andes. The 1780 and 1781 rebellions in Andean Peru and Upper Peru (now Bolivia), headed by the indigenous leader Tomás Katari in the latter and José Gabriel Condorcanqui (1742–1781), a Creole noble of indigenous heritage who renamed himself Túpac Amaru II, in the former, were particularly violent and

memorable expressions of the resentment and bitterness that lurked beneath the predominantly peaceful Spanish rule in the region.

In 1781 the Comuneros of New Granada physically protested against the increased tax burden and demanded the king to remedy the bad policies being enacted upon them by his representatives in America. These rebellions (eventually contained by the imperial authorities and, particularly in the case of Túpac Amaru, harshly repressed) were staged in defense of identity and interests, although they later became seen as stages on the road to the development of national self-awareness. The late eighteenth century saw a series of political uprisings against Spain evoking freedom and independence and causing anxiety about the consequences should such sentiments spread among indigenous peoples, slaves, and freed people of color. The shadow of the Haitian Revolution was never far away, particularly in the Spanish circum-Caribbean where slavery was most prevalent.

CRISIS IN 1808

As historian F. X. Guerra argued, the absolutist vision of imperial rule collapsed among Creoles after Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) imposed his brother Joseph (1768–1844) as king of Spain in 1808. Old forms of representation such as *cabildos* (town councils) and *municipios* (municipalities) continued to be important, but loyalty to the king as the supreme representative of the *pueblo* (people) was destroyed. During 1808 to 1810 cities and towns across Spanish America declared their own autonomy and sovereignty while they awaited the return of the legitimate king, *el deseado* Ferdinand VII (1784–1833). Creoles filled the political vacuum in order to safeguard their own lives and property, and to preserve their positions at the top of the colonial social and racial hierarchies. The juntas formed on the basis of these fears and these colonial institutions, and the limited autonomies they represented became pathways toward independence during the subsequent extended period of confusion regarding the Spanish metropolitan political situation. But once the ties to Spain had been broken, they would never be fully repaired. In the words of historian John Lynch (1994), Spanish America could not remain a colony without a metropolis, or a monarchy without a monarch. In addition, the often violent and unsympathetic policy pursued by Spanish officials in their attempts to reconquer the rebellious colonies contributed to the disintegration of the colonial world.

INTER-IMPERIAL CONFLICT AND COLONIAL RELATIONS

In the decades preceding 1808, the Americas were a zone of conflict between Britain, France, and Spain for imperial control and influence, just as they had been in preceding centuries. Around 1796 Spain lost economic control of its American colonies, which increasingly convinced Creoles that they had been abandoned to their fate by a weakened, incapable, and indifferent imperial power. The Bourbon reform innovation of *comercio libre* did not mean the free trade of Adam Smith (1723–1790), but rather a protectionist policy of freedom for Spaniards to trade within the confines of an empire that was supposed to shelter them from economic rivals such as Britain. Nevertheless, the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Trafalgar in 1805 represented only the confirmation of a process that had developed over several decades in which British merchants became the principal agents for the import and export of goods to and from Spanish America. Repeated warfare between Spain and Britain disrupted official trade between the metropole and colonies and shifted large sections of trade into the hands of smugglers and those who dealt with them.

In addition, the wars surrounding Haitian independence entailed massive loss of life, and their geopolitical consequences were also considerable. Britain asserted itself further by taking Trinidad from Spain and Tobago and St. Lucia from France: All three were important staging posts toward influence on the Spanish American mainland. The constantly shifting geopolitical situation in the Western hemisphere between 1756 and 1808 meant that moves toward Hispanic American independence fully embraced contemporary Atlantic currents of ideology and commerce. In the subsequent attempts to establish republics independent of Spanish rule, Creoles repeatedly angled for the support and assistance of major foreign powers. They attempted to play off one against the other by offering commercial concessions and promises of future support. Diplomatic missions were repeatedly sent to London, Paris, Washington, and the Vatican. Receptions were almost always guarded and cautious with the powers, anxious not to offend Spanish sensibilities by explicitly supporting independence movements that in private they often welcomed or encouraged. British diplomatic recognition was predicated on the abolition of the slave trade by the new republics, something that each government promised to do with varying degrees of reluctance, depending on the importance of that trade to their economy. (Cuba, not coincidentally, was the most reliant on slave labor, and remained both a colony of Spain and a trader in slaves.)

MOVEMENTS FOR CONTINENTAL LIBERATION

From the beginning, farsighted Creoles saw that the fate of independence in their own locality would depend upon the success or otherwise of revolutions elsewhere in Hispanic America. There were two continental

***Simón Bolívar,* El Libertador.** *The South American revolutionary, statesman, and soldier Simón Bolívar, known as The Liberator, in an engraving rendered circa 1820.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

movements for liberation coming out of Buenos Aires and Caracas. In 1806 a British force operating somewhere between its official orders and own initiative in the South Atlantic attacked Buenos Aires, an event that was reported in newspapers across Hispanic America. Initially successful, the British were repelled within weeks by a Creole militia under Santiago Liniers (1753–1810) responding to the complete incapacity and inaction of the colonial defense forces. The British returned a year later and were again denied, and the seeds of independence were planted in Buenos Aires.

In 1810 the viceroy was deposed but the ambitions of the new Buenos Aires political and commercial elite to rule over its hinterland as the viceroy had done were to be frustrated. Upper Peru, Paraguay, Santiago de Chile, and the regions of present-day Argentina all refused to be ruled from Buenos Aires, triggering a decade of warfare for control of the new independence, and the establishment

of several new republics outside of Buenos Aires' sphere of influence. Nevertheless, in 1814 the revolutionary government in Buenos Aires chose José Francisco de San Martín (1778–1850) as its military leader, and he went on to form the Army of the Andes and defeat Royalists in battles in Chile, most famously at Maipo in 1818. San Martín planned to assure the independence of Buenos Aires by expelling the viceroy of Peru from Lima—this he did in 1821.

The other movement toward independence, led by Simon Bolívar (1783–1830), came out of Venezuela, one of the first areas to declare independence from Spain. Patriotic declarations of independence and worthy and wordy constitutions were little defense, however, when a Spanish expedition under Pablo Morillo (1778–1837) finally arrived in Venezuela to begin a reconquest in 1814. The expedition encountered a population that had been ravaged by civil war and that had by no means irrevocably cast off its adherence to the Crown. Many people were easily persuaded to show allegiance to the reconquerors. Exploiting considerable differences between the patriotic factions, between rival towns, and between groups of diverse ethnic loyalties, by the end of 1815 virtually all of Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador was back under imperial rule, along with all of the viceroyalty of Peru that remained faithful to the Crown.

Forced into exile by the reconquest, Bolívar took up residence in Jamaica and then Haiti, where he wrote long letters justifying the struggle for independence and prepared new expeditions of liberation. In 1816 he sailed for Venezuela and began a long but eventually successful military campaign, building on the successes of other regional *caudillos* who had remained in Venezuela resisting the *reconquista*. Bolívar was successful in attracting over 7,000 European (mainly Irish) mercenaries to his cause between 1817 and 1820. In 1819 at the Congress of Angostura, in a small town on the side of the River Orinoco, Bolívar and his allies formally declared the Independence of the Republic of Colombia, encompassing the territories of Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador, where over the next three years Bolívar's armies would formally take control from the disintegrating and increasingly demoralized Royalist armies.

In Mexico, wherein uniquely Spanish American substantive ideas about national identity had developed during the colonial period, events took a different course. The symbol of the Mexican Virgin of Guadelupe was adopted by rebels in their struggle against Spain: the priest Miguel Hidalgo (1753–1811) took the Virgin of Guadalupe as his emblem when he declared an uprising with his *Grito de Dolores* on September 16, 1810. The situation in Mexico was made worse by drought and high

food prices, which brought the hunger and despair of the rural poor more fully into the equation. Popular insurgency was essentially local, social, and agrarian rather than national or utopian, however, despite the Creole patriotism and belief in a Mexican identity, which united many intellectuals.

The uprising was eventually quelled by force and both Hidalgo, and his successor as leader José María Morelos (1765–1815), were executed. Spanish rule continued in Mexico, albeit weakened, until 1821. It finally fell when Agustin de Iturbide (1783–1824), a former Royalist soldier turned revolutionary leader, articulated plans for independent nationhood in his Plan de Iguala. In this appealing compromise, Mexico was to be an independent constitutional monarchy, closely linked to the Catholic church. Iturbide was independent Mexico's first emperor but he was powerless to overcome the economic, regional, and political problems that continued to beset the region and he was executed upon his return from an early exile in 1824. In the rest of Central America independence was a more fractured process, in which local power centers fought successfully to establish autonomy from Spain, from Mexico, and from Guatemala.

THE ANDEAN CLIMAX

The two separate trajectories of military movements for independence in Hispanic South America, symbolized by their respective leaders Bolívar and San Martín, met in the coastal port of Guayaquil in 1822. The latter went into exile, whereas Bolívar orchestrated the Andean climax of the independence movements, leading his forces to victory over Royalists at Junín in 1824 and then retiring to Lima while his young general Antonio José de Sucre (1795–1830) finished the job at Ayacucho on December 10, 1824. Royalist resistance was finally defeated in the highlands during 1825, and in coastal strongholds such as Callao and Chiloe in 1826. (The Caribbean island colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo remained loyal to the Crown for several decades more.)

In the same year of 1826 Bolívar unveiled his constitution for the new republic of Bolivia, to be administered in the old colonial jurisdiction of Upper Peru, named after its great liberator. Bolívar's democratic ideals had been tempered by years of experience of popular protest, race conflict, and elite factionalism, and his constitution aimed to provide stability and authority for lands whose futures he feared would become ungovernable. The failure of Bolívar's constitution prefigured half a century in which elites sought to build nations, safeguard property and avoid bloodshed while remaining true to at least the rhetoric of liberty that had catalyzed their struggles for independence.

WAS THERE A CRISIS OF SPANISH COLONIALISM?

Lynch (1994) has argued that political independence had a demographic inevitability. The increasing numbers of Creoles and their consequent desire for influence became a constant and pressing thorn in the side of imperial policy. The ideological effects of intellectual innovations reverberating across the Atlantic world in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were also important in maintaining the conflict. Many of the Creoles involved in the juntas and the subsequent military and political struggles for independence formed part of the same liberal Atlantic world of the Enlightenment that fostered the 1812 Constitution of Cádiz in Spain. Bolívar, San Martín, Iturbide, and many others had traveled to London, read widely, and interpreted new ideas of freedom and equality in terms of what they saw as the unique circumstances of Hispanic America.

Nevertheless, the tipping-point toward inevitability had certainly not been reached by 1808. It was metropolitan crisis that combined with new colonial articulations of the revolutionary Atlantic in the wake of the American, French, and Haitian examples to create a unique Hispanic American (and not, at least initially, anticolonial) revolution and then independence. Despite fears of informal imperialism, and the shackles of debt and unfavorable trading relationships that beset the new republics in their early years, the events between 1808 and 1825 set into motion both short and long-term changes in social arrangements and relationships that would have been impossible under Spanish rule.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Haitian Revolution; Túpac Amaru, Rebellion of.*

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Matthew Brown

SPICE ISLANDS
SEE *Moluccas*

SRI LANKA
SEE *Ceylon*
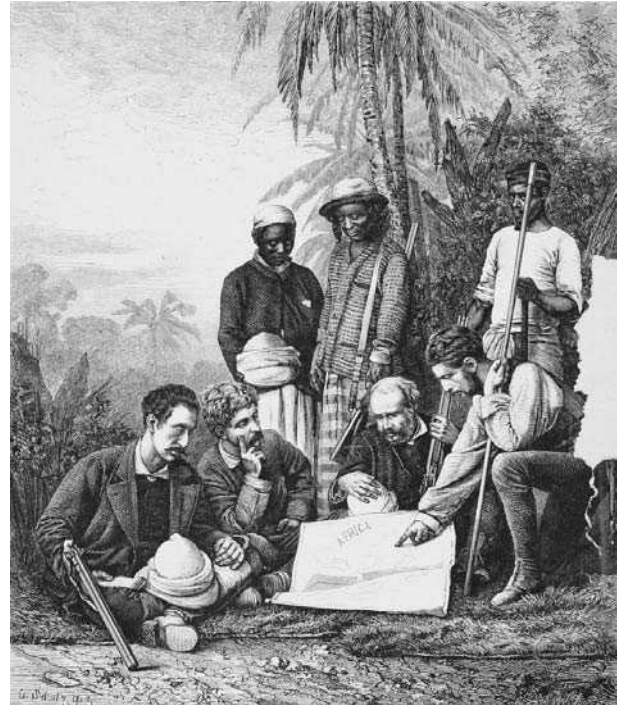
STANLEY, HENRY MORTON
1841–1904

Born as John Rowlands in Denbigh, Wales, on January 28, 1841, Henry Morton Stanley spent most of his unfortunate youth in a workhouse, from which he was released in 1856. He embarked on a ship to the United States as a cabin boy in 1858, but jumped ship upon his arrival in New Orleans. There he met a wealthy cotton broker, Henry Hope Stanley, who offered him protection and gradually began treating him as a son. Out of gratitude to his adoptive father, John Rowlands took the name "Stanley" from 1859 onwards. After a quarrel with his benefactor, he resumed his errant lifestyle.

He was, among other things, a sailor, a soldier in the Confederate (1861–1862) and the Union army (1864–1865), and a journalist. In this capacity, he traveled widely in the Far West, in Ethiopia, and in many countries around the Mediterranean. In 1869 the *New York Herald* asked him to organize an expedition in order to search for Dr. David Livingstone (1813–1873), the British missionary and explorer, who was reported lost in Central Africa. This expedition met with success and took place between 1871 and 1872. Stanley found Livingstone in Ujiji. After this, he convinced the *New York Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* to finance another expedition in this region.

Starting from Bagamoyo, on the East African coast, on November, 17, 1874, he crossed the continent in approximately 1,000 days, arriving in Boma, at the mouth of the Congo River, on August, 9, 1877. On his return to Europe, Stanley tried to persuade the British authorities to develop a more active political interest in the Congo area. These demarches being unsuccessful, he then accepted the offer of Leopold II (1835–1909), king of the Belgians, to become the managing agent of the *Comité d'Etudes du Haut-Congo* and, later, of the *Association Internationale du Congo* (AIC). Both organizations were created by Leopold II to realize his commercial and political ambitions in the Congo region.

From 1879 to 1884, Stanley remained intensely active. During this period, he explored the Congo basin, built a military force, concluded treaties with African

Henry Morton Stanley. *The Welsh-born explorer and journalist Henry Morton Stanley led expeditions across Central Africa during the 1870s and 1880s. In this illustration he consults a map with the assistance of African guides and other members of his expedition.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

chiefs recognizing the AIC's sovereignty, and founded many colonial stations, some of which were to become major cities such as Kinshasa and Kisangani. Upon his return to Europe in June 1884, he became a technical adviser of the American delegation at the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), while still on Leopold's payroll. Consequently, he contributed to the international recognition of the AIC as the legitimate authority of the vast area, which was, from then on, called the Congo Free State.

Stanley led a last important expedition in Africa from March 1887 to December 1889. With Eduard Schnitzer (1840–1892), also called Emin Pasa, white province governor in Southern Sudan, being threatened by the Mahdists, a campaign was launched in Europe to rescue him. Stanley was chosen as the leader of this expedition, which succeeded in finding Emin Pasa and bringing him back to the east coast of Africa. Leopold II, still eager to expand his African dominion toward the Nile, then asked Stanley to lead a huge military campaign to take Khartoum from the Mahdists, but Stanley declined the offer. Stanley's career as an explorer was now over, but in the early 1890s he made one last

contribution to the shaping of colonial Africa, when he led a campaign aimed at bringing and maintaining Uganda under British rule.

During the last years of his life, Stanley retired to the English countryside. In 1890, he married a wealthy lady, Dorothy Tennant, and adopted a son in 1896. Stanley served as a Member of Parliament (1895–1900) and was knighted in 1899. He died in his domain of Furze Hill, Surrey, on May 10, 1904.

Stanley was a controversial figure, even in his own time. He met with hostility in influential British circles, but, at the same time, was hailed as a heroic personality—most notably by the Belgians. The many books Stanley wrote, as well as his numerous conferences held in Europe and the United States largely contributed to his extraordinary fame. Stanley's writings must nevertheless be read with great caution, since their author more than once takes liberty with the facts. This tendency to hide or to embellish things is but one aspect of Stanley's complex psychology. On the one hand, he was tortured by his troubled sexuality; on the other, he acted in an authoritarian, ruthless, and often violent way during his African journeys, both toward the African population and the members of his expedition. With that being said, Stanley undoubtedly left a historic imprint on the political fate of contemporary Africa.

SEE ALSO *Belgium's African Colonies; Berlin Conference.*

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Guy Vanthemsche

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

The Straits Settlements, a British colonial administrative unit comprised of three city ports flourishing along the Strait of Malacca, was established in 1826 and administered from Penang, overseeing Malacca and Singapore.

Penang, the first Straits settlement, was ceded to the English East India Company on August 11, 1786, by Sultan Abdullah Mukarram (r. September 23, 1778–September 1, 1797), the ruler of Kedah, who was eager to seek British protection from Siamese and Burmese threats.

As a trading center and port of call, Penang (in present-day Malaysia) left much to be desired. Despite the reluctance of the British government, Singapore, located at the southern tip of the Strait of Malacca, was sought, therefore, as an additional settlement by Stamford Raffles (1781–1826), a farsighted and industrious British colonial administrator. Notwithstanding Dutch attempts to forestall it, Singapore was successfully acquired from Sultan Hussein Muazzam Shah (r. February 6, 1819–September 2, 1835), the lawful but displaced ruler of Johor, on February 6, 1819. Malacca (Malaysia), the other settlement, was obtained from the Dutch through the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of March 17, 1824, in exchange for the British colony Bencoolen (present-day Bengkulu, Indonesia) that was situated on the west coast of Sumatra. Among the three settlements, Singapore stood out as the most prosperous.

The British presence in the Far East came on the heels of the Portuguese and the Dutch. The efforts to seek a wider market for woolen cloth and other manufactured goods produced by the blooming industries in Europe brought the British government, through the English East India Company, first to India and later to the Malay Archipelago, which was popularly known as the East Indian islands. As a major sea route connecting the Indian and Pacific oceans, the Strait of Malacca was indispensable because of the increasing trade between Europe and China in the eighteenth century. By then, tea had become a social beverage in Europe, and the growing demand for Chinese tea made a free passage to China a central concern of European merchants and governments.

For the British, the Strait of Malacca remained the most important sea route for Indian opium and Strait produce, such as pepper and tin, to be shipped to China in exchange for its tea. Fearing a possible monopoly of the burgeoning trade by the Dutch, the British government eventually searched for a staging post for both commercial and military vessels from British India to the Far East. Penang, located at the northern entrance of the Strait of Malacca, was chosen, owing to its strategic position.

As a new British settlement, Penang saw a rapid expansion of trade and immigrants; in 1805, it was made the fourth presidency of British India. The high expectations for Penang, however, remained unfulfilled. Not suitable as a dockyard due to the unavailability of quality timber nearby, Penang, in 1812, was abandoned as a naval base. The waning importance of Penang, however, lay chiefly in its unsuccessful bid to become a great

trading center among the East Indian islands. Situated on the western edge of the Malay Archipelago, Penang failed to summon adequate trade to be financially independent and remained a constant drain to the coffers of British India.

When Singapore was established as a new British settlement in 1819, Penang's strategic value diminished even further. As a free port located closer to the center of the Malay Archipelago, Singapore became the darling of the day, endearing itself to local and international sea merchants. Singapore's success was made more distinct as it was the only settlement in the Straits Settlements able to foot its own expenditure. In 1832 it replaced Penang as the administrative center of the Straits Settlements. Under Penang's watch, the Straits Settlements had forfeited its presidency status and been reduced to a residency in June 30, 1830, because of financial strain.

As commercial interests in Singapore gained strength, its mercantile community began to demand more attention and voice over Singapore's affairs. However, the English East India Company, which administered the Straits Settlements, lost interest in Singapore after losing its monopoly on the China trade in 1833, and it took little note of the grievances of Singapore's merchants. The residents of Singapore were rarely consulted on such matters as the dumping of Indian convicts on the island to the proposed port tax that threatened the very foundation of Singapore's success as a free port.

The mercantile community eventually brought their concerns to the British Parliament, and after long decades of public meetings and petitioning, Singapore was finally made a crown colony on April 1, 1867, and received direct rule from the Colonial Office in London. With the advent of steamships in the mid-1860s and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Singapore's position as the port of call between Europe and China was further strengthened; it became at once "the Gibraltar and the Constantinople of the East."

SEE ALSO *Malaysia, British, 1874-1957; Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford; Singapore.*

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Choon-Lee Chai

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN

The first European contact with sub-Saharan Africa was a byproduct of the Portuguese desire to bypass the Muslim world and to tap the gold trade from Africa and the spice trade from the Indies. By 1444, the Portuguese had passed the Senegal River and entered into contact with black African peoples. They reached the Gold Coast in 1471 and the Congo River in 1483. In 1488 Bartolomeo Dias (ca. 1450–1500) rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Ten years later, Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) reached India. In the process, the Portuguese also discovered a series of islands in the Atlantic Ocean: Madeira in 1418, the Cape Verde Islands in 1460, and São Tomé in 1470.

European settlement in Africa was limited. In 1482 the Portuguese began construction of a fort, El Mina, on the Gold Coast, which became the major center of their gold trade. Many Portuguese settled on the Atlantic islands, which became either commercial entrepôts or centers of plantation agriculture, usually using African slaves. There was also an important Portuguese presence in the Congo kingdom and on the East African coast, where they tried to control the Indian Ocean trade that was profitable for Arab traders.

The Portuguese diaspora was largely made up of men, who often married local women. They thus developed Luso-African populations, Catholic in belief, but linked by language and culture to both Portugal and various African cultures. Cape Verdians developed trading communities along the West Africa coast. In the Zambezi Valley, the Portuguese gave land grants called *prazos* to men, who married locally and exploited their ties with Portugal and with local African rulers to form small states.

Portugal was a small country, which by the late sixteenth century was being challenged by the Dutch, British, and French, who wanted to participate in the slave and gold trades. In East Africa, Arab traders and a Swahili resistance won control of all areas north of Mozambique. Few of the other Europeans settled in Africa. This was partly a result of African resistance. African states generally restricted the European presence to coastal ports of trade. It was also due to the high mortality rate Europeans experienced along most of the African coast. Europeans had little resistance to diseases like malaria and yellow fever that decimated their numbers. Slave traders generally traded from their ships or from temporary installations in various ports of trade. African merchants often prolonged negotiations over slave cargoes, knowing that disease would press Europeans to settle quickly in order to get back to the sea. The mortality rate of sailors on slaving expeditions was higher than that for the slaves themselves.

EARLY SETTLEMENT

There were some European installations. The French had bases at Saint-Louis and Gorée in what is now Senegal. All trading nations maintained castles on the Gold Coast, where the climate was somewhat more favorable than elsewhere. There were small European installations on the Slave Coast, particularly at Whydah in what is now Benin. The Portuguese founded Luanda (in Angola) in 1576 and maintained settlements on the Mozambique coast, most notably on Mozambique Island.

The number of Europeans in these settlements was very small. As late as the early nineteenth century, there were little more than two hundred French-born males in the two Senegalese settlements. The majority of the population of most of these settlements was slaves, some of them trusted figures who led trading expeditions and played key roles in military and economic life.

Most of the "Europeans" were either of mixed descent or were Africans who learned European languages and participated in Atlantic culture. The slave trade was lucrative enough to attract Europeans willing to risk the possibility of an early death. A small number survived their first bouts with malaria and lived many years. Many others left their trading establishments in the hands of their African wives, many of whom proved to be shrewd traders. Those who lived long enough also left behind offspring, some of whom were educated in Europe and many of whom expanded family trading operations.

This persisted into the nineteenth century. When the British abolished the slave trade, they pressured other European nations to do the same and eventually to sign treaties allowing each other the right to search and seize ships in the slave trade. Over about sixty years, the British freed more than 180,000 people, who were taken to Freetown in Sierra Leone, where the only international prize court was available. The function of this court was to decide whether the ships seized were slavers and thus subject to seizure under international law. Entrusted to European missions, these people, known as Creoles or Krio, eagerly absorbed education and usually became Christians. They provided West Africa's first modern professionals: doctors, lawyers, judges, civil servants, ministers, teachers, and journalists. They also helped staff the nascent colonial administrations, the missions, and British commercial operations.

The most important area of European settlement was South Africa, where the climate was more temperate than areas further north. South Africa was also strategic because of its commanding position on the only trade route to India and Indonesia. The voyage to the Indies was a long one, generally about five months. Ships usually stopped at several places to pick up supplies and fuel.

The Dutch East India Company founded Cape Town as a refreshment station. The climate was favorable, but the hinterland was inhabited by hunters and herders, who lacked a surplus and were not eager for trade. The company thus settled a small number of colonists to provide food for passing ships. After the arrival of French Huguenot settlers in the 1680s, the Dutch East India Company stopped further immigration because it did not want the cost of a real colony. Still, the disease environment was favorable, native people were a limited threat, and good land was available. In 1717 there were only two thousand free people in the colony, but the population grew rapidly.

In spite of company efforts, the frontier pushed rapidly inland. The residents of Cape Town itself focused on servicing ships going to and from Asia. In the area around the city, grain and wine production provided supplies for the boats. The frontier saw the emergence of a more extensive economy based on ways of using cattle learned from the local Khoi. Better armed than native people, the frontiersmen tended to be poor in goods, but wealthy in land, cattle, and dependants.

Some of the local Khoi and San were decimated by European diseases like smallpox. Others retreated into the far interior. A large group moved into service on the European farms. Some were children of San hunters taken prisoner when their parents were killed and raised as virtual slaves on farms of the Dutch frontiersmen. The Cape Town slaves, the frontier servants, and the offspring of mixed marriages eventually merged into a group labeled *Coloured*. Others passed into the European population, which grew rapidly, largely as a result of natural increase.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century, the European presence in Africa changed dramatically and well before European medical science came to terms with Africa's tropical diseases. The first change was the attack on slavery. Britain abolished the slave trade in 1807 and slavery itself in 1833. The French abolished slavery in 1848 but were not as resolute as the British in their efforts to try to exterminate the Atlantic slave trade. Though the slave trade persisted into midcentury and actually grew in East, Central and Northeast Africa, the closing of American markets and improved methods of steam navigation destroyed the Atlantic trade by the 1860s. Fueled by abolitionist groups in Britain, the United States, and Europe, the fight against slavery increased European involvement in Africa.

It did so largely through the second change, the development of Christian missions in Africa. Catholic missionaries under Portuguese auspices played an earlier role, particularly in the Congo, where they created a

Christian community. In the eighteenth century, the Catholic Church lacked both funds and personnel to continue these efforts, but Protestants, led by newer churches like the British Methodists and Quakers or German Pietists, became involved in mission efforts.

South Africa became an important field for mission activity. Freetown in Sierra Leone became a particularly important center as missions responded to the needs of the recently freed recaptives, as those freed by the British Navy were called. The Catholic Church reemerged as a major factor in mission activity from the 1840s. In 1856 the Scottish explorer David Livingstone (1813–1873) gave an important speech at Westminster Abbey in London calling for young missionaries to carry the faith to Africa and to struggle against the slave trade. As a result, by the time the scramble for Africa took place in the 1880s, Christian missions were found in all parts of Africa.

Many of the first converts were runaway slaves, who took refuge at mission stations and, like the Creoles of West Africa, eagerly sought education. Missions depended on the ability to raise money, and thus lectures by returning missionaries and publications by and about them helped spread information on Africa in Europe.

The third change was an increase in exploration. The primary drive for the first explorations was scientific curiosity about unknown parts of the world. From 1768 to 1773, James Bruce (1730–1794), a Scottish landowner, explored Ethiopia. In 1788 the African Association was founded in Great Britain to encourage exploration. Many of the early explorers paid with their lives. In 1796 the Scottish explorer Mungo Park (1771–1806) became the first European to see the Niger River, but he died in 1806 on a second exploration seeking to find out where the river went. Scottish explorer Hugh Clapperton (1788–1827) died in the same effort, but in 1830 the British explorer Richard Lander (1804–1834) found the Niger's outlet.

Many explorers were also missionaries, the most famous being Livingstone, who covered much of Central and southern Africa between 1851 and his death in 1873. German scholar Heinrich Barth (1821–1865) spent four years in central Sudan. French military officers included Louis-Gustave Binger (1856–1936), who explored western Sudan, and Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza (1852–1905), who explored the area north of the Congo River. Many, like Park and de Brazza, traveled alone or with one or two companions. Others, like the brutal British explorer Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904), traveled in large, well-armed, and well-funded caravans, which could shoot their way out of difficult situations.

Underwriting all of this was the Industrial Revolution, which dramatically increased European wealth and power. This wealth created an industrial bourgeoisie

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Estimated populations of Sub-Saharan Africa, 1500

West Africa	14,000,000
East Africa	12,800,000
Central Africa	8,000,000
Southern Africa	3,500,000
Total	38,300,000

SOURCE: Adapted from table 6.1 'African Population, 1–2001 A.D.,' in Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: Historical Statistics* (Paris: Development Centre of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development 2003), p. 190.

THE GALE GROUP.

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convinced of the value of free labor and hostile to slavery. It provided the funding for the missionaries and explorers. European wealth also changed the pattern of European economic involvement with Africa. It reduced the price of products European commerce sold in Africa. The cost of cotton cloth, for example, was reduced to about 5 percent of what it had been. Cheaper commodities provided an incentive for Africans to produce cash crops.

The Industrial Revolution also created new needs and intensified old ones. From the 1790s, European demand for vegetable oils increased dramatically. Palm oil and peanut oil were used to lubricate machines and to produce soap and, later, margarine. European hopes that Africa would provide a new source of cotton produced limited results, but Zanzibar (in present-day Tanzania) became the world's largest producer of cloves. Cocoa, coffee, gum, wool, and copra were all important, and after 1870 Africa became a major source of rubber, which was used to make tires for bicycles and later automobiles.

New products created new structures. The French expanded their presence in Senegal in the 1850s. The British established a protectorate over Lagos (a port in present-day Nigeria) in 1851 and then occupied the city in 1861. European commercial houses increased their activity in various places along the coasts of Africa. All major powers established consulates in Zanzibar. The British also created a consulate for the bights of Benin and Biafra. Credit machinery, some based on the trust system of the slave trade, was expanded and facilitated the commercial penetration of the interior. In West Africa, European merchants and banks provided credit, while in East Africa, it was Indian financiers.

This slow expansion took place in spite of the continued high mortality. In an 1841 expedition up the Niger, forty-eight Europeans lost their lives to malaria. Thirteen years later, the Scottish explorer William Balfour Baikie (1825–1864) sent another expedition up the Niger with instructions that all Europeans were to use

quinine to prevent disease. Not a single person died. The use of quinine made it possible for Europeans to operate in the interior of Africa, though the discovery of the parasites that caused malaria and yellow fever did not take place until the early twentieth century. The European military presence was still mostly African soldiers. The armies that conquered Africa in the latter part of the century were largely armies of African soldiers, often of slave origin, under the command of European officers.

Technological progress was also important. The steamboat dramatically reduced the cost of shipping, making it possible for bulkier items to be shipped profitably. By the middle of the century, mail steamers were calling at major ports in Africa, making it possible for both European and African traders to buy space and ship relatively small lots of goods. Improvements in weaponry—breach-loader rifles, repeaters, field artillery, and toward the end of the century, the machine gun—made killing much more efficient. Many of these weapons could be obtained by African military leaders, but the cost was high and the long-term effect was to facilitate the European ability to dominate any field of combat. European business interests also began talking of railroads opening up the interior, though as late as 1870 there was only one small line in Africa, in Cape Town.

PARTITION OF AFRICA

In 1880 the area actually under European sovereignty was minuscule, but the seeds of change were already there. Britain and France had spheres of influence they were anxious to protect. The French were talking about building rail lines to connect coastal Senegal to the Niger River. New competitors were emerging. Many in Germany, which was challenging British industrial ascendancy, were convinced that Germany needed empire to protect its interests. The chancellor, Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), was skeptical, but procolonial interests were sending explorers like Carl Peters (1856–1918) to Africa and publishing procolonial books. Leopold II (1835–1909), the king of the Belgians, was financing exploration and the development of stations in the Congo Basin.

In South Africa, Afrikaner dissidents had trekked into the interior in the 1830s and 1840s to create republics free of the control of Great Britain. The stakes in a struggle for control of the South African interior were increased when the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1884 made South Africa a potentially rich and powerful country.

The French were the first to move. In 1879 Captain Joseph-Simon Gallieni (1849–1916) was sent to Sudan to chart a route for the railroad. A year later, Major

Gustave Borgnis-Desbordes (1839–1900) began the conquest. By 1883, the French were in Bamako (in present-day Mali) and on the Niger River. During the same period, the British were involved in a series of wars in South Africa, but their effort to occupy the Transvaal led to an Afrikaner revolt and British withdrawal. Then, in 1884 and 1885, Bismarck took treaties that various German explorers had signed with African chiefs and claimed four colonies: German East Africa (later Tanganyika), South-West Africa (now Namibia), Togo, and Cameroon. In doing so, they opened up the race for control of Africa.

The Congress of Berlin, convened in late 1884, recognized Leopold II as ruler of the Congo Basin, provided guarantees for free trade, and set up ground rules for partition. The major precondition to a claim was effective occupation, though that often meant a treaty with an African leader and the establishment of a post with a flag. During the succeeding years, there were a series of races for control of places of limited interest and often with limited wealth. This was preemptive colonization, seizing areas of unknown value to keep rivals out. In general, European leaders resolved all border conflicts in Europe, sometimes to the dissatisfaction of colonial proconsuls, who often had exaggerated views of the value of these territories.

The colonial states created by the scramble were unusual in that men from one culture ruled people of a totally different culture and in a totally different part of the world. It was unusual too in that the colonizers did not seek to become part of the world of the colonized, nor did they make it possible for the colonized to enter large parts of their world. All of West Africa, Uganda, and parts of equatorial Africa were colonies of exploitation with relatively few European settlers.

The European parliaments that had authorized the conquest of Africa were reluctant to appropriate funds for its administration. With most of Africa's wealth produced by hoe-wielding peasants, there was little surplus to be taxed. Thus, colonial administration was very thin and often staffed by administrators who relocated regularly and thus had only a superficial knowledge of the people they governed. They depended heavily on a larger group of African chiefs, clerks, interpreters, guards, and messengers. Colonial administrators did not come to stay. The economic benefits of the peasant-based colonies were controlled by export-import houses.

There were a series of areas that attracted settlers. The Rhodesian territories were a product of the South African frontier. Colonized under a charter to the British South Africa Company, they were settled by British and Afrikaner settlers from South Africa. Southern Rhodesia had the largest settler population. The white invaders

never numbered more than 4 percent of the total population, but they eventually received about half the land, including most of the best land and the land closest to the rail line. The early years were difficult for many settlers, who often had little capital, but with time they became a wealthy and privileged community. In Northern Rhodesia, there were fewer settlers, but many of them received large land grants near the rail line in order to provide food for the copper mines. Whites ran the government and benefited from segregation and discrimination.

The second large settler area was the East African Protectorate, later Kenya, which was colonized partially to keep the Germans out. The British built a railroad to make it possible to tap the fertile lands of Uganda, but once built, they were worried that it could not pay for itself. The railroad traversed a highland area, which was quite comfortable for European settlers. Much of this highland area was set aside for white settlement. At its peak, there were only about seventy thousand settlers. Kenya attracted a wealthier and more privileged body of settlers than Rhodesia. Many of them were originally attracted to the area to hunt. While most white settlers became wealthy, they were able to do so largely because they were subsidized. Africans in Kenya and Rhodesia paid the highest taxes in Africa, which forced many of them to take work at low wages. White settlers also benefited from better roads and from government agricultural policy.

There were also small nuclei of white settlement in other areas: French planters in Guinea and the Ivory Coast, Belgians in the eastern Congo, Germans around Mount Kilimanjaro in German East Africa, and Portuguese in coffee-growing areas of Angola. There were also European colonists in many of the cities, especially Dakar, Senegal; Nairobi, Kenya; Lourenço Marques (now Maputo, Mozambique); Léopoldville (now Kinsasha, Democratic Republic of the Congo); and Luanda. As colonization became more comfortable, many of these urban settlers, often merchants or restaurant owners, sometimes skilled mechanics or teachers, came to stay. Missionaries also came to stay and with medical progress, often lived out long lives in Africa. With the exception of the missionaries, most of the settlers had little interest in Africa except as a place to live a comfortable life.

Other areas that attracted white settlement were colonies heavily dependent on mineral wealth. There were small mining enterprises in many colonies—for example, gold in the Gold Coast and tin in Nigeria. The major mineral complexes, however, were gold in South Africa and Rhodesia, diamonds in South Africa, and copper in the Congo and Northern Rhodesia. These large mining complexes involved both substantial investment and a large labor force. High taxes and coercive recruitment policies were used to drain labor flow into the mines.

Most colonies were autocracies. A corps of white administrators ruled through African chiefs and were responsible only to a governor and to superiors in the mother country. The only Africans who had the vote were the inhabitants of the Four Communes of Senegal (Saint-Louis, Dakar, Rufisque, and Gorée) and propertied Africans in the Cape Colony. In some colonies, there was a legislative council that included a small number of settlers or wealthy Africans. In general, Africans played no role in their own government.

NATIONALISM AND DECOLONIZATION

To govern Africa at minimal cost, European states had to educate Africans. They generally tried to educate relatively few, though for the missionaries, education was a prerequisite to religious knowledge. Education, however, opened the door to nationalistic and anticolonial activity. So too did foreign travel, which was one reason the Belgians prevented the Congolese from coming to Belgium for many years.

The earliest nationalist response came from Creoles who in the late nineteenth century were disturbed that discrimination deprived them of positions they once occupied. Religion was an important area of protonationalist activity, some people seeking only to separate themselves from the missions, others to develop African churches with independent theologies. Some educated groups also formed early: the African National Congress in South Africa in 1912, the Kikuyu Association in Kenya in 1919, and the National Congress of British West Africa in 1920.

During the 1930s, economic hardship led to strike activity and the formation of a number of radical youth movements. An important role was played by "been-tos," Africans such as future Nigerian president Nnamdi Azikiwe (1904–1996) who had studied abroad and returned to Africa to oppose colonial rule and seek radical economic change.

World War II was the beginning of the end of colonial rule. Africans were influenced by the democratic propaganda of the Allies. Many also served abroad in both European and Asian theaters of war and came back determined to struggle. But the war affected European colonialism in other ways. The war crushed right-wing forces in Europe. An important role in new regimes was played by Communists, who were hostile to colonialism, and by Socialists, who were committed to a more democratic form of colonialism. The new French constitution provided African nations with representation in the French Parliament. Britain willingly granted independence to India and Pakistan, setting an example for Africa.

MUNGO PARK

Scottish explorer Mungo Park was born on September 10, 1771, in Foulshiels, Scotland, the seventh of thirteen children of a tenant farmer. After studying anatomy and surgery at the University of Edinburgh without earning a degree, Park joined his sister and her husband, James Dickson, in London. An amateur botanist, Dickson was acquainted with Joseph Banks, the founder of the African Association, and managed to find his brother-in-law work as a doctor on a ship bound for the island of Sumatra. During his trip, Park gathered many native plants as well, which he showed to Banks upon his return. Impressed, Banks suggested that the young Scotsman attempt an expedition to reach the Niger River, a journey tried three times by the African Association without success. The British government was also interested in expanding their settlements in West Africa and desired new information about waterways in the region.

Park set out for Africa in May of 1795, and one month later reached the British outpost of Pisania on the Gambia River. There he remained until December, preparing his journey into the heartland and studying Mandingo, the local language. Setting out with four porters, a guide, and a servant, Park began a northeast trek, passing through friendly and unfriendly towns and villages. Abandoned by most of his entourage, Park was taken prisoner by the king of Benown and held for several months until he escaped in June 1796. Alone, he continued on his journey and eventually reached Segou,

situated on the banks of the Niger River, making him probably the first European to have seen the African river.

Park returned to London on December 25, 1797, wrote a popular book about his exploits, and established a medical practice in Scotland. However, the quiet life of medicine in a small town failed to stimulate Park, and when the British government contacted him about further exploring the Niger and contesting French presence in the region, Parks accepted the offer and returned to the Gambia River on April 6, 1805. Leaving Pisania on May 4, Park reached the Niger a second time on August 19, but with only seven of the forty or so Europeans that had begun that leg of the trip, the others having died of malaria and dysentery. Rather than returning, Park decided to follow the path of the Niger to the sea, searching for new trade routes, and took a new guide, Ahmadi Fatouma.

Before he left the town of Sansanding on the Niger, Park wrote one final letter home, which his old guide, Isaaco, took to the coast. After five years passed without another letter, the British government hired Isaaco to learn the fate of Park. Eventually, Isaaco found Fatouma, who said the expedition had sailed past the city of Goa, nearly 1,500 miles from their starting point at Bamako. Here, in March or April of 1806, Park met his end after a local king, dissatisfied with the gifts the Scotsman offered, commanded his men to attack Park, who drowned in the Niger.

Europe was also weak and threatened by the high cost of repression. Britain won a difficult war in Malaya; the French lost in Indochina, as did the Dutch in Indonesia. In Kenya, a small, poorly armed Mau Mau force tied up parts of the British army for four years. And some Europeans began to ask whether European countries benefited in any way from colonial rule.

All of this might have been meaningless if Africans were not insistent. Protest in Ghana led to a form of self-government in 1951. In French Africa, the left-wing Rassemblement Democratique Africain (African Democratic Assembly) grew in strength in elections, and in 1958 French president Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) offered the African colonies self-government or independence. Only Guinea rejected de Gaulle's form of self-

government, but in doing so it put pressure on all the others. By 1960, all of France's African colonies were independent.

In the Belgian Congo, riots in 1959 led to a total collapse of Belgian authority. One by one, various colonies negotiated their independence. Only South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies resisted what British prime minister Harold Macmillan (1894–1986) called "the winds of change," but in 1974 the collapse of the dictatorship in Portugal of Marcello Caetano (1906–1980) led to the independence of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. A harsh guerilla war wore down Rhodesia to the point where it lacked the resources and the will to continue fighting.

South Africa conceded independence to Namibia in 1989. A year later, South Africa released Nelson Mandela

(b. 1918) from prison and lifted bans on the major opposition parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-African Congress. After a period of negotiation, a democratic election was held in 1994, which brought Mandela and the ANC to power.

Europeans, however, are still in Africa, particularly in those countries that have achieved some measure of peace and social order. The colonial officials have been replaced by diplomats, aid officials, representatives of nongovernmental organizations, businesspeople, and tourists. South Africa has become a multiracial democracy. The churches are still there, but the leadership is African.

SEE ALSO *Decolonization, Sub-Saharan Africa; Nationalism, Africa; Scramble for Africa.*

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Martin Klein

SUDAN, EGYPTIAN AND BRITISH RIVALRY IN

The independent Republic of Sudan emerged in 1956 after two phases of colonial rule—the Turco-Egyptian (1820–1881) and Anglo-Egyptian (1898–1956) periods respectively—and as a result of encounters with two competing powers, namely Egypt and Britain.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY COLONIALISM

Under orders from Muhammad 'Ali, who carved out an autonomous dynasty in Egypt under nominal allegiance to the Ottoman Empire, Turco-Egyptian armies invaded in 1820 the region that is present-day northern Sudan and consolidated control from Khartoum. Eager to secure new sources of military manpower, the Turco-Egyptian regime tapped into an escalating local slave trade by seizing male slaves for the armies of Egypt and by allowing private traders to sell females and children in northern Sudanese, Egyptian, and Arabian markets. The regime also forced the development of a Sudanese cash-crop economy and extracted taxes from the free population. At its peak by 1880, the Turco-Egyptian regime had a sphere of administrative and economic influence that extended to the Red Sea in the east, to Darfur in the west, and into parts of what is now southern Sudan.

British influence began to creep into the Sudan in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, when Britain was already flexing its political and economic muscles in Egypt. In the 1870s, the Egyptian ruler Khedive Ismail (a grandson of Muhammad 'Ali) appointed several British and other English-speaking military officers to the Sudan and entrusted some of them with suppressing the slave trade. This last measure was part of an effort to satisfy Britain's antislavery foreign policy in Africa. In the 1870s, Khedive Ismail also attempted to assert Egypt's presence in northeast Africa by deploying armies in the regions that are present-day Eritrea and Ethiopia. However, these plans for Egyptian imperial expansion crumbled after Egypt went bankrupt in 1876 and yielded to British and French financial regulation.

Six years later, in 1882, Britain occupied Egypt and placed the country under its own imperial subjection. In the decades that followed, Egyptian nationalists struggled to remove British control over Egypt even while continuing to press Egyptian claims to Sudan—a situation that prompted one historian to call Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a country of "colonized colonizers."

By the time Britain occupied Egypt in 1882, the Turco-Egyptian regime in Sudan was already fighting for its survival. One year earlier, a Sudanese Muslim scholar named Muhammad Ahmad had declared himself to be the *mahdi*, a millenarian figure who according to popular Sunni Muslim thought would restore order at a time of chaos and repression prefiguring Judgment Day. Muhammad Ahmad, the Mahdi, rallied support among

Riots in Sudan, 1924. *Anti-British protestors run along the banks of the Atbara River in Sudan on September 1, 1924. Troops and ships were rushed to the scene to quell the disorders.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

many Sudanese Muslims by condemning what he described as the un-Islamic practices of the Turco-Egyptian regime, notably their excessive taxation, their appointment of Christian military officers, and their efforts to end the slave trade (which Sudanese Muslims then regarded as a practice sanctioned by Islamic law). The Mahdi's movement, in short, was a kind of anti-colonial jihad (Muslim holy war) that succeeded in defeating Turco-Egyptian forces in a string of battles after 1881.

At the decisive battle for the city of Khartoum in 1885, Mahdist soldiers killed the British general, Charles Gordon, who had gone to evacuate the city. A decade later, when the European powers were pursuing their Scramble for Africa, memories of Gordon's death in Khartoum helped to rally popular British support for the colonial invasion of the Sudan, set out to destroy the Sudanese Mahdist state (1881–1898) that had supplanted the Turco-Egyptian regime.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONDOMINIUM

In 1898 Britain justified and bolstered its claims to Sudanese territory and thwarted competing French interests in the region by declaring that its invasion had been a "Reconquest": a shared British-Egyptian effort to reassert political claims that the Mahdists had usurped. Britain went still further in 1899 by framing the new colonial regime as an Anglo-Egyptian "Condominium" in which Britain and Egypt would be co-domini, or joint rulers. To reinforce the Sudan's special status, Britain refused to call the country a colony (akin to say, Nigeria or Hong Kong) and placed the Sudan under British Foreign Office rather than Colonial Office supervision. In reality, Britain dominated the Sudanese government. In the first half of the Anglo-Egyptian period Egyptians nevertheless made their mark on the colonial regime both in the army, where they served as officers, and in the bureaucracy, where they functioned as accountants, clerks, and educators.

Beginning in 1919, a year of nationalist revolt in Egypt, Britain became increasingly concerned about Egypt's capacity to inspire anticolonial, that is, anti-British, sentiment within the Sudan. These concerns reached a climax in 1924 following a spate of urban anticolonial activities in the Sudan followed by the assassination in Cairo of the Sudan's British governor-general. Responding to this crisis, Britain expelled the Egyptian army from the Sudan and fired or retired Egyptian bureaucrats in the Sudan. By 1930 the British had replaced almost all Egyptian employees with young, educated northern Sudanese men who were members of a nascent nationalist class.

In the second quarter of the twentieth century Egypt continued to insist on its rights to the Sudan even while struggling to reverse its own subjection to British imperialism—a subjection that remained palpable notwithstanding Egypt's official "independence" in 1922. Ongoing frustrations over Egypt's status in the Sudan sharpened nationalism in Egypt. Meanwhile, within the Sudan itself, nationalism was coming into focus among the educated northern Sudanese who closely followed and admired Egyptian popular culture as manifest in newspapers and poetry and increasingly, too, in movies and songs.

Despite these cultural ties, political sentiments toward Egypt varied among budding Sudanese nationalists. Whereas some insisted that Sudanese identity was distinct and autonomous from its Egyptian counterpart, others stressed the political and cultural affinities between Sudanese and Egyptians (even while rejecting Egyptian paternalism). These two camps of early Sudanese nationalism—represented by the slogans Sudan for the Sudanese and Unity of the Nile Valley respectively—came to dominate the local political scene in the late Anglo-Egyptian period.

DECOLONIZATION

Many of the political dramas of the immediate post–World War II years in the Sudan revolved around the questions of when and how Britain would devolve political authority on Sudanese nationalists (who were pressing for a greater role in local government) and what Egypt's future status in the country would be. The situation became clearer after the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953, which set out plans for parliamentary elections in the Sudan and acknowledged the right of the "graduates" (that is, members of the educated class who enjoyed exclusive suffrage at this time) to decide whether to unify with or separate from Egypt. Sudanese parliamentarians ultimately chose separate autonomy. Thus the Sudan gained independence on January 1, 1956, barely six months after the start of a

civil war that went on to blight the country during most of the late-twentieth-century postcolonial period.

Meanwhile, in 1956 (four years after the Free Officers Revolution of 1952), Egypt entered the final phase of its own decolonization as British troops finally withdrew from the Suez Canal zone. A few months later, the Nasser government nationalized the Suez Canal, an event that precipitated the Suez Crisis. Historians suggest that the Suez Crisis confirmed the demise of British and French colonialism in the Middle East and ushered in the cold war era of U.S.-Soviet regional dominance.

SEE ALSO *Egypt; Empire, British; Empire, Ottoman; Suez Canal and Suez Crisis.*

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SUEZ CANAL AND SUEZ CRISIS

The idea of constructing a canal connecting the Mediterranean and the Red Sea had been discussed by French engineers during Napoleon Bonaparte's (1769–1821) occupation of Egypt in 1798–1801, but miscalculations concerning water levels at the time saw the project dropped. Proved feasible soon after, it was not until 1854 that Sa'id Pasha (1822–1863), the Egyptian ruler, granted a concession to the Suez Canal Company (SCC) headed by Ferdinand-Marie de Lesseps (1805–1894), to construct and operate the canal for ninety-nine years. Excavation began in 1859 with labor being

Ceremonies Marking the Opening of the Suez Canal. *Ceremonies were held in Egypt to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

imported from Italy, Greece, and Syria to assist an estimated 1.5 million Egyptian workers.

For a time, British and Turkish opposition saw work suspended, but French support and Saʿid's purchase of 44 percent of company shares (later assumed by the Egyptian government) kept the project going. Stretching from Port Said to Suez, a distance of 170 kilometers (106 miles), the canal was officially inaugurated in grand style on November 17, 1869, by Khedive Ismail (1830–1895), who had invited a large number of European dignitaries, including the French Empress Eugénie (1826–1920), and commissioned Giuseppe Fortunino Francesco Verdi (1813–1901) to compose Aïda for the occasion.

In 1875, in severe financial straits, the Egyptian government sold its company shares to the British government, an important factor in the British decision to occupy Egypt in 1882. The Convention of Constantinople of 1888, signed by the major European powers, declared the canal neutral and granted its use to all during peace and wartime with Britain acting as guarantor. A vital waterway for British imperial communications, particularly the route to India and access to Middle Eastern oil, the canal also facilitated the colonization of East Africa by other European powers, particularly the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Under the terms of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty Britain retained control

of the canal zone, which proved a crucial advantage during World War II (1939–1945) and a significant military base in the early Cold War years.

In the postwar period the continuing British occupation of the canal attracted mounting Egyptian criticism. When the Free Officers took power in Egypt in July 1952, negotiations were reopened with the British who, in an accord reached in 1954, agreed to withdraw all of its troops from the country by June 1956. In July, when the Americans reneged on their offer to finance the Aswan High Dam, Gamal Abd al Nasir (1918–1970) responded by dramatically announcing the nationalization of the canal before a large crowd in Alexandria on July 26, asserting that the revenue from canal dues would help finance the dam. The right of the Egyptian government to nationalize the SCC, an Egyptian company, was a well-recognized principle in international law, but the British, French, and other Western governments called for the internationalization of the canal, an idea stoutly resisted by Nasir.

While the Egyptians, to the surprise of many, continued to operate the canal competently, the British Prime Minister Anthony Eden (1897–1977) entered into a secret agreement with the French and Israeli governments to attack Egypt. Under its terms, when Israeli forces invaded the Sinai on October 29, 1956 and met with Egyptian resistance, France and Britain would issue

a joint ultimatum the next day calling for a halt to hostilities. When, as expected, Egypt rejected this, British and French planes bombed Egyptian airfields on October 31 and landed Anglo-French troops on November 5 to secure the canal, now rendered inoperative by ships sunk by the Egyptian government. A United Nations Security Council resolution condemning the Israeli aggression had been vetoed by the British and French, but with the threat of Soviet military intervention and American displeasure towards the British action, expressed by its withdrawal of support for the British pound, a cease-fire was accepted by all sides at midnight on November 6. A United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was constituted and supervised the withdrawal of British and French forces in December and of the Israelis in March the next year.

Despite being defeated in the field—Egypt suffered by far the greatest losses in the war—Suez was a substantial diplomatic victory for Nasir that greatly enhanced his international standing as an anti-imperialist leader. By contrast, Eden was discredited and resigned from office the following year. Suez witnessed an important break between two traditional allies, the United States and Britain, and more significantly, came to symbolize the decline of British imperial power. It also gave notice of Israeli military capabilities. Now run by the Egyptian Canal Authority, the canal was reopened in April 1957, and compensation paid to shareholders. United Nations forces remained in place until the lead-up to the six-day war of June 1967 when the canal was closed again.

SEE ALSO *Egypt; Empire, British; Empire, French; Nasir, Gamal Abd al.*

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Anthony Gorman

SUGAR AND LABOR: TRACKING EMPIRES

Sugar, the refined granules of crystallized juice extracted from the sugarcane plant, was transformed during the era of European colonialism from a medicine, spice, and rare luxury in parts of Asia, the Pacific, and Europe to a ubiquitous staple ingredient of postcolonial diets. The story of this transformation is entwined with the story of European colonialism and the related forces of change that swept the globe since 1450.

In contrast to the ever-increasing demand that takes sugar for granted, and the ease with which it has been consumed, the sugarcane plant is in fact notoriously delicate, disease prone, and resource hungry during cultivation. Moreover, it only yields sugar through a labor-intensive process of extraction and refinement that is unforgiving of any time lag between harvesting and processing. Unprecedented levels of exploitation of labor, land, and environment have therefore characterized the economic viability of its mass production. Sugar demanded endless acres of tropical and subtropical land for cultivation, as well as armies of cheap enslaved, indentured, or enforced labor to grow, harvest, and process it. As such, sugarcane worked its way into the heart of the economies and trades that would fund and drive European expansion.

While sugar was used as a spice and sweetener in Asia and the Pacific before the colonial era, in Europe it remained a medicinal and luxury item. This status would change after 1492 when Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) took sugarcane to the New World, and throughout the sixteenth century, sugar was produced in Brazil for export to Lisbon and the European market.

Brazilian sugar was grown with the use of African slaves and plantation-based cultivation and production, which was a system founded in relations of exploitation that would continue to characterize sugar production well into the twentieth century. Until the middle of the seventeenth century, while Portugal and Spain supplied Europe with sugar, the majority of sugar production worldwide occurred in Asia in Bengal, Java, southern China, and Taiwan. Here it was produced for local consumers and exported to Europe through trading links established by such companies as the Dutch East Indies Company. From early in the seventeenth century, however, the prominence of Asian sugar as an export commodity would be overtaken by sugar grown in the Caribbean.

The arrival of the British and French in the Caribbean in the early seventeenth century marked the beginning of the never-ending expansion of sugar production and the deepening of its identification with slavery. For the first half of the seventeenth century, plantation cultivation relied for labor on varied combinations of African and indigenous slaves and European indentured laborers. From the middle of the seventeenth century, however, sugar was exclusively produced by enslaved Africans on plantations that monopolized land use and transformed entire islands like Barbados and Jamaica into virtual "sugar factories" (Ashcroft 1999, p. 44).

Cutting Sugarcane in the West Indies. *With supervisors looking on, laborers cut sugarcane on a nineteenth-century plantation in the West Indies. The production of sugar was laborious, and plantations required large numbers of enslaved and indentured workers.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

By the end of the seventeenth century, sugar had become an inextricable link in an economic triangle that entwined the fates, desires, and wealth of people in three continents. While sugar and molasses were traded from West Indian possessions to ever-expanding European and New England markets, the finished goods exported from Europe and New England, such as rum, clothes, or tools, were traded in Africa for slaves, who in turn produced the raw sugar products that would be exported for trade in Europe and European colonies. Sugar was therefore integral to the three-way trade between colonial possessions (the West Indies), colonies of exploitation (the African continent), and imperial centers (Britain). This was an interrelationship that turned sugar from being a by-product of colonial expansion to an enabling and driving force.

As Sidney Mintz explored in his classic *Sweetness and Power* (1985), the eighteenth century saw a growth in the demand for sugar in Europe and North America that was driven by the increased production in the Caribbean, which was fueled by the roaring slave trade. To create

demand, British sugar producers, as represented by such organizations as the West India lobby, actively promoted the consumption of other colonial products, such as bitter coffee and tea that was imported from Asia by the British East India Company and rendered palatable and desirable with the addition of sugar.

Aided by falling prices, by the middle of the eighteenth century, sugar was no longer a luxury item. It had become a basic dietary ingredient indicated by the twentyfold increase in consumption that took place in England and Wales between 1663 and 1775. So successful was its promotion that by the end of the century, sugar was not only being widely consumed, it was also well on its way, along with other such colonial products as tea, tobacco, cocoa, and coffee, to being thoroughly appropriated as icons of European cultures. As James Walvin (1999, p. 24) put it in relation to Britain, where consumption had increased by 2,500 percent in the hundred and fifty years preceding 1800, what could be more British than a sweet cup of tea?

By the middle of the nineteenth century, sugar was a necessity in many European and North American households. British consumption alone increased in sixty years from 572,000 tons in 1830 to a staggering six million tons by 1890. Still, sugar production continued to rise, outstripping and, as a consequence, driving demand.

In the United States, sugar became so cheap and available that North American sugar refineries deliberately lowered production. The reason for this massive increase in productive capability was multifaceted. First, from 1850, beet sugar, which was grown in temperate climates in Europe and the United States, had expanded to supplant cane sugar by 1880. Second, slavery was abolished in the European colonies from 1838 onward, so that by 1884 all the major sources of sugar in the Caribbean were being produced by varied forms of contracted and paid, and therefore relatively expensive, labor. Finally, the rapid expansion of European colonies from the eighteenth century led to an opening up of new land for cane cultivation, along with seemingly inexhaustible pools of cheap labor. By the end of the nineteenth century, sugar production was diversified and was flourishing throughout Europe, Southeast Asia, southern Africa, the Pacific, and northeastern Australia. Hence, while the plantation-based Caribbean was the sole producer of export-oriented sugar at the opening of the nineteenth century, it had been displaced by the century's close. By 1900 Germany was the biggest producer and exporter of sugar from beets, followed by Cuba and Java as the second and third largest producers of sugar from cane.

The combination of the economic crises caused by this increased competition and the added expense of labor forced sugar producers to modernize and industrialize during the nineteenth century. From mid-century, steam-powered technology aiding both harvesting and refining was introduced to most sugar-producing centers. Although this helped to lower the cost of production, the demand for cheap, unskilled, and coercible labor remained strong in the post-emancipation period. With few exceptions, many sugar producers turned to indentured or contracted, and usually imported labor supplied by colonial empires.

The French West Indies, for example, used labor from French India. British planters transferred labor from the Pacific to Australia, from India to the Pacific, and from southern Africa and the Caribbean. Dutch planters in Sumatra used labor imported from Java. While not using indentured or contracted labor, the sugar exported from Asian industries in Taiwan, the Philippines, or Java was produced utilizing existing social relations to extract labor and sugar from peasants. In Java, for example, the existing sugar industry was co-

opted, centralized, and enforced by the Netherlands Indies state after 1830 when, under the so-called Cultivation System, Javanese peasants were obligated to grow commercial and export crops. The essential low cost of labor and land that characterized colonial sugar production was therefore retained.

Although the production of sugar for ever-expanding and disparate European and American markets diversified in the nineteenth century beyond the antiquated Caribbean-style plantations, essential features remained unchanged into the twentieth century. The global sugar industry continued to dedicate vast tracts of productive and fertile tropical land to a single crop, at the same time that the economic viability of such cultivation remained reliant on supplies of cheap, expendable, and usually nonwhite labor. For this reason it remained an essentially colonial crop, dependent for its production on the land and labor made available through European expansion and appropriation of territory.

Sugar, or the industry and market that grew up around it, has been described by Sidney Mintz (1985, p. 71) as one of the most powerful demographic forces in world history. Sugar, perhaps more than any other tropical product, funded and necessitated the transformation of millions of acres of forest, ecosystems, and indigenous lands into enormous agricultural factories. This resulted in the displacement of indigenous agricultures, technologies, and economies, and the uprooting and dispossession of entire populations.

While European nations leaked their populations all over the globe in search of sugar-fed riches, African, south Asian, and Pacific countries hemorrhaged their populations to produce these riches. More than eight million enslaved Africans were displaced to produce Caribbean sugar. So too, 1.25 million Indian laborers were moved around the British Empire for sugar, and hundreds of thousands of Pacific Islanders were moved around the Pacific and to Queensland for sugar industries in Kanaky/New Caledonia, Fiji, Hawaii, and Queensland. Indeed, the demographic diversity of the postcolonial world can be traced to the diasporic force of sugar.

In five hundred years of colonialism, sugar has become a staple item in every Western kitchen, and an almost mandatory ingredient of processed foods. As a cheap, rapidly consumed, and high-energy food that so perfectly suits the demands of time-disciplined industrial societies, its production and demand continue to grow. But more than a food, as a demographic, social, and economic force, sugar both reflects and encapsulates the era of European colonialism. It was, and arguably remains, a thoroughly colonial product steeped in the

social relations, political phenomena, and economic drives and imperatives that shaped the colonial era.

SEE ALSO *African Slavery in the Americas; Caribbean; Sugar Cultivation and Trade.*

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SUGAR CULTIVATION AND TRADE

Sugar, a sweet crystallizable material that consists essentially of sucrose, is transparent or white when pure, brownish when less refined. It is obtained primarily from sugarcane, and, since the early nineteenth century, from sugar beet as well. Other, minor sources are sorghum, maples, and palms. Nutritionally, sugar is important as a source of dietary carbohydrate but little else, although it is also employed as a sweetener, and to cure and preserve other foods. Sugarcane, the main source, is a stout, coarse, tall perennial grass (*Saccharum officinarum*) with juice or sap high in sugar content. In a tropical climate the cane may be planted at almost any season as the plant does not require a rest period, but temperatures slightly below freezing kill the leafy tops, substantially reducing the sugar yield.

Prior to 1500 sugar had entered Europe from the east as a flavoring spice. Venetian and Sicilian supplier-producers sold small quantities at exorbitant prices to wealthy elites, but by the early 1600s the Italian industry had been ruined by cheap slave-produced sugar from the New World.

Canary Island sugarcane arrived in the Americas in 1493 on Christopher Columbus's second voyage, which introduced many European foodstuffs with the goal of establishing a permanent colony on Hispaniola. Sugarcane easily prospered in the New World environment and its cultivation spread across tropical America as it was colonized during the following centuries.

The fundamental requirements for the growth of sugarcane and the development of a plantation system were numerous, but were met in many regions of tropical America. These included:

1. extensive, fertile lands near navigable coasts and rivers, with a deep water port nearby to facilitate the movement of large, bulky cargos;

2. abundant timber reserves for construction and firewood—the latter used for the extensive boiling, and eventually the steam power, necessary for the refining process;

3. the importation of tools and implements, especially cast iron gears, levers, axes, and the omnipresent machete;

4. readily available foodstuffs for the large labor population, often grown on the plantation itself;

5. a continuing supply of cheap labor—slaves—including both women and men, who were employed in planting, cultivation, and harvesting.

Sugar production in the Atlantic, 1500–1860

Producer	Tonnage	Year
Madeira	1,500	1500
São Tomé	5,000	1550s
Hispaniola	1,000	1570
Brazil	20,000	1620s
Dutch Brazil	4,000	1639
Barbados	10,000	1660s
Jamaica	48,000	1775
Saint Domingue	78,000	1791
Cuba	447,000	1860

THE GALE GROUP.

The Spanish initially employed Indian slaves as a labor force, but sparse populations and devastating epidemics soon made it clear that native labor was insufficient. African slaves began to be imported in 1512, first to compliment and then to replace the Indians. Before long the terms *sugar* and *slave* had become indelibly linked, an association that lasted up until the end of the nineteenth century.

The Spanish did not fully develop the sugar industry, however, as the great mineral riches of the mainland distracted them. The Portuguese colony of Brazil was the site of the first major success with sugar cultivation. Immediately upon the founding of Pernambuco in 1526, and São Vicente and Espiritu Santo in 1530 to 1532, Madeira Island sugarcane was introduced. The Atlantic island techniques of cultivation, however, would be extensively modified. A new agricultural system appeared: the plantation. Substantially large landholdings—coupled with Brazil's proximity to Africa, which made for lower importation costs and higher survival rates for slaves—assured the expansion of large-scale sugar production.

The monoculture society that developed was multifaceted, as numerous goods and service industries were necessary. Food, as mentioned, was crucial and many times produced on the estates themselves, creating hybrid plantation-farms with their attendant needs. Sizable initial capital investments were needed, and credit was obtained both locally and from overseas sources—though dependence upon the mother country for financing tended to decrease over time. On the increase continually, though, was the consumption of goods and services for the planter class, and in some areas absentee ownership appeared.

The success of Brazil encouraged other European countries to become involved in sugar production. The Dutch West Indies Company occupied Recife and Olinda (Pernambuco) in the Portuguese sugar region of Brazil in 1630, but was expelled in 1654. Subsequently, the Dutch focused on establishing their own settlements, which they did on the islands of Curaçao (1634), St. Eustatius (1636), and St. Martin (1631–1648)—the latter shared with the French. The English settled St. Christopher (1624), Barbados (1627), Nevis (1628), Montserrat (1632), Antigua (1632), and Jamaica (1655). The French concentrated on St. Christopher (Kitts, 1624)—where they joined forces with the English to thwart the Spanish and Carib Indians—Guadeloupe (1635), and Martinique (1635).

Irrespective of which European power was involved, the planting, cultivation, harvesting, and processing of sugar followed the same pattern. For planting, mature cane stalks are cut into sections and laid horizontally in rows about six feet apart. Like other grasses, the stem produces nodes—four to ten inches apart along the aboveground section. The mature stems reach twelve feet or more in height. The stem between the nodes is made up of a hard, thin tissue or rind and a soft, fibrous core. In this center is the juice, with its high concentration of sugar. More than one crop may be harvested from a planting, but once cut the cane must be milled as soon as possible, as delay results in loss of sugar content. Once the harvest starts, milling becomes a twenty-four-hour job.

Sugar mills are located in the center of the cultivation area to facilitate prompt transportation. After being washed, the cane is sent through roller mills—large grooved rollers—that crush and macerate it, producing the liquid runoff containing the extracted sugar juice. This slightly acid juice is neutralized with lime and then boiled. The nearly clear juice at the top of the tanks is drawn off and sent to evaporators, where a progressive process leaves a sludge. This sludge is centrifuged to separate the brown sugar crystals from the liquid molasses. To produce transparent or white sugar, the brown sugar crystals are passed through an additional round of melting, filtering, and boiling, after which drying is necessary. The molasses from the sludge, or "poor man's sugar," is used as an additive for foods and livestock feed, and to manufacture alcohol and alcoholic beverages—the famous *eau de vie de molasses*, *aguardiente de caña*, and rum bullion.

The early Caribbean production was characterized by its low quality crystallized sugar and high volume of molasses. The by-product came to rival the refined sugar in volume and value as a large quantity of the sticky syrup was transformed into rum at both local and New England distilleries. And although Brazil continued to produce an enormous crop, by the late seventeenth century the West Indies had become the world's largest source of sugar. In both places, slave labor and easy

An Abandoned Sugar Mill in Saint Croix. *The arrival of the British and French in the Caribbean in the early seventeenth century marked the beginning of the never-ending expansion of sugar production. The remains of this old sugar mill stand on the grounds of the Buccaneer Resort on Saint Croix in the Virgin Islands.* © **BUDDY MAYS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

transportation permitted lower prices than was possible for sugar imported from the East or grown in Europe, and as a result the American trade dwarfed all other rivals combined. By the early eighteenth century the term *Sugar Islands* had become quite literal: the economies of entire islands such as Barbados, Guadalupe, and Martinique centered on sugar production. In 1750 the French colony of Saint Domingue (Haiti) was the largest sugar producer in the world.

Larger-volume production and lower prices allowed sugar consumption to extend to almost all social groups in Europe; sugar became enormously popular and experienced a series of booms. The principal reason for the increased demand was the great change in the eating habits of Europeans. They consumed candy, cocoa, coffee, jams, and tea in greater quantities than even before, creating a larger demand that stimulated greater production. It is estimated that the "sugar islands" produced up to 90 percent of the sugar consumed in Western Europe. By the end of the eighteenth century, monoculture sugar production monopolized the economies of numerous islands; in the case of Barbados and the British Leeward Islands, for example, sugar accounted for, respectively, 93 and 97 percent of overall exports.

Cuba, the largest of the Antilles and one of the oldest colonies in the region, withstood the onset of sugar monoculture until the end of the eighteenth century. Until that time, it possessed a multifaceted economy based on diversified agriculture (cattle leather, foodstuffs, sugar, and tobacco), heavy industry (the largest shipyard in the Spanish empire, plus a canon foundry and other metal works), and substantial service industries and bureaucracy. A nascent planter class, stimulated by Bourbon reforms in commerce and communication,

appeared just as the age of revolutions began, however. Bourbon commercial and communications reforms that legalized the importation of large numbers of slaves and the access to heretofore closed markets stimulated the nascent planter class to expand production. The Saint Domingue slave revolt of 1791 drove up sugar prices worldwide and signaled the entry of Cuba as the major sugar/slave colony for the next century.

Despite Cuba's dominance, American pioneers on various colonial frontiers attempted to be self-sufficient as far as sugar production was concerned. This led to some curious sugar experiments, and to some of the worst or strangest sugars ever manufactured. One of the most unique efforts was the extraction of sugar and molasses from watermelons attempted in the southeastern United States—the volume of watermelons and firewood necessary for the production of one pound of sugar was staggering. Obviously, this experiment was a commercial failure.

In the nineteenth century, the price of sugar declined as production volumes increased. Multiple sources made for fewer market fluctuations, and the "white gold" became just another commodity. While sugar lost much of its uniqueness, all of the sugar colonies displayed enduring hallmarks. The plantations had stripped the environment of timber and had sown flowing seas of sugarcane, destroying the preexisting ecological system. The indigenous population had long since disappeared, replaced by imported, ethnically mixed Africans who produced a new amalgamated culture. And a new economic order had appeared. No longer were the colonies dependent upon the mother country; now their fortunes were shaped by the rise and fall of world prices, and by their ability to survive in the face of stiff international competition.

SEE ALSO *Plantations, the Americas.*

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TAIPING REBELLION

The Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) was the largest peasant rebellion in Chinese history and one of the bloodiest civil wars in the annals of human experience. The conflict ravaged the most cultivated parts of the Qing dynasty, encompassing eighteen of its most populous provinces, claiming the lives of at least 25 million. It also fundamentally changed China's political, social, economic, and military structures.

The Taiping Rebellion took place in the aftermath of Western powers' forced entrance into China's coastal areas after the Sino-British Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking) of 1842. The Western influence was particularly strong in the Pearl River Delta area where Western merchants, Christian missionaries, and adventurers congregated. This presence naturally brought about increased economic instability as a result of foreign competition, political tension as a result of nascent nationalism, and cultural and intellectual revolution as a result of the introduction of Christian tenets to a fundamentally Confucian society. The rebellion's leader, Hong Xiuquan, keenly felt these new forces that had been growing to challenge the Chinese state, society, and mindset. As a failed degree-seeking Confucian scholar, Hong accepted prototypical Christianity from roaming missionaries based in Hong Kong. Convinced he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ, Hong in January 1851 announced the establishment of a Christianity-based state called Taiping Tianguo (Heavenly Kingdom of Grand Peace), which immediately attracted frenzy attacks organized by the ruling Qing dynasty.

Starting in the southern province of Guangxi, the Taiping rebels set out to obliterate what they believed were "demons" that would include the Manchu rulers, all Confucian icons, landed interests, and eventually the imperial court itself. Superb command structure with unparalleled leadership cohesion, plus rejuvenated energy and dedication from the rank and file of the Taiping Army—who were inspired by Hong's prototypical Christian socialism and Utopian egalitarianism—gave the Taiping rebels great victories in the first years of their relentless campaign. They swept most of China's southern provinces and in 1853 captured the metropolis Nanjing near the Yangtze Delta. Hong settled there and made Nanjing his capital.

Yet the efforts to storm into Beijing to destroy the Qing court, lasting from 1853 to 1855, failed miserably, despite the temporary victory of a westward military expedition to secure Taiping's left flank. A devastating blow befell the Taiping cause in 1856 when Hong went on a fanatic killing spree of his top lieutenants, forcing his remaining generals of the highest caliber to flee.

Seizing these opportunities, the Qing court took dramatic measures to strike back. An age-old ban on granting ethnic Chinese the power to command military units was lifted, opening the door to the rise of a gentry army system pioneered by the renowned court scholar Zeng Guofan. Zeng and his Hunan army represented the landed interests whose land and privileges had been the main targets of the Taiping rebels wherever they went. Contrary to the Taiping's puritanical and egalitarian principles of organizing and training, Zeng's Hunan army stressed the Confucian ideals of hierarchy, loyalty, and family. Following the example of Zeng's Hunan army, several of Zeng's protégés set up gentry armies in their own provinces, the most renowned of which was

Li Hongzhang's Huai army in the eastern province of Anhui.

Westerners played an important role during the Taiping Rebellion. In the early years of the war, many westerners were hired by the Taiping rebels as mercenaries. The Qing court and Zeng Guofan, however, had even a larger number of mercenaries at their disposal. The best known is the Ever-Victorious Army, initiated by the American adventurer Frederick Ward, and after Ward's death in the battle, by the Royal Army officer Charles "Chinese" Gordon. When Hong decided to attack Shanghai and other treaty ports where foreign commercial interests concentrated, and when Hong showed strong signs of millenarian fanaticism, Western governments uniformly lent strong support to the government's counterinsurgent efforts against the Taiping rebels. In the summer of 1864, soon after Hong's sudden death, Zeng's Hunan army captured Nanjing, marking the end of the momentous Taiping Rebellion.

The Taiping Rebellion severely shattered the confidence of the ruling dynasty. Emerging from the rubbles of the devastation was a generation of Chinese scholar-generals who had learned the efficacy of modern weaponry imported from the West. Combined with a Confucian revival, these scholar-generals undertook concerted measures, collectively known as the Self-Strengthening movement, to upgrade China's military hardware. As a result, the scholar-generals became the harbingers of China's modern warlords.

SEE ALSO *Boxer Uprising; China, First Opium War to 1945; Chinese Revolutions; Mercenaries, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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TEA

Tea became the subject of enormous consumer demand in the seventeenth century, and this demand sparked the creation of a European tea empire. An infusion drink, tea is made when tea leaves are soaked in boiling water. The heat kills off water-borne diseases, while the resulting drink contains a mild amount of caffeine. As a tasty, healthy source of quick energy, tea is best known as the national drink of the British, but it has wide appeal throughout the world.

Tea comes from the *Camellia sinensis* plant. This plant developed in the Himalaya Mountains in an indefinite area to the southeast of the Tibetan plateau. It was discovered by the Chinese, who were the first to consume tea as a beverage. The Chinese cultural influence throughout East Asia spread the popularity of tea. Buddhist monks brought the cultivation of *Camellia sinensis* to Japan around the twelfth century. Consumption of tea was limited to upper-class Japanese, who regarded the beverage only as a medicinal drink.

When tea leaves were packed into bricks, it became easy to trade tea. Turkish traders moved the Chinese tea bricks westward to the Mongolian border by the end of the fifth century. They exchanged the bricks for various goods. It is not clear why the spread of tea slowed, but the cost of the product may have reduced its popularity. Tea was a luxury item, and the leaves did not reach Europe for several hundred more years.

Tea was first mentioned in European sources in 1559, but it did not arrive in Europe until Dutch traders imported it from Japan in the early seventeenth century. Tea arrived in Amsterdam in 1610 before appearing in France in the 1630s and in England in 1657. The first tea served to the British public, a Dutch import, was offered at Garraway's Coffee House in London in 1657. Thomas Garraway touted the medicinal effects and virtues of the drink in the first British advertisement for tea. This new beverage captured the imagination of the English to the extent that the British East India Company commenced importing tea directly from China in its heavily armed ships in 1689.

The supply of tea brought into England by the East India Company led to a reduction in the price of the drink. It became easily affordable for most Britons. By the mid-1750s, tea houses and tea gardens were appearing throughout London. The East Indian Company made hefty profits with its tea monopoly. Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820), a famed English explorer-botanist and the president of the Royal Society, suggested to the East India Company in 1788 that tea would grow on the southern slopes of the Himalayas. His advice was ignored until 1833 when the company's monopoly of the tea trade ended.

The Chinese knew that tea was an enormously valuable commodity. To protect their dominance of the tea industry, they prohibited tea seeds and tea makers from leaving the country. The Chinese government placed a price on the head of any merchant thought to be engaged in botanical sabotage and tried to capture the ships of suspected smugglers. The East India Company, desperate

Tea Laborers in Indonesia. *Indonesian women sort tea leaves in the sorting room of a tea factory in Java.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

to make profits, sent one of its officers to China in 1834 to capture these industrial secrets. The trip was enormously risky, but G. J. Gordon returned to London with tea seeds and a few tea makers willing to emigrate.

Meanwhile, the Dutch had managed to acquire tea-making knowledge as well. The first five hundred tea plants to reach Java were procured from Japan by the Dutch government. The Dutch established tea estates in Java in 1828. The following year, J. I. L. L. Jacobson produced the first Javanese black tea for export by the Dutch East India Company.

In test plantings undertaken by the British, the best growing success occurred in the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam in northern India. As a result, the area was selected for major development, and the British commenced chopping down the heavy Indian forest. The Assam plantings would grow to become the largest area of tea in the world. Although Chinese tea makers were crucial in the establishment of the Assam tea industry in India, the British described them as both troublesome and insubordinate. Once others had acquired their skills and knowledge, the Chinese workers were replaced by local labor.

The Chinese method of tea manufacture was used in the East Indies until the coming of machinery. However, the planting, growing, and plucking of tea leaves is impossible to mechanize to any extent. To begin, the heavy forest growth in the jungle must be cleared. Tea plants are then set, with hoeing and weeding occurring periodically. Plucking tea leaves is the most labor intensive stage because only the top shoots can be picked. Women typically do the plucking. It has been estimated that a worker using both hands can pluck as many as thirty thousand shoots in a ten-hour day or fifty shoots per minute. Plucking takes place about every ten days, and 3,200 shoots are needed to

make a pound (.45 kilograms) of tea. The tea is then carried to collection points.

The actual method of processing the tea has been industrialized. To produce dried tea leaves, moisture is first partially removed. The leaf is cut and rolled until it partially disintegrates, then it is exposed to air to ferment. Then the tea is dried or fired to completely remove moisture, after which it is sieved into size fractions, with fiber sorted out.

The tea workers, segregated from outside forces on tea estates, are typically illiterate. While the employers have always had powerful associations to protect their interests, workers have been unable to organize. As in centuries past, they suffer from low wages, poor housing, no pensions, and open drains that contribute to the spread of diseases. The death rate among tea workers is high.

The popularity of tea has expanded its range. It is produced in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), Malaysia, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru, as well as in East and Central Africa.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; English East India Company; Shipping, East Asia and Pacific.*

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Caryn E. Neumann

THIRTEEN COLONIES, BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

The thirteen colonies of British North America that eventually formed the United States of America can be loosely grouped into four regions: New England, the Middle Colonies, the Chesapeake, and the Lower South. Each of these regions started differently, and they followed divergent paths of development over the course of more than a century of British settlement; yet they shared enough in common to join together against British rule in 1776.

New England was characterized from its earliest days by the religious motivation of most settlers. The Pilgrims who settled at Plymouth in 1620 were followed by a large group of Puritans in 1630. While religiously distinct from each other, the Pilgrims and Puritans had each left England because of religious persecution from conservative Anglicans, and each hoped to find a safe haven where they could worship without restrictions. The strictly moral societies founded in New England were intended to shine as beacons to the rest of the world, showing how life should be lived. The everyday lives of settlers revolved around religious worship and moral behavior, and while normal economic activities were understood to be necessary they were not intended to be the main focus of settlers' lives.

A majority of the settlers who arrived in New England before 1642 came in family groups, and many came as community groups as well. The communities they reformed in America were immediately demographically self-sustaining, and were often modeled on villages and towns left behind in England. Consequently, New England settlements often closely resembled English ones in ways that settlements elsewhere in the thirteen colonies did not. Migration during the English Civil War almost dried up completely, and when migration restarted after 1660, the increase in more commercially minded settlers began to alter the fundamental structure of New England society.

The Middle Colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were all "Restoration Colonies," so-called because they came under English control after the Restoration of Charles II (1630–1685). New York was conquered from the Dutch in 1664, and although many Dutch settlers remained, large numbers of English and Scottish migrants arrived to alter the ethnic makeup of the colony. Pennsylvania probably bore more resemblance to the New England colonies than the rest of the Middle Colonies because it was founded by Quaker William Penn (1644–1718) as a religious haven. However, in contrast to most New England colonies, Penn adopted a policy of religious toleration, and his colony quickly attracted migrants from all over western Europe, particularly from Germany. The climate of Pennsylvania made it ideal farming country, and corn became its main staple product.

The Chesapeake was the earliest region colonized by the English. From the initial settlement at Jamestown the English spread very slowly around the tidewater of Chesapeake Bay, partly because of hostile local Native-American tribes, but also because the young men who constituted most of the settlers in Virginia before 1618 were not interested in forming stable communities. Instead, from 1612 onward they grew tobacco, which they knew would bring riches, but which also brought instability. The tobacco plant exhausted the soil and
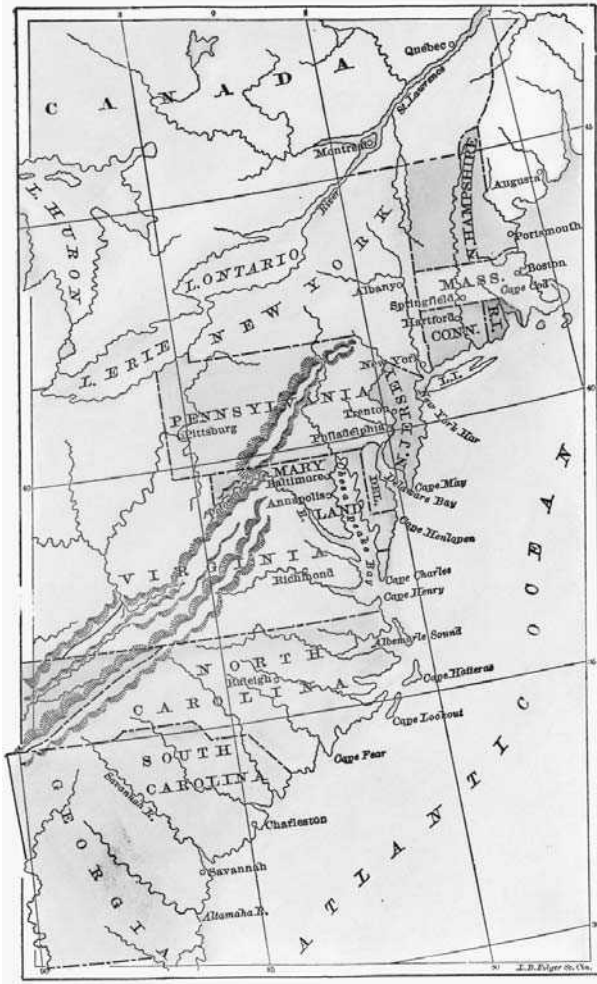
The Thirteen Colonies. *Great Britain's thirteen colonies in North America later formed the first thirteen states in the new United States.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

therefore virgin land was constantly needed to continue production. The quest for more land to bring under cultivation brought the English into further conflict with local tribes, and it was partly responsible for provoking the devastating Indian attacks of 1622 and 1644.

Although the English appetite for tobacco remained undiminished, oversupply of the crop meant that prices after 1620 were not high enough to sustain the get-rich-quick mentality that had pervaded between 1615 and 1620. As the Virginia Company began to transport more women to the colony after 1618, the society became more demographically stable, though still heavily reliant on inward migration to maintain its population levels.

In 1632 Maryland was created out of northern Virginia, and although the colonists shared with those farther south a desire to make money from tobacco,

many were Catholic. The proprietor of Maryland, Lord Baltimore (Cecil Calvert, 1605?–1675), was a leading English Catholic and saw Maryland, like the Puritans saw New England and Penn saw Pennsylvania, as a religious refuge for those who shared his faith. Consequently, many of those in positions of authority and influence in Maryland were Catholic, something that caused friction among residents who were not Catholic. As a result, Lord Baltimore approved the passage of the Toleration Act of 1649, guaranteeing religious freedoms to the population.

The popularity of tobacco cultivation in the Chesapeake necessitated a regular supply of labor. Initially this demand was met by indentured servants who served for a period of seven years in return for passage to the New World and a promise of free land once the indenture was complete. Although the system of indentured labor was not perfect it served the colony well enough and was generally preferred to the alternative—slave labor—until the 1680s. This was mainly an economic decision; slaves were more expensive than indentured servants. And because significant numbers of servants did not live to see their freedom, the additional investment required for slave labor was simply not worth it. However, as death rates fell in Virginia and the ready supply of white indentured servants to the Chesapeake began to decline, slave labor became a more attractive alternative.

While there had been Africans in Virginia since before 1620, their status as slaves was not fixed and at least some Africans obtained their freedom and began farming. However, by 1660 discriminatory laws began to appear on the Virginia statute book, and after 1680, when the number of enslaved Africans began to rise quickly, they entered a full-fledged slave society that increasingly defined the Chesapeake colonies.

The Lower South colonies consisted of the Carolinas, first settled in 1670, and Georgia, not settled until 1733. Since the climate of the Carolinas was known to be conducive to plantation-style agriculture and many of the proprietors were also directors of the Royal African Company, slaves followed hard on the heels of the first white settlers. Finding large numbers of white settlers proved difficult, and the earliest migrants to Carolina were English and Scottish dissenters and a large group of Barbadian Anglicans who brought their slaves with them. The tidal waters around Charles-Town were ideally suited to rice cultivation, the techniques of which were most likely taught to planters by Africans, and large plantations growing the staple quickly became the norm. The numbers of workers required for rice cultivation were large, and as early as 1708 the coastal regions of Carolina had a black majority population.

The trustees of Georgia initially intended their colony to be both a buffer between South Carolina and Spanish Florida and a haven for persecuted European Protestants, and believing that slavery would not be conducive to either of these aims, they prohibited it in 1735. However, the colony languished economically, failing to keep settlers who could see the wealth on offer in neighboring South Carolina, and eventually the trustees were forced to back down and permit slavery from 1750. Georgia quickly became a plantation colony like South Carolina.

The significant differences that existed between these four regions lessened during the eighteenth century but never entirely disappeared. The society of New England became more heterogeneous and less moralistic due to increased migration of non-Puritans. Chesapeake society gradually stabilized as death rates fell, and by 1700 the population was demographically self-sustaining. Significant events began to have an impact throughout the colonies, creating a shared American colonial history. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 affected New England, New York, Maryland, and South Carolina as colonials successfully struggled against what they believed were the pro-French absolutist tendencies of James II (1633–1701) and his followers in America. In the eighteenth century the pan colonial religious revivals collectively known as the Great Awakening made household names of evangelists such as George Whitefield (1714–1770). Continued migration brought hundreds of thousands of new settlers to the colonies, not only from England but increasingly from Ireland, Scotland, France, and Germany. The dispersal of these settlers in America, together with half a million enslaved Africans, made the colonial population a truly diverse one.

While it is difficult to speak of a common colonial culture, given the diverse experiences of Boston merchants, Pennsylvanian farmers, and Georgian planters, most shared a belief in traditional English freedoms, such as the rule of law and constitutional government. When these freedoms were thought to be threatened by actions of the British Parliament in the 1760s and 1770s, most colonists were quick to find common cause as Americans against British tyranny, though significant loyalist sentiment lingered in New York, South Carolina, and Georgia.

SEE ALSO *Caribbean; Empire, British; New Spain, The Viceroyalty of; Peru Under Spanish Rule.*

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TIBET

Remote and largely inaccessible until recent times, Tibet never experienced Western colonial rule. Its strategic location, however, incited competition between the Mongols, Manchus, Chinese, Russians, and British for influence or control. China's Qing empire (1644–1912), established when the Manchus conquered China in the seventeenth century, exercised loose suzerainty over Tibet, while allowing it to be essentially self-governing. Tibet achieved de facto independence when the dynasty fell in 1912, although the Republic of China that succeeded the Qing continued to claim Tibet. In 1950, following the Communist victory in China, Tibet was occupied by the Chinese army and incorporated into the People's Republic of China. In 1959 it lost its vestigial autonomy.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Dalai Lama, head of the reformed Geluk (Yellow Sect) branch of Tibetan Buddhism, exercised both temporal and spiritual authority over a theocratic Tibetan government. Each successive Dalai Lama, identified by oracles in infancy, was considered a living buddha, the incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

In the meantime, the Manchus conquered China and established the Qing dynasty. In 1656 the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) visited Beijing and met the Qing emperor Shunzhi (r. 1644–1661). The priest-patron relationship between the two, between a religious teacher and a lay patron, did not imply Tibet's subordination to the Qing. Nevertheless, the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama ultimately led to conflict over control of Tibet between the Manchus and their rivals, the Jungar Mongols, who had established hegemony over Tibet.

In 1720 a Qing army, accompanied by a Manchu-sponsored reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, expelled the Jungars and occupied Tibet. The Manchus established a protectorate, leaving Tibet essentially autonomous under the Dalai Lama while controlling Tibet's relations with its neighbors. A Qing garrison was stationed in Lhasa,

Tibet's capital. Two Qing imperial commissioners *(ambans)* were assigned to Lhasa to protect Qing interests and supervise the oracles identifying new incarnations of the Dalai Lama and other incarnated lamas. Parts of eastern Tibet were placed under direct Qing administration. Manchu hegemony over Tibet eventually weakened, however, as the Qing dynasty went into decline. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Tibet was, for practical purposes, independent.

Few westerners traveled to Tibet before the twentieth century. In 1707 Capuchin friars established a Catholic mission in Lhasa, and the Jesuit Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733) lived there from 1716 to 1721. The Catholic mission was abandoned in 1745. Soon the Tibetan authorities closed Tibet to westerners. Nonetheless, by the end of the nineteenth century, two Western empires, British India and Russian Central Asia, abutted Tibet. Despite British suspicions of Russian designs on Tibet, however, Russia had little influence in Lhasa. Britain, on the other hand, was eager to develop trade with Tibet, but the Tibetan government rebuffed British diplomatic contacts. In 1904 a British military expedition commanded by Francis Younghusband (1863–1942) fought its way to Lhasa, forcing the flight of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933) to Mongolia. The British established a consular office in Lhasa, the only Western country to do so. In 1947, upon independence, India inherited the British mission there.

The fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912 severed Tibet's subordination to China. The new Republic of China was unable to enforce its claim to Tibet as part of its territory. China did, however, continue to control ethnic Tibetan areas in Qinghai Province (Amdo) and Western Sichuan (Kham). In the decades that followed, Tibet isolated itself and did not seek international recognition or diplomatic representation until the 1940s. It also sometimes compromised its claims to independence in its dealings with the Nationalist government in China. The international community generally acquiesced in China's claims to Tibet.

The People's Republic of China, established in 1949, inherited its predecessor's territorial claims. China invaded Tibet in 1950. Tibetan resistance collapsed quickly, and the government of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama (b. 1935) signed an agreement recognizing Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. The agreement, however, stipulated that Tibet would be self-governing under the Dalai Lama. Nevertheless, the Chinese government undermined the old order by cultivating the Panchen Lama, the second-ranking leader of Tibetan Buddhism, and recruiting Tibetan collaborators. The Chinese organized serfs in Tibet, carried out antireligious propaganda, and recruited and trained Tibetan cadres. Nonetheless,

the Chinese government worked officially through the Dalai Lama's government. In most of Tibet, life continued on with little interference by the Chinese authorities through the 1950s.

Resentment over Chinese occupation sparked an uprising and the Dalai Lama's flight to India in 1959. Chinese forces crushed the rebellion and used it as a pretext for ending Tibetan autonomy, imposing martial law, and instituting severe political and religious persecution. In 1964 the Panchen Lama was arrested and imprisoned for fourteen years. After 1966, China's Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) reached Tibet, with devastating effects. Monasteries were closed, monks and nuns were forced to return to lay life, and "struggle sessions" were carried out against Buddhist clergy and landlords. Red Guards—militant young Maoist activists—both Chinese and Tibetans, destroyed much of Tibet's cultural heritage.

Cultural and religious liberalization began in the 1980s, but Tibet remains securely under Chinese control. In recent decades a significant number of Chinese immigrants have moved to Tibet, and Chinese now constitute the majority of Lhasa's population.

SEE ALSO *China, After 1945.*

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Robert Entenmann

TOBACCO CULTIVATION AND TRADE

Tobacco (any of the species of plants belonging to the genus *Nicotiana*, especially *Nicotiana tabacum*) is native to the Americas. The tobacco plant had been

domesticated by Native American peoples thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans.

Native Americans smoked tobacco for a variety of social and religious reasons, and its use was widespread throughout the Americas. The first recorded European sight of tobacco smoking came from the first voyage of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) in 1492, when Columbus's men recorded the Indians' use of "certain herbs which they inhale," evidently for pleasure. Tobacco was not only used by the native peoples of the Caribbean islands, but it was also consumed in many other regions of the Americas. Archaeologists in Mexico City have unearthed decorative pipes in Indian burial mounds. Some tribes participated in the ceremonial smoking of tobacco in rituals such as baptism. In Peru, tobacco served as medicine and was taken in the form of snuff. In the 1530s, members of Jacques Cartier's (1491–1557) expedition to Canada saw Iroquois Indians smoking pipes in their homes close to what is now Montreal. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the English visitors to Roanoke smoked tobacco with the natives before relations between the two groups turned sour.

It was not long before the European settlers began cultivating tobacco themselves. The Spanish pioneered its commercial production. They cultivated it for export to Europe on the island of Hispaniola in the 1530s, and commercial cultivation subsequently spread to other regions in and on the fringes of the Caribbean, especially Trinidad and Venezuela. From the mid-sixteenth century, the taste for tobacco began to spread in Europe, encouraging further growth in its cultivation and sale.

In 1559 the French ambassador to Portugal, Jean Nicot (1530–1600), after whom the plant was named, took to Lisbon some tobacco seeds that a sailor returning from Florida had given him. From this beginning, the desire for tobacco grew throughout the Mediterranean among people of all levels of society. In response, the Portuguese started growing tobacco in Brazil from early in the seventeenth century and subsequently made it Brazil's most important export crop after sugar. Portuguese traders took tobacco to their Asian trading ports and to West Africa, where it became a key item in the trade for slaves on the Guinea coast. Tobacco thus became part of the infamous triangular trade that saw millions of Africans taken to the Americas to work on plantations growing tobacco, sugar, and later cotton.

The first detailed description of tobacco in English was in Thomas Hacket's 1568 version of Andre Thevet's narrative of his travels in Brazil, although more influential was the book by Nicolas Monardes, a physician from Seville who in 1571 suggested to the English that tobacco smoking was a panacea. This opinion did not go unchallenged, however. The most famous author to write of the evils of smoking tobacco was King James I (1566–1625) in 1604. He referred to himself as the doctor of the body politic, and in his *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* he condemned smoking as a "custome lothesome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black and stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless" (James I 1604, p. 5).

England had, however, entered the tobacco trade thanks to Sir Francis Drake (ca. 1543–1596), who introduced pipe smoking into Britain, and Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618), the most significant supporter of tobacco smoking in the Elizabethan court. Indeed, Raleigh is said to have smoked throughout his imprisonment in the Tower of London and to have smoked a final pipe just before his execution.

The English trade relied at first on tobacco grown in the Spanish colonies, but the British soon sought to develop their own production of the commodity. Tobacco was indeed to play a key role in promoting English settlement in the Americas. When English settlers in Virginia were searching for a way to finance their colony, they turned to tobacco for a solution. In 1612 John Rolfe (1585–1622), influenced by native cultivation and curing techniques, began experimenting with a tobacco crop to rival that of the Spanish, who marketed their South American–grown tobacco to the whole of Europe.

In the 1620s tobacco cultivation also underpinned English settlement and trade in the Caribbean, where, after failing to establish tobacco-growing colonies in Guiana, English adventurers set up colonies based on tobacco cultivation in Barbados and other islands of the Lesser Antilles. The advantage of tobacco cultivation was that a small amount of seed could produce a large number of plants; the disadvantage was that the soil was soon exhausted. For this reason, tobacco cultivation soon proved less suitable for the English Caribbean islands than for Virginia, where land was in seemingly boundless supply and where tobacco quickly became the mainstay of the Chesapeake economy.

Initially, yeoman farmers grew tobacco on small plantations, but because of soil exhaustion, large-scale planters quickly dominated the trade, and large plantations soon spread along the banks of the James River. By 1620 the crop was well established, and growers were receiving high prices for the commodity on the European market. By 1624 Virginia's crop was secure enough for Edward Bennett, a merchant of Virginia, to propose to the British House of Commons that the importing of Spanish tobacco into England should be banned. Tobacco growing in England itself was also forbidden by James I, who, despite his personal dislike of tobacco,
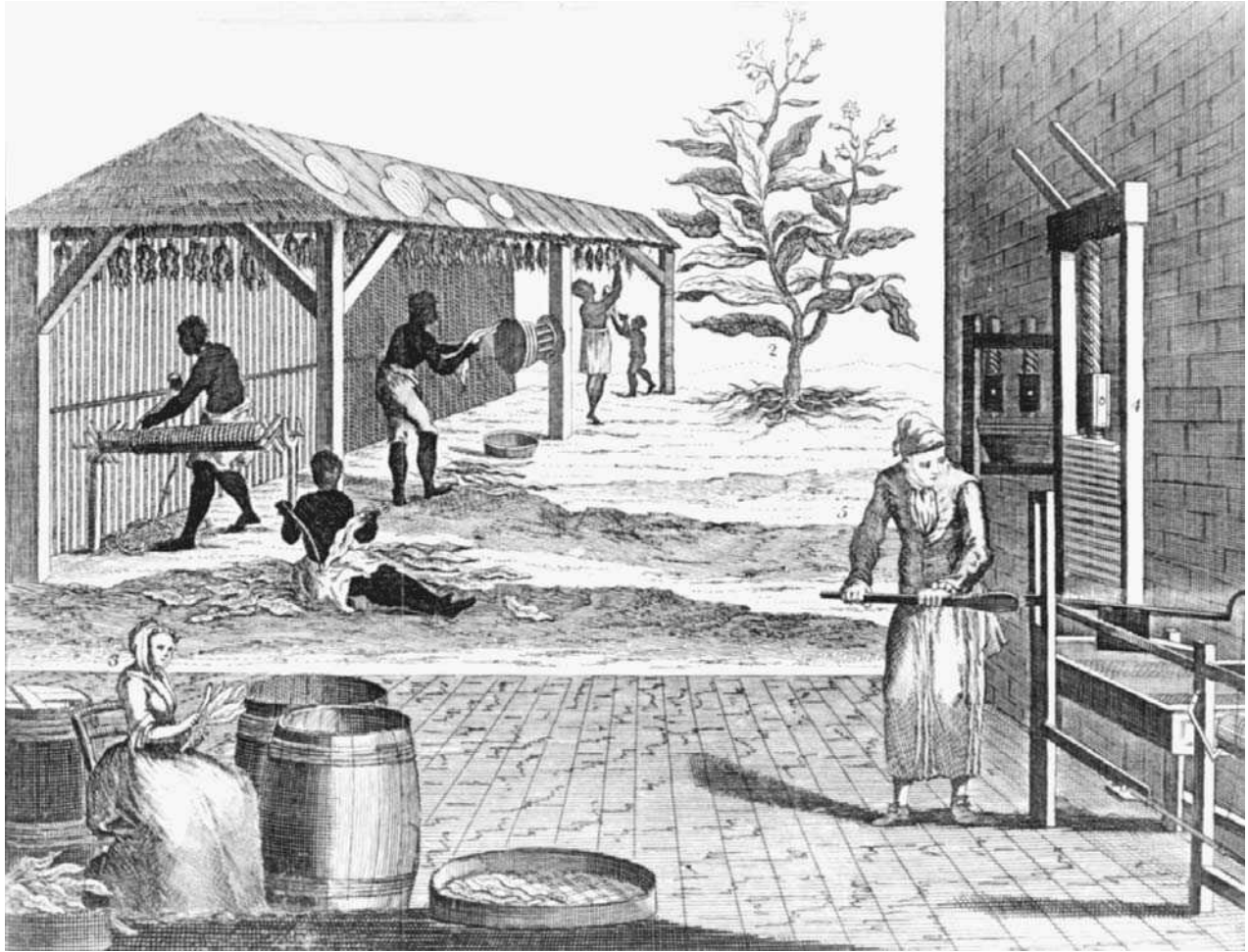
Colonial Tobacco Laborers. *Slaves and other laborers process leaves and operate machinery at a North American tobacco plantation in this illustration engraved in 1754 for* Universal Magazine. **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

wanted to protect the new Virginia trade in which he now had a strong personal interest following the collapse of the Virginia Company and the region's emergence as a royal colony.

Much of the tobacco grown in Virginia arrived in Europe via Amsterdam, which became extremely wealthy on the profits from the curing and processing trades. Many of the leading merchants were Jews exiled from Spain and Portugal during the *reconquista* of the late fifteenth century. The English also realized how lucrative the trade could be, importing far more tobacco than they consumed.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603) saw the tax potential of tobacco imports, too, and placed a duty of two pence per pound on tobacco, infuriating small-scale importers on Britain's south coast. But this was nothing compared to the duty raised by James I in October 1604 when he pushed up the duty to six shillings and eight pence per pound of tobacco. Although James disliked smoking, he was sufficiently pragmatic to turn it to his financial

advantage: his was the first government to tax tobacco heavily.

Although tobacco was much less lucrative for Spain than the trade in precious metals, the profitability of the tobacco trade encouraged government taxation and regulation. The Spanish Crown established an *estanco* (royal monopoly) on the sale and distribution of tobacco within Spain as early as 1636; Portugal followed in 1659. In the eighteenth century, Virginia and Maryland were still the largest growers of tobacco in the New World, but several other colonies produced it on a smaller scale. French settlers grew it in Louisiana and Canada, but it was never their main source of income.

In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Central and South America, tobacco was invariably produced for local consumption, but for some colonies it was an important export crop. Venezuelan tobacco was particularly highly prized and was such an attraction to foreigners that the Spanish government was willing to suppress

tobacco growing there in order to stop illicit trade with the Dutch, whose contraband in Venezuelan tobacco threatened Spanish dominance of European tobacco markets. During the eighteenth century, Cuba became the most notable of the Spanish tobacco-exporting colonies, although from 1764 the imposition of a government monopoly restricted sales of Cuban tobacco and drove many traders toward cheaper Virginian tobacco.

During the eighteenth century, the Spanish Crown gradually extended *estanco* regulations throughout its colonies, and in the second half of the century turned tobacco sales into a major source of state revenues. At their peak, these revenues were second in value only to taxes on gold and silver, which remained the major exports of the Spanish colonies.

State controls on tobacco cultivation and sales did not pass without protest: indeed, it triggered resistance ranging from tax evasion through illegal sales to violent riots and rebellions. The most important of these was the 1781 *comunero* rebellion in the viceroyalty of New Granada, where resistance by small farmers to restrictions on tobacco cultivation played a part in an uprising that forced the Spanish government temporarily to suspend its program of fiscal and administrative reforms. On the international market, Cuban tobacco remained an important commodity because of the perception of the world's smokers that it made the best cigars. By the early 1820s, hand-rolled "Havanas" had become famous among English smokers and were to remain so, though in the later nineteenth century Cuba was to export more unprocessed tobacco leaf than finished cigars.

After independence, tobacco continued to figure strongly in American exports, not only from the traditional export regions of the American South, Brazil, and Cuba, but also from some of the new Spanish American republics, where free trade encouraged export, and governments continued to find the tobacco trade a convenient source of revenue, sometimes even reviving the *estancos*. Colombia briefly became a major tobacco exporter around the mid-nineteenth century, mainly to Germany, while most Spanish American countries produced tobacco for their own consumption or for neighboring markets.

In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, another phase in the history of the tobacco trade opened when foreign companies from Europe and the United States extended their search for sources of tobacco production and their influence on consumer markets. By the early years of the twenty-first century, tobacco was produced for local markets and consumed widely in Asia and Africa, while its use had become less fashionable in Europe and America.

SEE ALSO *British American Tobacco Company; Native Americans and Europeans; Plantations, the Americas; Virginia Company.*

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TOBACCO PROTEST, IRAN

The Tobacco protest of 1891–1892 was the first mass nationwide popular movement in Iran and was directed both against a tobacco concession given to a British subject in 1890 and, implicitly, against the shah, Nasir al-Dīn, who granted it, and several other concessions, especially to the British and Russians. Great Britain and Russia in the nineteenth century were the main foreign powers with political and economic interests in Iran, which neither of them could conquer due to the opposition of the other. Russia had been gaining ground after the mid-nineteenth century, especially with the creation in 1879 of the Russian-officered Cossack Brigade, the only modern military force in Iran. From 1888 to 1890 the aggressive British minister to Iran, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, tried to further British power via a series of concessions. These included one for the new Imperial Bank of Persia, giving it exclusive rights to issue banknotes, opening up the Karun River to navigation, and a concession in March 1990 to a friend of Wolff's, Major G. F. Talbot, for the purchase, sale, and export of all tobacco products. Because tobacco was a major domestic and export crop, the latter concession aroused both merchants whose economic interests would be harmed and the *ulama* (religious scholars), who objected (partly at the urging of merchants) to foreigners controlling such an important item. At this time Sayyid Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī was in Iran, and his followers distributed leaflets against the shah's concession-granting, which led to Afghānī's expulsion to Iraq in January 1891.

Mass protests against the concession in several major cities began in the spring of 1891, when tobacco company representatives began to arrive and post six-month deadlines for the sale of all local tobacco to them. Demonstrations began first in Shiraz, from which a leader of the *ulama* was exiled as a result, and then spread to Tabriz, where demonstrations were so widespread and threatening that the shah suspended the concession there. The Russians aided some of the protests. From his Iraqi exile, Afghānī wrote to Mirza Hasan Shirazi, the top religious leader in the Shi'i shrine cities of Iraq, asking him to lead a protest. Several Iranian Ulama also asked Shirazi to act, and Shirazi telegraphed the shah to condemn foreign interference and the killing of people in the recent protests, and called for an end to concessions to foreigners.

In the fall the movement spread to Isfahan and Mashhad. In December the protest reached its culmination in the nationwide boycott of the use and sale of tobacco, ordered by a fatwa attributed to Shirazi that, at least in public, was universally observed, even by non-Muslims. The universality of observance amazed observers, and it was reliably reported that even the shah's wives and servants refused to smoke. The shah was forced to cancel the internal concession, but further disorders ensued, and in January in Tehran troops fired on a growing crowd of male and female demonstrators and killed seven or more people. This event brought the definitive end of the whole concession, which the shah was forced to cancel. The local head of the tobacco company agreed to cancellation and to a cessation of operations, although Iran was forced to pay exaggerated compensation for company expenses.

Although the shah was now able to sow division in the *ulama* via threats and favors, the oppositional role of the groups allied in the anti-concession movement—merchants, *ulama*, and reformers—was to reappear in greater force in the constitutional revolution of 1905 to 1911 and afterward. More immediately, Iran was saddled with a large debt as a result of the concession's cancellation, and Drummond Wolff's project lay in ruins as Russian influence increased. This example of a successful mass movement against internal and foreign exploitation helped spark later oppositional movements in Iran. Iran indeed has had, beginning with the Tobacco Movement, more nationwide and multi-city rebellions and revolutions than any other Muslim country, which may in part be due to the *ulama*-merchant alliance and to the fact that merchants in Iran, unlike in many other countries, were overwhelmingly locally born Muslims who had close family and business ties to the *ulama*. Several reformers who, before the Tobacco Movement, had attacked the *ulama* and institutional Islam as reactionary now came to see them as potential allies against governmental and foreign oppression and exploitation.

SEE ALSO *Afghānī, Jamal ad-Dīn al-.*

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Nikki Keddie

TRAVELOGUES

Eyewitness accounts by those "on the spot" at the cutting edge of Western expansion figure frequently in the primary sources used by students of colonialism. No doubt the best known are those book-length narratives that were aimed at a public eager to read about bold exploits in exotic places. But alongside them were logs, diaries, letters, field notes, official reports, news stories, and scientific monographs, addressed to more specialized audiences. Indeed many of them were not intended for publication.

Some still only exist as rare manuscripts in national archives and private collections. Others have been lost altogether. The nearest we have to the journal of Columbus's first voyage, for example, is a later summary by Bartolemé de Las Casas. The main—and sometimes only—source for early accounts (often in abridged and reworked versions) are the multivolume collections of voyage literature that appeared during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, such as those assembled by Giovanni Ramusio, Richard Hakluyt, and Theodore de Bry, to name some early examples.

In addition, one finds valuable testimony—if only in passing—in works that would not normally be considered travel narratives. First-hand reports appear in the memoirs or biographies of public figures, whose colonial experiences may have been short-lived. Indeed, they may be implicit in works that do not take a narrative form at all. The bilingual *Allada Catechism* (1670), prepared for missionaries in West Africa, can tell us a good deal about prevailing attitudes and local conditions, as can maps, charts, and atlases. Scholars of travel writing have also paid attention to the novels of writers such as Herman Melville, Pierre Loti, or Joseph Conrad, which owe so much to their authors' experiences on the imperial frontier. In addition, they have considered imaginative works that draw heavily on contemporary travel literature, even

if, as with William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* or Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, their authors never left Europe.

The titles of anthologies and academic studies of travel writings indicate the prevailing tendency to classify such material in one of three ways: based on the nationality or gender of the author, the area of the world being traveled and written about, or the historical period in which the work was written. Sometimes one finds combinations of all three: "English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918" or "Twentieth-Century African American Writing about Africa," to pick two subtitles almost at random.

But it may be more useful here to offer a schematic grouping in terms of what might be called the positioning of the author; in other words, his or her role in the colonial project. While one cannot deduce from such positions the ideological stance of the text or its factual reliability, their very diversity should begin to indicate that colonial travel writing is not at all written in a single voice or from the same point of view.

First, there are those senior figures who were appointed as leaders of expeditions, or rulers of territory, and are better known perhaps for what they did than for what they wrote. Their writings—shaped as they often are by the desire to impress the monarch or government that appointed them—were used to promote and justify the colonial enterprise, or at least easily lend themselves to such readings. Examples would include Hernán Cortés's letters detailing the conquest of Mexico, Walter Ralegh's account of his search for El Dorado, and the famous narratives of circumnavigation by Louis Antoine de Bougainville and James Cook. Both Edward Eyre and Marie-Joseph-François Garnier, administrators in Australia and Indochina respectively, wrote extensively of their explorations in regions unknown to Europeans at the time.

Second, there are those who played a more intermediary role—as traders, interpreters, missionaries, diplomats, sometimes at the cutting edge of expansion, sometimes following in its wake. Here we might place the letters of Dutch merchant Willem Bosman from the coast of West Africa in 1705, the record of Isabella Bird's missionary work in the Far East, or Edward Lane's seminal study of Egypt and of Arabic language and literature. These diverse roles often overlap, as they do quite explicitly in the life and work of Roger Williams, whose *Key into the Language of America* (1643) is about conversion and trade as much as translation. Their writings are more likely to demonstrate an engagement with native beliefs and practices, an engagement most vividly symbolized by famous cases of cultural cross-dressing: for instance, the pilgrimage to Mecca carried out by British diplomat Richard Burton or the French religious scholar Alexandra

David-Néel's epic journey to Lhasa, both undertaken in disguise.

A third group comprises those whose journeys to—and experiences on—the colonial frontier were in the capacity of rank-and-file employees, such as laborers, servants, sailors, and soldiers. They include Richard Henry Dana, whose experiences as a common seaman trading for hides on the Californian coast in the 1830s are recorded in *Two Years before the Mast*, and Hans Staden, who was captured by Tupinamba in the 1550s while serving as a gunner at a Portuguese fort off the coast of Brazil. George Orwell's *Burmese Days* (1934), based on his experiences as a colonial policeman, is a more recent example, but it is quite rare that such perspectives find their way into print. More marginalized still are the voices of fugitives, slaves, prisoners, and pirates, whose stories usually come down to us in the words of others.

Finally, there are those who traveled as more independent observers. Not directly involved in the colonial enterprise, their writings exhibit perhaps a greater variety of perspectives than the others. News coverage, for example, ranges from the investigative and critical journalism of Albert Londres in French Guiana or Michael Herr in Vietnam to the sensationalist reporting associated with the Spanish American and Boer Wars. More extended stays by those on professedly scientific missions are less obviously partisan. Alexander von Humboldt's delineations of the physical geography of the Americas or Margaret Mead's anthropological study of the sexual mores of Samoa are classics in their fields—but so too once was the racial classification proposed by the anatomist Josiah Nott and Egyptologist George Gliddon in *Types of Mankind* (1854), which drew on the latter's research while U.S. vice-consul in Cairo.

ASSESSING COLONIAL TRAVEL WRITING

It was only in the wake of decolonization in the post–World War II period that this vast body of writing began to receive sustained critical attention. One approach made extensive use of travel literature to trace a history of the attitudes of Europeans toward people of color, as they evolved from the confusions and misunderstandings of first contact through the development of more standardized prejudice, to modern racism. Another, by contrast, saw early accounts as marking an advance on medieval ignorance and paving the way for the systematic description and interpretation of other cultures by modern anthropologists.

When anthropologists began to take a more critical view of their own discipline and interrogate its colonialist assumptions (signaled by two influential collections of essays, edited by Talal Asad and Dell Hymes), this

contrast began to lose its force. During the 1970s, the analysis of travel accounts moved away from the assessment of their accuracy or the scrutiny of their motives toward an attempt to understand the deeper rhetorical structures of the writings themselves and the institutional frameworks that lend them authority.

This new approach was pioneered, above all, by Edward Said, a literary critic drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of "discourse." His *Orientalism* (1978) takes to task a wide range of writings on the Middle East, from the Napoleonic *Description de l'Egypte* to the *Cambridge History of Islam*. His target is the very notion of an essentially unchanging "Orient," which they unquestioningly presuppose, whatever their ostensible sympathies. It was not so much what the "West" said about the "East" that is at issue here, but the assumed distinction between an "us" and a "them" that makes such statements meaningful in the first place.

Orientalism proved hugely influential on the growing number of studies of travel writing and colonialism that followed, and not only those concerned specifically with the Middle East. A case in point is Mary Louise Pratt's elaboration of the notion of "anti-conquest" in *Imperial Eyes* (1992), which finds apparently innocent descriptions of landscape serving the imperialist project as much as those accounts that celebrate the acquisition of territory, precisely because they disavow the relations of power that make them possible. Another is David Spurr's *Rhetoric of Empire* (1993), which investigates twelve basic tropes used to represent non-Western peoples, including *affirmation* and *idealization* as well as *debasement* and *negation*.

In a related and parallel development, similar concerns were evident in close readings of modern anthropological texts. Johannes Fabian, James Clifford, and others examined the conventions of the "classic" monograph, such as its use of the "ethnographic present," which suppresses the dialogue and negotiation of the fieldwork experience in order to generalize about a way of life that seems always to have been so.

Much of this scholarship has involved tracing recurrent themes and preoccupations across a wide range of writings. It has produced its own terminology—"monarch-of-all-I-survey" scenes (Mary Louise Pratt) or "allegories of salvage" (James Clifford)—and scrutinized familiar categories: *wonder* (Stephen Greenblatt), *curiosity* (Nigel Leask). William Pietz's rich, politicized etymology of the term *fetish* offers another approach. Many specific studies (of authors or geographical regions) have shed light on the relationship between colonial travel writing and broader issues, such as indigeneity (Peter Hulme), forms of exchange (David Murray), exoticism (Charles Forsdick), and the female gaze (Indira Ghose).

The field has been characterized by lively debate. Cannibalism has been a contested topic since William Arens raised doubts about the claims made in many travel accounts regarding the practice and argued that there is no evidence that it ever existed anywhere as a socially accepted custom. The interpretation of narratives is also at the heart of a famous disagreement between Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere over the reception of Captain Cook when he landed in Hawai'i in 1778, a debate that touches on many key issues of cross-cultural judgment.

Sara Mills and others have fine-tuned the terms in which the issue of gender has been discussed in a colonial context. The general question of whether women write differently from men—and why—is of course complicated when the relationship between women and the people they write about is taken into account. This work has been accompanied by the extensive republication and anthologization of the accounts of women travelers, among them Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who accompanied her husband to Constantinople when he was appointed ambassador in 1716, and Mary Kingsley, the Victorian explorer and author of *Travels in West Africa* (1897).

A good number of studies of European and North American travel writings show how such works tended to legitimate the colonial project by presenting the colonized as peoples without history. While some of this scholarship has been legitimately criticized for its tendency to treat what it sometimes refers to as "colonial discourse" as monolithic and inescapable, with travel writing as its inevitable servant, much of it is more sophisticated than this. Many scholars, for instance, now acknowledge that even the most unsympathetic and propagandistic work can nevertheless tell us much not only about the practices and psychology of conquest and settlement but also about the places and peoples described, and can be used to theoretically reconstruct precolonial cultures for which there is precious little other evidence.

This is at least partly because the kind of colonial encounters described in travel writings—the day-to-day exchanges of words, ideas, and things between the colonizer and colonized—exhibit, despite the radically uneven power relations at play, a fair amount of negotiation and improvisation. For Mary Louise Pratt this is why the colonial frontier is perhaps better described as a *contact zone*, a term that has since been widely used by those who have read "classic" texts against the grain, paying attention to the hesitations, uncertainties, and contradictions in the writing that allow the complexities of this interaction to become visible—sometimes in conjunction with the (re)discovery of private notes, diaries,

THREE WRITERS OF TRAVELOGUES

From the accounts of expedition leaders, explorers, and traders to adventurers, pilgrims, and everyday people, travelogues allow us to view colonial history from varying perspectives. Among the many writers associated with travelogues, three of the most significant are Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Edward John Eyre, and Mary Kingsley.

The Italian geographer and Renaissance scholar Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557) did not write travelogues based on his own experiences; rather, he compiled the travelogues of others. By obtaining as many as possible and translating them into Italian, along with maps, images, and his own commentary, Ramusio played an instrumental role in making the accounts of European explorers available to others. The fruit of his labor was a three-volume work titled *Delle navigationi et viaggi*.

The English explorer Edward John Eyre (1815–1901) was one of the first persons to begin the exploration of central Australia, and was the first to make an overland trip across Australia. His original goal was to find a way to drive livestock overland—but he ended up proving that there was no practical way of doing this. Eyre and his companions suffered through an extreme scarcity of water and food, and were slowed down by wind-blown sand. In addition, the Aborigines with whom Eyre traveled murdered a member of his party. These hardships are detailed in *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound in the Years 1840–1*. In this book, Eyre describes natives who thrived in what Europeans would deem impossible conditions.

The Englishwoman Mary Kingsley (1862–1900) published various accounts of her pioneering trips to West Africa, including the book *Travels in West Africa* (1897) and a large number of articles on African subjects. As a trader, Kingsley gained access to the Fan tribe, who were known to be cannibals. Only one European, a Frenchman, had visited them previously, and he had disappeared without a trace. Through their travels together, Kingsley and the Fan developed a sense of mutual respect.

In one village, Kingsley recounts in *Travels in West Africa*, she stayed in a chief's house, where she had difficulty sleeping because of a strong and disgusting odor. She soon discovered the odor was coming from a bag hanging from the roof beams. She shook the bag's contents "out in my hat, for fear of losing anything of value. They were a human hand, three big toes, four eyes, two ears, and other portions of the human frame. The hand was fresh, the others only so so, and shrivelled. Replacing them I tied the bag up, and hung it up again. I subsequently learnt that although the Fans will eat their fellow friendly tribesfolk, yet they like to keep a little something belonging to them as a memento" (Kingsley, London: Macmillian and Co, 1897).

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and letters never meant for publication, in which these complexities are often in greater evidence.

But more obviously "postcolonial" perspectives on travel writing are apparent in two other broad currents of scholarship. One approach focuses on a certain crisis of authority in the writings of Western travelers and tourists of the post–World War II period. In the last half-century or so, authors—having previously enjoyed an apparently exclusive relationship with the people they described—have begun to acknowledge (if only obliquely) that their accounts might be open to question. They sense the possibility of criticism not only by other Western travelers (who have been visiting "remote" locales in growing numbers) but also, more significantly, by the people they write about, people who must increasingly be counted among their readers. No longer feeling confident to repeat the imperious generalizations of the past, contemporary travelers often undercut them with self-parody (such as Eric Newby's shambling exploration of the Hindu Kush) or overwhelm them with pessimistic despair (Graham Greene's cynical portrayals of Liberia and Haiti, for instance).

Some travel writers have responded to this crisis more directly and reflexively by experimenting with the form of the travel narrative or anthropological monograph itself, producing "polyphonic" texts that mix genres and intentionally make it difficult for older, patronizing certainties to take hold. They may critically engage with earlier writers or work closely with interpreters and informants to produce what are in effect jointly authored texts, and they frequently reflect on their own practice and institutional location. Many of these

techniques are evident in the various publications of Richard and Sally Price on Surinam that have appeared since the 1970s. But if such bold experiments have become increasingly common, it also has become clear that they were anticipated by modernist writers of the 1920s and 1930s such as Zora Neale Hurston and Michel Leiris, whose unconventional ethnographies have recently been reappraised.

Another postcolonial approach to travel writing has focused on travel writings by authors from colonized and formerly colonized countries, especially those that recount journeys to Europe and North America. These range from the slave narrative of Olaudah Equiano, to Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Viajes por Europa, Africa, y América* (1849–1851), which records an attempt to seek overseas models for the young republic of Argentina to follow. Twentieth-century examples include the Ivorian Bernard Dadié's impressions of Paris and New York and the Egyptian Nawal al-Saadawi's *My Travels Around the World* (1991).

In *Home and Harem* (1996), Inderpal Gewal discusses the travels to Britain and the United States of Indian men and women toward the end of the nineteenth century. Accounts like these tend to be found, not in recognizable "travel books," but in diaries, letters, and autobiographies. But the memoirs of public figures who traveled to the West—whether to publicize a cause, secure an education, earn a living, or escape arrest—form a wealth of material. The experiences of lesser-known travelers are more likely to be recorded by oral history projects or evoked in the many fictional narratives of immigration, such as the multigenerational epics *The Gunny Sack* (1989), by M. G. Vassanji, and *La Vie Scélérate* (1987), by Maryse Condé.

However, the type of "writing back" that has, arguably, attracted most attention is the contemporary, self-consciously postcolonial travel narrative written by a successful author based in the West. Examples include the works of V. S. Naipaul and Caryl Phillips, whose writings—both fictional and nonfictional—offer, in effect, multiple ways of engaging with the Indian diaspora and "Black Atlantic," respectively. Perhaps more controversial—and certainly more unusual and striking—is *A Small Place* (1988), Jamaica Kincaid's scathing polemic addressed to tourists who visit her native Antigua.

The search for travel writing that challenges the Eurocentric legacy of the genre has been undertaken with some caution. Colonial discourse may not be monolithic and all-embracing, but it is nonetheless not easy to identify a straightforward alternative. Even when travel writing undermines colonial discourse through inversions, revisions, or uncertainties, colonial assumptions may remain. As Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan suggest

in *Tourists with Typewriters* (1998), the comic self-deprecation that marks a certain type of popular travel book diverts attention from serious questions of power and privilege, while the "counter-travel" of cosmopolitan writers of color run the risk of perpetuating the long-standing Western investment in the "exotic." Every attempt to subvert the tradition may always come close to being co-opted by it.

SEE ALSO *Columbus, Christopher; Cortés, Hernán; Hakluyt, Richard.*

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Alasdair Pettinger

TREATIES, EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

In international law, a *treaty* is defined as a written instrument whereby two or more states signify their intention to establish a new legal relationship, involving mutually binding contractual obligations. Any such agreement that is not based on the mutual recognition by the contracting parties of their respective equality and sovereignty, and that does not contain the element of reciprocity insofar as rights and obligations are concerned, must appear to be legally somewhat incongruous. However, it has long been held that a substantial part of what constitutes international law rests upon the usage and practice of sovereign states. International treaties ought to be studied from the point of history and international law. The so-called Unequal Treaties concluded between the Western powers and China in the nineteenth century are a case in point.

The concept of the Unequal Treaties originated with contemporary Western writers on international law. While the treaties furnished a legal basis for the Western presence in China's Qing empire (1644–1911), the term *Unequal Treaties* came to symbolize the special type of Western imperialism in Asia. The beginnings of the Unequal Treaties can be found in the peace treaty of Nanjing (1842), which brought to a conclusion the first Anglo-Chinese War (1839–1842), usually somewhat misleadingly referred to as the first Opium War.

What began as a punitive expedition led to a profound alteration of China's external relations. Under the Treaty of Nanjing, China was forced to open five ports to British commerce, and British merchants had the right to settle and trade there. Crucially, British subjects residing in these so-called treaty ports enjoyed extraterritoriality, that is, they were not subject to Chinese jurisdiction. Exploiting the country's weakness, other colonial powers, led by France and the United States, forced China to conclude similar agreements.

All the treaties concluded in this period contained a most-favored-nation clause, and all the privileges conferred in them were automatically extended to the other treaty powers. In this sense, it is possible to talk of the "treaty system." In its essence, the system was completed by 1860 with the conclusion of the Treaty of Tianjin at the end of the so-called Second Opium War (1856–1860). Under the provisions of the treaty, China was forced to accept the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations with the outside world. Further provisions included the opening of eleven more treaty ports, now even in the interior of the country, and more especially in the prosperous Yangzi Basin (the number of treaty ports would eventually rise to forty-eight by the eve of World War I in 1914); the freedom of travel for all foreigners; and, controversially, the freedom of movement and religious practice for Christian missionaries.

The Treaty of Tianjin marked the end of the dramatic phase of the opening of China. Yet, the treaty systems continued to evolve, so much so that by the beginning of the twentieth century it had grown to such an extent and to such a complexity that it was impenetrable to all but highly specialized legal experts. In fact, Chinese lawyers now began to challenge the Western powers with their own legal weapons. The Unequal Treaties remained in force until their negotiated abrogation in November 1943.

Although the treaty system was avowedly "unequal" in that the treaties constituted an enforced, unilateral infringement of Chinese sovereignty, in practice the system was more ambiguous. The extraterritoriality clauses meant that the citizens of the treaty powers were exempted from Chinese jurisdiction, and could only be tried in a foreign, and in practice this usually meant consular, court. However, judicial exemption did not constitute a claim to separate territorial rights.

The treaty ports were not colonies; in most of them Chinese authority was not infringed. A partial exception was the small number of "concessions"—clearly delimited residential districts leased to foreign governments, such as those in Shanghai and Tianjin. The treaty system

Singing of the Treaty of Tianjin, 1858. *Under the provisions of this treaty, China was forced to accept the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations with the outside world.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cloaked the Western (and later Japanese) presence in the Qing empire in excessive legalism. It furnished the juridical basis of informal imperialism, while the treaty ports were the "bridgeheads" of the foreign presence in China.

The historical significance of the treaties is beyond doubt. Between 1842 and 1943 China was a country of at least partially impaired sovereignty, underscoring its position as an object of Great Power politics. The almost automatic extension of commercial privileges to all treaty powers was a de facto institutionalization of the "open door," that is, the notion of equal opportunities in the economic penetration of China.

To some degree, the treaties also represented a mid-nineteenth-century confluence of Western and Chinese interests; both sides were anxious to establish standardized commercial practices and to minimize the disruptive influence of smuggling and piracy. In the longer term, however, the treaties provided the main focus for an emerging Chinese nationalism and an ideal vehicle for anti-imperialist and anti-Western propaganda.

SEE ALSO *China, After 1945; China, First Opium War to 1945; China, to the First Opium War; Empire, Japanese; Extraterritoriality; Korea, from World War II; Korea, to World War II; Missions, China; Open Door Policy; Opium Wars; Perry, Matthew; Treaty Port System.*

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Pope Alexander VI with Clerics and Noblemen. *In 1493 Pope Alexander VI, depicted in this mid-eighteenth-century engraving, established the line of demarcation that defined the spheres of Spanish and Portuguese influence in the world; the line was later renegotiated with the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed in 1494.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

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T. G. Otte

TREATY OF TORDESILLAS

Between 1418 and 1492, Portugal was the dominant maritime power in the Atlantic Ocean, sending numerous naval and military expeditions to explore the African coast, enforce colonial claims, and find a sea route around Africa to the rich markets of the Indies.

Bolstered by Christopher Columbus's (1451–1506) accounts of his voyage in 1492, Spain claimed sovereignty over the lands Columbus touched, which Columbus believed included the East Indies, the object of Portuguese mercantile ambitions. It was clear that conflict would soon arise over the rival claims of Spain and Portugal to lands previously unclaimed by Europeans. To prevent serious conflict between their expansionist nations, the wary monarchs of Spain and Portugal divided the non-Christian world outside Europe in the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494).

The papal bull (edict) *Inter Caetera* ("among other works," often incorrectly spelled as "coetera") laid the framework for the Treaty of Tordesillas. Spain and Portugal were major Catholic powers and the possibility of a clash between them was of great concern to leaders of the Catholic Church. In response, the Spanish-born Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) issued *Inter Caetera* on May 4, 1493; the bull established a line of demarcation running north-south through the Atlantic Ocean, 100 leagues (about 345 statute miles or 556 kilometers) west of the Cape Verde Islands. With the exception that lands already claimed by a Christian sovereign would remain under that ruler's control, the pope granted Spain possession of undiscovered territories west of the line and

awarded Portugal possession of undiscovered territories east of the line. Spanish interests heavily influenced the bull, which threatened to exclude Portugal from Asia: After Columbus's return the Spanish believed East Asia lay a little west of the pope's line.

Protesting the specifics of the papal edict while endorsing its assumption of Spanish and Portuguese global dominance, King John II (1455–1495) of Portugal negotiated with King Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Queen Isabella (1451–1504) of Spain to move the line west. John argued that the pope's line extended around the world, limiting Spanish influence in Asia. In the course of a year the line was renegotiated and the agreement was formally ratified by both nations in the Castilian town of Tordesillas (Spain) on June 7, 1494. The treaty shifted the papal line to a meridian 370 leagues (about 1,277 statute miles or 2,056 kilometers) west of the Cape Verde Islands.

Pope Julius II (1443–1513) gave the treaty formal papal sanction in a bull of 1506. In all of these diplomatic developments, other European nations were expressly denied access to new overseas territories with the result that England, France, and the Netherlands utlimately rejected the pope's legal authority to divide undiscovered regions and the legitimacy of Spanish and Portuguese territorial claims based on it.

In any case, at the time that the treaty was negotiated, only a very small area of the world had actually been explored by Europeans, and the exact position of the boundary line was unclear due to the difficulty of establishing longitude accurately. Spain ultimately claimed most of the Americas and the easternmost parts of Asia, while Portugal claimed Brazil and most of the lands around the Indian Ocean. The Treaty of Saragossa (1529) formally extended the demarcation line around the entire globe.

SEE ALSO *Columbus, Christopher; Empire in the Americas, Portuguese; Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Religion, Roman Catholic Church; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions.*

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Alexander M. Zukas

TREATY PORT SYSTEM

While European commercial interest in Asia stretches back to the sixteenth century with the establishment of the Portuguese colony of Macau in southwestern China, the direct precursor to the *treaty port system* developed between Great Britain and China in the eighteenth century. Concomitant with Britain's industrial development was its new interest in the untapped markets of Asia. China, however, rebuffed repeated requests to expand commercial relations beyond the open port of Canton (present-day Guangzhou), which since 1759 had been the only place where foreign trade was permitted by the Chinese government.

By the nineteenth century, Britain and the other imperialist powers had begun to chafe under the restrictions of this so-called Canton system. Over and above issues of profit and loss was the adamant desire among the countries of the West for diplomatic representation and equality. China, in turn, remained set on its own notions of cultural superiority and expressed little willingness to reform its policies.

The growing influence of illegal opium smuggling, generally but not exclusively, practiced by the British, further exacerbated these matters. Chinese Commissioner Lin Zexu's (ca. 1785–1850) celebrated destruction of foreign opium stores in 1839 was used as a pretext by the British Parliament to authorize the deployment of men and ships into battle. The immediate aftermath of the one-sided Opium War (1839–1842) was the Treaty of Nanking (1842), a document that dictated the West's relationship with China for the remainder of the century. The treaty (and those subsequently forced upon China by the other Western powers) contained several stipulations, the most significant of which were the following: five port cities, including Shanghai and Canton, were opened to residence and trade; tariff rates were fixed by the European powers; the Cohong (a Chinese merchant guild given monopoly rights over foreign trade by the Chinese government) was abolished; the right of extraterritoriality was granted to foreigners in criminal cases; and Hong Kong was ceded to Britain. The period of "unequal treaties" had begun.

THE TREATY PORT SYSTEM IN CHINA

What resulted was a new and unique system. At Canton, to take one example, the Western powers obtained from the Chinese grants of land known as *concessions,* upon which foreign merchants could live and construct commercial buildings. The concession territories were not sold, but rather leased to the foreign powers, who individually split them up into lots and rented them out to the members of their own countries. Each country provided its own municipal government, which was presided

over by the consul of that country; as a result, within one port there were often multiple areas of sovereignty, multiple municipal governments with individual authority.

In Shanghai, the situation was somewhat different. In that case, the Chinese and the British agreed to a system in which the British bought land from the Chinese and in turn paid rent to the government. The land still belonged nominally to the Chinese emperor, but it was leased "in perpetuity." This agreement was generally referred to as a *settlement*.

Despite these differences, there were several features that characterized the Chinese treaty ports. Most had their own newspapers, churches, chambers of commerce, and other features of Victorian life. The bund (an embankment or quay upon which foreign businesses and residences were often located), the "club," and the racecourse were all important parts of treaty port culture. For many Chinese, these cities were an exciting introduction to Western literature, philosophy, and institutions.

By the 1850s, many problems in this system were apparent (exacerbated by growing anti-Western sentiment in China). Although Great Britain had won a series of military conflicts, the fact remained that they had imposed an alien presence on an unwilling people, and a system of trade that was repellent to traditional Confucian morality and Chinese conceptions of world order. A second round of conflicts—the Arrow War or second Opium War (1856–1860)—between the Western powers and China resulted in the extraction of further concessions from the Chinese government, including the right for diplomatic representatives to reside in Beijing and for foreigners to travel in the Chinese interior.

THE TREATY PORT SYSTEM IN JAPAN

Although spared from the international military conflicts that marked China's entry into the world of global capitalism, in 1853 to 1854 and in 1858 Japan was coerced into signing its own series of unequal treaties. These treaties allowed foreigners to set up embassies and port facilities in five cities; the most crucial of these was Yokohama, a port close to Tokyo, which became the hub of interaction between the Japanese government and people and the foreign community. Other ports opened to foreign residence and trade included Hakodate, Nagasaki, Kobe, and eventually even Edo (now Tokyo) itself.

The treaties contained provisions similar to those forced upon the Chinese government: the right of extraterritoriality for foreign citizens, as well as the right of the foreign powers to set tariff rates. Following the dissolution of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868 it became a major goal of Japan's new Meiji government to revise the unequal treaties. The Western powers, eager to expand commercial and trading rights into the interior, proved receptive to overtures to end the system, and in 1899 the treaty ports were abolished.

THE END OF THE TREATY PORT SYSTEM

In contrast to Japan, China's treaty ports persisted well into the twentieth century. Through "most-favored-nation" provisions in Sino-foreign bilateral treaties, each new signatory gained the benefits of extraterritoriality and the treaty port system. Indeed, Japan's forays into China, which eventually led to the Pacific war during World War II, came by virtue of Japanese privileges in that country.

In the 1920s and 1930s, urban culture in cities such as Shanghai flourished, a topic of continued interest in the arenas of academe and popular culture alike. For China, as well other counties such as Thailand, Korea, and Vietnam, the process of treaty revision generally extended until the end of World War II. Extraterritoriality effectively ended during the war, when beleaguered China joined the Allies. The Chinese Communists came to power largely on the strong antiforeign sentiments that had grown up around treaty port culture.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, places that were once treaty ports—Shanghai, Yokohama, and Hong Kong—are among the world's largest and most vibrant cities. While seen by some as humiliating reminders of the colonial past, many of the former treaty ports play indispensable roles in the global economy of the twenty-first century.

Recent years have witnessed new perspectives on the legacy of Asia's treaty ports. Scholars such as Robert Bickers and Gail Hershatter have broadened our understanding of the historical conditions in the treaty ports from a social and cultural perspective, and done much to revise outdated impressions of the ports as simply outposts on the fringes of empire.

SEE ALSO *China, First Opium War to 1945; China, Foreign Trade; Extraterritoriality; Guangzhou; Hong Kong, from World War II; Hong Kong, to World War II; Japan, Colonized; Japan, Opening of; Nagasaki; Shanghai.*

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Todd S. Munson

TRIBUTE

Queen Isabella of Spain (1451–1504) considered the natives of the Americas, from the start of Spanish colonization, as free vassals with certain rights and duties. In exchange for the crown's promise of fair rule, protection, and access to resources, native vassals were expected to serve Spain. This service took the form of tribute, first levied as labor and goods, and then gradually commuted to specie (money in the form of coins).

Crown representatives—first Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) and subsequently governors, viceroys, and other royal officials—assigned the right to exact tribute from the natives to Spaniards whom the crown rewarded for their service with grants of *encomienda*. Called *encomenderos*, these beneficiaries promised to protect and Christianize the natives in return for taking their labor and goods. During the first generation or two, the *encomenderos*, unfettered by peninsular controls, forced the natives to work on personal or public construction projects and in their homes, fields, and mines.

The precipitous fall of the native population from the combined effects of disease, overwork, abuse, and flight led to increasing government control. Early efforts took the form of laws, often observed in the breach. Later, tribute lists *(tasas)* specified the type and duration of labor service and the types and quantities of items to be delivered on given dates. The problem with these tribute lists was that the population decreased faster than *tasas* could be revised downward, often leaving the natives overcharged and in arrears. This untenable situation brought eventual reforms. The crown abolished personal service as a form of tribute. Officials restricted tribute items to a limited number of goods produced locally. Quotas were set on an individual basis, not by community. Finally, goods were commuted to silver.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the *encomienda* came under increasing attack, the crown became a stronger presence in America with the appointment of royal officials, and the native population continued its disastrous decline. Eventually, the crown mandated that scattered native families be moved into new native villages, patterned after the Spanish villas. This concentration of the native population facilitated more effective evangelization and increased Spanish control over native labor, as continued commutation of high tribute quotas into silver forced the natives into the money economy.

SEE ALSO *Columbus, Christopher; Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Encomienda.*

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TRUSTEESHIP

At the conclusion of World War I, and under the leadership of South African statesman Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870–1950), the League of Nations established the *mandate system*, which gave broad authority to the victorious Allies over the former colonial empires of Imperial Germany and the Ottoman Turks. The mandated territories were divided into three classes and were assigned to individual powers to govern until they were deemed capable of self-rule.

The territories of the Arab world were declared Level A mandates because they were perceived to be at an advanced stage of development that would require only a short period of British (Iraq and Palestine) and French (Lebanon and Syria) oversight before they could choose their own leaders and become autonomous states. Comprising former German colonies in Central Africa and the Pacific, Level B and C mandates were believed to be less advanced areas not yet ready for political independence. They were to be governed for an undetermined period of time as integral parts of the respective empires of Britain (Tanganyika, Togoland, and Cameroons); France (Togoland, Cameroons); Belgium

(Ruanda-Urundi); South Africa (South-West Africa); New Zealand (Samoa); Australia (New Guinea, Nauru); and Japan (Pacific Islands north of the equator).

As these powers raised and expended revenues, appointed officials, and enforced laws, the mandates were in many ways little different from colonial regimes. However, as stipulated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, an eleven-member Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) had the authority to pressure the colonial powers to promote the material and moral well-being of native peoples, and to protect their inalienable rights. The colonial powers had to present an annual report for acceptance and suggestions by the PMC detailing their efforts in this regard. Thus, mandate was to replace might as the guiding principle in colonial affairs, a notion that also served as the foundation of the United Nations trusteeship system that was established once the League of Nations ceased to exist in 1946.

Under Chapters XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter, many of the former mandates, as well as those territories taken from enemy states at the end of World War II, were administered through the United Nations Trusteeship Council (UNTC). Its primary goal was to help native peoples work toward independence, while respecting their right to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. Therefore, while the states of Australia (Nauru, New Guinea); Belgium (Ruanda-Urundi); New Zealand (Western Samoa); Britain (Tanganyika, Cameroons, and Togoland); France (Cameroons, Togoland); Italy (Somalia); and the United States (Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands) possessed full legislative, administrative, and judicial authority, they had to administer the territories they held in trust for the benefit of the inhabitants and not for their own aggrandizement.

To ensure that trust territory guidelines were followed, the UNTC—comprised of the five permanent members of the Security Council: China, France, the United Kingdom, the Russian Federation, and the United States—met once a year to consider petitions from inhabitants of the territories, to examine detailed reports on measures to increase self-governance and educational opportunities, and to adopt recommendations by majority vote (not subject to veto), such as taking special missions to trust territories. As with the PMC, the UNTC observed and placed a limit on colonial governance and formally guaranteed an end to colonialism.

There was opposition to the trusteeship system however, as the one territory not turned over to the United Nations was South-West Africa, which South Africa insisted remain under the League of Nations mandate. In particular, South Africa objected to trust guidelines that stipulated that lands prepared for independence be subject to majority rule; a stance that was a tacit indictment of their own apartheid regime (South Africa and the United Nations would contest the status of South-West Africa until 1990, when it was finally granted its independence and became Namibia).

In 1949 the United Nations General Assembly, by virtue of the League of Nations mandate over Palestine, declared Jerusalem a trust territory. However, because the two occupying states, Israel and Jordan, opposed this move, implementation of this recommendation was postponed indefinitely.

Of the earlier trusteeships, Italian Somaliland joined British Somaliland, becoming Somalia in 1960; British Togoland joined Ghana in 1956 and French Togoland became Togo in 1960; the French Cameroons became Cameroon in 1960, joined by the British Cameroons in 1961; Tanganyika gained independence in 1961; Western Samoa became Samoa in 1961; Ruanda-Urundi became the states of Rwanda and Burundi in 1962; Nauru gained independence in 1968; New Guinea joined with Papua to become Papua New Guinea in 1975; and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands gained independence under a compact of free association with the United States in 1986. The last trust territory, Palau, gained independence in 1994, and the UNTC ceased operation that same year.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, American Presence in; Pacific, European Presence in.*

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TÚPAC AMARU, REBELLION OF

In 1780, José Gabriel Condorcanqui (ca. 1742–1781), who claimed descent from Túpac Amaru (d. 1572), the last Inca to resist Spanish authority in the sixteenth century, took the name Túpac Amaru and led a rebellion against Spanish colonial rule, even though it was initiated in the name of the Spanish monarch and was not necessarily meant to sever all ties with Spain. This insurgency was the most serious challenge to colonial domination between the sixteenth-century wars of encounter and conquest and the early nineteenth-century wars of independence.

The rebellion was centered in the rural provinces of Canas y Canchis (Tinta) and Quispicanchis in Peru. In this region near the former Inca capital of Cuzco, the authority of traditional *kurakas* (ethnic leaders) remained strong, despite more than two centuries of Spanish rule. Túpac Amaru and much of his family, several of whom were also to play important leadership roles in the rebellion, lived in Canas y Canchis. Under the leadership of Túpac Amaru, who declared himself the *Inca* (ruler), the rebellion spread like wildfire over the southern Andean highlands from Cuzco to Lake Titicaca and beyond.

Other uprisings, such as that of Túpac Katari (Julián Apasa, d. 1781) near La Paz and the Katari brothers (d. 1781) closer to Potosí and Sucre, challenged colonial rule in what is now Bolivia—then the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata—at the same time. The Bolivian rebellions have been historically associated with the Túpac Amaru rebellion, even though the Katari insurgency began before the Cuzco movement.

Although often responding to similar demands and exploitation, the Katari and Túpac Katari rebellions had significant internal differences from the Cuzco-based movement. To secure his legitimacy, Túpac Amaru harkened back to the Inca and called for concerned and accountable hereditary ethnic leaders *(kurakas)* who governed their communities with a just hand. The movements led by Túpac Katari and the Katari brothers not only challenged colonial rule but also the rule of many *kurakas*, arguing that many of these ethnic leaders had sold out to the Spanish, or to their own self interests, and no longer represented the values and needs of their communities.

ECONOMIC TENSION

These upheavals erupted during a period of growing economic tension in the Andes, especially for indigenous society. Like other colonial powers in the eighteenth century, Spain was trying to streamline its colonial rule, make its rule more secure, and force the colonies to yield a higher return to the mother country.

In the Andes, one of the measures designed to enforce these policies was an effort to increase the efficiency of tribute collection. Spanish officials tried to eliminate the practice of hiding tributaries, while noncommunity members who had previously been effectively exempt from tribute were now more consistently forced to pay some tribute. Items of indigenous production, such as *ají* (chili peppers) and textiles produced in relatively small operations *(chorillos),* which had not been subject to taxation, were now included on the list of taxable items.

To enforce this new regime of taxation, customs houses were built in cities such as Arequipa, La Paz, and Cochabamba. In addition, the sales tax *(alcabala)* was increased twice in the 1770s. This caused great discontent among those involved in trade and led to rioting against the new taxes not only by indigenous peoples but also by criollos (people of Spanish descent born in the New World) and others who saw these taxes as a threat to their well-being. The disruption of commercial and trade networks caused by such reforms was further exacerbated by the annexation of much of what is now Bolivia from the viceroyalty of Peru into the newly created viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (Argentina) in 1776.

In the mid-eighteenth century the crown had also legalized, and set quotas for, the *reparto*, a system for the forced sale of goods primarily to indigenous people, but in reality to some nonindigenous people as well; this became an increasing cause of friction. The local Spanish authorities *(corregidores),* often in concert with urban merchants, pressed the indigenous population ever harder after the *reparto* was legalized. The quotas were commonly ignored as *corregidores* abused the *reparto*, sometimes "selling" double or even triple the amount of goods to which they were entitled by colonial law. This abuse was one of the factors that began to undermine the legitimacy of colonial rule as indigenous people began to balk at excessive economic coercion.

At first these protests took the form of an increasing number of village revolts directed at local officials, such as the Spanish district officers *(corregidores),* who were regarded as the chief cause of exploitation. In the period between 1750 and 1780, these tumults increased greatly in frequency, and a number of tax collectors and *corregidores* were even killed. This, however, did not lead to any direct changes in policy.

Another of the other great grievances of indigenous peoples in the southern Andes was the system of forced labor *(mita)* for the silver mines of Potosí. Created in the 1570s, the *mita* was imposed on indigenous peoples in certain provinces, caused severe hardship to those affected by it, and thus played a part in arousing indigenous anger against the authorities.

DIMINISHING RESOURCE BASE

At the same time that colonial exactions pressed indigenous people ever harder, these same villagers began to experience serious concerns related to their diminishing resource base. The introduction of Old World diseases devastated the Andean world, as it did almost all of the Americas. The last great epidemic had swept the Andes from 1719 to 1720. After this long and terrible decline, however, indigenous people began a period of rapid population growth; they finally had developed sufficient immunities against Old World diseases to not be devastated by each new outbreak. Somewhat altered, but still intact as distinct indigenous peoples, they had managed to survive not only

biologically but also culturally. This rapid growth threatened to leave them short of land, however, for the Spanish had sold off or appropriated lands considered to be in excess of community needs.

Thus, at the very same time that the colonial regime was pressuring indigenous peoples with new and enhanced economic demands, the per capita resource base for the communities was threatened. This not only put their ability to meet colonial exactions in doubt, but it also threatened their communal cultural survival. By 1780 a conjuncture of international colonial policies with local and regional changes created a situation in which the legitimacy of colonial rule was increasingly questioned, and large scale rebellion became possible.

INCA CULTURAL REVIVAL

It was in these circumstances that Túpac Amaru, a *kuraka* of noble heritage, sought recognition in colonial courts as the rightful heir to the Inca throne. The implications of his actions were enhanced by a growing respect for, and revival of, things Inca during this period. The "Incas" were allowed back into public festivals, such as parades, thus securing a public presence for a vision of indigenous history. This celebration of the past was also reflected in the practice among indigenous individuals and families of royal heritage of having their portraits painted as Incas. The literate indigenous elite also began to read the *Royal Commentaries* (1609) of Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), the son of an Inca princess and a conquistador, who had glorified the period of Inca rule and the relatively equitable system of social control that had kept most people from suffering and misery.

At the same time, myths or legends surrounding *Inkarrí*, in which the *Inca* (and symbolically the empire) was regenerating from the buried head of the *Inca*, also grew and gained further strength. When this regeneration was complete, it was said, the *Inca* would come back to life, assume his proper role as leader, and reestablish the empire, just social order, and benevolent rule that had prevailed before the Spanish invasion.

Thus, during a period of growing exploitation, increasing population pressure, and abusive treatment, a consciousness of the Inca past that revered Inca justice and society was also emerging, so that, when the second Túpac Amaru claimed the Inca throne, many indigenous people were receptive to his leadership. When he executed the *corregidor* of Canas y Canchis, Antonio de Arriaga, on November 10, 1780, in the name of the Spanish king, while claiming his Inca heritage, thousands of indigenous people rallied to a cause that offered to end bad Spanish rule and to restore the *Inca*.

The rebellions of Túpac Amaru, Túpac Katari, and the Katari brothers shook the very foundations of colonial society. By most estimates, some one hundred thousand people were killed in the course of these uprisings. Túpac Amaru and his family were captured, tortured, executed, and dismembered in the central plaza of Cuzco, and their body parts were displayed throughout the region as a warning to others. Túpac Katari and the Kataris were also captured and executed. Together, however, they had provided the leadership to challenge colonial rule and give voice to the suffering and exploitation of Andean peoples under colonial rule.

With their cultural survival at stake, these rebels had risked, and often lost, their lives to put an end to continued exploitation and to replace it with a system of just rule that was culturally relevant to their existence. In the wake of the rebellion, the Spanish rulers granted some of the changes desired by the rebels, but Andean villagers also lost a degree of autonomy and the racial divide between indigenous peoples and others was enhanced. This divide left indigenous peoples marginalized in the early years following independence, but it may also have bought them the time to regroup and survive as indigenous communities in the centuries that followed.

SEE ALSO *Empire in the Americas, Spanish; Peru Under Spanish Rule; Potosí.*

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UNITED STATES COLONIAL RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES

The United States exercised formal colonial rule over the Philippines, its largest overseas colony, between 1899 and 1946. American economic and strategic interests in Asia and the Pacific were increasing in the late 1890s in the wake of an industrial depression and in the face of global, interimperial competition. Spanish colonialism was simultaneously being weakened by revolts in Cuba and the Philippines, its largest remaining colonies.

The Philippine Revolution of 1896 to 1897 destabilized Spanish colonialism but failed to remove Spanish colonial rule. The leaders of the revolution were exiled to Hong Kong. When the United States invaded Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898 to shore up its hegemony in the Caribbean, the U.S. Pacific Squadron was sent to the Philippines to advance U.S. power in the region, and it easily defeated the Spanish navy. Filipino revolutionaries hoped the United States would recognize and assist it. Although American commanders and diplomats helped return revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo (1869–1964) to the Philippine Islands, they sought to use him and they avoided recognition of the independent Philippine Republic that Aguinaldo declared in June 1898.

In August 1898 U.S. forces occupied Manila and denied the Republic's troops entry into the city. That fall, Spain and the United States negotiated the Philippines' status at Paris without Filipino consultation. The U.S. Senate and the American public debated the Treaty of Paris, which granted the United States "sovereignty" over the Philippine Islands for $20 million. The discussion emphasized the economic costs and benefits of imperialism to the United States and the political and racial repercussions of colonial conquest.

When U.S. troops fired on Philippine troops in February 1899, the Philippine-American War erupted. The U.S. Senate narrowly passed the Treaty of Paris, and the U.S. military enforced its provisions over the next three years through a bloody, racialized war of aggression. Following ten months of failed conventional combat, Philippine troops adopted guerrilla tactics, which American forces ultimately defeated only through the devastation of civilian property, the "reconcentration" of rural populations, and the torture and killing of prisoners, combined with a policy of "attraction" aimed at Filipino elites. While Filipino revolutionaries sought freedom and independent nationhood, a U.S.-based "anti-imperialist" movement challenged the invasion as immoral in both ends and means.

Carried out in the name of promoting "self-government" over an indefinite but calibrated timetable, U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines was characterized politically by authoritarian bureaucracy and one-party state-building with the collaboration of Filipino elites at its core. The colonial state was inaugurated with a Sedition Act that banned expressions in support of Philippine independence, a Banditry Act that criminalized ongoing resistance, and a Reconcentration Act that authorized the mass relocation of rural populations.

In the interests of "pacification," American civilian proconsuls in the Philippine Commission, initially led by William Howard Taft (1857–1930), sponsored the Federalista Party under influential Manila-based elites. The party developed into a functioning patronage network and political monopoly in support of

American Soldiers in the Philippines, 1899. *American soldiers fire their rifles from behind a makeshift barricade at the West Beach Outpost in San Roque during the Philippine insurrection that followed the 1898 Spanish-American War.* © **CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

"Americanization" and, initially, U.S. statehood for the Philippines. When the suppression of independence politics ended in 1905, it gave rise to new political voices and organizations that consolidated by 1907 into the Nationalista Party, whose members were younger than those of the Federalista Party and rooted in the provinces. When the Federalista Party alienated its American patrons and its statehood platform failed to win mass support, U.S. proconsuls abandoned it for the Nationalista Party, which over the remainder of the colonial period developed into a vast, second party-state, under the leadership of Manuel Quezon (1878–1944) and Sergio Osmeña (1878–1961).

Following provincial and municipal elections, "national" elections were held in 1907 for a Philippine Assembly to serve under the commission as the lower house of a legislature. The 3 percent of the country's population that was given the right to vote swept the Nationalistas to power. The Nationalistas clashed with U.S. proconsuls over jurisdiction and policy priorities, although both sides also manipulated and advertised

these conflicts to secure their respective constituencies, masking what were in fact functioning colonial collaborations. Democratic Party dominance in the United States between 1912 and 1920 facilitated the consolidation of the Nationalista party-state in the Philippines.

When Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), a Democrat, was elected president in 1912, he appointed as governor-general Francis Burton Harrison (1873–1957), who, working closely with the Nationalistas, accelerated the "Filipinization" of the bureaucracy and allowed the Philippine Assembly to assume additional executive power. When Democrats passed the Jones Act in 1916, which replaced the commission with a Philippine senate and committed the United States to "eventual independence" for the Philippines, Quezon claimed credit for these victories and, despite his own ambivalence about Philippine independence, translated them into greater power. During the 1920s, Quezon dominated the Nationalista Party, using clashes with Republican governor-general Leonard Wood (1860–1927) to secure his *independista* credentials.

Under pressure from protectionists, nativists, and military officials fearful of Japanese imperialism, the U.S. Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934. The act inaugurated a ten-year "Philippine Commonwealth" government transitional to "independence." While serving as president of the commonwealth in the years prior to the 1941 Japanese invasion of the Philippine Islands, Quezon consolidated dictatorial power. Colonial political structures, constructed where the ambitions and fears of the Filipino elite connected with the American imperial need for collaborators, had successfully preserved the power of provincial, landed elites, while institutionalizing this power in a country-wide "nationalist" politics.

In economic terms, American colonial rule in the Philippines promoted an intensely dependent, export economy based on cash-crop agriculture and extractive industries like mining. American capital had initially regarded the Philippines as merely a "stepping stone" to the fabled China market, and American trade with the Philippine Islands was initially inhibited by reciprocity treaties that preserved Spanish trade rights. When these rights ended, U.S. capital divided politically over the question of free trade. American manufacturers supported free trade, hoping to secure in the Philippines both inexpensive raw materials and markets for finished goods, whereas sugar and tobacco producers opposed free trade because they feared Philippine competition. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909 established "free trade," with the exception of rice, and set yearly quota limits for Philippine exports to the United States.

American trade with the Philippine Islands, which had grown since the war, boomed after 1909, and during the decades that followed, the United States became by far the Philippines' dominant trading partner. American goods comprised only 7 percent of Philippine imports in 1899, but had grown to 66 percent by 1934. These goods included farm machinery, cigarettes, meat and dairy products, and cotton cloth. The Philippines sold 26 percent of its total exports to the United States in 1899, and 84 percent in 1934. Most of these exports were hemp, sugar, tobacco, and coconut products.

Free trade promoted U.S. investment, and American companies came to dominate Philippine factories, mills, and refineries. When a post–World War I economic boom brought increased production and exports, Filipino nationalists feared economic and political dependence on the United States, as well as the overspecialization of the Philippine economy around primary products, overreliance on U.S. markets, and the political enlistment of American businesses in the indefinite colonial retention of the Philippine Islands.

Meanwhile, rural workers subject to the harsh terms of export-oriented development challenged the power of hacienda owners in popular mass movements. While some interested American companies did lobby against Philippine independence, during the Great Depression powerful U.S. agricultural producers—especially of sugar and oils—supported U.S. separation from the Philippines as a protectionist measure to exclude competing Philippine goods. The commonwealth period and formal Philippine independence would be characterized by rising tariffs and the exclusion of Philippine goods from the U.S. markets upon which Philippine producers had come to depend.

Philippine-American colonialism also transformed both the Philippines and the United States in cultural terms. In the Philippines, the colonial state introduced a secular, free public school system that emphasized the English language (believed by U. S. officials to be the inherent medium of "free" institutions), along with industrial and manual training to facilitate capitalist economic development. While the Filipino elite retained and developed Spanish as a language of literature, politics, and prestige into the 1920s—often contrasted with "vulgar" Americanism—Filipinos increasingly learned and transformed English and used it to their own purposes. Filipinos also reworked forms and elements from American popular culture, especially in film, fashion, and literature. In addition, this period saw the development of popular and literary culture in other Philippine languages. With the advent of the commonwealth, Tagalog was declared the unifying "national" language.

The struggle for Philippine independence fundamentally shaped emerging Filipino modes of self-identification, as Filipinos sought to prove their "capacity" for "self-government." Where the U.S. colonial state administered "non-Christian" regions inhabited by animists and Muslims through separate, American-dominated political and military controls (insulating them from emerging "national" politics), Filipino nationalists sought to integrate these regions and peoples into the "nation" by arguing for their rights to administer them undemocratically on the basis of the "civilizational" superiority of Christian Filipinos.

American culture would also be transformed culturally by Philippine-American colonialism. Beginning in the 1920s, mass Filipino labor migration to Hawaii and the American West would alter both region's culture and demography, bridging the Philippine and U.S. cultural and social worlds. At the same time, official justifications of conquest and colonial administration helped accommodate Americans more generally to the notion that overseas empire was compatible with a "republic." American colonial rule in the Philippines was held up domestically and

internationally as symbolic of the United States' own exceptional democracy and foreign policy. American policy toward the Philippines following World War II—characterized by Cold War anticommunism—suggested continuities with the colonial period.

SEE ALSO *Empire, United States; Pacific, American Presence in.*

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UNITED STATES INTERVENTIONS IN POSTINDEPENDENCE LATIN AMERICA

Great Britain formally acknowledged the independence of the United States in the Treaty of Paris on September 3, 1783. Surrounded by the New World empires of Britain, France, and Spain, the United States was concerned about its weakness and isolation. The second successful independence movement in the Western Hemisphere occurred in the French Caribbean colony of Saint Domingue on the island of Hispaniola. The French colonists appealed for help and received, in addition to volunteer soldiers, U.S. federal and state government aid in the form of loans, provisions, and weaponry. Despite U.S. assistance, the French were unable to suppress the slave revolt that devastated Saint Domingue and led to the creation of the sovereign nation of Haiti in 1804. Due to its origins in slave rebellion, Haiti was subsequently denied U.S. diplomatic recognition until 1862. Yet U.S. leaders who believed the

extension of republicanism would ensure their government's stability and survival sought to attract the hemisphere's European colonial subjects to republican ideas.

THE ROAD TO SPANISH-AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

One of the earliest advocates of Spanish-American independence, the Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda, was inspired by the American Revolution (1775–1781). Miranda believed that the rebellion that created the United States was a prelude to independence in the entire Western Hemisphere. With the assistance of private U.S. citizens, Miranda outfitted a ship in 1806 and launched the first expedition against royalists in South America. Miranda's attempt proved unsuccessful, but when the Spanish-American wars of independence began in earnest in 1810, there was sympathy in the United States for the colonial rebels.

The rebels were fighting the Spanish Catholic monarchy, which, despite having aided rebellious North Americans in their independence struggle from Britain, remained an object of U.S. hatred and contempt. U.S. leaders relished the prospect of the loss of European influence and hoped for increased trade in the hemisphere. In July 1815 U.S. president James Madison announced that rebel ships would be treated on the same basis as other foreign ships in U.S. ports, thereby granting belligerent rights to the Spanish-American rebels. The following year, Venezuelan patriots bought gunpowder from the administration on credit, but this was the only time the U.S. government proffered a loan or grant to the insurgents.

As the wars of independence progressed, the noncommittal attitudes and policies of the U.S. government frustrated Spanish-American independence leaders like Simón Bolívar, who complained of U.S. indifference toward what he believed to be the just conflict for Spanish-American independence. Bolívar later came to view U.S. power as a threat to Spanish-American sovereignty. As speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Henry Clay argued that the liberation of Latin America from European colonial rule was an ongoing aspect of the American Revolution and urged an active policy of support for the wars of independence. But most U.S. leaders wanted the United States to remain uninvolved. In a test vote in the House of Representatives in 1818 on the possible recognition of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, the Clay faction lost by a vote of 115 to 45.

Many U.S. leaders doubted that the principles of the American Revolution were applicable to Latin Americans, who were deemed ill-prepared for republicanism. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams did not believe in a community of interests between North and

South America. Like many of his contemporaries, Adams inherited negative attitudes toward Catholic Spaniards from his Protestant English forbears. Adams and former U.S. president Thomas Jefferson doubted Latin Americans had the right religion, laws, manners, customs, and habits for good independent republican governance. The Spanish Americans were also of dubious whiteness and considered racial inferiors by their North American neighbors. Those who were white were considered to come from degraded Spanish stock mixed with Indian and African blood.

Many U.S. observers were uneasy over the presence of men of African descent in the Spanish-American liberation armies. Another issue for concern was the rebel privateers in Caribbean and South American waters who sought loot under the pretext of independence, thereby hurting U.S. shipping. But when Spanish-American rebels sought privateers to attack Spanish shipping, U.S. ship owners and sailors, enticed by economic gain, contributed to the cause of Spanish-American independence. Volunteers from the United States served in the rebel government navies. U.S. merchants were also eager to profit. When they were able to pay, the Spanish-American rebels received military and other supplies that were of great importance to their struggle.

Official U.S. opinion changed in response to the successes of the Spanish-American wars of independence after 1820. As president of the United States, Adams now optimistically asserted that Latin American independence spelled the end of the European mercantilist system of commercial restrictions on U.S. trade. The United States recognized the independence of Spanish-American nations in 1822, three years before any European government. In December 1823, U.S. president James Monroe boldly asserted that the Western Hemisphere was henceforth closed to both Europe's political system and future European colonization. The Monroe Doctrine declared any European threat to the new nations of Latin America would be viewed as a threat to the United States. After the liberation of the Spanish-American mainland, colonists who remained loyal to Spain retreated to the islands of the Spanish Caribbean.

MANIFEST DESTINY AND THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the United States progressively expanded its frontiers west and southward. Believing that the United States was divinely ordained to extend across the continent and overseas, advocates of manifest destiny argued that northern Europeans were superior peoples fated to spread their social, political, economic, and religious culture. While many of the prejudices of manifest destiny can be found among early British North American settlers, the term was coined in 1845 by the Irish-American intellectual John L. O'Sullivan, who used his *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* to help win the vote for James K. Polk, the U.S. Democratic presidential candidate in 1844. Polk won on a platform of U.S. acquisition of Texas.

Since independence in 1821, Mexican authorities had increasingly attracted thousands of U.S. colonists into the once sparsely populated region of Texas, where Stephen F. Austin founded the first legal settlement of U.S. immigrants, who by and large refused to adapt to Mexican society. By the 1830s, U.S. immigrants living in Texas far outnumbered Mexicans.

The Republic of Texas declared its independence from Mexico in 1836 after rebellious Texans under Sam Houston defeated Antonio López de Santa Ana's Mexican troops. Texas's expansive territorial claims and Mexico's reluctance to acknowledge Texas's annexation to the United States in December 1845 resulted in the outbreak of the Mexican-American War in April 1846. Manifest destiny became a catchphrase in the war, which was terminated by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February 1848. Mexico gave up all claims to Texas and ceded its land between Texas and the Pacific Ocean. Mexico lost nearly one-half of its territory, including all or parts of the present-day U.S. states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Utah. Army officer Zachary Taylor became a national hero and won the U.S. presidency in the war's aftermath. The military disaster in Mexico deeply impressed Latin Americans, who feared for their national existence in the face of additional U.S. expansion.

FILIBUSTERS

The persistent political disorder in Spanish America in the postindependence period greatly affected the region's foreign affairs. In the 1850s, private U.S. citizens known as filibusters intervened militarily in Latin American affairs. Always encouraged by instability and sometimes invited by rival national political factions, U.S. citizens joined filibuster expeditions by the thousands in search of private wealth. Yet filibustering is mostly associated with the U.S. South seeking to extend slavery in the face of the North's efforts to halt its expansion in the contiguous United States. William Walker, who succeeded in ruling Nicaragua for a short time in the mid-1850s, is the most famous filibuster. Although unsuccessful, the filibustering expeditions further contributed to anti-U.S. sentiment throughout Latin America. Many Latin Americans identified filibustering as a manifestation of U.S. imperialism and attempted territorial expansion inspired by ideas of manifest destiny.

U.S. Campaigns of the Mexican-American War. *Texas's territorial claims and Mexico's reluctance to acknowledge the U.S. annexation of Texas resulted in the outbreak of the Mexican-American War. By the war's end, Mexico had lost nearly half of its territory, including all or parts of present-day Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Utah.* © MAPS.COM/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Several failed filibustering attempts against Cuba began in U.S. ports, and played a significant role in triggering the Spanish-American War. Jefferson was the first U.S. president to consider annexing Cuba, but most U.S. officials opposed the liberation of Cuba from Spanish rule because they feared Cuba's slaves might take advantage of the conflict and seize power, making the island a second Haiti. They also worried that European powers could occupy a weak, independent Cuba and that democratic, self-governing Cubans would resist future U.S. annexation. U.S. leaders who advocated joining the late nineteenth-century European scramble for overseas imperial possessions were given their opportunity in

1895 when José Martí and Cuban rebels renewed their efforts to win Cuban independence from Spain.

As U.S. leaders argued over intervention and fretted about the protection of U.S.-owned property on the island, U.S. president William McKinley sent the battleship *Maine* to Havana's harbor. On February 15, 1898, the *Maine* exploded, killing 260 U.S. sailors. A subsequent investigation incorrectly determined that the accidental blast was caused by an underwater mine. The tragedy broke the will of U.S. leaders who had resisted the pressure of those calling for war, including Cuban lobbyists and emotionally charged U.S. citizens captivated by reports in the newspapers of William Randolph Hearst and Joseph

Pulitzer. The victorious exploits of the Rough Riders fighting in Cuba helped their leader Theodore Roosevelt to win the U.S. vice-presidential nomination in 1900. Roosevelt subsequently became president in 1901 after an anarchist assassinated President McKinley.

CUBA AND PUERTO RICO IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Cubans and Puerto Ricans did not participate in the Treaty of Paris of December 1898 that ended both the Spanish-American War and the reign of the Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere by calling for Spain's withdrawal from Puerto Rico and Cuba. Puerto Rico became a U.S. possession. Cuba became independent in May 1902, but a special U.S.–Cuban relationship was established. The Roosevelt administration granted Cuban independence while maintaining control over Cubans, whom it considered unfit for self-government, through an amendment to the U.S. Army appropriations bill for fiscal year 1902 known as the Platt Amendment. Named for Connecticut Senator Orville Platt, the amendment severely curtailed the new nation of Cuba's autonomy. U.S. troops left the island only after the Cubans incorporated the amendment's provisions into the Cuban constitution, where it remained until withdrawn with U.S. approval in 1934. The amendment granted the U.S. the right to militarily intervene in Cuban national affairs.

The United States demanded land for a naval base in Guantánamo Bay following U.S. naval officer and historian Alfred Thayer Mahan's recommendation that overseas coaling and naval stations needed to be acquired to assert U.S. power around the world. The amendment provided that the Cuban government would not assume any extraordinary public debt, reflecting the U.S. fear of European intervention in the Caribbean to collect on defaulted debts. U.S. interventions to take over public finances and protect U.S. private capital in Central America and the Caribbean became a major theme in U.S.–Latin American relations at the beginning of the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO *Monroe Doctrine.*

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UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East lies across the shortest route by sea connecting Europe with South and Southeast Asia and exports a major share of the oil and natural gas that fuels the world's industrial economies. The Persian Gulf has two-thirds of the world's proven oil reserves. Saudi Arabia alone has more than a fourth of world reserves and Iraq is believed to have the second largest reserves.

Soon after World War II (1939–1945) and as the Cold War was beginning, the Gulf began to produce a significant share of the world's oil: 17 percent in 1950, 25 percent in 1960, and 27 percent in 1990. The United States had just become a net oil importer and economic recovery in Europe and Japan depended upon Middle East oil. As Britain withdrew from the Middle East, the Americans stepped in to secure a steady supply of oil at low and stable prices and to limit Soviet influence; oil security remained a basic policy goal even after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In response to successive crises and challenges, the United States involved itself more directly in the Persian Gulf and Central Asia instead of retreating. Although the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq were no more predictable than the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks that led to them, they were consistent with a trend of more direct U.S. involvement in the Gulf since the early 1970s.

The American–Israeli alliance developed at the height of the Cold War in the 1960s. The alliance offered strategic advantages but also entailed political disadvantages in the Arab world. Since the 1970s U.S. policy has sought to close the gap between its alliance with Israel and its relations with the Arabs by mediating an Arab-Israeli peace. In the 1990s, as the United States intervened more directly in the Persian Gulf, it took a more active role in promoting Israeli–Palestinian negotiations.

BEGINNINGS

American involvement in the Middle East was quite limited before World War II. American Protestant missionaries contributed to the development of education, founding what are now the American University of Beirut, the American University in Cairo, and Bogazici University in Istanbul. American policymakers regarded the Middle East as a British sphere and usually supported British policy there. President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) and the congress endorsed the Balfour Declaration (1917), in which Britain declared itself in favor of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine, and Wilson acquiesced in postwar British and French colonial rule in the Fertile Crescent.

The British were the first to develop Persian Gulf oil in Iran. After World War I (1914–1918) the United States demanded an open door policy for its oil companies, and so in the early 1920s the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) was formed with British, American, and French participation. Standard Oil of California (Socal, now Chevron), which was not a participant in the IPC, struck oil in Bahrain in 1933 and in Saudi Arabia in 1938. The Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO) was formed in 1944 as a consortium of several U.S. oil companies to exploit Saudi oil.

FROM BRITISH TO AMERICAN HEGEMONY

The United States became the major power in the Middle East in little more than a decade after World War II, to a large extent stepping in as Britain withdrew. The two powers had similar interests, especially the containment of communism and protection of the oilfields, but they did not see eye to eye on everything nor always act in concert. In 1947 Britain informed the United States that it could no longer bear the cost of supporting Greece and Turkey. Greece was facing a communist insurgency and Turkey was under Soviet pressure over territory and its sovereignty in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. The Americans responded in the Truman Doctrine by pledging aid to both countries and support for their independence and territorial integrity.

In 1953 the United States joined Britain in boycotting Iranian oil after it was nationalized by Prime Minister Muhammad Musaddiq (1882–1964). In August the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) assisted a coup that overthrew Musaddiq's elected government and secured the throne of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980). The Eisenhower administration was alarmed by the participation of the communist Tudeh Party in the parliament, even though Musaddiq was an anticommunist nationalist. The coup marked the ascendance of American influence in Iran. The British Anglo-

Iranian Oil Company (now British Petroleum, or BP) had controlled Iran's oil since the beginning of the century. Now a new consortium was organized with American companies holding a 40 percent share. The United States also began to provide military and economic assistance to Iran. Over the next three decades the shah would remain a close ally of the United States while creating a royal dictatorship.

The United States supported and later emulated Britain's postcolonial strategy of maintaining hegemony in the Middle East through defense treaties and regional security pacts such as the Baghdad Pact alliance of 1955. Later known as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), it included Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan along with Britain, and was aimed at containing the Soviet Union on its southern flank.

Britain withdrew from the Persian Gulf in 1971 as its remaining Middle Eastern colonies—Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates—became independent. With Britain's exit the Nixon administration turned to Iran and Saudi Arabia as allies that could maintain regional stability. Both received weapons and military training under this twin pillar policy, and as major oil producers they paid in cash. President Richard M. Nixon's (1913–1994) strategy of relying on regional allies to protect U.S. interests in vital areas pragmatically acknowledged the unpopularity of the Vietnam War (1955–1975) and the certainty of public opposition if large numbers of U.S. troops were deployed abroad elsewhere.

In the Gulf the United States sought to block threats from perceived Soviet allies. The United States encouraged the rise of the Baath Party in Iraq because of their ruthless anticommunism. Yet the Baathist regime of Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr (1914–1982) and Saddam Hussein (b. 1937) that seized power in 1968 later signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. At the bottom of the Arabian Peninsula, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, independent since 1967, was openly Marxist. With U.S. blessing, Iran aided a Kurdish insurrection in northern Iraq (1972–1975) that distracted and weakened the Baathist regime and sent troops to Oman's Dhofar province, on the border with Yemen, to put down a Marxist insurgency.

There was far less agreement between Britain and America when it came to postwar Palestine/Israel and Egypt. British policy in Palestine restricted Jewish immigration and aimed at creating a state with the existing population in which there was an Arab majority. The Truman administration favored a version of the Zionist or Jewish nationalist program that called for large-scale Jewish immigration and the creation of a state for the Jews, who at the time were a large minority in Palestine. The United States lobbied for the November 1947

Anti-American Demonstration in Tehran, June 1, 1951. *A large poster depicting Uncle Sam being thrown out of Iran is carried in a demonstration organized by the Tudeh Party (an Iranian communist party) in Tehran. The script on the poster criticizes American "junk sellers" who import preservatives and dolls into Iran.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

United Nations (UN) General Assembly resolution partitioning Palestine into Jewish and Arab states and quickly recognized the new State of Israel proclaimed in May 1948. A more dramatic breach between the United States and Britain occurred during the Suez War, launched in October 1956 by Britain, France, and Israel against Egypt, in response to the nationalization of the Suez Canal. The Eisenhower administration distrusted Egypt's President Gamal 'Abd al Nasir (1918–1970), who opposed the Baghdad Pact, espoused neutrality, and received Soviet-bloc weapons. Yet, believing that the assault on Egypt was a disaster for Western interests, they joined the Soviets in demanding a ceasefire and the withdrawal of the invaders.

The Suez debacle marked the eclipse of Britain by the United States as the leading power in the Middle East. Two other consequences were soon apparent. The Soviets gained a firmer foothold in Egypt—their first in the region—not only supplying arms but agreeing in 1958 to assist in building the Aswan High Dam. Second, the war turned Nasir into a pan-Arab hero. Already before the war Egypt's Voice of the Arabs radio,

broadcast with a high-power transmitter throughout the region, was attacking the Baghdad Pact and the Arab allies of Britain and the United States—Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. The wave of Arab nationalist and Nasirite sentiment that now broke over the region was seen in Washington and London as favoring the spread of Soviet influence. In January 1957, before Israeli troops withdrew from the Sinai, the Eisenhower Doctrine asserted that the Soviets were manipulating regional instability and offered assistance including the use of troops to countries facing communist aggression, direct and indirect.

In the first half of 1958 it appeared that the Arab nationalist goal of political unity might be achieved, and with it a setback to Western interests. In February Syria and Egypt signed a pact of union, forming the United Arab Republic (UAR) under Nasir's leadership. Then in July the Iraqi monarchy was overthrown by officers using revolutionary, nationalist rhetoric similar to that of the Egyptians. The United States and Britain responded by sending troops to Lebanon and Jordan. Lebanon was in the throes of a local political struggle now known as its

first civil war (1958). The arrival of U.S. Marines in Beirut brought an end to the conflict while British troops propped up the remaining Hashemite Kingdom. The specter of Arab unity turned out to be just that, however. Within months the Iraqi and Egyptian regimes were trading invective, and three years later the UAR dissolved.

THE U.S.–ISRAELI ALLIANCE

Although American public opinion consistently favored Israel, a close political–military alliance was cemented only in the aftermath of the June 1967 Six Day War. France was Israel's main source of military equipment before 1967 and provided the know-how and probably the fuel for Israel's nuclear program, begun in 1958. The French–Israeli relationship was based on mutual antipathy toward Arab nationalism and especially Nasir, during the Algerian War of Independence (1954–1962).

The United States proposed more than one Arab-Israeli peace scheme before 1956, but Cold War geopolitics drew the United States closer to Israel as self-styled progressive regimes emerged in Egypt (1954), Iraq (1958), and Syria (1966) that espoused Arab unity and socialism, opposed U.S. hegemony, and received Soviet weapons and aid. Like prerevolutionary Iran, Israel was a counterweight to these states. A strategic relationship including the supply of heavy weapons began to develop between the United States and Israel after 1956, and a threshold to more sophisticated weapons was crossed when President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) authorized the supply of Hawk anti-aircraft missiles in 1963. While the emerging alliance with Israel balanced Egypt and other Soviet clients, both Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969) and Kennedy hoped that Israel would abandon its nuclear weapons program if it received sufficient conventional arms.

In the June 1967 war Israel conquered Egypt's Sinai peninsula, the Palestinian West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza, and Syria's Golan Heights. Israel's decisive victory over the Arabs was celebrated in the United States as the triumph of an ally against Soviet proxies. The United States now became Israel's main patron, and aid—especially military aid—grew exponentially. In part this was driven by a postwar arms race. The Soviets supplied Egypt and Syria with new and more advanced weapons after 1967 and, again, after the Yom Kippur/Ramadan War of October and November 1973. U.S. policy was to ensure that Israel kept an advantage in conventional weapons. The doctrine that Israel is a strategic asset became fixed in U.S. policy circles during the Nixon administration.

The 1973 war showed the dangers of letting the Arab-Israel conflict fester. Israel threatened to use nuclear weapons if not resupplied promptly, resulting in a U.S. airlift of weapons. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait responded by declaring a boycott of oil sales to the United States and the Netherlands and reducing output. Separately the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) quadrupled the price of oil. Near the end of the war a Soviet–American confrontation was narrowly averted. A more positive inducement to pursue peace was Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat's (1918–1981) courtship of the Americans and the opportunity of replacing the Soviets as Egypt's patron. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's (b. 1923) shuttle diplomacy produced disengagement agreements in the Sinai and Golan Heights in 1974 and 1975.

In November 1967 the United States had cosponsored UN Security Council Resolution 242, which called upon Israel to withdraw from (unspecified) territories occupied in the recent war in exchange for peace with its Arab neighbors. This land-for-peace formula remains the basis of proposals to settle the Israeli-Arab/Palestinian conflict. In the 1970s and 1980s the United States supported Israel's desire for treaties of peace and normalization with the Arab states, refusing to deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), led by Yasir Arafat's (1929–2004) Fatah organization. The Americans envisioned the return of most of the West Bank to Jordan, but the Jordan option was undermined by PLO diplomatic gains and Israeli colonization in the occupied territories. In December 1988 the United States opened a formal dialogue with the PLO after it declared its goal of a state in the West Bank and Gaza and accepted Israel.

In the 1980s the strategic relationship between the United States and Israel deepened, whereas differences persisted over the path to regional peace. Israel annexed greater East Jerusalem in 1981 and stepped up settlement activity in the occupied territories over ineffectual opposition by Presidents Jimmy Carter (b. 1924) and Ronald Reagan (1911–2004). Israel entangled the United States in its bid for mastery in Lebanon between 1982 and 1984, resulting in the death of 241 U.S. marines in Beirut and a rare instance of U.S. retreat.

In the 1990s Presidents George H. W. Bush (b. 1924) and Bill Clinton (b. 1946) took an active role in promoting Israeli–Palestinian negotiations. The 1991 Madrid conference and subsequent working groups made little headway politically but established a framework for discussing economic ties between Israel and the Arab states. After Israel and the PLO agreed to the 1993 Oslo Declaration of Principles, Clinton strove to move the Oslo process forward over the next several years. Though it failed, the Oslo process showed how the land-for-peace and two-state concepts might be applied in a viable settlement.

Egyptian Billboard in Support of Peace Negotiations with Israel, March 1979. *This billboard in Cairo carries the images of American president Jimmy Carter and Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat along with an expression of support for Carter's efforts to achieve peace between Egypt and Israel.* © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Between the 1970s and 2000s the Arab–Israeli conflict was transformed from a conflict between states in a Cold War context into an asymmetrical struggle between Israel and the Palestinians for possession of the occupied territories. Egypt normalized relations with Israel in 1979, followed by Jordan in 1994. After Madrid several other Arab states established sub-ambassadorial contacts with Israel. A 1982 Arab League peace plan envisioned creating a Palestinian state in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 and called on the U.N. to ensure "guarantees for peace for all the states of the region," including Israel. In March 2002 the Arab League explicitly offered full normalization of relations with Israel in exchange for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories.

In the same period U.S. policy evolved dramatically from tacit acceptance of Israel's territorial gains soon after the 1967 war to President George W. Bush's June 2002 statement envisioning a Palestinian state alongside Israel. American opinion remained divided over whether the continuing conflict is part of the larger "war on terrorism" or itself something that feeds anti-Americanism and terrorism. Pro-Israel pressure groups gained a place in policy discussions that they lacked earlier, complicating policymaking in unusual ways. Israel's 2005 withdrawal of military forces and settlements from the Gaza Strip

was seen by many as a step toward an eventual political settlement. However, Israel's policy of annexing several large settlement blocks in East Jerusalem and the West Bank seemed an obstacle to the creation of a viable Palestinian state.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PERSIAN GULF FROM 1979 TO 2003

Four events in 1979 shaped U.S. policy as it is today. In April Egypt became the first Arab state to normalize relations with Israel, regaining the Sinai. This enabled the United States to develop a strategic alliance with Egypt, which became the second greatest recipient of American aid after Israel.

Two months earlier the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989) returned to Iran at the culmination of a popular revolution that overthrew the shah. The United States lost its strongest ally in the Persian Gulf and the twin pillars policy was in ruins. The November takeover of the U.S. embassy and the imprisonment of American personnel for 444 days, known as the hostage crisis, poisoned what was left of American–Iranian relations. In July Saddam Hussein assumed the presidency of Iraq in a bloody purge. A year later he invaded Iran's oil-rich Khuzistan province, claiming it for the Arab nation.

In December the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan to save a beleaguered communist regime, raising old fears of a Russian advance toward the Gulf.

The United States responded to the Iranian revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by becoming more directly committed in the Gulf. The Carter Doctrine of January 1980 declared, "Any attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." To put teeth in this policy the United States created a Rapid Deployment Force that later evolved into the Central Command (Centcom) of the U.S. military. The new strategy, carried forward by the Reagan administration, still relied on local allies—Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf Arab states—while planning for the direct use of American forces. State of the art military and air bases were constructed in Saudi Arabia, and the Saudis purchased Airborne Warning and Command Systems (AWACS) planes and advanced fighter aircraft. Supplies and equipment were prepositioned in Saudi Arabia, other Gulf states, and Egypt. The navy acquired a forward base in the Indian Ocean by leasing the island of Diego Garcia from Britain. These preparations enabled the United States to respond rapidly and effectively when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990.

At the same time it prepared for the defense of the Gulf, the United States intervened against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Even before the Soviet invasion, the United States and its allies, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, had supported anticommunist *mujahideen* (holy warrior) fighters in Afghanistan. During the Reagan administration money, expertise, and materiel flowed into Afghanistan through Pakistan. Allies such as Saudi Arabia encouraged volunteers to join the mujahideen, and thousands of Muslims did so. After the Soviets withdrew in 1989, some of these Arab-Afghan veterans joined radical Islamist movements back home, in places such as Algeria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. The most famous of the Arab-Afghan veterans is Osama Bin Laden (b. 1957).

During the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) the Reagan administration assisted Iraq, judging Iran's revolutionary regime to pose the greater danger. Aid to Iraq was stepped up in 1982 after a successful Iranian counteroffensive. In 1986 and 1987 the Soviets and the United States reflagged Kuwaiti tankers to protect them from Iranian attack, and the U.S. Navy engaged in the tanker war with Iran in 1988, leading to Iran's acceptance of a ceasefire that year.

The United States supported Iraq without illusions, except in underestimating Saddam's capacity for miscalculation. Condemnation of his invasion and annexation of Kuwait in August 1990 was nearly universal. President George H. W. Bush assembled a broad coalition of forces that ejected the Iraqis from Kuwait in February 1991. The coalition had a UN mandate to liberate Kuwait, not to carry the war to Iraq itself or to overthrow Saddam. Nevertheless, Bush compared Saddam to Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and made his removal a goal. A postwar UN Security Council resolution imposed economic sanctions on Iraq to force it to divest itself of unconventional weapons (weapons of mass destruction, or WMD). However, the Bush and Clinton administrations, backed by Britain, sought to use the sanctions for regime change. Several covert operations were launched in the 1990s, and the no-fly zones in the south and north of Iraq were used aggressively. Some analysts argued that American policy gave Saddam no incentive to cooperate in disarming, and controversy grew over the effect of the sanctions on Iraqi civilians, which included high child mortality.

Bin Laden and other radical Islamists have articulated the goal of establishing a new caliphate. However, his war against the United States and its allies, including his native Saudi Arabia, appears to have been triggered by the stationing of American forces on Saudi soil during and after the Kuwait war, which he found intolerable. President George W. Bush declared a "war on terror" in response to the September 11, 2001 (9/11) attacks by Bin Laden's al-Qaeda organization on New York and Washington, DC. Between October and December 2001 the United States and its allies including Afghan militias defeated the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which harbored Bin Laden, but he eluded capture. The United States invaded Iraq in March 2003 with far less international support, alleging that Saddam still possessed WMD and was reviving WMD programs, and that he posed a threat. Less directly Iraq was alleged to be involved in the 9/11 attacks. Neither allegation proved to be true. American and allied forces made little headway against a post-invasion insurgency, while an Iraqi transitional assembly was unable to achieve consensus on a new constitution scheduled to be voted upon in an October 2005 plebiscite.

In addition to invading and occupying two countries in the Middle East and Central Asia, Bush introduced two novel foreign policy ideas. In January 2002 he announced a policy of preventive war to keep adversaries from developing the capacity to pose a threat. The Iraq war was justified mainly on that basis. The other idea, invoked before and since the war, was the promotion of democracy and free markets, which he associated with peace and development.

President Bush in Aqaba, June 4, 2003. *American president George W. Bush strolls with (left to right) Palestinian Authority president Mahmoud Abbas, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, and King Abdullah II of Jordan following a meeting in the Jordanian Red Sea port of Aqaba. The four leaders had met to discuss peace efforts in the region.* © REUTERS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

A NEW GREAT GAME?

Nineteenth-century Anglo–Russian rivalry in Central Asia was once known as the Great Game. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, a version of the Great Game appears to have revived, with the United States in Britain's role. During the twenty-first century more U.S. troops are deployed by Centcom in Central and Southwest Asia than in Europe and East Asia combined, and the United States has basing and military aid agreements with numerous countries in the two regions. There is likely to be a long-term American presence in Central and Southwest Asia (including the Persian Gulf) regardless of the short-term outcome of the Iraq war, due to the perception that American hegemony is the surest way to protect the industrial world's—and America's—supply of oil. Efforts to mediate an Israeli-Palestinian settlement will continue out of a recognition that failure to do so would undermine this and other U.S. policy goals in the rest of the region.

SEE ALSO *Oil; Suez Canal and Suez Crisis.*

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'URABI REBELLION

The 'Urabi Rebellion (1881–1882) occurred when an Egyptian army colonel, Ahmad 'Urabi, led a movement to subject Egypt's hereditary Ottoman governor, Khedive Tawfiq, to constitutional rule and lessen the country's reliance on European advisors. The rebellion provoked the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, which, although it officially ended in 1922, continued in the Suez Canal Zone until 1956.

Prior to the rebellion, Egypt had become deeply indebted to European creditors as a result of expensive development projects, such as the digging of the Suez Canal. Egypt declared bankruptcy in 1876 and accepted British and French control of its revenues (called the Dual Control) to ensure repayment of the debt. When in 1879 Khedive Isma'il threatened to repudiate the debt, he was deposed and replaced by his more pliable son, Tawfiq. In part because Tawfiq accepted the Dual Control and a financial system that assigned 60 percent of revenues to debt payment, people from many different social classes opposed his rule. Matters worsened in 1880, when Tawfiq passed a law excusing native Egyptians from serving more than four years in the Egyptian army. This decision was intended to ease the burden of military service on peasants but also prevented native Egyptians from rising to any rank higher than colonel. All other officers were descended from the Turco-Circassian elite that had ruled the country during the Mamluk Empire (1249–1517) or were European. Tawfiq attempted to ease matters by appointing an Egyptian colonel, Ahmad 'Urabi, to be his war minister.

'Urabi used his position to demand limits on the khedive's power. On September 9, 1881, 'Urabi, a group of native officers, and urban supporters marched up to Tawfiq's palace. The French and British Controllers came out with Tawfiq to meet the demonstrators. 'Urabi stood in front of the palace and said to Tawfiq: "We are not slaves, and shall never from this day forth be inherited" (Blunt 1967, p. 114). Egypt would be governed by Egyptians, he proclaimed, which inspired the movement to take "Egypt for the Egyptians!" as its rallying cry. The army threatened to withdraw support from Tawfiq unless he allowed the people some form of representative government and a constitution. Unwillingly, he agreed to give legislative powers to the Chamber of Deputies, an advisory council established by Khedive Isma'il. Wilfrid S. Blunt, a British observer, commented, "The three months which followed this notable event were the happiest time, politically, that Egypt has ever known" (Blunt 1967, p. 116). The Egyptians participated in their own government for the first time since the Persians conquered Egypt in 343 B.C.E.; they had a constitution and an elected legislature.

The European Controllers and the Ottoman sultan sided with the khedive against 'Urabi. The British were uneasy, worried that the Chamber of Deputies might repudiate the debt, abrogate the Dual Control, and encourage violence against Europeans and Egyptian Christians. In fact, 'Urabi's government met with religious scholars who signed a *fatwa* (legal opinion) stating that all Egyptians were brothers regardless of religion, but the British, fearing conflict, moved in ships to patrol the harbor of Alexandria.

The presence of British ships contributed to rising tensions in Alexandria, which had a large European population. On June 11, 1882, the tensions climaxed. A fight in a Christian neighborhood turned into a riot that spread rapidly throughout the city. Homes were looted; parts of the city went up in flames. Europeans began to flee to the British ships. Tawfiq saw this as an opportunity to reestablish his control and ordered the British ships to bombard the city with cannons. He then declared 'Urabi a rebel, accused him of inciting the riots in Alexandria, and told his Chamber of Deputies that the rebels were attacking and that they should resist to the last man. Then Tawfiq escaped the chaos and took refuge on a British ship. Subsequently 393 Egyptian leaders, including officials, officers, religious scholars, merchants, artisans, and village headmen, signed a decree on July 29 deposing Tawfiq and declaring him a traitor.

The British launched a full-scale invasion to return Tawfiq to power. The great battle of the British invasion, Tel al-Kabir, was disastrous for the Egyptians. 'Urabi and his followers were arrested, subjected to a trial for rebellion against their rightful ruler (Tawfiq), and exiled. Tawfiq invited the British in to restore his authority.

The 'Urabi constitutionalist movement ended in British occupation. The period from 1882 to 1914 is known as the Veiled Protectorate. Officially, Tawfiq still ruled Egypt as an Ottoman province, and the government was still administered by Ottoman officials. However, British commissioners governed, notably Lord Cromer (1883–1907), and each ministry was attached to a British "adviser" who heavily influenced its policies.

SEE ALSO *Egypt; Empire, British; Empire, Ottoman.*

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V

VALENTIJN, FRANÇOIS
1666–1727

François Valentijn was born on April 17, 1666, in the city of Dordrecht, the Netherlands, as the eldest of seven children of Abraham Valentijn and Maria Rijsbergen. He studied theology at the universities of Utrecht and Leiden. During his life he spent nearly fifteen years as a minister in the Dutch East-Indies (1685–1694 and 1706–1713), mostly in the Moluccan Archipelago. In 1692 he entered into matrimony with Cornelia Snaats (1660–1717) who bore him two daughters. Valentijn died on August 6, 1727, in the city of The Hague. Valentijn is often noted for his role in discussions about early translations of the Bible into Malay. However, his established reputation rests on his multivolume work on Asia titled *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië* (Old and New East-Indies).

REVEREND VALENTIJN IN THE MOLUCCAS

At the age of nineteen, Valentijn was called to the ministry on Ambon Island, the chief trade and administrative hub of the Moluccan Archipelago. In the city of Ambon, he preached in the Malay language and trained local Ambonese assistant ministers, while also having to inspect some fifty Christian parishes in the region.

In the 1600s the catechism and liturgy were offered in so-called High-Malay, which most local Christians did not understand. Valentijn fervently opposed the use of High-Malay and instead propagated Ambon-Malay because, in his opinion, all Christian communities in the Indies understood this local dialect.

During his stay in Ambon, a number of Valentijn's colleagues blamed him for paying too much attention to his wife and making a living from usury. On top of these accusations, he was found guilty of manipulating official church records. The relationship with his colleagues grew tense because Valentijn disliked his task of inspecting the Christian parishes on other islands. In 1694 he returned to the Netherlands where he spent much time on his Bible translation.

In 1705 Valentijn returned to Ambon. During this period, Reverend Valentijn got into a conflict with the governor of Ambon about too much interference of the secular administration in church affairs without the consent of the church administration. This conflict worsened after Valentijn rejected his call by the central colonial administration to the island of Ternate. In 1713 his repeated request for repatriation was finally met.

THE MALAY BIBLE TRANSLATION

In 1693 during a meeting with the Church Council of Batavia, Valentijn announced that he had completed the translation of the Bible into Ambon-Malay. The Church Council refused to publish Valentijn's translation because two years earlier they assigned the task of translating the Bible into High-Malay to the Batavia-based Reverend Melchior Leydecker.

After Valentijn returned to the Netherlands in 1695, he rallied support for his translation. A heated discussion unfolded, in which Valentijn and, amongst others, the Dutch Reformed synods of both the provinces of North- and South-Holland, opposed the critique of Leydecker and the Church Council of Batavia. The Council's

criticism largely concerned Valentijn's use of a poor dialect of Malay. The synods in the Netherlands were not in the position to participate in the debate as most relevant linguists resided in the Indies, but Valentijn's personal network most likely contributed to the support for Valentijn's translation.

In 1706 a special commission of ministers in the Indies inspected a revised edition of Valentijn's translation but still noticed a number of shortcomings. Although Valentijn told the commission that he would redo the translation, the final revised edition was never presented to the Church Council. The Council eventually decided to publish Leydecker's High-Malay translation, which was used in the Moluccas from 1733 onward into the twentieth century.

OUD EN NIEUW OOST-INDIË

From 1719 onward, Valentijn, as a private citizen, devoted himself chiefly to his magnum opus, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië* (*ONOI*), comprising his own notes, observations, sections of writings from his personal library, and materials trusted to him by former colonial officials. In 1724, the first two volumes were published in the cities of Dordrecht and Amsterdam, followed by the following three volumes in 1726. This work comprises geographical and ethnological descriptions of the Moluccas and the trading contacts of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) throughout Asia.

Scholars consider this substantial work the first Dutch encyclopedic reference for Asia. *ONOI* contains factual data, descriptions of persons and towns, anecdotes, ethnological engravings, maps, sketches of coastlines, and city plans, as well as excerpts of official documents of the church council and colonial administration.

Valentijn wrote in an uncorrupted form of Dutch, which many contemporary writers were not able to compete with. The structure of Valentijn's colossal work is rather chaotic: the descriptions of more than thirty regions are erratically spread over a total number of forty-nine books in five volumes, each consisting of two parts, and held together in eight bindings.

Since the publication of *ONOI*, numerous scholars have accused Valentijn of plagiarism. It is true that he included abstracts of other works, such as the celebrated account on the Ambon islands by Rumphius, without referencing them properly. However, general acknowledgment of sources can be found in several places, for example, in his preface to the third volume.

THE INFLUENCE OF VALENTIJN'S WORK

For almost two centuries, Valentijn's work was the single credible reference for Asia. *ONOI* was therefore used as the main manual for Dutch civil servants and colonial administrators who were sent to work in the East Indies.

Valentijn's work is still a major source for historical studies on the Dutch East Indies. For example, the reference book on Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (*The Hague*, 1979–1987) was compiled on the basis of materials derived from Valentijn's work. The importance of *ONOI* for the historical reconstruction of other regions is clearly demonstrated by the publication of English translations of Valentijn's parts concerning the Cape of Good Hope (1971–1973) and the first twelve chapters of his description of Ceylon (1978).

Valentijn's work also proved to be of great importance for the natural history of the Moluccas. Valentijn included in *ONOI* descriptions by Rumphius on, for example, Ambonese animals, while Rumphius's original unpublished manuscript was later lost. In 1754 Valentijn's part on sea flora and fauna was separately published in Amsterdam, and some twenty years later translated into German. It was only in 2004 that the complete *ONOI* was reprinted and made available to a larger public.

SEE ALSO *Dutch United East India Company; Moluccas; Religion, Western Perceptions of Traditional Religions; Religion, Western Perceptions of World Religions; Travelogues.*

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Nationalist Leader Jimmy Stevens, June 1980. *Nagriamel leader Jimmy Stevens, who declared the independence of Espiritu Santo Island in June 1980, stands before local supporters prepared to resist Vanuatu's Prime Minister, Walter Lini.* © **ALAIN DEJEAN/SYGMA/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

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R. F. F. Habiboe

VANUATU

Vanuatu, which assumed this name at independence in 1980, had been known during the previous seventy-four years of colonial administration as the New Hebrides. An archipelago lying within a region of the South Pacific known as Melanesia, only about one-quarter of Vanuatu's eighty-three islands are inhabited. Although the nation's total population is only about 200,000, linguists credit Vanuatu with the greatest number of languages per capita. (A type of pidgin English, called Bislama, serves as lingua franca and the nation's national language.)

Vanuatu's major resources are coconuts, processed and exported as coco and copra (dried coconut meat from which coconut oil is extracted), as well as timber and livestock. The largest importers of these products are Belgium, Chile, and Germany. Vanuatu's tropical island locus makes it a destination for approximately fifty thousand tourists a year, mostly from Australia. Tourism is consequently a major revenue earner, as is Vanuatu's status as an offshore financial center.

Vanuatu is unique in the annals of colonial history. As a *condominium* under joint sovereignty by two nations, administration of the territory and inhabitants of the New Hebrides was shared by France and Britain. The land was not divided into French and British zones,

nor were indigenous islanders (unlike European and Australian settlers) subjects of either the British Crown or the French Republic. Rather, three distinct sets of government operated simultaneously (and often competitively): the British Residency, the French Residency, and the Joint (or Condominial) Administration. Competition was more prevalent than coordination and cooperation.

For example, health, education, and policing systems were established separately by the British and French. The two even released separate sets of weights and measures, stamps, and currency. Certain services were conducted jointly as part of the condominium (e.g., transportation, communications, agriculture, and livestock). Most distinctive was the Joint Court, responsible for dispensing justice for the stateless New Hebrideans. (Nonindigenes were subject, according to their own choice, to either French or British law.)

Greater than the rivalry between the national residencies in Vanuatu was that between missionary churches (Catholic and various Protestant). By competing for the souls of the otherwise animistic Melanesians, the churches indirectly fostered linguistic and political cleavages among the population. Mission schools became the prime venue for formation of the two major competing camps among native New Hebrideans: Anglophone (English-speaking) Protestants and Francophone (French-speaking) Catholics.

Most proindependence leaders emerged from the ranks of Protestant-trained (and often ordained) mission graduates. Most notable was the Anglican priest Walter Lini (1942–1999), who became Vanuatu's first prime minister. Some anticolonial movements were also anti-Western or antimissionary. These included the John Frum cargo cult and the pro-"custom" Nagriamel headed by Jimmy Stevens (1926–1994). The latter spent a decade in prison for his role in an aborted secessionist campaign in the lead-up to independence.

A major challenge to Vanuatu's nationalism and development is overcoming the divisions inherited by the condominial rule, particularly that between Anglophones and Francophones. Prominent Francophone politicians include Maxime Carlot Korman (b. 1941), Jean-Marie Léyé (b. 1932), and Serge Vohor (b. 1955). Anglophone leaders who have tried to succeed the late Walter Lini are John Bani (b. 1941), Donald Kalpokas (b. 1943), and Barak Sope (b. 1951). Political parties have nevertheless created Anglophone–Francophone alliances. France's role as a regional power is periodically contested in Vanuatu's foreign policy, while Australia represents the most significant Anglophone counterweight.

SEE ALSO *Empire, British; Empire, French; Melanesia; Missions, in the Pacific.*

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VESPUCCI, AMERIGO
1451–1512

The continent of America was named after the explorer Amerigo Vespucci, who was born on March 9, 1451, in Florence, Italy. He was the third of four sons of Nastagio and Elisabetta Vespucci, whose family was influential in the city-state that was governed by the Medici family, for whom Amerigo Vespucci later worked. He was well educated and developed interests in astronomy, geometry, physics, mathematics, and maps. These interests also fostered a desire for travel. From 1478 to 1480 Vespucci was attached to the Florentine embassy in Paris, France. In 1492 he left Florence for Seville to look after Medici interests in Spain. This was the same year in which the New World was "discovered" by Christopher Columbus, whose explorations were much admired by Vespucci. At the age of forty-one, Vespucci became director of a mercantile company that supplied ships for long journeys, including the many voyages of discovery that were taking place at this time.

How many voyages Vespucci undertook is disputed; it could have been as many as six. In any case, the earliest voyages were under the Spanish flag, and those of 1501 and 1503 were under the Portuguese flag. Vespucci began his first voyage to the New World on May 10, 1497, and returned in 1498. His company comprised three ships, provided by King Ferdinand of Castille, and explored the north coast of South America with a landing in either Brazil or Guiana. During this first voyage he also sailed into the Caribbean and then west toward Costa Rica; after following the Mexican Gulf coast and going past Florida, the company sailed north and eventually reached the Gulf of St Lawrence. On his second voyage, which departed Cadiz on May 16, 1499, Vespucci served as navigator, and was accompanied by Alonso de Ojeda and Juan de la Cosa. The expedition touched the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa, explored the northeast coast of South America, including the mouth of the Amazon River, and visited the Caribbean islands of Hispaniola and Cuba, as well as

the Bahamas. During this voyage Vespucci also used his mathematical and cartographical skills to calculate the circumference of the earth to within fifty miles.

Soon after the return to Spain in 1500, another voyage was planned and on May 14, 1501, Vespucci departed from Lisbon. This expedition explored the southeastern coast of South America, including the Rio de la Plata, and the southern coast to within 400 miles of Tierra del Fuego, the last southerly land before Antarctica. His fourth voyage was made with Gonzalo Coelho and departed Lisbon on June 19, 1503. These latter voyages led Vespucci to realize that the New World was not Asia/India, the goal of Columbus and other contemporary explorers. His revelation led European mapmakers to redraw maps of the world, among them the German cartographer Martin Waldseemuller, whose proposal to call the newly discovered continent "America" immortalized Vespucci. In 1505 and in 1507 Vespucci undertook two further voyages with Juan de la Cosa in search of gold, pearls, and wood.

Vespucci's contribution to European knowledge of the New World also took the form of letters to contacts in Europe and written descriptions of indigenous peoples of South America and their cultural and agricultural practices. His expeditions facilitated commerce between the New and Old Worlds and the annexation of colonies. Vespucci became a naturalized citizen of Spain in 1505, the same year in which he married Maria Cerezo. In 1508 he was declared Pilot Major of Spain, a distinguished position that he occupied until his death from malaria in Seville on February 22, 1512.

SEE ALSO *Columbus, Christopher; European Explorations in South America.*

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VIRGINIA COMPANY

The Virginia Company was formed in 1606 to restart English colonial ambitions in North America after the failure of the Roanoke colony in the 1580s. Its aims were broadly similar to those that had motivated the first settlement attempts at Roanoke a generation earlier. Among those aims were the discovery of a short route to Asia (the Northwest Passage); to ease English

dependence on imported goods from Europe by growing and shipping produce from America; to provide raw materials such as timber or precious metals that were valued in England; to provide an outlet for a surplus population in England; to reestablish the English claim to North America in the face of French and Dutch interest in settlement; and to prove that the Americas were not a Spanish or Catholic monopoly.

The Virginia Company was a joint-stock company, with investors sharing the risks and the potential profits of colonization, and was closely modeled on the East India Company that had been founded just six years earlier. Although many of those investing in the Virginia Company were merchants with a strong commercial drive for profits, leading politicians and nobles eager to promote English imperial ambitions were also shareholders. The initial charter granted to the Virginia Company in 1606 actually distinguished between two groups of investors, one based in London and the other in Plymouth. Each was given a distinct geographic area to settle in: The London Company was allocated the land between 34 and 41 degrees North, whereas the Plymouth Company was allocated land between 38 and 45 degrees North. Although the Plymouth Company made a short-lived attempt to colonize in what later became New England in 1607–1908, the main colonization effort made by the Virginia Company was that of the London Company in Chesapeake Bay.

The Virginia Company of London was led by men such as Sir George Somers (1554–1610), who had experience fighting the Spanish in the Caribbean; Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), whose *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* had raised the profile of colonization among the English elite; Sir Thomas Smith (1558–1625), also involved in the East India Company; and Captain Edward Maria Wingfield (1560–1613), a soldier with experience fighting the Spanish in the Netherlands. These men had powerful connections with merchants and politicians in London, which ensured that money and supplies were far more forthcoming than had been the case with the Roanoke Colony.

As a joint-stock company, the Virginia Company received no royal finance, but that did not mean the monarchy was completely sidelined from the project. Joint control of the Virginia Company was entrusted to two councils of thirteen individuals, one based in London and appointed by King James I (1566–1625), the other residing in Virginia and appointed by the company. The latter also was permitted to elect the colony's governor.

It was under these conditions that the company successfully recruited 144 men to journey to Virginia in the spring of 1607, but the earliest years of the colony

Landing at Jamestown. *In 1607 the Virginia Company sent three ships to the Atlantic Coast of North America. Those onboard established the Jamestown settlement in present-day Virginia.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

were plagued by poor leadership in Virginia and high mortality rates among settlers. The second charter issued in 1609 altered the political structures of the Virginia Company significantly. James surrendered his role in the company's affairs, in part to allow him to disavow the Virginia Company if they overantagonized Spain, and the Governor became an appointee of the company in London. The changes led to a successful share issue among London's merchants and trade guilds, and the company rapidly equipped a new fleet led by Sir Thomas Gates (1585–1621), with another to follow led by Lord Delaware (1577–1618) in 1610.

The terrible conditions of the "Starving Time" during the winter of 1609–1610 nearly led to the colony being abandoned, and serious doubts were raised in London about the long-term viability and profitability of the colony despite the publication of a number of promotional tracts designed to encourage migration. Lord Delaware had to return to England because of his failing health, which led to a financial low point for the

Virginia Company in 1613. The third and final charter of the Virginia Company, issued in 1612, permitted the establishment of a lottery that eventually became the company's main source of income, since few new investors were forthcoming given the dismal prospects of Virginia.

Experiments with tobacco provided the first hints that the colony might have a profitable future, and by 1614 the first shipments of tobacco from Virginia arrived in London. The crop would be the saving of the colony, since the fabulous profits to be made attracted new migrants. While recognizing the benefits of a cash crop to the viability of the colony, the Virginia Company also tried to prevent overproduction and to promote economic diversity. Unfortunately, oversupply eventually led to a collapse in the price of tobacco in the early 1620s and economic instability throughout the colony.

In 1616 the company paid a dividend to its shareholders of 50 acres of land in Virginia per share. A year

later the company extended its use of free land in an attempt to restart colonization by instituting the headright of 50 acres to go to whomever bore the costs of passage to the New World. This policy encouraged the growth of the system of indentured labor, with the wealthy paying for the passage of workers in return for seven years of free labor. Moreover, in response to the negative publicity that was generated by those returning from Virginia, the company permitted the election of a House of Burgesses in 1619, giving settlers a direct voice in their government.

With these changes and a new man in charge of the Virginia Company, Sir Edwin Sandys (1561–1629), 3,500 people left England for Virginia between 1619 and 1622. However, internal divisions among company officials, and an inadequate response to the 1622 massacre of colonists by local Native Americans, showed how weak the Virginia Company actually was. In 1623 the Privy Council ordered an inquiry into the company's affairs and on May 24, 1624, the charter was recalled and the Virginia Company was officially disbanded.

SEE ALSO *Colonization and Companies; Company of New France; Conquests and Colonization; Massachusetts Bay Company; Tobacco Cultivation and Trade.*

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VOC (VERENIGDE OOST-INDISCHE COMPAGNIE)

SEE *Dutch United East India Company*

W

WAITANGI, DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In August 1839 the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Normanby, issued instructions for a treaty to be concluded between the British Crown and the Maori chiefs of New Zealand. The instructions were prompted by a growing British population in New Zealand (around 2,000 by the end of 1839) that was effectively beyond the scope of British law. The resulting Treaty of Waitangi was first signed on February 6, 1840, and by September of that year around 542 chiefs had put their names to the agreement.

In the Treaty's English text, Maori ceded sovereignty to the Crown, but whether this was sovereignty over Europeans in the colony, or over Maori as well, is subject to debate. The English text also guaranteed Maori full possession of their lands and fisheries, and gave them the same rights as British subjects.

However, there were discrepancies in the Maori version of the Treaty, which was translated by the Anglican missionary Henry Williams. Whether Williams deliberately mistranslated the Treaty is in dispute, but in the Maori version, the chiefs ceded some form of government to the Crown, while retaining their chieftainship—an arrangement that, ironically, was tantamount to a form of sovereignty.

Not all chiefs signed the Treaty, and it is unlikely that every signatory fully comprehended its provisions. Despite this, on May 1840, William Hobson, the colony's Governor and one of the authors of the Treaty, proclaimed British sovereignty over the entire country—satisfied that sufficient Maori endorsement of the Treaty had been received.

SEE ALSO *Pacific, European Presence in; New Zealand.*

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WARS AND EMPIRES

As the fifteenth century was drawing to a close, the nations of western Europe began a process of expansion that would lead, over the next several centuries, to the development of colonial empires in the Americas, Asia, and Africa. The urge to explore, conquer, and settle beyond the boundaries of Europe was manifested in the medieval Crusades to the Middle East, but the major stimulus to overseas expansion came from the discovery in southern and eastern Asia of exotic and valuable goods, especially spices, that became prized objects of trade. The desire of monarchs and merchants in western Europe to gain direct access to these commodities, avoiding Italian and Arab middlemen, encouraged competition to open new sea routes and establish overseas colonies, justified by a commitment to spread the doctrines of Christianity.

The Portuguese and Spanish were leaders in exploration eastward and westward from Europe, and in the

English Fire Ships Attack the Spanish Armada. *Colonization halted briefly during the years of conflict between Spain and England and the appearance in 1588 of the Spanish Armada. In this engraving, England's "fire ships" are shown infiltrating the Armada near Calais, France.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

sixteenth century they created great maritime empires in Asia and the Americas. Other powers followed where they had led, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England, France, and the Netherlands established colonial dominions in the Americas.

The first real colonization began with Spain. Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) sailed west from Spain in 1492, believing the world was not as wide as it actually is at the equator. He thus "discovered" the Caribbean Islands rather than Japan and East Asia. Soon thereafter, other explorers sought a seaborne passage through or around the Americas and began to map the extensive coastlines of the New World.

Columbus's return to Spain in 1493 put Portugal and Spain on a potential collision course as King João II (1455–1495) of Portugal worried about the value of Portugal's expeditions around Africa, and Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Isabella (1451–1504) of Spain wanted to exploit Columbus's discovery. After appealing to the pope, and tensing for a fight, the Iberian neighbors recognized the need to compromise, and they signed

the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. It established a line of demarcation, some 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. West of that line, Spain could establish colonies, and this included all of the New World except Brazil. East of the line of demarcation, Portugal could dominate in Africa and in Asia. The exact line was never clearly established, and the other western European nations did not feel bound by this pact. However, the Treaty of Tordesillas did reduce the chances of conflict between Spain and Portugal, and it created a boundary that was largely respected, with Spain concentrating on the New World and Portugal focusing on Africa and Asia.

European colonization was usually achieved by making war on native peoples. Between about 1500 and 1540, Spain gained a great empire in the Americas by engaging in several wars of conquest, of which the most famous were those conducted in Mexico and Peru. The Spanish wars of conquest invariably succeeded in overcoming much larger Indian forces, thanks to the superiority of European weaponry and other factors, including

Spanish efforts to make alliances with Indian kingdoms, nations, or groups in campaigns against their dominant Indian enemy. This was also true for the Portuguese in Brazil, and the French, English, and Dutch in North America. Spaniards and Portuguese were fighting Indians (with Indian and African assistance) throughout the colonial era. According to John Hemming, "All the Indian wars exploited fatal rivalries between tribes. No Portuguese ever took the field without masses of native auxiliaries to attack their traditional enemies" (1978, p. 178).

In general, the sixteenth-century wars of conquest between Europeans and Native Americans tended to be quite short and of relatively slight mortality (much greater mortality came from epidemic diseases). The fighting between the European colonial powers in the New World also occurred on a very small scale during the sixteenth century, being largely limited to raiding along Spanish trade routes and at poorly guarded ports. European contest for empire in the Americas became more serious in the seventeenth century, as the English and French settled areas neglected by Spain, and the Dutch briefly seized Portuguese territories in Brazil; nonetheless, these occupations were invariably peaceful, because Spain did not have the resources to resist

In 1519 Hernán Cortés (ca. 1484–1547), after participating in the conquest of Cuba, sailed to the coast of Mexico with six hundred soldiers, one hundred sailors, and some horses. He landed near present-day Veracruz, Mexico, and strengthened by Indian allies, he conquered the Aztecs in their capital of Tenochtitlán (now Mexico City). A decade after Cortés's conquest brought the lands and peoples of Mexico under Spanish rule, Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) learned of the riches of the Inca empire. In 1533 he seized the Inca capital at Cuzco. Two years later he founded Lima, and thereby initiated the Spanish conquest and colonization of Peru. From these centers, the Spaniards fanned out into neighboring territories, often using violence to overcome native kings and take control of their lands and peoples, while at the same time unintentionally spreading a variety of Old World diseases that decimated the Native American populations of the New World and undermined their ability to resist.

The French moved into North America following the waterways and animals whose fur had value for coats and hats. Private companies had moved up the Saint Lawrence River by the end of the sixteenth century seeking valuable furs. In 1603 Samuel de Champlain (ca. 1570–1635) explored the area and founded Quebec. In the 1670s Louis Jolliet (1645–1700) moved along the lakes and rivers, found the headwaters of the Mississippi River, and floated down to the Ohio River, claiming the

entire basin for New France. The French sent few settlers, and fur trappers and soldiers frequently coupled with Native American women.

Finally, the English arrived, seeking to recreate parts of the societies they had left. The first English colony, established in 1587 on Roanoke Island off the coast of present-day North Carolina, disappeared mysteriously. In 1607 the English established a second colony at Jamestown in Virginia. In 1620 English Puritans seeking freedom to follow their religion settled at Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts. William Penn (1644–1718), a Quaker, spurred settlement of Pennsylvania in the 1680s, and during the mid-1600s Lord Baltimore (Cecil Calvert, ca. 1605–1675) established Maryland as a refuge for Catholics.

Settlers soon moved from Virginia into North Carolina, then to South Carolina, and thereafter across the Cumberland Gap into present-day Kentucky and the great lands across the Appalachian Mountains. There were small pockets of Dutch and Swedish settlement, but the English soon overran them. While Penn, a devout Quaker, signed treaties with Native Americans and tried to befriend them, relations between European settlers and Native Americans were generally difficult, marked by fighting, allegations of massacres, and profound cultural differences.

As Europe engaged in several hundred years of warfare, those conflicts evidenced themselves in the New World. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European wars tended to spill over into the Americas, especially into the Caribbean, but increasingly into North America as well. Colonization halted briefly during the years of conflict between Spain and England and the appearance in 1588 of the Spanish Armada, a fleet of warships sent to invade England. Four major conflicts ensued in Europe; these were complemented by wars between the French and British colonists in North America.

The first three wars—King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and King George's War (1744–1748)—resulted in few changes in the colonies. The British gained Acadia (in eastern Canada) from the French during Queen Anne's War, and renamed it Nova Scotia. Generally, however, despite depredations along the thinly settled frontier between the British colonies in New England and French and Indian areas in French Canada, there was little change.

The fourth war, known as the French and Indian War (1754–1763) in America and the Seven Years' War (1756 to 1763) in Europe, resulted in a total British victory after the capture from the French of Fort Duquesne in Pennsylvania and Louisbourg in Nova Scotia in 1758, Quebec in 1759, and Montreal in
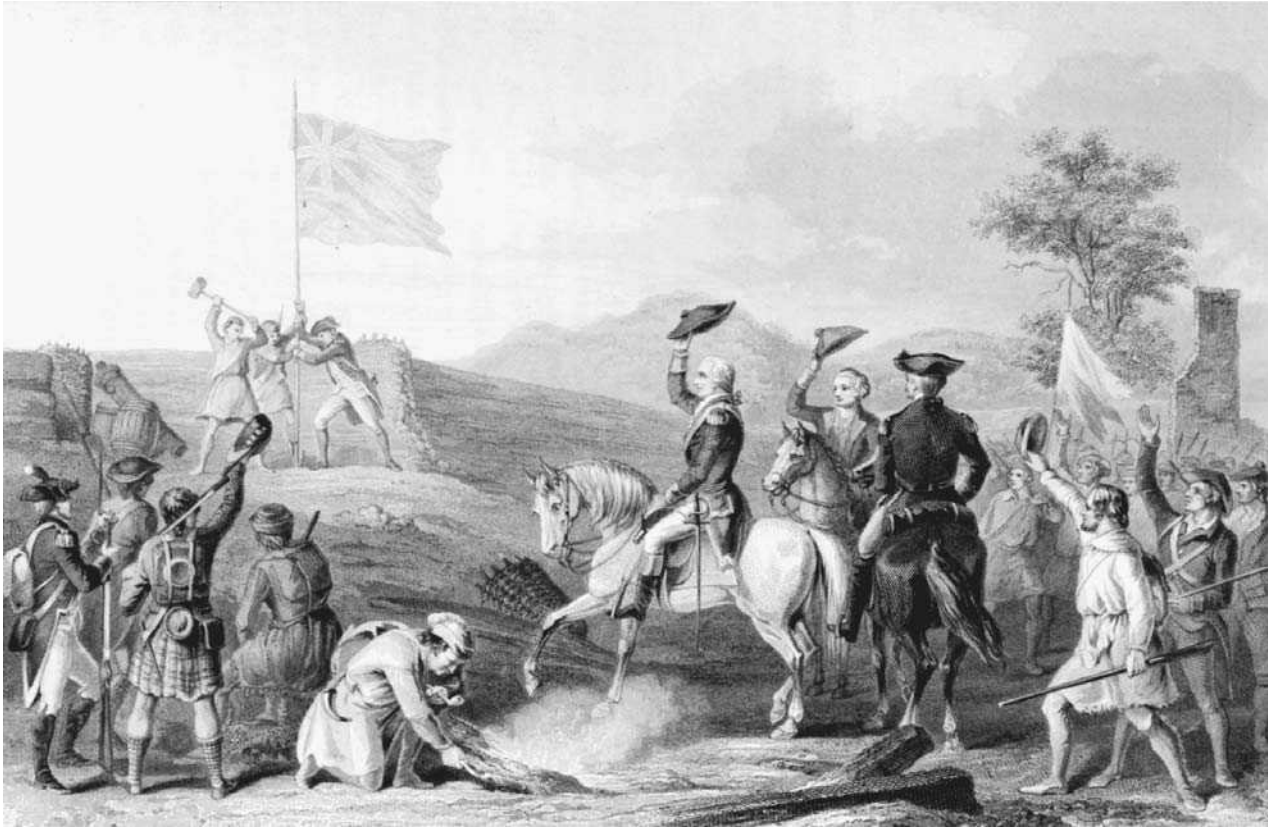
General Washington Captures Fort Duquesne. *The French and Indian War resulted in a total British victory after the capture from the French of several key forts, including Fort Duquesne in Pennsylvania in 1758. George Washington's men are shown in this nineteenth-century engraving raising the British flag at Fort Duquesne after seizing the fort from the French.* HULTON ARCHIVE/ GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1760. France also subsequently ceded New France to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris of 1763. Louisiana had been transferred to Spanish control a year earlier. When Europeans came to fight one another for empire in North America in the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century, what are known as the "French and Indian" wars actually amounted to "European and Indian" wars that involved African and black soldiers, militia, and various rebels as well.

Britain amassed large debts during the French and Indian War, and expected its North American colony to pay its share for the removal of the French and Indian threat. The change in British policy met with strong colonial opposition, shaping a movement of protest and resistance that ultimately led to the American Revolution. From 1763 through 1775, it became increasingly clear that a mature English society and polity had developed in North America, and the bonds of empire were broken. Fighting between British soldiers and American colonists began in April 1775 at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts, and thereafter a series of campaigns

indicated the depth of the challenge facing the British. After the surrender in 1777 of British General John Burgoyne (1723–1792) at Saratoga in New York, France openly supported the American rebels, and Great Britain found itself involved in a broader conflict. In 1783 Britain conceded independence to the thirteen colonies.

More important than the fate of Britain's North American colonies were the valuable island holdings in the Caribbean. There, slave labor helped satisfy profitable markets in sugar and other commodities that were rare in Europe. When enslaving Native Americans proved inadequate to labor demands, as it did for the Spanish in America, European nations engaged in a lively slave trade with West Africa, forcing the migration of millions of sub-Saharan Africans to the New World. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, British privateers (ship captains chartered by the English Crown) preyed on Spanish treasure ships laden with gold and silver returning to Spain, although weather was as much a threat as piracy. Later, as sugar plantations spread, European navies led

attacks on different islands to secure better port anchorages, to gain improved farm lands, and to defend other holdings.

The Napoleonic Wars of the late 1700s and early 1800s further weakened colonial power in the Americas. A slave rebellion begun in 1791 in Haiti eventually succeeded, and Haiti gained independence from France. Although the French received help from Spanish and British forces, none of whom were eager to see slave revolts hurt lucrative holdings in the Caribbean, the slave army, commanded mostly by Toussaint L'Ouverture (1743–1803), achieved its final victory at Vertiéres, and Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) conceded Haitian independence in 1803. Without Haiti as a gateway, Napoléon forced the retransfer of Louisiana from Spain and then sold the vast territory between the Mississippi River and the Continental Divide, including the port of New Orleans, to the United States for $15 million.

As the Napoleonic Wars ended, and as the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) sought to impose stability and restore the old order, the New World continued to evolve. Napoléon had sold French Louisiana and thus he created a potential juggernaut, which soon would push for West Coast ports and access to the Pacific Ocean. The Spanish Empire was straining at the seams, as Simón Bolívar (1783–1830) and José de San Martín (1778–1850) led independence movements that would liberate Central and South America. The nineteenth century would bring even greater changes to the New World. The "Indian wars" continued in the Americas until the late nineteenth century, not only in the United States, but in Mexico, Central America, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.

SEE ALSO *Buccaneers; Treaty of Tordesillas.*

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WARRANT CHIEFS, AFRICA

The British administrative system of indirect rule incorporated the indigenous elite in the administration of some African colonies. Although the powers of African collaborators have been exaggerated, British rule would have faced severe difficulties of finance and personnel if Africans were not employed to administer local regions. British officials were paid higher salaries and were available in very limited numbers.

In areas with centralized political institutions, such as the Buganda Kingdom in present-day Uganda and the Islamic emirates of northern Nigeria, the British employed a policy of indirect rule in which existing indigenous chiefs helped to govern Britain's African possessions. The indirect rule system was elevated to the level of an administrative ideology by Frederick Lugard (1858–1945), first colonial governor of Nigeria, and the system was applied vigorously to Nigeria and other colonial territories in Africa.

The warrant chief system emanated as a matter of necessity from the lack of preexisting chieftaincy traditions in some parts of Africa. There were parts of British colonial territories, such as the Igbo region of eastern Nigeria, which had no tradition of chieftaincy intuitions. The British appointed willing participants or collaborators and gave them "warrants" to act as local representatives of the British administration among their people. The French, Belgians, and Portuguese, practicing
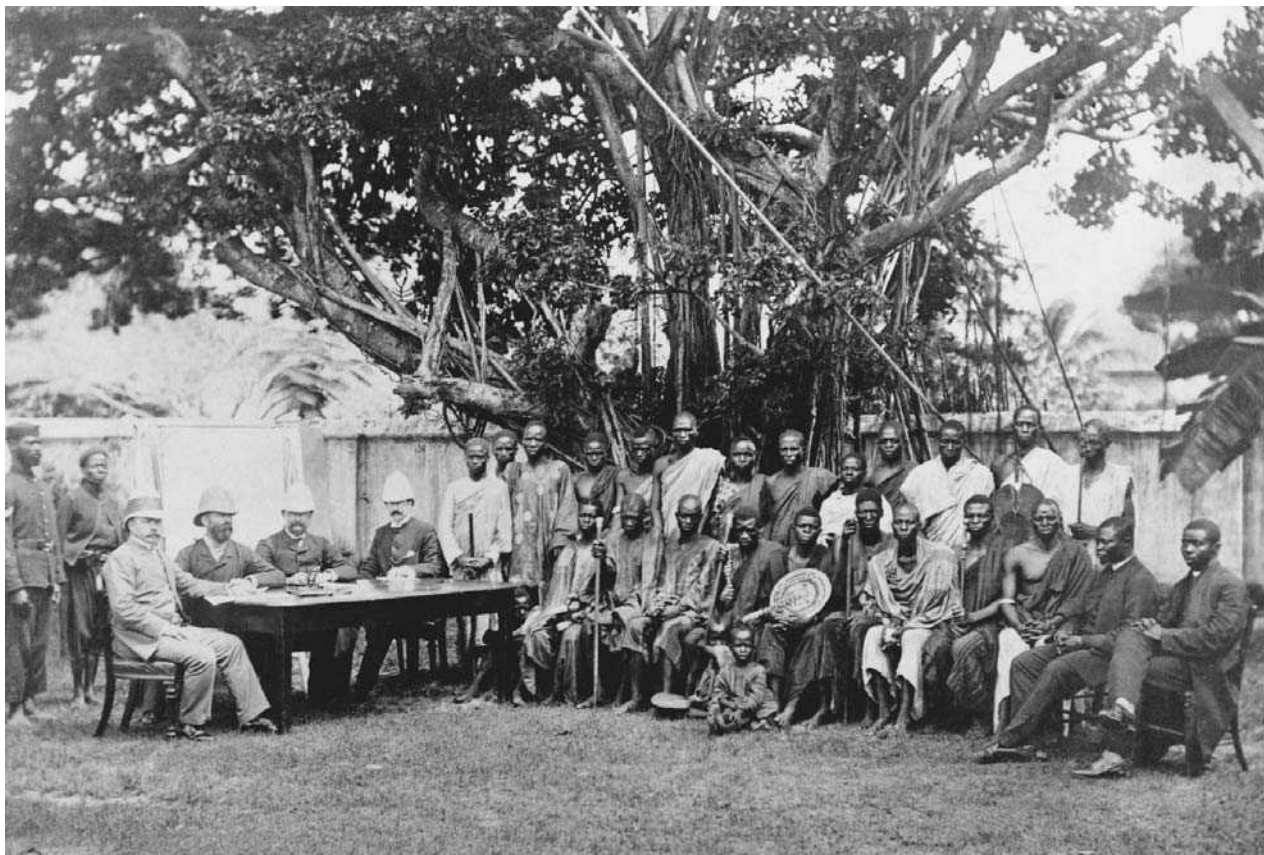
British Colonial Administrators Meet with Nigerian Representatives. *During the colonial period in Africa, the British appointed African collaborators and gave them "warrants" to act as local representatives of the British among their people. This meeting between British administrators and African representatives took place in Lagos, Nigeria, in the early twentieth century.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

so-called direct administration, also appointed provincial chiefs to assistant in local administration. The appointment of warrant and provincial chiefs was an invention of traditions that have continued in different forms today.

The British failed to realize, however, that some parts of Africa were unfamiliar with the idea of "chiefs" or "kings." Among the Igbo, for example, decisions were made by protracted debate and general consensus. The new powers given to the warrant chiefs and enhanced by the native court system led to an exercise of power and authority unprecedented in precolonial times. Warrant chiefs also used their power to accumulate wealth at the expense of their subjects. Through this process, colonial officials tended to create or recreate a patriarchal society because only men were appointed as warrant chiefs.

The appointment of warrant chiefs created significant problems and engendered large-scale resentment among African people. The warrant chiefs were hated because they were corrupt and arrogant. One of the most important acts of resistance to the warrant chief system

occurred among the Igbo of eastern Nigeria during the famous 1929 women's revolt in which thousands of peasant women protested against the introduction of taxes, the warrant chief system, and the low prices of agricultural produce emanating from the global depression of the late 1920s. The indirect rule and warrant chief systems were particularly foreign to existing political structures.

The women's protests, which started in Oloko Bende Division in eastern Nigeria, quickly spread throughout the Owerri and Calabar provinces, culminating in massive revolts called *Ogu Umunwanyi* or the "Women's War" among the Igbo. By December 1929, when troops restored order in the region, the women had destroyed ten native courts and damaged a number of others, and about fifty-five women were killed by the colonial troops. In addition, the houses of warrant chiefs and native court personnel were attacked, European factories at Imo River, Aba, Mbawsi, and Amata were looted, and prisons were attacked and prisoners released.

The women called for the revocation of the warrant chief system, the removal of warrant chiefs whom they accused of high-handedness, bribery, and corruption, and their replacement with indigenous clan heads appointed by the people rather than by the British.

Throughout late December 1929 and early January 1930, the commission of inquiry set up to investigate the remote and immediate causes of the women's movement sat in over thirty locations throughout the eastern region to collect evidence and recommend punishment for the actors or their communities. Nevertheless, the 1929 Women's War brought about fundamental reforms in British colonial administration. The British finally abolished the warrant chief system and reassessed the nature of colonial rule among the natives of Nigeria. Several colonial administrators condemned the prevailing administrative system and agreed to the demand for urgent reforms based on the indigenous system. Court tribunals that incorporated the indigenous system of government that had prevailed before colonial rule were introduced to replace the old warrant chief system.

SEE ALSO *Britain's African Colonies; Igbo Women's War; Indirect Rule, Africa.*

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Chima J. Korieh

WESTERN THOUGHT, MIDDLE EAST

The interest taken by the Islamic world in Western thought prior to the colonial period was selective and spasmodic. The expansion of Islam in the centuries following the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 C.E. quickly brought Muslims into contact with populations rooted in other cultural traditions, such as those of ancient Greece and Persia, and during the Abbasid period (749–1258 C.E.), an institution known as the House of Wisdom (Bayt al-Hikma) was established in Baghdad to facilitate the translation of Greek and other texts.

A large number of important works were translated into Arabic during this period, often through the intermediate language of Syriac, including works by Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), Plato (ca. 427–347 B.C.E.), and Ptolemy (second century C.E.), but the selection of works was primarily practical and utilitarian. Greek learning was translated when it was felt that it could supply a need or serve the interests of those in positions of authority, either religious or political. Many works of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and other sciences were accordingly translated into Arabic, but little or no attention was paid to works of Greek literature, from which the Muslims felt they had nothing to learn.

At the other end of the Islamic world, Islamic Spain provided a forum for the cross-fertilization of cultures (Muslim, Jewish, and Christian) from the eighth century C.E. to the fall of Granada in 1492—a phenomenon that has been much studied, though its precise ramifications remain in some cases obscure. Despite its obvious importance for the history of contacts between Islam and the West, however, Islamic Spain was more significant as a channel for the transmission of Greek and Islamic ideas to Christian Europe than for any transmission in the opposite direction. Contact between the two cultures of a different kind was provided by the Crusades, a series of Western military expeditions to the Holy Land between 1095 and 1270, but these are of little or no significance in the present context.

THE OTTOMANS

From the fifteenth to the early twentieth century, much of the Middle East and North Africa remained under the control of the Ottoman Empire, centered on Constantinople (Istanbul, Turkey). Early Ottoman rulers seemed eager to learn from European ideas, both contemporary and classical. Sultan Mehmed II (1432–1481), for example, who had conquered Constantinople in 1453, had the works of Ptolemy and Plutarch (ca. 46–120 C.E.) translated into Turkish, and gathered Italian and Greek scholars around him at his court.

These initiatives, however, lost their impetus as the Ottoman Empire generally lost its vitality, so that, despite contacts on various levels, intellectual exchanges between Europe and the Ottoman Middle East were not of major significance during the succeeding period. It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) made serious attempts to reform the empire, by then threatened with economic and administrative chaos, on the basis of European ideas, opening embassies in major European capitals in order to promote links, and opening the way for the formation of a new educated class of reform-minded intellectuals later in the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile, within the Ottoman Empire, particular ethnic and religious groups had, for different reasons, been maintaining regular intellectual contacts of their own with their counterparts in the West. The Christian Maronite community, centered on Lebanon, had had a college in Rome since 1584, and members of that community were later to play a prominent role in the *nahda*
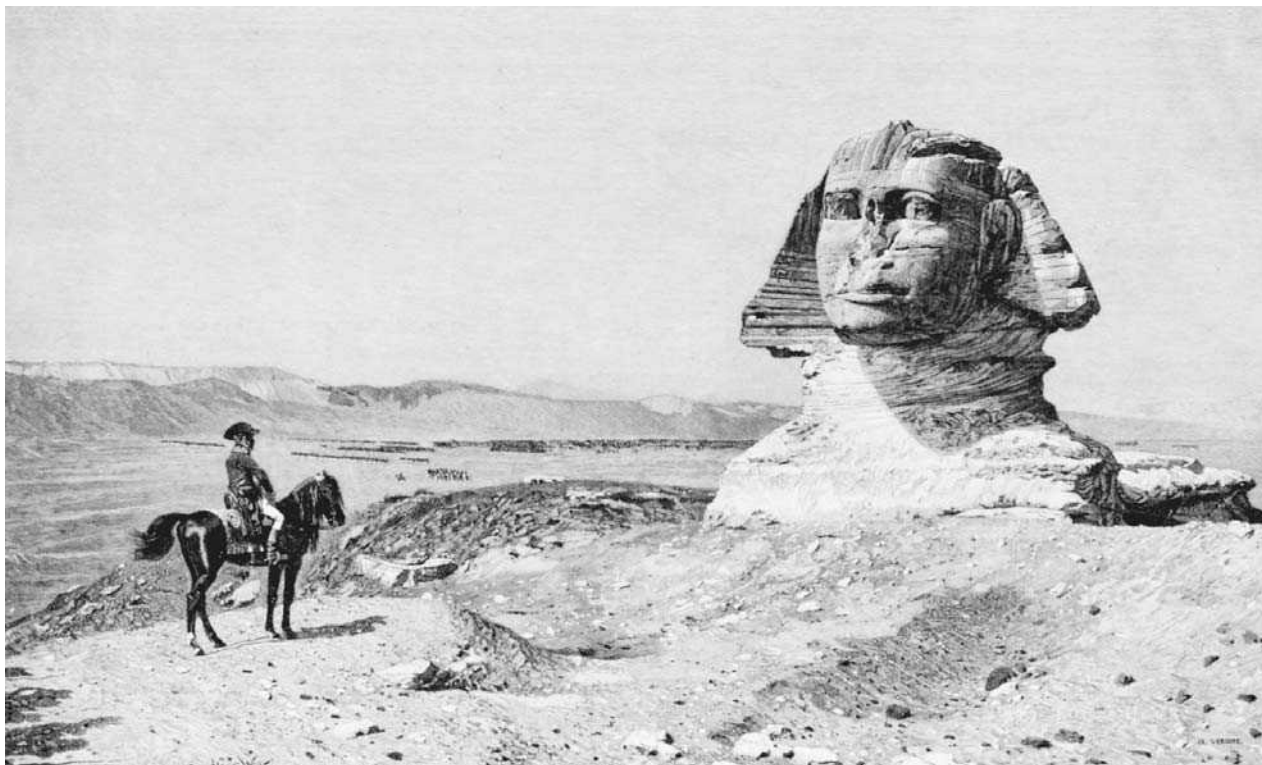
Napoléon in Egypt. *Napoléon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798 gave large numbers of a Middle Eastern population direct exposure to Western ideas in practice. The French emperor is shown in this illustration gazing at the Great Sphinx near Giza.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(the Arab literary and cultural revival) of the nineteenth century.

NAPOLÉON IN EGYPT, 1798–1801

Although a case can be made for other dates as the starting point for the history of the modern Middle East, there can be little doubt that the expedition of Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) to Egypt in 1798 played a major role in laying the foundations for the relationships—intellectual and otherwise—that subsequently developed between the West and the central Islamic world. Itself largely a product of Anglo–French colonial rivalry, Napoléon's expedition for the first time gave large numbers of a Middle Eastern population direct exposure to Western ideas in practice: these included not only intellectual and cultural institutions, such as the printing press, newspapers, and Western-style theater, but also representative institutions, such as administrative councils, embodying the ideals of democracy and of the French Revolution (1789–1799). Meanwhile, teams of scholars and savants roamed Egypt constructing a detailed survey of the country, subsequently published in several volumes as the *Description de l'Egypte* (1810–1829).

The reaction of educated Egyptians to these developments was, not surprisingly, an ambiguous one. The most prominent Egyptian intellectual to have witnessed the invasion, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti (1753–1825), expressed contempt for the French as materialists and the enemies of Islam; in other passages of his account, however, he speaks with enthusiasm not only of their scientific and cultural achievements, but also of their sense of justice and fair play, which he regarded as superior to that of the Ottomans. This ambiguous attitude toward the ideas of the West—a combination of suspicion and admiration—forms the starting point for many of the subsequent discussions during the nineteenth century, when Muslim reformers and the champions of secularism alike strove to reformulate the guiding principles of Middle Eastern society in the light of the perceived new challenges of the West.

EARLY VIEWS OF EUROPE

These nineteenth-century debates were fueled by an interchange of ideas in which travel, both east to west and west to east, played a large part. In Egypt, the reign of Muhammad 'Ali (1769–1849), who established himself as a virtually independent ruler in the wake of the

departure of the French, and who modeled himself to some extent on Selim III, saw foreign instructors imported into Egypt to provide the military and administrative expertise required to run the country. At the same time, Egyptian students were dispatched to study in the West, mainly France. On their return, these students were often required to translate the textbooks from which they had studied—a process that laid the foundations for the nineteenth-century translation movement that played a significant part in the transmission of Western ideas to the Islamic world during this period.

Among the most interesting of these early travelers to the West was Rifa'a Rafi'al-Tahtawi (1801–1871), a religious imam who served as leader of the first Egyptian educational mission to France from 1826 to 1831. On returning to Egypt, he embarked on a distinguished career in public service that included the directorship of the School of Translation. His *Takhlis al-ibriz ila talkhis? Bariz* (The refinement of gold for the summary of Paris) (1869), which offers a lively account of his encounter with Western society, set a pattern for many subsequent works, both autobiographical and fictional, inspired by visits to Europe. Al-Tahtawi's account of his stay in French society, which included meetings with some of the leading Orientalists of the day, is often surprisingly sympathetic, and his writing reveals the influence of wide reading in the works of eighteenth-century French thought, including Voltaire (1694–1778), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), and Montesquieu (1689–1755).

Although al-Tahtawi's views on the nature of the state and the relationship between ruler and ruled—topics treated at some length in *Manahij al-albab al-misriyya fi mabahij al-adab al-'as?riyya* ("The ways of Egyptian minds in the delights of modern manners") (1869)—remained essentially rooted in the Islamic tradition, his writings introduce a number of themes that were shortly to be commonplaces among Arab and Muslim thinkers. These included the idea that within the Islamic community *(umma)* there could be national communities demanding the loyalty of the subject, and the suggestion that the Islamic world should not shy away from adopting modern European science in order to adapt to the modern world. Implicit in much discussion of this sort was a central problematic: how to reconcile the belief in a divinely revealed religion and the all-embracing set of religious law (the Islamic *shari'a*) that accompanied it, with the idea that laws should be made by governments in the interests of their subjects? Or, to pose the problem more generally, how could the practice of Islam be reconciled with the needs of the modern world? And if Islam had claim to be the definitive divine revelation, how was it that the Islamic world had fallen behind Europe in so many material respects?

It was not only in Egypt that these questions were acquiring an importance in the middle years of the nineteenth century. In Tunis, the capital of Tunisia, the reformist Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi (1822/3–1889) produced a monumental work, *Aqwam al-masalik fī ma'rifat al-mamalik* (1867), in which he reviewed the history and political and economic structures of a number of European countries, as well as those of the Ottoman Empire itself. In the most interesting part of the work, the *Muqaddima* (meaning "Introduction," a title borrowed from his illustrious fellow-countryman Ibn Khaldun [1332–1406]), the author argued in favor of trying to emulate the progress of the West, which in his view sprang from a combination of representative government and the fruits of the Industrial Revolution.

In the meantime, similar sets of questions were being addressed in a somewhat different form further east by members of Christian communities centered on Lebanon and Syria, whose perspective, unencumbered by the weight of Islamic tradition, was in some respects more flexible. Among the most prominent of these were the ruggedly individualist Faris (later Ahmad Faris) al-Shidyaq (1804–1887) and Butrus al-Bustani (1819–1893), a member of the extensive Bustani family who collectively were to play a leading role in the nineteenth-century *nahda* (revival) in its Syro-Lebanese form.

One of the most fascinating characters of the nineteenth-century Middle East, al-Shidyaq's loyalties embraced at least two sects of Christianity before his conversion to Islam around 1865. His *al-Saq 'ala al-Saq* (Leg Over Leg) (1855), which has been likened to the sixteenth-century narrative *Gargantua and Pantagruel* by the French satirist François Rabelais (ca. 1483–1553), has some claim to be considered the first attempt at modern fiction in Arabic. For his part, many of al-Bustani's ideas echoed those of Ottoman reformists such as the Young Turks—though for obvious reasons, Lebanese Christian intellectuals generally laid more emphasis on notions of religious tolerance and equality than their Muslim counterparts elsewhere.

RELIGIOUS REFORM AND SECULAR THOUGHT

The religious strand implicit or explicit in many of these debates found perhaps its most eloquent expression in the lives and works of the two most prominent religious reformers active in nineteenth-century Egypt, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897) and his disciple Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905), whose lives were closely intertwined. The origins of al-Afghani are slightly obscure, but as his name suggests he certainly hailed from the eastern part of the Islamic world, from either Iran or Afghanistan. His roving life included spells not only in the West but also in India, and both his life and his work

(though he in fact wrote rather little) have a strongly anti-imperialist tone to them. In 1883 al-Afghani published a vigorous article taking issue with the argument of French historian Ernest Renan (1823–1892) on the incompatibility of Islam and science, and it was largely through al-Afghani that the modern European concept of civilization, as expounded by French historian and statesman François Guizot (1787–1874) and others, reached the Islamic world.

Al-Afghani's disciple, the Egyptian Muhammad 'Abduh, was not only a less flamboyant figure than his master but also a more systematic thinker. His association with al-Afghani started when the latter was lecturing at the traditionalist Azhar University in Cairo in around 1869. The two men's collaboration found its most obvious expression in their cooperation on the short-lived weekly periodical *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa* (the Firmest Bond), published in Paris from March to October 1884, which struck a note that simultaneously embraced both anti-imperialism and Islamic reformism.

Muhammad 'Abduh's career was intertwined with the politics of the time, including the resistance to British interference expressed in the 'Urabi Rebellion of 1882. He was for a time imprisoned, but in later life he became a much respected figure both in his native Egypt and beyond. His thought, which found its expression in a commentary on the Qur'an, as well as in an important theological treatise, *Risalat al-tawhid* (Treatise on the Unity of God, 1897), laid emphasis on the reinterpretation of the Islamic *shari'a* in the light of modern conditions, with considerable stress on the idea of the public interest, clearly derived from contemporary European thinking.

Although never universally accepted, Muhammad 'Abduh's influence was undoubtedly greater than that of any other Islamic thinker of his period, and his ideas found echoes in groups of intellectual Muslims in many parts of the Islamic world, from North Africa to Iraq and even beyond. Some thinkers, such as the Syrian Rashid Rida (1865–1935), may be regarded primarily as Islamic modernists, whose work lay in extending and carrying forward the ideas of al-Afghani and 'Abduh without radically changing their direction.

At the same time, however, a number of other, more radical intellectual currents were beginning to gain ground in the region. As in the previous generation, Middle Eastern Christians—whose acquaintance with modern Western ideas had in many cases been fostered through missionary schools—were prominent in this process. Two Arab thinkers in particular may be mentioned in this context: Shibli Shumayyil (1853–1917) and Farah Antun (1874–1922), both of whom made major contributions to Arab secularist thought of the period.

The Syrian-born Greek Catholic Shibli Shumayyil, who trained and practiced as a doctor, played a prominent role during the 1880s and later in popularizing modern European scientific theories, including those of Charles Darwin (1809–1882), but he also wrote extensively on society more generally, many of his ideas being derived from European thinkers such as Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) and Georg Büchner (1813–1837), and he was mainly responsible for spreading the concepts of socialism widely in the Arab world.

This strand of thinking, which openly espoused Darwinian and Freudian ideas, was carried forward by, among others, the Egyptian Copt Salama Musa (1887–1958), who had studied in England, where he made the acquaintance of the playwright and critic Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) and the novelist H. G. Wells (1866–1946) and adopted the philosophy of the Fabian Society, a socialist organization founded in 1884. Marxist ideas were by this time circulating widely among groups of Middle Eastern intellectuals. Although the popularity of Marxism in its more extreme forms has been limited in the Middle East by its often aggressively atheistic associations, this more moderate form of socialism as espoused by Shumayyil and Salama Musa was later to underlie the social and economic structures of a large part of the Arab world following independence in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Unsurprisingly, Shumayyil's ideas, which he advanced with considerable vigor, provoked controversy and opposition among the more conservative elements of the intelligentsia. Equally controversial was the Lebanese-born Farah Antun, whose omnivorous interests may be gauged from the range of his translations, which included not only Rousseau's novel *Émile* (1762), but also German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's (1844–1900) *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Thus Spake Zarathustra, 1883–1885), Renan's *Vie de Jésus* (Life of Jesus, 1863), and works by Maxim Gorky (1868–1936), Anatole France (1844–1924), Chateaubriand (1768–1848), and others. An admirer of Renan, Shumayyil's views on the medieval Arab philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës, 1126–1198) provoked a vigorous confrontation with Muhammad 'Abduh in which the relative merits of Islam and Christianity played a prominent part.

In the meantime, other followers and disciples of Muhammad 'Abduh were developing his ideas in a variety of different directions. Qasim Amin (1863–1908), like Salama Musa, had studied in both England and France, where his experiences and exposure to the liberal intellectual tradition of Europe prompted him to propose changes in the status of women in Egyptian society.

Although his proposals were in fact rather modest, they predictably provoked controversy among his more conservative colleagues. Another of Muhammad 'Abduh's followers, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872–1963), played a prominent role in the development of a modern educational system in Egypt, as well as making contributions to political life and to journalism.

The extent to which the culture of contemporary Arabic thought and writing was by now being influenced by Western ideas can perhaps be most clearly seen, however, in the career and output of the great Egyptian litterateur Taha Husayn (1889–1973), who had learned Greek and Latin in France, attending courses at the Sorbonne in Paris in classical civilization, history, philosophy, and psychology. Much influenced by his Orientalist teachers, who included Eno Littmann, Carlo Alfonso Nallino, and David Santillana, he set out to apply the principles of Western literary criticism to pre-Islamic poetry, provoking an outcry among his conservative colleagues with his claim (no longer accepted) that much pre-Islamic poetry had been forged. Taha Husayn subsequently went on to argue, contrary to much contemporary nationalist debate, that Egypt had always belonged to a wider Mediterranean civilization—in effect, arguing that the future of Egypt lay with Europe rather than the Arab or Islamic world.

NATIONALISM

Religion excepted, the most important debate, or rather, series of debates, preoccupying the Middle East during the last years of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century revolved around different varieties of nationalism. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of this complex phenomenon, but the general political and intellectual context may be summed up briefly in a number of interrelated factors: the progressive weakening of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, prompting both dissent and a number of attempts at internal reform in response to threats from Europe; the growth of European influence on, and control over, many parts of the region, as exemplified by Napoléon's expedition of 1798 and by the British occupation of Egypt from 1881; and the growing sense of self-identity of the various ethnic groups who formed a large proportion of the population of the Ottoman Empire. The last of these factors can be paralleled in several parts of Europe during the same period.

A notable feature of the various national movements active around this time was the extent to which they cross-fertilized each other intellectually. Unlike in India, for example, nationalism in the Arab Middle East was almost always formulated in terms derived from European experience, and its emergence and development was closely bound up with events in the Ottoman Empire itself, including the progress of the reformist Young Turks (Turkish: Jöntürkler) movement.

Influenced by positivist thinkers such as Auguste Comte (1798–1857) and Georg Büchner, the Young Turks—a loose coalition of various reform groups—had their origins in the Istanbul student communities of the late 1880s. An initial conspiracy to unseat the authoritarian Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842–1918) was uncovered before it could be put into effect and several of the group's leaders fled to Paris. Following the formation of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in Turkey, they succeeded in establishing a constitutional government in 1908, consolidating their power in 1913. Despite some success in internal reform, however, including education and the status of women, the Young Turks proved inept in the handling of foreign affairs, and it was only after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 1920s that Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk, 1881–1938) was able to begin to articulate a fully modern Turkish nationalism based on European models.

Arab nationalist thinkers such as Sati' al-Husri (1880–1968) drew on the ideas of Ziya Gökalp (ca. 1875–1924), the Young Turks' theoretician, together with those of such European thinkers as Johann Fichte (1762–1814) and Johann Herder (1744–1803), to produce a sort of Romantic cultural nationalism that later found expression in different countries in various forms, many of them modeled on the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) that came to power in Egypt in 1952.

A somewhat different slant to the Arab nationalist movement was provided by the Syrian Michel 'Aflaq (1910–1989), whose four years of study in France had enabled him to develop a wide-ranging acquaintance with European history and philosophy—studies that underlay the foundation in 1947 of the Ba'th (Renaissance) Party, which subsequently assumed power in Syria and Iraq. In Turkey itself, the final collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the wake of World War I (1914–1918) was followed by the establishment of an officially secular state modeled on European principles, and by the introduction of language reform measures including the substitution of Latin script for the Arabic alphabet. But these measures were nowhere followed in the Arab world.

By contrast with the Arab regions of the Middle East, European influences on Iran, initially at least, came mainly through Russia rather than the countries of western Europe. Russian influence in the area increased dramatically following the Russian invasion of 1826, and the country soon found itself in an unenviable position, sandwiched between the competing economic, political, and diplomatic rivalries of Russia to the north and

British imperial interests in the Indian Subcontinent to the east. The economic and social chaos brought about by World War I was followed by the ousting of the Qajar regime, to be replaced in 1925 by the Pahlavis, who embarked on a program of rapid westernization, accompanied in later years by an increasingly unrestrained apparatus of repression.

The frustration of many Iranians, not least the religious hierarchy, at what appeared to be an increasing loss of national identity was expressed most vividly, if a little belatedly, by the writer Jalal Al-e Ahmad (1923–1969) in his polemical work *Gharbzadegi* (an untranslatable term, broadly equivalent to ''westoxication'' or ''westomania''), first published in 1962. Banned by the Pahlavis, the work circulated underground until the Islamic Revolution of 1979, when it quickly acquired almost cult status—its radically anti-Western tone echoing some aspects of the ideas of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1900–1989). It remains among the most controversial and thought-provoking essays to emerge from modern Iran, and arguably, indeed, from the whole of the Islamic Middle East.

POSTSCRIPT

An interesting twist to debates in the Arab world on relations with the West in the period following World War II (1939–1945) was provided by the existentialist philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), whose idea of commitment, in both literary and political senses, appeared to mirror the mood of the Arab Middle East following the Arab defeat in the Palestine War of 1948 and the Egyptian Free Officers' Revolt of 1952. Commitment *(iltizam)* quickly became the dominant literary and cultural mood of the period, echoing the Romanticism—again, largely derived from Western models—of the interwar years.

The next sea change in the prevailing mood among Arab intellectuals coincided with the Arab defeat in the Six-Day War of 1967, which initiated a period of widespread bitterness and frustration among Arab writers and other intellectuals in the region. More recently, globalization, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, and the failure to find a lasting solution to the Arab–Israeli conflict have again radically shifted both the tone and the focus of the Middle Eastern response to the West. Despite that, it is arguable that the underlying problematic continues to be the one that dogged Muslim intellectuals in the nineteenth century—how to adapt to modern civilization while remaining true to the revelation of Islam.

SEE ALSO *Education, Middle East; Empire, Ottoman; Ideology, Political, Middle East.*

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Paul Starkey

WILSONIANISM

If a single moment can be marked as sounding the death knell of Western colonialism, then surely it was in 1917, as the United States declared war on Germany, when Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924, president from 1913 to 1921) announced that:

> The nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

(ADDRESS TO THE U.S. SENATE, JANUARY 22, 1917)

Woodrow Wilson. *President Wilson (standing center) waves to a crowd in Saint Louis, Missouri, on September 6, 1919, during a speaking tour to promote the League of Nations.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Hence, as the United States had said in 1823 with the Monroe Doctrine that it would interpose itself between the newly freed countries of Latin America, now Washington was proposing guidelines for Europe, the Middle East, and perhaps beyond. Here was the call for "national self-determination" (Wilson's pet phrase) for peoples subjected to colonial rule, Western or otherwise, uttered with clear determination by the greatest power of the twentieth century. To be sure, the chaos of the interwar years made Wilson's announcement appear illusory, and three decades stretched between those momentous words and the independence of India and Pakistan. Still, Wilson attempted to implement the promise of democratic national self-determination immediately, at Versailles, as the victors in World War I deliberated what to do with the peoples released from imperial control with the disintegration of the German, Ottoman, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian empires.

The League of Nations, the precursor organization to the United Nations, was born of his hope, as was the independence of a number of countries of Eastern Europe and the mandate system that prepared certain peoples of the Middle East and Africa for eventual self-government. If only Czechoslovakia emerged much as the American leader had hoped from these grand designs, a framework had nevertheless been established that would guide later American presidents as they worked to refashion international order in the aftermath of World War II and the Cold War. Washington would work, in a word, to create a politically plural world, one free of imperial domination and constituted instead by democratic states linked by multilateral institutions for the sake of preserving the common peace.

The genius of Wilson's design for world order was that it put American traditions and interests together in a package attractive for many of the peoples of the world. The basis of international order, Wilson held, should be democratically constituted states created by self-determining peoples. These states should interact with one another in terms of an open, nondiscriminatory international economic system. Disputes among them should be settled by a system of multilateral institutions based on

WOODROW WILSON'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

In 1917, Woodrow Wilson urged the United States Congress to declare war on Germany. What follows is part of this speech.

"We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made sage for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them."

the premise of collective security (rather than on the standard appeal to balance of power). In short, here was a framework for domestic and international order based on American interests and principles that corresponded to the hopes of nationalists in many other lands as well. Its consequence would be "a world safe for democracy," an international order composed of mutually respecting states interacting with peaceful reciprocity, the best guarantee the United States could have that its national security as a democracy would be preserved. As a result, the term *Wilsonianism* was born, the only *ism* attached to the name of an American president so far as world affairs is concerned. In due course, Wilsonianism was to become synonymous with *liberalism* in world affairs, and as such it has been an active ingredient in American foreign policy ever since.

At the time and since, there were many who disparaged Wilsonianism. Some doubted that democratic government held much appeal for many of the peoples of the world. Others were skeptical that even if democracy were to flower in much of the world it would create [what later liberals came to call] a "pacific union," a "zone of democratic peace" (Russett and Oneal 2001, Chapter 1)—notions that harkened back to the writings of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) in the late eighteenth century that democratic regimes were different from those based on authoritarian rule in that they would be more pacific toward one another. And yet others resisted these liberal appeals as solvents of the authoritarian and imperial systems they vowed to maintain.

The interwar years seemed to prove the skeptics right. The rise of communism and fascism, compounded by the Great Depression, made any hopes of a perfectible future seem utopian indeed. Nevertheless, the framework proposed by Wilson returned to inspire President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) as he called for the creation of the Bretton Woods Accords (1944), which presided over the greatest liberalization of trade and investment in world history; as he oversaw the opening of the United Nations (1945–1946), which sought a new basis for conflict resolution among states; and as he promoted the Atlantic Charter (in 1941) and the Declaration on Liberated Europe (in 1945), which foresaw national self-determination for peoples liberated from Axis domination in World War II, as well as implicitly (and in due course) eventual self-government for those under European colonial rule.

Wilsonianism rested on four essential legs: (1) a call for democratic governments worldwide; (2) an appeal for an open and integrated international economic system; (3) a proliferation of multilateral organizations; and (4) the active involvement of the United States in maintaining this framework for order understood to be working for its own national security. However, of the four legs it is surely the emphasis on national self-determination, understood as democratic state building, that is justifiably understood as its most basic ingredient, even if its reassurance to an American public that primary security interests were guaranteed made it palatable at home.

It was on the basis of this political thinking that during World War II Roosevelt called for the independence of the peoples under British and French colonial rule and that he called upon Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) to restore the independence of those people liberated from Nazi rule by the Red Army. Roosevelt died in April 1945, but his successor Harry Truman (1884–1972) carried forth with this policy, pushing for European decolonization, opposing Soviet expansionism, and presiding over the democratization of occupied Germany and Japan.

Reagan Helps Dismantle the Remnants of the Berlin Wall, September 12, 1990. *The presidency of Ronald Reagan marked a high point in the resurgence of Wilsonianism. With the fall of Germany's Berlin Wall in November 1989, Wilsonianism stood supreme as the premier blueprint for domestic and international order.* © MICHAEL PROBST/REUTERS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

As the Cold War grew in intensity, Wilsonianism became something of a "second track" in the conduct of American foreign policy. The "first track" was called *containment* and aimed to prevent the spread of international communism. Yet at the same time a commitment to multilateralism, economic openness, and democratic government typified relations among Washington's closest allies and its hopes for a wider network of contacts. When President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) launched the Alliance for Progress with Latin America, or President Jimmy Carter (b. 1924) initiated his campaign for human rights, they were clearly within the Wilsonian tradition.

The presidency of Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) marked a highpoint in the resurgence of Wilsonianism not seen since the 1940s. Although Reagan eschewed the multilateralism typical of liberalism, he forcibly advanced the cause of democratic government worldwide, most notably within not only the Soviet empire but for the Soviet Union itself. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's (b. 1931) eventual embrace of this liberal creed was meant to reform, not to destroy, the leadership of the Communist Party and the legitimacy of the Soviet empire, but in short order these monolithic entities disintegrated, as did the Soviet Union itself. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, Wilsonianism stood supreme as the premier blueprint for domestic and international order.

The administrations of presidents George H. W. Bush (b. 1924) and Bill Clinton (b. 1946) continued in this liberal democratic internationalist tradition. The newly independent countries of central and east Europe were encouraged to democratize, and one way of aiding the process was to involve them in the multilateral organizations that had been born of World War II (including especially the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the

European Union). At the same time, democratic transitions in South Africa and South Korea could be saluted, marking as they did the spread of liberal values and institutions in still other parts of the world.

The presidency of George W. Bush (b. 1946) was at first distinguished by a distinct hostility toward democracy promotion abroad. The president, his first-term national security advisor Condoleezza Rice (b. 1954), and secretary of state Colin Powell (b. 1937), all declared their skepticism that "state and nation building" should enjoy a high priority for American foreign policy. However, following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a "born-again" version of Wilsonianism appeared, one that claimed that American security could only be preserved if the Arab Middle East (or a good portion of it) were democratized. The war on Iraq, launched in March 2003, was in this sense a democratic crusade designed to reform a foreign people in ways in keeping with American security interests.

In the minds of many, the question raised by the war on Iraq was whether Wilson's old pledge to "make the world safe for democracy" had perhaps taken a perverse turn so that now democracy was itself not safe for world order. The demands placed by the Bush administration on the governmental institutions of others seemed so high, and the means put at the disposal of achieving these ends appeared so brutal, that a doctrine that once had looked forward to undergirding world peace now seemed to have transformed itself into one destined to promote perpetual war. To be sure, Wilsonianism had always had American security as its primary concern, and many in Latin America especially had always felt that the call for democratic governments there served as a pretext for Washington to intervene in their affairs. This regional perspective now began to be more widely shared. How ironic that the "neo-Wilsonianism" of the years after 9/11 had put aggressive self-interest so high on the American agenda that what had once been an anti-imperial framework for world order now threatened instead to become an imperial framework in its own right.

SEE ALSO *Self-Determination, East Asia and the Pacific.*

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Tony Smith

WORLD WAR I, AFRICA

World War I, which began as a European civil war, soon engulfed thirty-two nations, twenty-eight of which constituted the Allied and Associated Powers, ranged against the Central Powers made up of Germany, Austria-Hungry, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire. The war was not contained within the Balkan theater where competing nationalisms and old ethnic rivalries had been simmering. It quickly expanded to include a wider area of Europe and beyond and eventually spilled into Africa as well. In Africa, where the British and the French had extensive colonial interests to protect, the conflict engrossed a number of European nations battling it out among themselves in different regions of Africa with armies that consisted mostly of soldiers from the colonies, including India.

In the African phase of the war, the British and the French (using African troops under European command) quickly overran German Togo, which was surrounded by British and French colonies. The German Cameroon took a little longer to subdue, although it too did not have many white settlers or a significant number of German troops, which would have prolonged the military campaign.

Further south, the Allied forces, South African troops in particular, occupied German South-West Africa (Namibia) by 1915 without much struggle. The military campaign (given South African racist opposition) was carried out by white troops with a substantial number of Africans being used mainly as support labor. In German East Africa (Tanganyika) the conflict between the British (who relied heavily on white South Africans, Indians, and Africans, though South African racist objections against Africans serving as combatants surfaced once again) and the German forces (consisting mostly of African soldiers) became quite bloody. Some troops from India on their way to serving in Egypt were instead sent to East Africa to attack the enemy from the coast. This attempt proved to be a disaster and was quickly replaced by an invasion from the hinterland, that is, Nairobi. The campaign was a difficult one given the incidence of disease that affected horses, and African porters became the substitute for moving supplies for
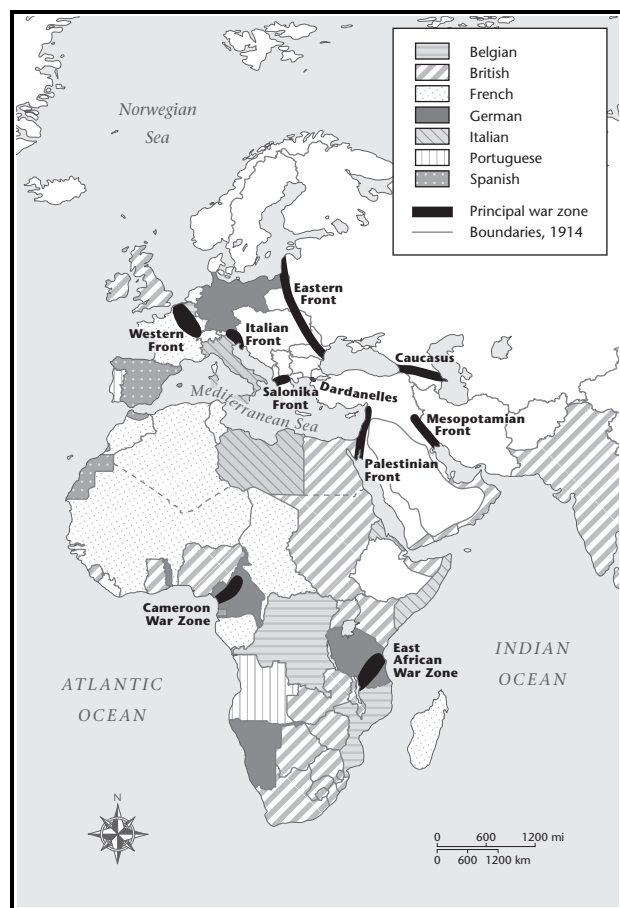
Principal War Zones in Africa. *World War I began as a European civil war, but quickly expanded beyond Europe and eventually spilled into Africa, where the European colonial powers had extensive interests to protect. The conflict engrossed a number of European nations battling it out among themselves in different regions of Africa.* **MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.**

the troops. Needless to mention, African labor was not voluntary but coerced as the British needed extensive labor to maintain the military supply lines.

The German army was led by Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck (1870–1964), who conducted a very effective guerrilla campaign by avoiding direct confrontations and keeping constantly on the move. He succeeded in widening the battle zone into a spectacular theater of operations that extended into Portuguese-controlled Mozambique, British Nyasaland (Malawi), and northeastern Rhodesia (Zambia). Von Lettow-Vorbeck managed to tie down more than 100,000 British-led Allied troops over this vast territory (rich with mining resources) in a dogged resistance that did not end until Germany suffered defeat in Europe. Scorched-earth tactics were utilized by both sides, with disastrous results on the local populations' food supply.

What were the consequences of the war for Africa? What were African perceptions of the war? Clearly Africans had nothing to look forward to (as they were not fighting for some principle or, as in the case of the French, to preserve what they had lost four decades earlier in the Franco-Prussian war), being drawn into conflicts and wars that were not of their making. As a matter of fact, Africans were themselves recent victims of European aggression that had resulted in, with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia, the whole continent being carved up into colonies dominated by European powers (with a number of primary resistance movements cropping up here and there to deal with this situation). Quite understandably, therefore, they resented the sacrifices they were being asked to make on behalf of someone else or some other nation's wars.

The war campaigns created such untold hardship that around 100,000 people died of disease, malnutrition, and overwork. Famine and such diseases as influenza, malaria, and dysentery took their toll, killing large numbers of people in East, West, and Central Africa from 1918 to 1919. On both sides of the conflict, the African fighting men were killing one another for European causes. For instance, Kenya alone lost tens of thousands of people who died, mainly from disease, from the forcible recruitment of Africans into the fighting forces. Moreover, about 150,000 Africans in French colonies fought in Europe, where as many as 30,000 died in the savage battle of attrition against the Germans. The French had recruited several hundred thousand combat troops in North Africa and West Africa, a good many of whom fought in the trenches while others provided much needed labor or were employed in support roles.

The war disrupted Africa's international trade with the outside while raising commodity prices far above the rise in incomes. The increase in taxes to help finance the war efforts only added further burdens to Africa's subsistence producers, who had no other sources of income to fall back on. There were also heavy demands being placed on newly established health and medical programs, whose benefits were being mitigated by the disease factor, which had been made worse by the war.

Moreover, the developmental policies that were implemented in the period between the two wars resulted in migrations, voluntary or coerced, by people who were seeking employment from agriculturally marginal regions to mining or cash-crop-producing areas. In other areas of Africa, such as French West Africa, the return of a large number of ex-soldiers with no jobs waiting for them affected the employment situation. So did the disappearance of jobs that had been associated with ports and other facilities that were heavily used during the duration of the war. There was a lot of hardship for people in urban

centers who were trying to cope as best they could away from their homes in the villages.

There were other repercussions as well: a number of African uprisings occurred both before and during World War I. Among the most serious were the Maji Maji uprising in German East Africa in 1905 and Elliot Kamwana's (1870–1956) Watchtower movement in Nyasaland in 1908. These religious revitalization movements were motivated by a strong sense of resentment against European domination, overtaxation, and forced labor. The movements, with their religious or messianic overtones, received a receptive ear among Africans (especially those in areas where Africans had lost their lands to white-settler communities, as in Rhodesia).

There were stirrings of revolt, as in the Shire Highlands (an area of white plantation settlement in northern Malawi) in 1915 when Africans protested against colonial injustices and the shedding of African blood in World War I. Though the leader of the uprising, John Chilembwe (d. 1915), was eventually captured and executed, his inspiration won him folklore status among people who had been increasingly subjected to colonial oppression. Similarly, strikes and protests took place in colonies such as Dahomey (now Benin) and Kenya. Among the most prominent of these protest organizations was the Young Kikuyu Association headed by Harry Thuku (1895–1970), who was later detained and exiled to a remote area of Kenya. This laid the foundations for the later struggles for independence in Kenya.

The above examples indicate that the war did not end colonial subjugation, despite the European propaganda about fighting for democracy; on the contrary, it ushered in a new era of colonial consolidation, especially in the absence of any external competition for the control of Africa. This was the era when the tiny educated African elite did not demand collective rights but rather sought to work within the system by seeking concessions with respect to participation in the political and decision-making process. The mood, of course, would change after the end of World War II, when Africans became more assertive in terms of their demands for total liberation, not piecemeal change for only certain sectors of the population. The colonial authorities dismissed such demands as premature, arguing that Africans were not ready to assume such practices as an open press and free speech, which were associated with the liberal traditions of countries like Britain.

The war had also weakened the European powers, which had been forced to borrow heavily from the United States to finance the war. This made the European powers look for ways in which the colonies could pay for themselves, while hopefully generating wealth for the imperial country. As a result, the theory of the dual mandate, developed by Frederick Lugard (1858–1945), attempted to put a respectable face to this British policy, as did its French equivalent in the French colonies.

Finally, it should be noted that World War I did not lead to the redrawing of the map of colonial Africa, as had occurred in Europe and the Middle East, where old empires had collapsed. Nothing of the sort happened in Africa. The war simply meant that Germany lost its former territories to the French (for instance, Togo), the British (Tanganyika), and the South Africans (Namibia, which was mandated by the League of Nations to be administered by South Africa). In the case of South Africa, the war had divided the white population into two camps: those who saw South Africa as a British dominion (and therefore took the country to war on the side of the British), and those (Afrikaner nationalists) who were vehemently opposed to going to war against Germany, which had aided them in the Anglo-Boer War (1880–1881).

SEE ALSO *Dual Mandate, Africa; Maji Maji Revolt, Africa; Sub-Saharan Africa, European Presence in.*

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Abdin Chande

WORLD WAR I, MIDDLE EAST

Despite the romance of associations with the Holy Land and iconic figures such as T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia, 1888–1935) and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), the Middle East was strategically insignificant with respect to the outcome of World War I (1914–1918). Viewed from a regional perspective, however, World War I was both a profound human tragedy and an exceedingly important formative episode. It brought the end of the Ottoman Empire and established successor states that are the foundation of the modern Middle East. The war also drew virtually the whole of the Middle East into the imperial embrace of Great Britain and France.

War came to the Middle East through Ottoman ambition as much as the imperialism of the great

European powers. Prompted by imperial ambition, awareness of Russian designs on their territory, and the inability of France and Great Britain to provide effective guarantees for their security, a prowar, pro-German cabal within the Ottoman cabinet led by Enver Paşa (1881–1922) signed a secret alliance with imperial Germany on August 2, 1914. With aid and expertise from Germany, Enver and his supporters saw an opportunity to inflict a decisive defeat on Russia and recover the territory and prestige lost during the preceding half century.

From the German perspective, the Ottoman alliance was intended to distract the Entente powers (Britain, France, and Russia) from the European theater and promote rebellion among their Muslim subjects. It was also hoped that the Ottoman Empire might provide a base from which to threaten Britain's communications with India via the Suez Canal. Though well aware of these dangers, the French and British were unable to maintain their traditional support of the Ottoman Empire against Russia because they needed Russian support against Germany in Europe. In the event, the Ottoman Turks made good their alliance with Germany and brought the Middle East into the war on October 29, 1914, when their fleet, led by German Admiral Wilhelm Souchon (1864–1946), attacked Sevastopol, a Black Sea port on the Crimean Peninsula in Ukraine. Though the sultan-caliph quickly proclaimed a jihad (a Muslim holy war) against the Entente powers, it had no significant impact on the course of the war in the Middle East or among the Muslim subjects of Britain, France, and Russia.

The British seized the initiative in the Middle East in late 1914. They declared a protectorate over Egypt and deployed Indian troops to secure Basra and Kurna, which provided a buffer for the strategically vital Abadan oil refinery at the head of the Persian Gulf. Before the end of 1914, however, Ottoman forces retook the initiative on two fronts. In the Caucasus, Enver Paşa led an ambitious but ultimately disastrous winter offensive against the Russians. His initial gains were offset by the decimation of his best troops in the fighting at Sarikamish and a retreat to Erzurum in northeastern Turkey. A Russian counteroffensive in early 1915 put the Ottoman forces in Anatolia and the Caucasus on the defensive until 1917. As Enver Paşa's offensive collapsed in January 1915, Jemal Paşa (1872–1922) led a daring but futile attack across the Sinai Desert against the Suez Canal.

Frustrated by the stalemate on the Western Front, the British soon turned to the Middle East in hopes of finding a way to break the deadlock from their rapidly growing base in Egypt. The initial result was the Dardanelles campaign, which ran from February through December 1915. A disaster for the French, British, and ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps)

forces involved, it was a triumph for the Turks under General Otto Liman von Sanders (1855–1929) and the beginning of Mustafa Kemal's rise to notoriety.

The failure of the Dardanelles campaign preserved the Ottoman Empire. Yet in the long term its greatest significance lay in the arrangements it spawned among the Entente powers. As early as March 1915, when victory yet seemed a possibility, representatives of the Entente powers—Sergei Sasanov (1861–1927), Raymond Poincaré (1860–1934), and Edward Grey (1862–1933)—discussed the partition of the Ottoman Empire, though negotiations persisted through the conclusion of the Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 1916. This secret arrangement confirmed earlier Russian claims to Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey) and the Straits of Bosporus and Dardanelles, and assigned areas of direct and indirect control to the French in Syria and Lebanon and the British in Mesopotamia and the port cities of Acre and Haifa in Palestine. It also provided for international administration of Palestine and a limited degree of independent Arab control over parts of Syria, Arabia, and Transjordan.

Despite the concessions secured by the French, they were unable to commit substantial land forces to the Middle East after the Dardanelles debacle. This left Britain and Russia to carry on the war with the Ottoman Empire. While the Russians remained locked in a largely static struggle with Ottoman forces in the Caucasus and Anatolia, the British focused their efforts on two fronts: Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine.

Having resisted Ottoman counterattacks against the buffer zone acquired in late 1914, the British commander in Mesopotamia, General John Nixon (1857–1921), advanced northward in June 1915. After initial successes that drew Amra and Kut under their control and threatened Baghdad, British forces suffered a major defeat at Ctesiphon (September 22–26). Nixon retreated to Kut, where his troops were surrounded and cut off in early December. Ottoman forces under Field Marshal Colmar von der Goltz (1843–1916) thwarted efforts to relieve Kut and on April 29, 1916, the remnants of the British force surrendered.

The Egyptian Expeditionary Force (EEF) under General Archibald Murray (1860–1945) had meanwhile gone on the offensive, beginning a slow push toward Palestine through the Sinai Desert, relying heavily on Egyptian transport and auxiliary labor corps. As of June 10, 1916, they were aided by a revolt against Ottoman authority led by Sharif Hussein (1853–1931) of Mecca. Though labeled an "Arab Revolt," this movement was in fact restricted to the tribes of the Hejaz and aimed primarily at preserving Hussein's power in the face of Ottoman attempts to reassert their authority over the

province. This made Hussein and his followers natural allies of the British, who hoped to exploit existing anti-Ottoman sentiments among the Arab subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

By the spring of 1916, Hussein and the British high commissioner of Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon (1862–1949), reached an agreement. In exchange for Arab assistance in the war against the Ottoman Empire, the British pledged their support for the foundation of independent Arab states in certain areas liberated from Ottoman control. Though certain vital particulars of this agreement were left deliberately vague, with the consent of both parties, its spirit is difficult to reconcile with that of the Sykes-Picot Agreement. This contradiction presented significant difficulties in later stages of the war and during the postwar settlement.

In the meantime, the "Arab Revolt" distracted Ottoman attention and resources at the very moment when Murray was moving against Palestine. Arab tribesmen under Hussein's son Faisal (1883–1933) and his advisor T. E. Lawrence took the Red Sea port of Aqaba (July 5), after which they were reorganized as the Northern Arab Army and deployed alongside the EEF for the advance into Palestine. After a key victory at Romani (August 4–5, 1916), Murray was twice rebuffed in attempts to reduce the Ottoman stronghold of Gaza (February and April 1917). His replacement, General Edmund Allenby (1861–1936), spent the next several months building a significant numerical and logistical superiority over Ottoman forces, and in November (5–7) he triumphed at the Third Battle of Gaza. British and Allied forces entered Jerusalem on December 9, 1917.

Events followed much the same pattern in Mesopotamia. After the disaster at Kut, Nixon's replacement, General Frederick Maude (1864–1917), drew on the Indian Army to build a massive numerical superiority over the Ottoman forces. His offensive began in December 1916 and lasted through March 1917, during which time British forces retook Kut and occupied Baghdad. Ottoman plans for a counteroffensive were thwarted by the British advance into Palestine and the initiative remained with the British.

Some relief for the overburdened Ottoman forces came in late 1917 via the Russian Revolution. Despite continuing pressure from the British on the Mesopotamian and Syria-Palestine fronts, the Turks were able to mount an offensive against the Russians in the Caucasus and Anatolia, recovering the territory lost in early 1915. It also offered an opportunity to drive a wedge between Hussein and the British, when the Bolsheviks made public the secret treaties of the czarist government, including the Sykes-Picot Agreement. The British succeeded in allaying Hussein's concerns about

their commitment to French control over Syria by downplaying Sykes-Picot and reiterating their promises of independent Arab successor states to the Ottoman Empire. Hussein had staked so much on the British connection that he had little choice but to accept their reassurances and carry on in hopes of realizing his own ambitions.

The Anglo-Arab connection survived the nearly contemporary shock of the Balfour Declaration (November 2, 1917) for similar reasons. Designed to play on American sympathies and on Zionist sensibilities within the international Jewish community, the declaration promised British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It therefore had the potential to alienate the Arab inhabitants of the region. Again a combination of British reassurances and Hussein's pragmatism succeeded in allaying the concerns of Britain's Arab allies, if only for a time.

From late 1917 through the fall of 1918 the fronts in Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine remained static. Events in Europe, specifically the massive German offensive launched in the spring of 1918, precluded the British from any forward move in the Middle East. Only when the situation in Europe had stabilized was Allenby able to begin his final offensive against northern Palestine and Syria. The Battle of Megiddo (September 19–21) broke the Ottoman forces in Palestine and opened Syria to the EEF. Damascus fell on October 1 and Faisal immediately established a nominally independent Arab administration there as per his understanding of British promises. By the final week of October, elements of the EEF had broken the last Ottoman resistance and reached Aleppo.

The collapse of Ottoman forces in Syria was paralleled by a similar collapse in Mesopotamia. Seeing an opportunity to bring all the rich oil fields in the region under their control, the British launched one final offensive in October 1918, which culminated in the capture of Mosul. Military defeat on both southern fronts, in addition to the imminent collapse of their German ally, forced the Turks to sign the Mudros Armistice on October 30, 1918, effectively ending World War I in the Middle East.

For the Ottoman Empire, the war was a catastrophe. Politically it meant the end of the Ottoman Empire. The territorial losses delineated in the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920) reduced the Ottoman state to an Anatolian rump. The humiliation of these losses, Entente occupation, and the human and economic costs of the war sparked the crisis that spurred Mustafa Kemal to abolish the sultanate in November 1922.

In economic and human terms, the war was equally disastrous. Public debt quadrupled under the pressures of total war. The army suffered some 1.45 million casualties, while famine and economic contraction spread

General Allenby Enters Jerusalem. *General Edmund Allenby, commander of British forces in Palestine, rides through the Jaffa Gate in January 1918 as part of his formal entry into the newly captured city of Jerusalem.* © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

suffering among the civilian population. In Syria alone some estimates put civilian deaths from disease and privation brought on by corruption, hoarding, locust infestation, and blockade as high as half a million.

The harsh measures taken by the Ottoman government to ensure internal stability only added to the suffering. In 1915 the specter of nationalist rebellion among the Ottoman Empire's Armenian subjects led to the episode of mass eviction, starvation, and murder known as the "Armenian genocide." Similarly unfounded fears that Syrian Arabs might use the war to launch a nationalist uprising inspired Jemal Paşa to inaugurate an era of violent repression that earned him the epithet "Blood Shedder."

For their part, the British had attained all of their Middle Eastern desiderata. At a cost of 145,000 casualties and substantial diversions from the Western Front, they had wrested Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia from the Ottoman Empire. The short route to India was secure, as was their access to the vast oil reserves of Mesopotamia.

They were also in a position to ensure that these interests were enshrined in the postwar settlement.

The problem was negotiating a settlement that would also fulfill British promises to Hussein and his followers, implement the Balfour Declaration, and placate the French, who desired a rigid implementation of the Sykes-Picot Agreement. It proved impossible to do so. The British were unable to reconcile the Sykes-Picot Agreement with the promises to Hussein and his cohorts regarding Arab independence. And the overwhelming need to maintain a strong tie to the French for European purposes ensured that British prime minister David Lloyd George (1863–1945) chose French imperial over Arab national aspirations.

Anglo-French supremacy in the Middle East was formalized in the San Remo Conference of April 1920, and later confirmed by the League of Nations. Britain received "mandates" over Mesopotamia and Palestine, including Transjordan. France received "mandates" over Syria and Lebanon. Though envisioned as a temporary arrangement meant to provide for a gradual transition to independence under Western tutelage, mandate status amounted to colonial status and marks the formal incorporation of the Middle East into the orbit of the European empires.

Satisfactory to imperial powers, whose primary interests were recognition of their supremacy and access to oil, to Zionists, and even to members of the puppet regimes that quickly appeared in the region, such arrangements engendered profound resentment among the majority of Arab nationalists, who felt betrayed by their erstwhile allies. The destabilizing effects of frustrated Arab nationalism, European political and economic domination, and active support of Zionism must stand beside the end of Ottoman domination and the appearance of the successor states comprising the modern Middle East as the key legacies of World War I in the Middle East.

SEE ALSO *British Colonialism, Middle East; Empire, Russian and the Middle East; French Colonialism, Middle East; Germany and the Middle East.*

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Chris Hagerman

WORLD WAR II, AFRICA

World War II was ignited by competing territorial ambitions or claims on land in Europe, where tensions that would precipitate the war had been simmering since 1918, when a vindictive peace had been forced on Germany. Africa became embroiled in this conflict, which saw Germany make a bid to regain territories as well as colonies that it had lost during World War I. Earlier, Mussolini, seeking to revive the glory of Rome, had invaded Ethiopia in 1935 to avenge the defeat that Italy had suffered at the hands of Ethiopia in 1896. This unprovoked invasion aroused much anger and indignation on the part of Africans, who saw it as yet another instance of European colonial violence—in this case directed against one of only two remaining independent African countries.

Africa was called upon by the colonial powers (as it had been during World War I) to supply manpower for combat purposes both on and outside the continent. The numbers were quite staggering: half a million men were recruited by the French and the British to serve in the war. It was only in South Africa (given the racial politics of its white-led minority governments) that African soldiers were not allowed to bear arms.

Africa was drawn into the war in Tunisia and Egypt, where Italian and German armies (led by Erwin Rommel) were pitted against Allied forces (a significant number of whom were Africans); by 1943 allied victories had reversed earlier gains by Germany. In 1941 Allied forces and African troops liberated Ethiopia, which had been under fascist Italian occupation for at least six years. In addition, large numbers of Africans recruited by European powers saw action in Europe and in Burma against the Japanese, who had overrun most of Southeast Asia.
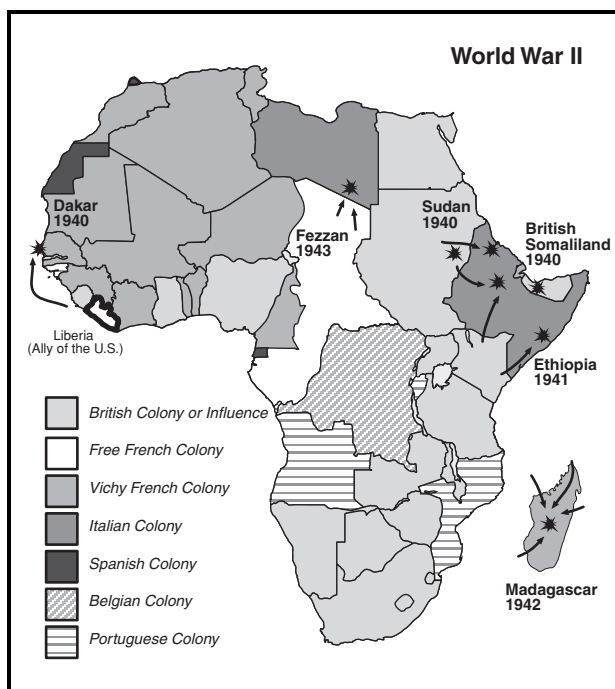
MAP BY XNR PRODUCTIONS. THE GALE GROUP.

Africans also contributed to the war effort in other ways, including the production of food staples to feed the fighting men. Moreover, funds raised in Africa in support of the war effort were crucial to the production of munitions for the colonial powers.

Colonial recruiting strategies were quite sophisticated and often alarmist—antifascist propaganda focused on what life would be like under fascist/racist German rule for people of color—and anger over the Italian invasion may also have induced some to enlist. Nonetheless, more coercive pressure was also exerted on local chiefs to induce them to round up recruits and forced labor was used in key sectors of the economy to mobilize resources for the war effort. As a result, there were, as in the previous war, some Africans who were opposed to Africa's involvement in a war that called for sacrifice and a life of hardship (conscripted labor, increased taxation, declining cash crop prices, reduced imports, etc.) ostensibly to "make the world safe for democracy." This was, for instance, the case in the Congo, where Africans were forced to work in difficult and inhuman conditions in the mines. Such forced labor was considered necessary because during the war years Africa became a major supplier of raw materials such as rubber, sisal, and minerals (such as tin in Nigeria), especially after a number of Asian countries fell to imperialist Japan.

What did Africa have to show for its war effort in the service of the colonial masters? To begin with, prior to World War II Europeans had not seriously entertained the idea of granting African countries their independence. In fact, the period after World War I was characterized by European expansion or consolidation of colonial administration. While there were some movements here and there seeking a greater role for Africans in the administration of colonies, none of these efforts resulted in significant progress toward independence. World War II led to African aspirations being placed in check while the war was being waged. It soon became apparent, however—particularly as hundreds of thousands of Africans were drafted to fight in Burma and in Europe—that some future reward would have to be offered in recognition of the African war effort. In 1941 British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and American President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Atlantic Charter, which promised Africans the right to choose the form of government they wanted to live under after the war. Many Africans thus had high hopes for a new future with better jobs and better opportunities.

Not surprisingly, the end of the war ushered in a new era in which Africans expected to earn their freedom; after all, hadn't they fought so well in the name of freedom and democracy to liberate Europe? Yet, European colonial rule was anything but democratic; it was autocratic, authoritarian, and even racist—especially in those colonies with a substantial European population. Despite this European intransigence, African movements for self-rule—and indeed freedom movements around the world—received a major boost in 1947 when India gained independence. Mahatma Gandhi in particular provided an ideological example for the independence fighter Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, later renamed Ghana.

World War II had also shattered any notions of European superiority, as African soldiers in Europe had witnessed the purveyors of a so-called higher civilization slaughtering each other. Africans began to revise their thinking about their place in the world and formed organizations or movements to express their nationalist sentiments. African intellectuals, who articulated African grievances against the colonial order, were at the head of these postwar movements, which sought to organize rural and urban populations into mass political parties. Nationalist parties emerged all over Africa and spearheaded the struggle for independence, whether through civil disobedience, as in the Gold Coast, or guerrilla warfare, as in Algeria. Clearly, African nationalism had been transformed (through a process that began as early as the 1930s) from a reformist movement to a revolutionary one.

Africans had flocked into the cities both before and during the war as colonial economies shifted to the production of war matériel. This demographic shift both expanded the population of Africa's urban centers and made the formation of mass parties more possible. At the same time a new elite, either locally or foreign educated, had emerged (as a product of the colonial order), which now had a mass audience (including proletarianized African workers) for its nationalist ideas. This elite realized that slavery and racism had created common bonds between Africans and people of African descent living in the areas of the African diaspora. More specifically, the Garveyist idea of racial pride filtered back to Africa through major African nationalists such as Nkrumah. Nkrumah saw Africans wherever they were as being united by their colonial experience or oppression at the hands of Europeans. These sentiments were expressed at the first Pan-African Congress, which was held in London in 1945 and brought together like-minded people from both the continent and the areas of the African diaspora. Among those present were future leaders of future independent African nations, including Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and Hastings Banda.

French African colonies had served France well during its hour of need (when France fell to Germany in 1940), first of all by providing a base or capital for Charles de Gaulle's Free France movement in Brazzaville, French Congo. Moreover, a significant number of French divisions that fought in France were made up of African soldiers. France fulfilled some of the promises it had made during the war: it abolished both the unpopular *indigenat* legal system and forced labor, and granted citizenship to all inhabitants of its colonies. Nevertheless, by not spelling out clearly what the rights of citizens were, the French managed to deny citizenship to indigenous African populations on the paternalistic pretext that they were not ready for it. Moreover, the colonies sent only a small number of delegates to the Chamber of Deputies in France, well below the proportion of their population relative to that of France. Worse, the French did not plan to grant independence to their African colonies. They only did so after the costly Algerian revolution forced them to work out an arrangement that provided independence to their colonies while maintaining French influence through formal economic and other ties.

In France after the war, French soldiers were welcomed as heroes, but African soldiers were pushed into the background. In fact, France repatriated African soldiers to Africa, thus giving the impression that they wanted to weed them out of the army to keep it white. Some Africans believed that De Gaulle did not want French colonies to see Africans as liberators of France, as this would have serious implications for France's

African Troops in the French Colonial Army. *African soldiers, in training for duty in World War II as part of the French colonial army, stand in formation in 1941 in the Central African Republic, then a colony of France.* **GEORGE RODGER/TIME LIFE PICTURES/ GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

relations with its colonies. France did make an exception for Africans in France who were French citizens, as these soldiers were allowed to stay. Nevertheless, repatriation exposed the assimilation policy as a sham, because Africans were treated differently despite their efforts in the service of the French motherland.

The repatriated Africans were kept in temporary camps, as it was believed that once out of the army they would not be tied down by discipline. Disturbances did, in fact, break out in some of the camps where the ex-servicemen complained against white racism and low wages. In one such camp in Dakar, for instance, disgruntled protesters held a French commander-in-chief hostage. By the time order was restored, thirty-five people had been killed and over a hundred injured. Some of these ex-soldiers, despite being war heroes, were tried and some were marched through the city to humiliate them.

Riots and general strikes in the post–World War II period were not limited to Francophone areas of Africa only. Ex-soldiers and a new industrial class of workers, as well as other social groups, were involved in disturbances

that brought educated elite leaders of the nationalist struggle, such as Nkrumah, into the political limelight. Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) organized protests and strikes that effectively paralyzed the colonial administration and forced it to negotiate with nationalist leaders over some of their demands. The catalyst for these actions was first provided by a mass demonstration in 1948, in which several ex-soldiers who had served in Burma were killed after security forces began firing into the crowd. With this disturbance, the Gold Coast in particular entered into a new era of full-fledged nationalism in which European colonial rule was no longer acceptable. Africans, especially the ex-servicemen, felt that the British had not been quick enough to honor the pledges made in the Atlantic Charter. They believed that only protests and demonstrations or, if necessary, resorting to violence (as was the case in Kenya, though loss of prime farming land to white settlers was the crux of the problem there) would convince Europeans that the old colonial order had died with World War II. More significantly, the superpower rivalry of the Cold War era, which saw the Soviets willing to finance nationalist

struggles in Africa, revealed the inability of weaker colonial powers such as Portugal to hold on to their colonies indefinitely.

The war had other consequences for Africa as well: large numbers of African soldiers were either killed (one quarter of those who served in France) or injured. Others suffered from physical disabilities and, more seriously, psychological trauma as a result of racist mistreatment in Nazi prison camps. Furthermore, unlike their white counterparts in postwar Europe, the widows and families of servicemen were not sufficiently cared for or supported.

During the war itself, not only African soldiers but also the general African population suffered many difficulties, such as recurring shortages both of imported foodstuffs (rice and flour in particular) and local staples. The supply of staple foods had been partly affected already in some areas by the prewar colonial policy of diverting labor away from the raising of subsistence crops to the production of cash-crops such as sisal and commodities such as copper. As living conditions got worse in the countryside (partly exacerbated by the practice of forced labor, both for public projects and also for military service), a significant number of rural people migrated to the cities to avoid production geared toward satisfying external needs.

Kenya was amongst the countries most seriously affected by migration to its urban centers, especially Nairobi. The pressure for increased agricultural production that caused this migration was brought about, ironically, by African troops and their Italian prisoners, whose presence promoted a demand for both beef and maize. Moreover, the increased demand for sisal (a plantation crop), which was no longer available from Southeast Asia following the Japanese occupation of that region, benefited mainly European settler farmers. The migration of land-deprived Africans from rural areas to cities not only weakened African family bonds, it also led to the development of shantytowns in Nairobi and the creation of health, employment, and crime-related problems.

The war witnessed a number of infrastructural projects (using forced labor, which until then had been limited mainly to rural areas), such as the construction of airstrips in West and East Africa to aid in the transportation of fighting men and goods to North Africa and the Middle East. Africans were called on not only to build these projects, but also to provide housing for European and American settlers and personnel who came to Africa during the war years. More significantly, it was during this period that the United States' role in Africa increased as its need for vital mineral resources from the central Southern Africa region grew.

The war stimulated the South African economy with respect to the production of industrial goods and munitions. South Africa, which had derived its industrial base from the gold and diamonds discovered in the second half of the nineteenth century, now become a major manufacturing power as well. Indeed, the size of the industrial labor force and the level of industrial output grew by leaps and bounds. The South African economy therefore underwent its second major transformation in less than a century.

SEE ALSO *Decolonization, Sub-Saharan Africa; Nationalism, Africa.*

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Abdin Chande

X

XAVIER, FRANCIS
1506–1552

Francis Xavier, the first great missionary of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), was born in Navarre, Spain, on April 7, 1506, and died on the island of Sancian, off the Chinese mainland, on December 3, 1552.

Xavier left his native Spain in 1525 to take up studies at the University of Paris. It was here that he met Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) and other founding members of the future Society of Jesus. Xavier was at first resistant to Loyola's attempts to bring about a spiritual conversion in his life. By 1533, however, the two men had developed a close friendship and they were among the group of seven students who, on August 15, 1534, assembled at a chapel in Montmartre and took private vows of poverty and chastity.

After finishing their studies in Paris, the friends aimed to travel to Jerusalem to help in the work of converting the infidels. If this proved impossible (as it did), they pledged to visit Rome and allow the pope to use them in whatever way he thought "most useful to the glory of God and the good of souls." Official papal recognition of the new Society of Jesus arrived in September 1540 with the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*.

At this stage, there was little, if any, talk of some of the activities (combating the burgeoning Protestant Reformation; setting up educational establishments) that would come to characterize the Society's history. However, it was not long before another familiar sphere of Jesuit endeavor began to open up. Over the next four centuries, Jesuit missionaries would travel extensively across Asia, Africa, and the Americas: in the vanguard of such efforts was Francis Xavier, who, in response to a request from the Portuguese king, departed for India on April 7, 1541.

Xavier would spend the next decade evangelizing across southern and eastern Asia. He spent several months in Goa, on the western coast of India, ministering to the sick in the city's hospitals and striving to win converts among the city's children. In October 1542 he traveled south to Cape Comorin, where, armed with prayers translated into Tamil, he worked among the local pearl-fishing community. A trip to Malacca (1545) and the Spice Islands (1546–1547) followed, after which Xavier turned his attentions to the two greatest evangelical prizes Asia had too offer: Japan and China.

Xavier arrived at Kagoshima, Japan, on August 15, 1549. He was immediately impressed by what he perceived as the enormous Japanese potential to understand and embrace the Christian gospel. "We shall never find among heathens another race equal to the Japanese," he wrote, "they are people of excellent minds—good in general and not malicious." Drawing broad, usually reductive, conclusions about the relative worth of various Asian populations would be a hallmark of Christian evangelism throughout the early modern era. Although Xavier met with some resistance from local Buddhist leaders, his two and a half years in cities such as Hirado, Kyoto, and Yamaguchi proved worthwhile. By the time of his departure in 1551 he had won over several thousand converts.

Xavier was back in Goa by January 1552. He set sail for China in May but was destined never to enter the

Saint Francis Xavier. *Canonized in 1622, Xavier's memory would inspire missionary priests from Ethiopia to New France to Arizona.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

empire's territories. He was taken ill on Sancian Island in late November and died on the morning of December 3, within sight of the Chinese mainland.

Throughout Xavier's Asian career the links between evangelism and the colonial enterprise were plain to see. Xavier was a papal legate, but he was also under commission from the Portuguese king, arriving in Goa on board the *Santiago* in the company of Governor Martim Afonso de Sousa (ca. 1500–1564). There were clear advantages to be wrung from the association with empire. The awe and fear that the European colonists inspired could always be exploited, and satisfaction could be derived from the compulsive European habit of destroying the idols and temples of indigenous faiths. Perhaps most significantly, it could be made abundantly clear to local leaders that allowing missionaries to work in their territories (perhaps even converting to Christianity themselves) might bring military, political, and economic advantages.

That said, Xavier was more than capable of criticizing what he perceived as the lax morality of European settlers. Also, while he shared the prejudices and assumptions of his contemporaries, he did make efforts to genuinely understand the cultures in which he found himself. This, along with a willingness to adapt evangelical strategies according to local circumstances, would emerge as a defining characteristic of Jesuit missionary activity across the globe. Such an ethos certainly carried serious risks.

The accommodationist approach of Jesuit missionaries such as Xavier, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in China, and Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) in India drew enormous criticism from commentators who feared that too much adaptation of the gospel message would result in syncretic, impure versions of the Christian faith. Nor was the work of reacting to local circumstances ever straightforward. In Japan, Xavier had turned to words in the local vernacular to translate concepts such as god, soul, and sacrament. It turned out that he had been badly advised, and the meanings carried by the chosen Japanese words were very different from what Xavier had intended. He was forced to employ Japanese "versions" of Latin words—*Deusu, anima, eucaristia*—which, to a Japanese audience, were essentially devoid of any inherent meaning.

Perhaps Xavier's greatest significance lay in his role as an icon and model of all subsequent Jesuit missionary activity. Canonized in 1622, his memory would inspire priests from Ethiopia to New France to Arizona. Relics of the saint would be a much sought-after spiritual commodity during the seventeenth century. The lower part of his right arm would be shipped off to Rome, the remainder would be divided in three and shared between Jesuit communities in Macao, Cochin, and Malacca. By the eighteenth century, "Xavier-Water," in which medals or relics of the saint had been immersed, had become a popular central-European cure for fevers and bad eyesight. Even today, his body, housed in the Church of the Bom Jesus in Goa, remains a cherished sight of pilgrimage and adoration.

SEE ALSO *China to the First Opium War; Mission, Civilizing; Missions, China; Religion, Western Presence in East Asia.*

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Z

ZONGLI YAMEN (TSUNGLI YAMEN)

The Zongli Yamen (Office of General Management) was established by the Qing state to deal with the foreign presence in China. Although the Qing state preferred the traditional tribute system that had long regulated China's relations with foreign countries, China's weakness in the face of Western military might, combined with the demands of the Western powers for diplomatic relations on an equal basis, made it impossible for China to maintain its traditional model of foreign relations with its assumption of Chinese supremacy and Western barbarity. A new institution was called for to formally manage relations with the Western countries.

In 1861 the conservative Qing court reluctantly agreed to the creation of the Zongli Yamen, which it emphasized was to be a temporary measure to manage relations with the Western countries until they could be removed from China. The Qing court refused to grant the Zongli Yamen complete institutional autonomy, making it instead accountable to the Grand Council and appointing five high-ranking officials to serve as a powerful advisory board. Among the five, the most important was Prince Gong (1833–1898), the uncle of the Tongzhi emperor.

Under the leadership of the reform-minded Prince Gong (Kung) and his capable right-hand man, Wenxiang (1818–1876), the Zongli Yamen played a vital role in the Tongzhi Restoration, the chief aim of which was to strengthen China's hand in the game against Western imperialism. To this end, in 1862 the Zongli Yamen authorized American missionary W. A. P. Martin's translation of Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law,* published in 1836. Widely accepted in diplomatic circles in the West, Wheaton's work was required reading for those in the foreign service; ignorance of its contents placed Chinese ambassadors at a serious disadvantage.

Besides publishing a translation of Wheaton's text, the Zongli Yamen also launched a movement to create foreign language schools. Beginning with the opening of a small school in Beijing in 1862, the Zongli Yamen in short order set up similar language institutes in Shanghai, Canton (Guangzhou), and Fuzhou. Despite staunch opposition from the conservative members of the Qing court, Prince Gong and Wenxiang converted the Beijing school to a college; expanded the curriculum beyond foreign languages to include subjects in math, the sciences, and law; and invited foreign teachers to lead instruction. By sponsoring translations of Western texts and financing language schools, the Zongli Yamen sought to provide Chinese diplomats with the training and knowledge they needed to deal with the West.

Less successful was the Zongli Yamen's project to build a navy. In 1862 the Zongli Yamen purchased from Britain a fleet of ships. Problems arose when the fleet arrived a year later, and Captain Sherard Osborn (1822–1875) of the Royal Navy, having been promised in writing full command of the fleet, refused to hand over control to his Chinese counterpart. Seeing no other alternative, the Zongli Yamen abandoned its plans for a modern navy. Overall, however, the greater cooperation between China and the West in the late 1860s attests to the relative success of the Zongli Yamen in negotiating relations with the West until its replacement by the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs as mandated by the Boxer Protocol of 1901.

SEE ALSO *Boxer Uprising; China, First Opium War to 1945; Chinese Revolutions; Qing Dynasty; Self-Strengthening Movements, East Asia and the Pacific; Taiping Rebellion.*

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Lisa Tran

ZULU WARS, AFRICA

The Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 was fought between Britain and the Zulu nation in South Africa. The war remains one of the most dramatic in both British and southern African history during the colonial period. It marked the end of the independence of the Zulu nation and the entrenchment of British colonialism in South Africa.

The Zulu kingdom emerged early in the nineteenth century along the eastern seaboard of southern Africa under its legendary ruler Shaka Zulu (1787–1828). The background to the war must be located in contestations over land between the Zulu, the Boers, and the British. British adventurers were attracted to Zululand in search of trade and by the 1840s the British colony of Natal had sprung up on the southern borders of Zululand. The expansion of the Boer into the southern African interior from 1835, the attempt by the Zulu to defend their own independence, and the aggressive policy of the British to control South Africa by imposing their authority over the Boer and the Zulu led to a chain of events that resulted in the war of 1879, in which the British suffered humiliating defeat before they eventually subdued the Zulu.

The prelude to the war was the dispute that emerged between the Zulu king, Cetshwayo (ca. 1836–1884), and his brother Umtonga. In 1861 Umtonga fled to the Utrecht district. Cetshwayo offered the Boer farmers a strip of land along the border if they would surrender his brother. But he later rescinded his endorsement of the deal after his brother fled to Natal. The contestation over this ceded land and the boundary issue that developed attracted the British into what could be regarded as a local dispute. Indeed, by the 1870s the British began to adopt a policy that would bring the various British colonies, Boer republics, and independent African groups under common British control. The British high commissioner in South Africa, Sir Henry Bartle Frere (1815–1884), believed that an independent and self-reliant Zulu kingdom was a threat to this policy. Frere was convinced that economic development and peace in South Africa could only be achieved by curtailing the power of Cetshwayo and the Zulu nation.

To achieve this goal, the British pursued a policy of unwarranted aggression. In 1878, Cetshwayo was presented with an ultimatum as part of the British plan to bring about the confederation of states in South Africa, including Zululand. One of the demands made of Cetshwayo was that he disband his armies within one month and accept a British resident commissioner as co-ruler. This ultimatum was rejected. On January 20, 1879, British troops under the command of Lt. Gen. Lord Chelmsford (1827–1905) invaded Zululand in a three-pronged attack. The initial outcome was a humiliating defeat of British forces by the Zulu army at Isandlwana Mountain. Over 1,300 British troops and their African allies were killed. In the aftermath of one of the worst disasters of the colonial era, the Zulu reserves mounted a raid on the British border post at Rorke's Drift, but the Zulu were driven off after ten hours of ferocious fighting. The British collapse at Isandlwana left the flanking columns at Nyezane River and Hlobane Mountain vulnerable. But the success at Isandlwana exhausted the Zulu army and Cetshwayo was unable to mount a counteroffensive into Natal. The British rushed reinforcements to South Africa from various parts of the British Empire.

The war entered a new phase in March when Lord Chelmsford assembled a column to march to the relief of the other embattled commands. On April 2, Lord Chelmsford broke through the Zulu cordon around Eshowe at kwaGingindlovu, and relieved Pearson's column. The defeat of the Zulu king's forces in two battles demoralized the Zulu. British troops continued to advance toward the Zulu capital, Ulundi, which they reached at the end of June. Chelmsford defeated the Zulu army in the last great battle of the war on July 4, 1879. The Zulu capital of Ulundi was burned and Cetshwayo became a fugitive. But it took several weeks for the British to suppress lingering resistance outside the capital. Cetshwayo was captured on August 28, and exiled to Cape Town. The end of the war had many implications for the Zulu and for the British. The British divided the Zulu kingdom among pro-British chiefs—a deliberately divisive move that resulted in a decade of destructive civil war among various Zulu chiefdoms.

SEE ALSO *Britain's African Colonies.*

African Warriors in Natal, January 1, 1879. *A contingent of African soldiers fighting for the British stand in formation behind British officers in the colony of Natal during the 1879 Zulu War.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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Chima J. Korieh

Glossary

abolition: the ending of the practice of slavery.

aboriginal: an original inhabitant or native of a region or country. In the eighteenth century this term came to be associated with a native of a country colonized by European countries.

absolutist: characterizing a form of government in which the ruler or rulers have complete and unrestricted power to govern. Absolute power is vested in the authorities.

acculturation: the process by which one's culture is influenced by prolonged contact with a different culture. In the process of colonization, a composite culture emerges.

aldeias: a Portuguese term referring to mission villages of native Americans supervised by Portuguese clergy, generally, Jesuits; similar to Spanish *reducciónes* and French *reserves*.

anarchy: the lack of any formal system of government; political and social disorder created by the absence of government or law.

Ancien Régime: the dominant political and social order in France before the French Revolution. The Ancien Regime was characterized by absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings.

Annexation: the act by which one governmental entity asserts its sovereignty over another previously outside its boundaries.

Apartheid: Afrikaans word meaning "separation" or literally "apartness," Apartheid was the system of laws and policy implemented and enforced by the "White" minority governments in South Africa from 1948 until it was repealed in the early 1990s. As the idea of

Apartheid developed in South Africa, it grew into a tool for racial, cultural, and national survival.

apologist: derived from the Greek word *apologia*, meaning defense of a position against an attack, an apologist is someone who participates in apologetics, the systematic defense of a position.

archipelago: a group or cluster of islands, sometimes including the body of water surrounding the islands.

asiento: a Spanish term referring to the trading contract and official license awarded to kingdoms and charter companies to supply African slaves to Spanish America.

assimilation: the integration of one entity into another entity. Assimilation as a colonial policy sought the integration of colonized peoples into the colonizer's cultural, social, and political institutions. The philosophy that drove this practice emphasized the Enlightenment ideas of such thinkers as the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who wrote in his *The Social Contract and Discourses* that men "who may be unequal in strength and intelligence, become every one equal by convention and equal right."

autarchy: a national policy aimed at economic independence and self-sufficiency. Under this system foreign economic aid and imports are relied on as little as possible.

Ayatollah: a religious leader of Shiite Muslims, often carrying political as well as religious importance.

Baathism: belief system of the Arab Socialist Baath Party founded in 1945. Baathism is a mostly secular ideology combining Arab socialism, nationalism, and Pan-Arabism.

balance of trade: the difference between the value of a nation's merchandise exports and imports.

Balfour Declaration: The Balfour Declaration of November 1917 was a letter from the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, to Lord Rothschild, a prominent British member of the Zionist movement. On behalf of the British government, Balfour declared that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."

Balkans, Balkan: the Balkans are the major mountain range running through the center of Bulgaria into eastern Serbia. The history of the Balkan region is one dominated by wars, rebellions, invasions and clashes between empires, from the Roman Empire to the Yugoslav wars of the twentieth century. The term Balkan has a broader meaning associated with its fragmented and often violent history.

Berber: an ethnic group indigenous to northwest Africa, speaking the Berber languages and principally concentrated in present-day Morocco and Algeria.

betel: evergreen climbing plant indigenous to parts of Asia and cultivated as a commercial crop in Madagascar, Bourbon and the West Indies; its leaves contain a stimulant and digestive aid.

Boer: The Dutch word for farmer, Boer refers to Dutch colonists settling in the Cape region of South Africa since the seventeenth century.

bossal/bozal: a slave brought directly to the New World from Africa and therefore speaks no European language, has no knowledge of Christianity, and is outside of civilization.

British Raj: historical period during which most of the Indian subcontinent (present-day India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Myanmar) was under the colonial authority of the British Empire.

bull, papal: Bulls are papal letters or edicts during the Middle Ages, the name of which derives from the Latin *bulla* or leaden seal, which most often sealed the documents. Papal bulls were bulls of donation. These letters gathered more weight as the Middle Ages progressed. Donations were gifts or endowment of lands.

bullion: uncoined silver or gold in the form of ingots or bars. In the early modern period, bullion, silver in particular, was the most essential commodity of European-Asian trade.

bureaucracy: the hierarchical administrative structure of a large organization.

cabal: a small group of persons united to promote a common scheme, often operating in secrecy.

cacao: *Theobroma cacao*, known as "the food of the gods," and its main byproduct, chocolate, come from the seeds or nibs of a pod, the fruit of a tree native to tropical America. The cacao tree usually requires shade trees, often the so-called *madre de cacao* (mother of cacao), also an American native.

caliph: term or title for an Islamic leader; Anglicized/Latinized version of the Arabic word meaning "successor" or "representative," and sometimes referred to as a successor to the prophet of God, or representative of God.

canon law: body of laws governing the faith and practice of a Christian church, also called ecclesiastical law.

capitalism: an economic system based on private ownership of property in general, capital in particular. Production decisions are made and income is distributed as a result of a system of markets.

captaincy: a grant of dominion in the overseas territorial empire of Portugal to a private individual, a *donatorio,* who is given the authority to govern, assign land, and profit from the territory.

Carib: the name or language of a group of American Indian peoples of the Lesser Antilles, northern South America, and the eastern coast of Central America. The Caribbean Sea was named after the Caribs.

cartel: an alliance of producers of a similar or identical product formed to control pricing and competition.

casbah: the older section of a North African city, sometimes a walled citadel, castle, or palace.

casta: a term for all persons of mixed blood including freed blacks in Spanish America.

chartered company: a firm founded under a government grant (charter) giving it specified rights and privileges to trade to and in a certain region. Chartered companies were often given monopolies in their trade area, and were frequently established to compete with foreign businesses.

Cold War: the term used to describe the state of hostility, political tension, and military rivalry characterizing the struggle for supremacy between the Western powers and the Communist bloc from the end of World War II until the collapse of Communism in 1989.

Columbian Exchange: the widespread exchange of agricultural products, livestock, slave labor, communicable diseases, and related ideologies between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres (the Old World and the New World) that occurred in the decades following Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the New World in 1492.

commonwealth: originally a small group of self-governing white dominions within the British Empire. The evolution of the Commonwealth paralleled the deconstruction of the British Empire through the twentieth century, and the changing meaning and purpose of the Commonwealth reflected British efforts to maintain some influence as formal empire declined. The Commonwealth is now a voluntary association of over fifty nations, independent of British control, but linked by the culture of a common colonial heritage.

Communist: characterizing a political and economic system in which all property is owned by the community and the distribution of income is to each according to his or her need. This put the State in charge of organizing every aspect of the economy. The Communist movement, or Communism, is based on the ideas of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895).

conquistador: Spanish for conqueror, a term referring to sixteenth-century conquerors (military leaders) of Mexico, Peru, and Central America. Within just a few years of landing on the coasts of Mexico (1519) and Peru (1532), Spanish conquistadores under the leadership of Hernán Cortés (ca. 1484–1547) and Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) respectively, had taken possession on behalf of the Spanish Crown of the large, rich, and densely populated empires of the Aztecs and the Incas.

coup d'état: the sudden, often violent overthrow of an existing government by a small group of subversives.

crown colony: a British overseas territory under the direct authority of the British Crown. As such, a Crown Colony does not possess its own representative government and is not represented in the British Parliament. The colony is administered by a governor appointed by the Crown and responsible to the colonial office (or its forerunners) and, from 1966 onward, to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London.

decolonization: a term referring to the European imperial retreat from sub-Saharan Africa in the aftermath of World War II and one of the most sudden and momentous transformations in the history of the modern world. Although the granting of self-government was not entirely novel prior to the end of the war in 1945, given the independence of Liberia in 1848, South Africa in 1910, and Ethiopia in 1943, the postwar imperial transformation was nevertheless unprecedented. Between 1945 and 1965, almost all European African colonies—except the former Portuguese territories, Zimbabwe and Namibia—regained their independence.

demography: branch of sociology that studies the characteristics of human populations.

coureurs de bois: a French term for backwoodsmen who traveled into the interior of New France to trade with Native Americans.

criollo: a Spanish term for a Spaniard born in America; the English equivalent is *creole;* the Spanish also used this term to refer to African American slaves who were American born and acculturated into Spanish American society. The equivalent Portuguese word is *crioulo.*

dependency (as form of colonial governance): emphasizing informal imperialism, dependency theory focuses on the subjugation by core nations of peripheral and semi-peripheral economies through new forms of domination, such as financial coercion (dollar diplomacy) and, at times, military action. Since the 1940s international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund, have been created by core powers to continue this dependency. Any economic development was primarily in the service of the core nations.

despotism: rule by a despot or tyrant; a form of government in which the ruler is an absolute dictator (not restricted by a constitution, laws or opposition).

diaspora: the out-migration of peoples from traditional homelands, often in times of crisis. Among the best-known modern example are African slaves, persons of Jewish descent (who have been forced to move at many times throughout history), and persons of Irish descent (who settled in places like the United States and Australia after the great famine of 1847–1851).

direct rule: a system of government wherein the central or national government is in direct control of the regional governmental entities.

divide-and-rule system: Roman system of colonization whereby the Romans willingly and freely incorporated newly conquered people into their own society, freely giving citizenship to outsiders in order to Romanize them and make them willing participants (instead of unwilling subjects or enemies) in the Roman imperial system. egalitarianrelating to the doctrine that all people are equal and should be treated on equal terms, such as legally, economically, politically, and socially.

emancipation: setting free from slavery or oppression; for example, in the Emancipation Proclamation, U.S. president Abraham Lincoln set free all slaves in the Confederate States in 1863.

encomienda: a Spanish term for a royal grant of the tribute or labor of a population of native Americans to a private individual, an *Encomendero,* usually as a reward for service to the crown in a military campaign.

endemic: relating to a limited geographic region; native or restricted to a limited geographic region.

engagé: a French term referring to an indentured servant who contracted to work a certain number of years for payment of passage to New France or another French colony.

entrepôt: a center of trade, often a port, to which goods are shipped for storage and distribution to buyers in other areas. In the nineteenth century Liverpool was an important entrepôt for Britain's west coast.

ethnocentric: perceiving one's own culture as the center of everything and other cultures as its periphery; relating to the inherent superiority of one's cultural or ethnic group.

exogamy: the custom of marrying outside one's social group.

extraterritoriality: the practice of exempting certain foreign nationals from the jurisdiction of their country of residence. The most common application of extraterritoriality is the custom of exempting foreign heads of state and diplomats from local jurisdiction. Another form of extraterritoriality is the limited immunity from local jurisdiction that U.S. servicemen on overseas duty enjoy under the Status of Force Agreements. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, extraterritoriality was often used synonymously with consular jurisdiction, which was the practice of consuls exercising jurisdiction over their nationals in certain non-Western countries.

fascism: a political movement characterized by rabid nationalism, authoritarianism, and opposition to Communism. It insisted on state control of the economy.

Fertile Crescent: the historic, fertile region of the Middle East including all or parts of Israel, the West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq; spans the northern part of the Syrian desert, bordered on the west by the Mediterranean Sea and on the east by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

feudalism: the form of political and social organization characteristic of Western Europe in the Middle Ages whereby a king rewarded chosen nobles with land in return for their loyalty and military service, and the nobility's subsequent use of the peasantry to farm the land in return for labor and a portion of the produce.

free trade: a system of trade that gradually replaced mercantilism in the nineteenth century. In theory it allows for the international exchange of commodities without imposition of tariffs or duties.

galleon: large oceangoing vessel used by Spanish and Portuguese from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries for commerce and warfare. Their size and weight distribution gave them a military disadvantage.

globalization: worldwide exchange of technology, economics, politics, and culture facilitated by modern technological advances.

Glorious Revolution: events of 1688–1689 in English history resulting in the deposition of James II and the ascension of William III also referred to as the Bloodless Revolution because there was little armed resistance, the Glorious Revolution established the power of parliament over the monarch.

guerrilla: Spanish for "little war," a small unofficial military group and its members.

hacienda: a Spanish word referring to a diversified agricultural estate in Spanish America.

hegemony: a degree of informal control exerted by a country with the economic, political, and military power to set and enforce the prevailing rules of the international system. Unlike an empire, the hegemon does not have to exert formal control over other states or powers in the global arena; instead, it exercises a degree of informal control known as hegemony. The power and influence of the United States on world affairs in the twentieth century is often cited as an example of hegemony.

Hispaniola: an island in the Greater Antilles of the Caribbean, home to the largest of the first Spanish settlements in North America. Today Hispaniola is shared by the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

home rule: self-government by a local jurisdiction in their own matters; originated in the nineteenth century as a political term used by Irish nationalists in their fight for self-government for Ireland.

Huguenot: French Protestants and the Protestant movement in the sixteenth century. French Huguenots expanded into the Atlantic and attempted to create colonies in Florida and Brazil without success. Although Protestants formed a majority of the population in the sixteenth century, French Catholics with support from the King of Spain gained power and in the Edict of Nantes in the late sixteenth century, freedom of worship was proclaimed. Huguenot revolts in La Rochelle and other centers in the early seventeenth century were repressed.

imam: title of a Muslim leader; successor to Muhammad as the leader of Shiite Islam.

imperialism: assumption of control by one society or nation over others, often by force; creating an empire. Because of the use of power, imperialism is often considered to be an objectionable foreign policy.

ingenio: a Spanish term for a sugar plantation and mill.

isolationist: referring to a country's policy of isolation by refraining from participating in alliances or international relations.

jihad: Islam for holy war of some type, a war ordained by God.

ladino: a Christianized Africian slave who spoke Spanish or had some knowledge of Spanish of culture.

League of Nations: international organization established after World War I under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles to promote cooperation and peace among nations; forerunner of the United Nations.

Leninism: modification of Marxism by Lenin; political and economic theories stressing imperialism as the highest form of capitalism

letter of marque and reprisal: a government's official warrant or commission authorizing a designated agent to search, seize, or destroy specified assets or personnel belonging to foreign or hostile parties. Often used to authorize private ships to raid and capture an enemy's merchant vessels.

Levant: from the French *lever*, (to rise), the countries bordering the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. This term first came into use with the French mandate of Syria and Lebanon from 1920 until the mid-1940s, which were called the Levant States.

lingua franca: a common language used between speakers of different native languages.

Madrasa: a term derived from the Arabic word for Islamic institution of higher learning.

malaria: disease caused by a blood parasite transmitted through the bite of an infected Anopheles mosquito, most often in tropical and subtropical regions. Characterized by recurring chills and fever.

mameluco: a Portuguese term referring to the offspring of Portuguese and Indian parents.

mandate: defined in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919) as a new form of political supervision created after World War; the mandate system gave broad authority to the victorious Allies over the former colonial empires of Imperial Germany and the Ottoman Turks. The mandated territories were divided into three classes and were assigned to individual powers to govern until they were deemed capable of self-rule.

manumission: the act of liberating a slave from bondage.

Marshall Plan: the program by which the United States helped European countries rebuild after the devastation of World War II by giving them significant economic aid. Named after its proponent, U.S. secretary of state General George C. Marshall, the Marshall Plan was a comprehensive program of targeted investments, run by

American economic advisers, aimed at rebuilding the European economies on the basis of free market policies.

maroon: from the Spanish word *cimarróm* (wild) for runaway slave, a Maroon is both a runaway slave and a community of runaway slaves.

martial law: temporary rule and control by domestic military authorities when war or civil crisis prevents civil authorities from enforcing the law.

Marxism: the political and economic theories of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) in which economic determinism (the theory that political and social institutions are economically determined) figures prominently and class struggle is central to social change.

mercantilism: a term encompassing the diverse trade practices followed by European states from the sixteenth until the late eighteenth century; a collection of policies designed to keep the state prosperous through economic regulation. Mercantilism assumed that wealth is an absolutely indispensable means to achieve geopolitical power; that such power is valuable as a means to acquire or retain wealth; that wealth and power constitute the dual ends of national policy; and that these two ends are compatible and, indeed, complementary.

Mercator projection: created by Gerardus Mercator in 1569, a method of showing the three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional map that satisfied many of the requirements of explorers and other mariners.

mercenary: soldiers hired into foreign service. For example, the most renowned mercenaries in colonial Asia were those hired by both sides of the momentous military campaigns during China's Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864).

Mesoamerica: the pre-Columbian region of Central America and southern North America in which diverse civilizations flourished, including the Mayan and the Olmec.

mestizo: Hispanic for a person of mixed or combined racial ancestry, especially referring to a person in Latin America with both Native American and European ancestry.

metropole: a developed urban center, often associated with the provision of financial/industrial goods and services to associated rural areas (hinterlands) from which they receive raw materials.

Middle Passage: term for the journey of slaves in slave ships from Africa across the Atlantic to the Caribbean or the Americas; a horrific experience marked by inhuman conditions of transport, insufficient food, and disease.

miscegenation: intermarriage between people of different races.

Moors: Muslim North Africans; nomadic people of the northern shores of Africa, largely Arab and Berber.

most favored nation: status accorded by one nation to another in international trade whereby the nation receiving most favored nation status will be awarded all trade advantages that other trading nations receive.

mulatto: a derivation of the word mulo, which refers to the hybrid offspring of a horse and a mule. It became a term used to designate a person of mixed blood, usually someone with a Caucasian father and an African or African-American mother.

multilateral: involving multiple nations or groups.

nationalism: assertion of a nation's right to independence and self-government. Nations were normally those groups with a shared culture, religion, language and history. A frequent nationalist goal has been the creation of a "nation-state," or country, in which to realize cultural aspirations.

negritude: an African diasporic, self-affirming idea that evolved into an artistic and cultural movement and later became a lightening rod for controversy and ideological disputes. The (re)valorization of the black world, the affirmation of the humanity of black people, and the glorification of the richness of black culture had antecedents in the works of earlier thinkers and scholars such as Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912), Martin Delany (1812–1885), and W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), and writers of the Harlem Renaissance such as Claude McKay (1890–1948) and Langston Hughes (1902–1967), who reclaimed "blackness" with pride, reinvested it with positive meanings, and rejected the negativity heaped on it by racism, slavery, colonialism, and imperialism.

new imperialism: a sophisticated manifestation of free trade imperialism resulting from the rising European appetite for conquest and the willingness of European governments to pay for imperialist ventures; distinguished from older traditions of colonialism before 1850, which focused more on seeking commercial influence than formal occupation.

Occidentalism: scholarly study of the characteristics of Western civilizations; Occidentalism has become associated with Eastern views of Western culture, peoples, and languages.

Oceania: geographic region usually considered to include the central and southern Pacific, but excluding the North Pacific and Australia. Oceania consists of three principal areas: Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia.

oligarchy: system of government in which power is held by a small group. When referring to governments, the classical definition of oligarchy, as given for example by Aristotle, is of government by a few, usually the rich, for their own advantage.

open door policy: a policy proposed by U.S. secretary of state John Hay in September 1899 in which all nations would have equal trading and development rights throughout all of China, as an effort by the U.S. government to preserve China's territorial and administrative integrity at a time when it seemed the major imperial powers intended to carve China into a series of concessions, perhaps presaging the end of a unified China.

Pacific Rim: the term used to describe the nations bordering the Pacific Ocean, but not always the island countries. situated in it. In the post–World War II era, the Pacific Rim became an increasingly important and interconnected economic region. The socioeconomic concept of a "Pacific Rim" exploits the region's sea-lanes and sea resources, including fishing rights.

pass law: a reference to the Pass Laws Act of 1952, which required all black South Africans over the age of 16 to carry a pass book, the terms and conditions of which effactually controlled the movement of black people within South Africa.

Penal colonies: colonies created for detaining prisoners for penal labor. Penal colonies were located at a substantial distance from the homeland to discourage prisoners from returning to their native country once their terms expired.

patroonship: an Anglicized Dutch term referring to a grant of land and political authority (a fief) awarded to an individual, a patroon, who had the obligation to settle fifty colonists within four years. In New Netherland, Rensselaerswijck was a patroonship founded by Kiliaen van Rensselaer that measured nearly one million acres in what are today the counties of Albany and Rensselaer, New York.

Persia: conventional European designation of the country now known as Iran. This name was in general use in the West until 1935, although the Iranians themselves had long called their country Iran. The name of Persia is often employed for that part of the country's history concerned with the ancient Persian Empire until the Arab conquest in the seventh century c.e.

pidgin: a non-native language of simplified grammar and vocabulary, used between people speaking different languages.

pre-Columbian: relating to North, Central, or South America before the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492; generally referring to the cultures indigenous to the New World, in the era before significant European influence.

privateer: private ship of war. Issued a "Letter of Marque" authorizing it to attack enemy vessels. Privateers earned

profits by capturing ships, then selling the vessel and its cargo. Remained important until after the War of 1812.

protectionism: the economic policy of restricting import trade to protect domestic producers from competition.

Quilombos: remote Brazilian settlements of runaway slaves (Maroons) and free-born African slaves. These settlements were active in helping slaves escape and fighting groups commissioned to recapture escaped slaves. One well-known quilombo was Palmares, or Quilombo dos Palmares, a large, independent, and self-sustaining settlement founded about 1600 in northeastern Brazil.

raj: Indian word for prince or royalty; empire.

reconquista: Spanish and Portuguese word meaning "reconquest," often referring to the reestablishment of Christian rule in the Iberian Peninsula between 718 and 1492, the seven-century-long process of reconquest of much of Iberia (the peninsula now occupied by Spain and Portugal) from Muslims who first invaded the region in 711.

repatriate: referring to someone who has been returned to his or her country of birth, or an artifact which has been returned to its country of origin (or the act of returning someone or something to its country of birth or origin).

revisionism: a socialist movement arguing for the revision of revolutionary Marxist theory, toward nonviolent achievement of social progress through reform.

Royal African Company: founded in 1672, one of many joint-stock companies of the English Atlantic from the mid-sixteenth through the seventeenth century. A good number of these companies lasted only decades, but they laid the foundations for the English slave trade, Atlantic commerce, and "foreign plantations" in the Americas.

royal charter: a written grant by royalty creating an entity such as a university or organization.

Safavid Empire: an empire reaching from southern Iraq to the borders of Herat in modern Afghanistan, from Baku in present-day Azerbaijan to Kandahar in Afghanistan, and from the Caspian Sea to Bahrain. The Safavid Empire's boundaries have come to define where Iran is (or ought to be) in the contemporary Iranian national imagination.

satellite state: an independent country dominated by a larger power; initially coined during the Cold War era in reference to Central and Eastern European countries of the Warsaw Pact being "satellites" of the Soviet Union.

scorched-earth (adj, as in scorched-earth tactics): referring to a policy whereby armed forces destroy anything of use in an area to prevent its use by enemy forces.

scurvy: illness or deficiency disorder resulting from the lack of vitamin C, or ascorbic acid, characterized by gums becoming spongy, anemia, and skin hemorrhaging. Scurvy became especially common among sailors when ready sources of vitamin C, such as fresh fruits and vegetables, could not be stocked aboard ship.

secession: withdrawal from an established union, such as when the eleven southern states withdrew from the Union at the onset of the U.S. Civil War.

Self-Determination: the power of a nation to decide how it will be governed. Self-Determination was integral to "Wilsonianism," named for U.S. president Woodrow Wilson.

sepoy: Derived from the Persian word *sipahi*, meaning "regular soldier," the term sepoy designates Indian infantrymen trained and equipped to European standards and employed in the armies of the East India Company and later the British Crown. A significant majority of the East India Company's armed forces from the middle decades of the eighteenth century, sepoys were absolutely crucial to the expansion, consolidation, and maintenance of the company's interests in India and Asia.

sericulture: the manufacture of raw silk, originating from the Greek word *serikos*.

shogunate, shogun: A shogunate was the Japanese military administrative system between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries; the shogun was an emporer's military deputy and the practical ruler of Japan.

Silk Road: a land route from China to Europe actively used in the trading of silk textiles until the age of sail, dating from about the second century b.c.e.

Slave Coast: European trading term for the coast bordering the Bight of Benin on the Gulf of Guinea, West Africa; served as the principal source of West African slaves from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

socialism: theories calling for a more fair and egalitarian society usually to be attainted through government action. By 1900 socialism was the major force representing working-class interests. From Socialist ideals have sprung reforms like social security benefits, national health care, and worker representation through trade unions.

sovereignty: referring to a nation or state's supreme power within its borders.

trust territory: United Nations Trust Territories were the successors of the League of Nations mandates and came into being when the League of Nations ceased to exist in 1946. All of the trust territories were administered through the UN Trusteeship Council.

vassal state: a state that is dependent on or subordinate to another, often involving military support or protection.

Voortrekkers: Afrikaans word for pioneers; Voortrekkers were Boers (Afrikaner farmers) who emigrated from Cape Colony in the 1830s and 1840s to what is now South Africa.

welfare state: a political system in which a government assumes the primary responsibility for assuring the basic health, education, and financial well-being of all its citizens through programs and direct assistance.

Zionist: pertaining to the political movement begun in the late nineteenth century for reconstituting a Jewish national state in Palestine.

Primary Sources

HISTORICAL TEXT

ANGLO-RUSSIAN ENTENTE OF 1907

INTRODUCTION *The Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907 was an agreement between Russia and Britain that fixed the boundaries of Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. Persia was divided into spheres of Russian interest in the North and British interest in the southeast, keeping the Russians away from the Persian Gulf and the Indian border. As the Ottoman Empire began to decline in power in the 1700s, the rivalry between Russia and Great Britain became a major factor in geopolitics as both countries took measures to gain influence in southeastern Europe, in the Middle East, and in Central Asia. After nearly two centuries of tension, the Anglo-Russian Entente formalized British and Russian spheres of interest over economic development in the region.*

AGREEMENT CONCERNING PERSIA

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\emdash 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 and 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 Prits 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 payment of interest of the Persian loans concluded with the "Banque d'escompte et des Prits 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.

ATLANTIC CHARTER

INTRODUCTION *The Atlantic Charter, a declaration of principles issued by U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill in 1941, echoed Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points and called for the rights of self-determination, self-government, and free speech for all peoples. The charter stipulated that at the end of World War II, all Allied nations could determine their own political destinies. Many African and Asian nationalists capitalized on the promise of the Atlantic Charter to argue for political independence from colonial control.*

AUGUST 14, 1941

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measure which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Winston S. Churchill

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

INTRODUCTION *The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, was a letter from the British foreign secretary, Arthur Balfour, to Lord Rothschild, a prominent British supporter of the Zionist movement. On behalf of the British government, Balfour expressed support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Although the Balfour Declaration reflected a degree of British official sympathy with Zionist aspirations, it also served British strategic and colonial interests: first, by building wartime support among Jews in Europe and North America, and second, by bolstering Britain's postwar claims to the territory northeast of the Suez Canal.*

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

CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS, THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY

SOURCE 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, *Compiled and Edited Under the Act of Congress of June 30,* 1906 by Francis Newton Thorpe Washington, DC : Government Printing Office, 1909.

INTRODUCTION *The States-General (parliament) of the Netherlands granted this charter to the Dutch West India Company in 1621. According to the charter, the company held a monopoly in shipping and trade in a territory that included Africa south of the Tropic of Cancer, all of America, and the Atlantic and Pacific islands between the two meridians drawn across the Cape of Good Hope and the eastern extremities of New Guinea. Within this territory the States-General authorized the company to set up colonies, sign treaties with local rulers, erect fortresses, and wage war against enemies. Although its main objective was to establish and defend a commercial network in the Atlantic, in practice the West India Company spent more money on privateering and war against Spain and Portugal.*

JUNE 3, 1621

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 encreased 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 mantained 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 discharge 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 inlisted 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, notwithstand-

ing 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 Provmces 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 m 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 Builders, 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 oaf, 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 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 evry 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 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 finally 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 svhere 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 builders 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 strengthn 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, an 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 paving 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 Builders, 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 Builders, 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 merchant-men (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 admirality 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 admirality, 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 Nethelands, 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. AERSSEN.
And has a Seal pendant, of red Wax, and a string of white silk.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

SOURCE The First Ocean Decade of Peter Martyr of Anghiera and Milan, *1511. From Geoffrey Eatough, Editor and Translator, Selections from Peter Martyr in* Repetorium Columbianum, *Volume V (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998), pp. 43-44.*

INTRODUCTION *This account of Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the New World in 1492 appeared in* The First Ocean Decade of Peter Martyr of Anghiera and Milan *(1511) by Peter Martyr, an Italian-born historian at the Spanish court. Martyr's goal, like other Spanish historians of the period, was to emphasize the glory of Spain. As such, Martyr cast Columbus's voyage as a great adventure that would lead to "an unimaginable abundance of pearls, spices, and gold." As Martyr foresaw, Columbus's discoveries of new lands, mineral wealth, and new people and animals launched a new era of European exploration, expansion, and colonialism.*

The ancients, to show their gratitude, used to respect as gods men whose vision and toil revealed lands which had been unknown to their ancestors. We, however, who hold that beneath his three persons there is only one God to be worshipped, can nonetheless feel wonder at men such as these, even if we have not worshipped them. Let us revere the sovereigns under whose leadership and auspices it was granted these men to fulfill their plans; let us praise to heaven sovereigns and discoverers; and let us use all our powers to make their glory seen as is right and proper. Here then what is reported about the islands recently discovered in the western seas and about the authors of this event. Since in your letter you seem most eager to know, I intend to start my account from the beginning of the event to avoid doing harm to anyone.

A certain Christopher Columbus, a man from Genoa, made a proposal to Ferdinand and Isabela, our Catholic majesties, and persuaded them that he would find to the west of us the islands neighboring on India, if they would equip him with ships and items required for the voyage. By these means the Christian religion could increase and an unimaginable abundance of pearls, spices and gold be easily had. He persisted and it was arranged that he should have three ships paid out of the royal treasury: one a cargo ship, with a crow's nest; the other two light merchant ships, without crow's nests, which the Spaniards call caravels. When he had taken possession of them Columbus began his proposed voyage around the first of September in the 1492nd year of our salvation with about two hundred twenty Spaniards.

Out in the deep ocean are islands which in many people's opinion are the Fortunate Islands, named the Canaries by the Spaniards, discovered Sometime ago, 1200 miles from Cádiz by their reckoning, for they say that the distance is three hundred leagues, while the experts in navigation say that on their calculations each league contains four miles. Antiquity called them the Fortunate Isles on account of the mildness of their climate: for the inhabitants are not oppressed by intolerable winters or fierce summers, because they are situated in the south beyond Europe's climate. Some, however, would like those which the Portuguese call the Cape Verde to be the Fortunate Islands. The Canaries have, right up to the Present day, been inhabited by men who are naked and who exist without any religion. Columbus made for there in order to take on water and refurbish the ships, before committing himself to hard toils ahead.

From these islands Columbus sailed for thirty-three continuous days, Always following the westerning sun, though for a little while towards the left of it, happy with just the sea and sky. His Spanish companions began first to mutter in secret, then to harass him with open abuse and to think about murdering him; indeed in the end they deliberated on hurling him into the sea: they had been deceived by a fellow from Genoa; the were being dragged headlong into an abyss from where they would never be able to return. After what was not the thirtieth day, roused to fury, they shouted out to be taken back and urged the man to go no further; but he tried to soothe their anger and restrain their excesses, coaxing them, giving large grounds for hope, protracting the issue from one day to the next. He also stated that their majesties would change them with treason, if they made a hostile move against him, of if they refused to obey. In the end to their delight they gained sight of the land for which they had longed.

On this first voyage he revealed just six islands, and two of these were of Unprecedented magnitude. He called one of these Hispaniola, the other Juana, but he was not sure that Juana was an island. As they were shaved the shores of some of them, they heard, in the month of November, the song of the nightingale in the dense groves. They also found huge rivers of fresh water and natural harbors with room for large fleets. Licking the coast of Juana, north west on a straight line, they ran out not much less than eight hundred miles, for they say it was one hundred and eighty leagues. Thinking it was mainland, because there was no apparent end nor sign of any end on the island, for as far as their eyes commanded a view, they decided to retreat. The sea surge also forced them to turn back, for the shore of Juana with its twists and turns eventually bends and curves so far to the north

that the ships were assailed by severe gales from the north, for the storms of winter were beginning.

DE ORIGINE, POPULI (ON THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIVES OF VIRGINIA) 1612

SOURCE *William Strachey,* The Historie of Travell into Virgina Britania, *Edited by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953), pp. 53-55.*

INTRODUCTION *The early English settlers in North America brought with them the perception of native peoples as suffering from savagery and barbarism. The Protestant colonists associated Native American forms of ritual with those practiced by Roman Catholics, and thus referred to both traditions as idolatrous. Although the English believed that Indians were susceptible to Christian education and conversion, the English process of converting native peoples required that their religious and social habits be reduced to the level of false religion. In this passage from* The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania *(1612), William Strachey, a resident of the Jamestown settlement, speculates on what he considers the biblical origins of the natives of Virginia and their descent into "prophane worshippe."*

It were not perhappes too curious a thing to demand, how these people might come first, and from whom, and whence, to inhabited these so far remote westerly parts of the world, having no entercourse with Africa, Asia nor Europe, and considering the whole world, so many years, (by all knowledge received, was supposed to be only contained and circumscribed in the discovered and traveled Bounds of those three: according to that old Conclusion in the Scholes Quicquid prœter Africam, et Europeam est, Asia est. Whatsoeuer Land doth neither appertayne vnto Africk, nor to Europe, is part of Asia: as also to question how yt should be, that they (if descended from the people of the first creation) should maynteyne so generall and grosse a defection from the true knowledg of God, with one kynd, as yt were of rude and savadge life, Customes, manners, and Religion, yt being to be graunted, that with vs (infallibly) they had one, and the same discent and begynning from the vniversall Deluge, in the scattering of Noah his children and Nephewes, with their famelies (as little Colonies) some to one, some to other borders of the Earth to dwell? as in Egypt (so

wryting Berosus) Esenius, and his howshold, tooke vp their Inhabitacion: In Libia, and Cyrene, Tritames: and in all the rest of Africa, Iapetus Priscus; Attalaas in East-Asia; Ganges, with some of Comerus Gallus children, in Arabia-Fwlix, within the confines of Sabaea, called the Frankincense bearer; Canaan in Damascus, vnto the vtmost bowndes of Palestyne; ect.

But, yet is observed that Cham, and his famely, were the only far Travellors, and Straglers into divers and unknowne countries, searching, exploring and sitting downe in the same: as also yet is said of his famely, that what country so ever the Children of Chain happened to possesse, there beganne both the Ignorance of true godliness, and a kynd of bondage and slavery to be taxed one vpon another, and that no inhabited Countryes cast forth greater multytutes, to raunge and stray into divers remote Regions, then that part of Arabia in which Cham himselfe (constrayned to fly with wife and Children by reason of the mocking that he had done to his father) tooke into possession; so great a misery (saith Boem of Auba) brought to mankynd, the vnsatisfyed wandring of that one man: for first from him, the Ignoraunce of the true worship of god took beginning, the Inventions of Hethenisme, and adoration of falce godes, and the Deuill, for he himself, not applying him to leame from his father, the knowledge and prescrybed worship of the eternall god, the god of his fathers, yet by a fearfull and superstitious instinct of nature, carryed to ascribe vnto some supernaturall power, a kynd of honour and power, taught his successors new and devised manner of Gods, sacryfices, and Ceremonies; and which he might the easierympresse into the Children, by reason they were carryed with him so young away from the Elders, not instructed, nor seasoned first, in their true Customes, and religion:

In so much as then we may conclude, that from Cham, and his tooke byrth and begynning the first vniversall Confusion and diversity, which ensued afterwardes throughout the whole world, especially in divine and sacred matters, while yt is said agayne of the Children of Sem, and Iaphet, how they being taught by their elders, and content with their owne lymitts and confynes, not travelling beyond them into new Countryes as the other, retayned still (vntill the comming of the Messias,) the only knowledge of the eternall, and the never chaungeable triuth.

By all which yet is very probable likewise, that both in the travells and Idolatry of the famely of Cham, this portion of the world (west-ward from Africa, vpon the Atlantique Sea) became both peopled, and instructed in the forme of prophane worshippe, and of an vnknowne Diety: nor is yt to be wondred at, where the abused truith of Religion is suffred to perish, yf men in their owne

Inventions, and lives, become so grosse and barbarous as by reading the processe of this history will hardly be perceaved, what difference may be betweene them and bruit beasts, sometymes worshipping bruit beasts, nay things more vyle, and abhorring the inbredd motions of Nature itself, with such headlong and bloudy Ceremonies, of Will, and Act.

But how the vagabond Rance of Cham might discend into this new world, without furniture (as may be questioned) of shipping, and meanes to tempt the Seas, togither how this great Continent (divided from the other three) should become stoared with beasts, and some Fowle, of one, and the same kynd with the other partes, especially with Lions, Beares, Deare, Wolues, and such like, as from the first Creation tooke begynning in their kynd, and after the generall floud were not anew created, nor haue their being or generation (as some other) ex putredine, et sole, by corruption and Heate. Let me referre the reader to the search of Acosta in his booke of his morall and naturall History of the West-Indies, who hath so officiously laboured herein, as he should but bring Owles to Athens, who should study for more strayned, or new Aucthority Concerning the same.

Thus much then may be in brief be sayd, and allowed, Concerning their originall, or first begynning in generall, and which may well reach even downe vnto the particuler Inbabitants of this particuler Region, by vs discovered, who cannot be any other, then parcell of the same, and first mankynd.

DISCOURSE OF WESTERN PLANTING

SOURCE *Richard Hakluyt, 1584.*

INTRODUCTION *This table of contents for Richard Hakluyt's* Discourse of Western Planting *(1584) outlines a text that established English legal claims to North America and discussed in depth the commercial and strategic advantages of settling the region. Hakluyt (1552-1616) was a geographer, historian, editor, and leading promoter of English colonial expansion in North America. He presented his* Discourse of Western Planting *to Queen Elizabeth I in manuscript, but it was not actually printed until almost three hundred years later. Although Elizabeth was in agreement with the sentiments of the* Discourse, *England was engaged in a rivalry with Spain and unable to finance the colonial project that Hakluyt proposed, though Hakluyt's* Discourse *probably had an influence on the formation of the unsuccessful colony*

established in 1585 on Roanoke Island, off the coast of present-day North Carolina.

A particuler discourse concerninge the great necessitie and manifolde comodyties that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted, Written In the yere 1584 by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr. Walter Raghly [Raieigh] nowe Knight, before the comynge home of his Twoo Barkes: and is devlded into xxi chapiters, the Titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe.

1. That this westerne discoverie will be greately for the inlargement of the gospell of Christe whereunto the Princes of the refourmed relligion are chefely bounde amongest whome her Majestie is principall.

2. That all other englishe Trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially in all the kinge of Spaine his Domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their Bibles and prayer Bokes into the sea, and to forsweare and renownce their relligion and conscience and consequently theyr obedience to her Majestie.

3. That this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica, and Asia, as far as wee were wonte to travell, and supply the wantes of all our decayed trades.

4. That this enterprise will be for the manifolde imployment of nombers of idle men, and for bredinge of many sufficient, and for utterance of the great quantitie of the commodities of our Realme.

5. That this voyage will be a great bridle to the Indies of the kinge of Spaine and a means that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of teime weekes or three monethes every yere, one or twoo hundred saile of his subjectes shippes at the fysshinge in Newfounde Iande.

6. That the rischesse that the Indian Threasure wrought in time of Charles the late Emperor father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideracion of the Q. moste excellent Majestie, leaste the contynuall commynge of the like threasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this Realme, whereof already wee have had very dangerous experience.

7. What speciall meanes may bringe kinge Phillippe from his high Throne, and make him equal to the Princes his neighbours, wherewithall is shewed his weakenes in the west Indies.

8. That the limites of the kinge of Spaines domynions in the west Indies be nothinge so large as is generally

imagined and surmised, neither those partes which he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsely geven oute by the popishe Clergye and others his suitors, to terrffie the Princes of the Relligion and to abuse and blinde them.

9. The Names of the riche Townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the northe side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of America under the kinge of Spaine.

10. A Brefe declaracion of the chefe Ilands in the Bay of Mexico beinge under the kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what commodities they yeide.

11. That the Spaniardes have executed most outragious and more then Turkishe crueltiees in all the west Indies, whereby they are every where there, become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne with us or any other moste willingly to shake of their moste intollerable yoke, and have begonne to doo it already in dyvers places where they were Lordes heretofore.

12. That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie Princes, nor nere their Contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all tymes of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde, that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and west sides, is the nerest parte of Europe to it, which by this trade shall be in more securitie, and the sooner drawen to more Civilitie.

13. That hereby the Revenewes and customes of her Majestie bothe outwardes and inwardes shall mightely be inlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties which without oppression may be raised.

14. That this action will be greately for the increase, mayneteynaunce and safetie of our Navye, and especially of great shippinge which is the strengthe of our Realme, and for the supportation of all those occupacions that depende upon the same.

15. That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these luckye westerne discoveries for feare of the daunger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intentions, with the order thereof and other reasons therewithall alleaged.

16. Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe and the enterprisers from shame and dishonor.

17. That by these Colonies the Northwest passage to Cathaio and China may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute aswell by river and overlande, as by sea, for proofe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare Testimonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius and other grave authors.

18. That the Queene of Englande title to all the west Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes or any other Christian Princes.

19. An aunswer to the Bull of the Donacion of all the west Indies graunted to the kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the VI whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.

20. A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.

21. A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge which is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideracion then for any other reason for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, without which the voyadge is maymed.

THE EARL OF CROMER: WHY BRITAIN ACQUIRED EGYPT IN 1882

SOURCE *The Earl of Cromer,* Modern Egypt, *2 Vols., (New York: Macmillan, 1908), Vol. I.xvii-xviii.*

INTRODUCTION *Evelyn Baring, the Earl of Cromer, served as consul-general of Egypt from 1883 to 1907. In this passage from Comer's* Modern Egypt *(1908), he explains the British rationale for taking control of Egypt in 1882. A nationalist uprising had broken out in Egypt in 1881 against a backdrop of widespread economic distress and growing anti-European sentiment. Known as the Urabi Revolt, this uprising prompted deep concern among Britons, who feared that instability in Egypt could threaten the Suez Canal—the British imperial lifeline to India—as well as local British investments. Britain took action in 1882 by bombarding the coast of Alexandria and occupying Egypt. British authorities maintained that the occupation would be a short-term affair, but in fact Britain kept a hold over Egypt for the next seventy years and only withdrew its last troops from the Suez Canal in 1956.*

Egypt may now almost be said to form part of Europe. It is on the high road to the Far East. It can never cease to be an object of interest to all the powers of Europe, and especially to England. A numerous and intelligent body of Europeans and of non-Egyptian orientals have made Egypt their home. European capital to a large extent has been sunk in the country. The rights and privileges of

Europeans are jealously guarded, and, moreover, give rise to complicated questions, which it requires no small amount of ingenuity and technical knowledge to solve. Exotic institutions have sprung up and have taken root in the country. The capitulations impair those rights of internal sovereignty which are enjoyed by the rulers or legislatures of most states. The population is heterogeneous and cosmopolitan to a degree almost unknown elsewhere. Although the prevailing faith is that of Islam, in no country in the world is a greater variety of religious creeds to be found amongst important sections of the community.

In addition too these peculiarities, which are of a normal character, it has to be borne in mind that in 1882 the [Egyptian] army was in a state of mutiny; the treasury was bankrupt; every branch of the administration had been dislocated; the ancient and arbitrary method, under which the country had for centuries been governed, had received a severe blow, whilst, at the same time, no more orderly and law-abiding form of government had been inaugurated to take its place. Is it probable that a government composed of the rude elements described above, and led by men of such poor ability as Arabi and his coadjutators, would have been able to control a complicated machine of this nature? Were the sheikhs of the El-Azhar mosque likely to succeed where Tewfik Pasha and his ministers, who were men of comparative education and enlightenment, acting under the guidance and inspiration of a first-class European power, only met with a modified success after years of patient labor? There can be but one answer to these questions. Nor is it in the nature of things that any similar movement should, under the present conditions of Egyptian society, meet with any better success. The full and immediate execution of a policy of "Egypt for the Egyptians," as it was conceived by the Arabists in 1882, was, and still is, impossible.

History, indeed, records some very radical changes in the forms of government to which a state has been subjected without its interests being absolutely and permanently shipwrecked. But it may be doubted whether any instance can be quoted of a sudden transfer of power in any civilized or semi-civilized community to a class so ignorant as the pure Egyptians, such as they were in the year 1882. These latter have, for centuries past, been a subject race. Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs from Arabia and Baghdad, Circassians, and finally, Ottoman Turks, have successively ruled over Egypt, but we have to go back to the doubtful and obscure precedents of Pharaonic times to find an epoch when, possibly, Egypt was ruled by Egyptians. Neither, for the present, do they appear to possess the qualities which would render it desirable, either in their own interests, or in those of the civilized world in general, to raise them at a bound

to the category of autonomous rulers with full rights of internal sovereignty.

If, however, a foreign occupation was inevitable or nearly inevitable, it remains to be considered whether a British occupation was preferable to any other. From the purely Egyptian point of view, the answer to this question cannot be doubtful. The intervention of any European power was preferable to that of Turkey. The intervention of one European power was preferable to international intervention. The special aptitude shown by Englishmen in the government of Oriental races pointed to England as the most effective and beneficent instrument for the gradual introduction of European civilization into Egypt. An Anglo-French, or an Anglo-Italian occupation, from both of which we narrowly and also accidentally escaped, would have been detrimental to Egyptian interests and would ultimately have caused friction, if not serious dissension, between England on the one side and France or Italy on the other. The only thing to be said in favor of Turkish intervention is that it would have relieved England from the responsibility of intervening.

By the process of exhausting all other expedients, we arrive at the conclusion that armed British intervention was, under the special circumstances of the case, the only possible solution of the difficulties which existed in 1882. Probably also it was the best solution. The arguments against British intervention, indeed, were sufficiently obvious. It was easy to foresee that, with a British garrison in Egypt, it would be difficult that the relations of England either with France or Turkey should be cordial. With France, especially, there would be a danger that our relations might become seriously strained. Moreover, we lost the advantages of our insular position. The occupation of Egypt necessarily dragged England to a certain extent within the arena of Continental politics. In the event of war, the presence of a British garrison in Egypt would possibly be a source of weakness rather than of strength. Our position in Egypt placed us in a disadvantageous diplomatic position, for any power, with whom we had a difference of opinion about some non-Egyptian question, was at one time able to retaliate by opposing our Egyptian policy. The complicated rights and privileges possessed by the various powers of Europe in Egypt facilitated action of this nature.

There can be no doubt of the force of these arguments. The answer to them is that it was impossible for Great Britain to allow the troops of any other power to occupy Egypt. When it became apparent that some foreign occupation was necessary, that the Sultan would not act save under conditions which were impossible of acceptance, and that neither French nor Italian cooperation could be secured, the British government acted with

promptitude and vigor. A great nation cannot throw off the responsibilities which its past history and its position in the world have imposed upon it. English history affords other examples of the government and people of England drifting by accident into doing what was not only right, but was also most in accordance with British interests.

FOURTEEN POINTS

INTRODUCTION *United States President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were delivered during an address to the U.S. Congress on January 8, 1918. Wilson intended the Fourteen Points to serve as a plan to end World War I and establish a lasting peace. In his fourteenth point, Wilson suggested the creation of an association of nations to facilitate the sovereignty and independence of all nations based upon self-determination, a proposal that led to the formation of the League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The Fourteen Points encouraged a number of nationalist leaders, including Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh, to attend the Paris Peace Conference and present petitions for autonomy and independence.*

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow nor or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be

done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine,

which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence

or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace- loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

HOMESTEAD ACT

INTRODUCTION *After the American Revolution, both the federal government and the states jockeyed to acquire as much Native American land as possible, leading the United States Congress to pass a series of ordinances in the 1780s to bring order to the process of land development. One such ordinance established the land grid that is visible on any flight over the American Midwest—what had been Indian country was divided into perfect squares. The final result of this process was the Homestead Act, passed by Congress on May 20, 1862, which made 160-acres plots of unappropriated public land available for free, to women and men alike. Thousands of settlers from the eastern United States and Europe seized on the opportunity to become landowners. The Indian inhabitants of these lands had little choice but to retreat, and retreat again.*

May 20, 1862

AN ACT to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain.

Be it enacted, That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall, from and after the first of January, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, be entitled to enter one quarter-section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a pre-emption claim, or which may, at the time the application is made, be subject to pre-emption at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed: Provided, That any person owning or residing on land may, under the provisions of this act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land,

which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he or she is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register or receiver that he or she is the head of a family, or is twenty-one years or more of age, or shall have performed service in the army or navy of the United States, and that he has never borne arms against the Government of the United States or given aid and comfort to its enemies, and that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that said entry is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not either directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; and upon filing the said affidavit with the register or receiver, and on payment of ten dollars, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land specified: Provided, however, That no certificate shall be given or patent issued therefor until the expiration of five years from the date of such entry; and if, at the expiration of such time, or at any time within two years thereafter, the person making such entry; or, if he be dead, his widow; or in case of her death, his heirs or devisee; or in the case of a widow making such entry, her heirs or devisee, in the case of her death; shall prove by two credible witnesses that he, she, or they have resided upon or cultivated the same for the term of five years immediately succeeding the time of filing the affidavit aforesaid, and shall make affidavit that no part of said land has been alienated, and he has borne true allegiance to the Government of the United States; then, in such case, he, she, or they, if at that time a citizen of the United States, shall be entitled to a patent, as in other cases provided for by law: And, provided, further, That in case of the death of both father and mother, leaving an infant child, or children, under twenty-one years of age, the right and fee shall enure to the benefit of said infant child or children; and the executor, administrator, or guardian may, at any time within two years after the death of the surviving parent, and in accordance with the laws of the State in which such children for the time being have their domicil, sell said land for the benefit of said infants, but for no other purpose; and the purchaser shall acquire the absolute title by the purchase, and be entitled to a patent from the United States, on payment of the office fees and sum of money herein specified.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, That the register of the land office shall note all such applications on the tract books and plats of his office, and keep a register of all such entries, and make return thereof to the General Land Office, together with the proof upon which they have been founded.

Section 4. And be it further enacted, That no lands acquired under the provisions of this act shall in any event become liable to the satisfaction of any debt or debts contracted prior to the issuing of the patent therefor.

Section 5. And be it further enacted, That if, at any time after the filing of the affidavit, as required in the second section of this act, and before the expiration of the five years aforesaid, it shall be proven, after due notice to the settler, to the satisfaction of the register of the land office, that the person having filed such affidavit shall have actually changed his or her residence, or abandoned the said land for more than six months at any time, then and in that event the land so entered shall revert to the government.

Section 6. And be it further enacted, That no individual shall be permitted to acquire title to more than one quarter section under the provisions of this act; and that the Commissioner of the General Land Office is hereby required to prepare and issue such rules and regulations, consistent with this act, as shall be necessary and proper to carry its provisions into effect; and that the registers and receivers of the several land offices shall be entitled to receive the same compensation for any lands entered under the provisions of this act that they are now entitled to receive when the same quantity of land is entered with money, one half to be paid by the person making the application at the time of so doing, and the other half on the issue of the certificate by the person to whom it may be issued; but this shall not be construed to enlarge the maximum of compensation now prescribed by law for any register or receiver: Provided, That nothing contained in this act shall be so construed as to impair or interfere in any manner whatever with existing preemption rights: And provided, further, That all persons who may have filed their applications for a preemption right prior to the passage of this act, shall be entitled to all privileges of this act: Provided, further, That no person who has served or may hereafter serve, for period of not less than fourteen days in the army or navy of the United States, either regular or volunteer, under the laws thereof, during the existence of an actual war, domestic or foreign, shall be deprived of the benefits of this act of account of not having attained the age of twenty-one years.

Section 7. And be it further enacted, That the fifth section of the act entitled An act in addition to an act more effectually to provide for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States, and for other purposes, approved the third of March, in the year eighteen hun-

dred and fifty-seven, shall extend to all oaths, affirmations, and affidavits, required or authorized by this act.

Section 8. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent any person who has availed him or herself of the benefits of the first section of this act, from paying the minimum price, or the price to which the same may have graduated, for the quantity of land so entered at any time before the expiration of the five years, and obtaining a patent therefor from the government, as in other cases provided by law, on making proof of settlement and cultivation as provided by existing laws granting preemption rights.

Approved, May 20, 1862.

IMPERIALISM: A STUDY, 1902

SOURCE *John A. Hobson.* Imperialism. *(London: Allen and Unwin, 1948), p. 35.*

INTRODUCTION *In this excerpt from* Imperialism: A Study *(1902), the British economist and political philosopher J. A. Hobson offers a criticism of the economic benefits of colonialism. Hobson, a follower of Marx, argued in* Imperialism *that the financial sector was the only area of the economy that actually benefited from colonies. In other areas, the military and administrative costs of empire outweighed any financial gains. Hence, Hobson contended that imperialism only benefited a small group of elites and did not provide long-range economic gains for the lower and working classes.*

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 PanSlavist 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 AustriaHungary, 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 breakup 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 interpretation 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 fulfilment 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 selfconsciousness 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 threequarters 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 considerable population upon a strictly

limited area; or it may, like Great r 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.

IMPERIALISM: A GERMAN VIEWPOINT

SOURCE *Fabri, Friedrich. Does Germany Need Colonies, 1879.*

INTRODUCTION *This excerpt from Friedrich Fabri's 1879 pamphlet* Bedarf Deutschland der Colonien? *(Does Germany Need Colonies?) presents an argument for the development of German imperialism, which Fabri believed would invigorate the German economy and renew the national spirit. Fabri was the director of a German missionary society, and his propagandistic writings in favor of colonization were part of a procolonial movement that arose in Germany after unification in 1871. Advocates of colonization exerted pressure on the government to acquire colonies abroad, especially in Africa, by arguing that Germany needed territories to maintain its economic preeminence among European nations.*

Should not the German nation, so seaworthy, so industrially and commercially minded, ... successfully hew a new path on the road of imperialism? We are convinced beyond doubt that the colonial question has become a matter of life-or death for the develo pment of Germany. Colonies will have a salutary effect on our economic situation as well as on our entire national progress.

Here is a solution for many of the problems that face us. In this new Reich [i.e., the new Imperial Germany] of ours there is so much bitterness, so much unfruitful, sour, and poisoned political wrangling, that the opening of a new, promising road of national effort will act as a kind of liberating influence. Our national spirit will be renewed, a gratifying thing, a great asset. A people that has been led to a high level of power can maintain its historical position only as long as it understands and proves itself to be the bearer of a culture mission. At the same time, this is the only way to stability and to the growth of national welfare, the necessary foundation for a lasting expansion of power.At one time Germany contributed only intellectual and literary activity to the tasks of our century. That era is now over. As a people we have become politically minded and powerful. But if political power becomes the primal goal of a nation, it will lead to harshness, even to barbarism. We must be ready to serve for the ideal, moral, and economic culture-tasks of our time . . . .

No one can deny that in this direction England has by far surpassed all other countries. . . . . I has been customary in our age of military power to evaluate the strength of a state in terms of its combat-ready troops. But anyone who looks at the g lobe and notes the steadily increasing colonial possessions of Great Britain [will perceive] how she extracts strength from them, the skill with which she governs them, how the Anglo-Saxon strain occupies a dominant position in the overseas territories . . . .

The fact is that England tenaciously holds on to its world-wide possessions with scarcely one-fourth the manpower of our continental military state. That is not only a great economic advantage but also a striking proof of the solid power and cultural fib er of England. Great Britain, of course, isolates herself far from the mass warfare of the continent, or only goes into action with dependable allies; hence, the insular state has suffered and will suffer no real damage. In any case, it would be wise for us Germans to learn about colonial skills from our Anglo-Saxon cousins and to begin a friendly competition with them. W hen the German Reich centuries ago stood at the pinnacle of the states of Europe, it was the Number One trade and sea power. If the New Germany wants to protect its newly won position of power for a long time, it must heed its Kultur-mission and, above all, delay no longer in the task of renewing the call for colonies.

KINGDOM OF CONGO

SOURCE A Reporte of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Africa, and of the Countries that border rounde about the same. *Drawn out of the writings and discourses of Odordo Lopes, a Portingal, by Philippo Pigafetta. Translated out of Italian by Abraham Hartwell. London, Printed by John Wolfe, 1597, pp. 118-121.*

Of the Original beginning of Christendom in the Kingdom of Congo, And how the Portuguese obtained this traffic.

The K. of Portugal Don Gionanni, the second, being desirous to discover the East Indies, sent forth divers ships by the coast of Africa to search out this Navigation, who having found the Islands of Cape Verde, and the Isle of Saint Thomas, and running all along the coast, did light upon the River Zaire, whereof we have made mention before, and there they had good traffic, and tried the people to be very courteous and kind. Afterwards he sent forth (for the same purpose) certain other vessels, to entertain this traffic with Congo, who finding the trade there to be so free and profitable, and the people so friendly, left certain Portuguese behind them, to learn the language, and to traffic with them: among whom one was a Mass-priest. These Portuguese conversing familiarly with the Lord of Sogno, who was Uncle to the King, and a man well up there in years, dwelling at that time In the Port of Praza (which is in the mouth of Zaire) were very well Entertained and esteemed by the Prince, and reverenced as though they Had been earthly Gods, and descended down from heaven into those Countries. But the Portuguese told them that they were men as themselves Were, and professors of Christianity. And when they perceived in how great estimation the people held them, the foresaid Priest & others began to reason with the Prince touching the Christian religion, and to show unto them the errors of the Pagan supersition, and by little and little to teach them the faith which we possess, insomuch as that which the Portuguese spoke unto them, greatly pleased the Prince, and so he became converted.

With this confidence and good spirit, the prince of Sogno went to the Court, to inform the King of the true doctrine of the Christian Portuguese, and to encourage him that he would embrace the Christian Religion which was so manifest, and also so wholesome for his soul's health. Hereupon the king commanded to call the Priest to Court, to the end he might himself treat with him personally, and understand the truth of that which the Lord of Sogno had declared unto him. Whereof when he was fully informed, he converted and promised that he would become a Christian.

And now the Portuguese ships departed from Congo, and returned to Portugal: and by them did the King of Congo write to the King of Portugal, Don Gionanni, the second, with earnest resquest, that he would send him some Priests, with all other orders and ceremonies to make him a Christian. The Priest also that remained behind, had written at large touching this business, and gave the King full information of all that had happened, agreeable to his good pleasure. And so the King took order for sundry religious persons, to be send unto him accordingly, with all ornaments for the Church and other service, as Crosses and Images: so that he was thoroughly furnished with all things that were necessary and needful for such an action.

At the last the ships of Portugal arrived with the expected provisions (which was in the year of our salvation 1491) and landed in the port which in in the mouth of the River Zaire. The Prince of Sogno with all show of familiar joy, accompanied with all his gentlemen ran down to meet them, and entertained the Portuguese in most courteous manner, and so conducted them to their lodgings. The next day following according to the direction of the Priest that remained behind, the Prince caused a kind of Church to be built, with the bodies and branches of certain trees, which he in his own person, with the help of his servants, most devoutly had felled in the wood. And when it was covered, they erected therein three Altars, in the worship and reverence of the most holy Trinity, and there was baptized himself and his young son, himself by the name of our Savior, Emanuel, and his child by the name of Anthonie, because that Saint is the Protector of the City of Lisbon.

MONGO: MULATTO CHIEF OF THE RIVER, 1854

Theodore Canot was a French-Italian slave trader whose vivid memoirs, Adventures of an African Slaver *(1857), record the Atlantic slave trade as it was practiced during the early to mid-nineteenth century. One of his African associates in the slave trade was known as Mongo, or "Chief of the River." Mongo was, in fact, a man named Jack Ormond, the son of an English slave trader and an African woman. He had been educated in England, but returned to Africa to claim his father's property and pursue his father's business. Canot describes Mongo as "a type of his peculiar class in Africa," and Mongo's political machinations as he positions himself as a powerful slave trader illustrate the serious implications that the slave trade had on politics and society within Africa.*

It is time I should make the reader acquainted with the individual who was the presiding genius of the scene, and, in some degree, a type of his peculiar class in Africa.

Mr. Ormond was the son of an opulent slave-trader from Liverpool, and owed his birth to the daughter of a native chief on the Rio Pongo. His father seems to have been rather proud of his mulatto stripling and dispatched him to England to be educated. But Master John had make little progress in belleslettes, when news of the trader's death was brought to the British agent, who refused the youth further supplies of money. The poor boy soon became an outcast in a land which had not yet become fashionably addicted to philanthropy; and, after drifting about awhile in England, he shipped on board a merchantman. The press-gang soon got possession of the likely mulatto for the service of his Britannic Majesty. Sometimes he played the part of dandy waiter in the cabin; sometimes he swung a hammock with the hands in the forecastle. Thus, five years slipped by, during which the wanderer visited most of the West Indian and Mediterranean stations.

At length the prolonged cruise was terminated, and Ormond paid off. He immediately determined to employ his hoarded cash in a voyage to Africa, where he might claim his father's property. The project was executed; his mother was still found alive; and, fortunately for the manly youth, she recognized him at once as her first born.

The reader will recollect that these things occurred on the west coast ofAfrica in the early part of the present century, and that the tenure of property, and the interests of foreign traders, were controlled entirely by such customary laws as prevailed on the spot. Accordingly, a 'grand palaver' was appointed, and all Mr. Ormond's brothers, sisters, uncles, and cousins, - many of whom were in possession of his father's slaves or their descendants, - were summoned to attend. The 'talk' took place at the appointed time. The African mother stood forth staunchly to assert the identity and rights of her first-born, and, in the end, all of the Liverpool trader's property, in houses, lands, and negroes, that could be ascertained, was handed over, according to coast-law, to the returned heir.

When the mulatto youth was thus suddenly elevated into comfort, if not opulence, in his own country, he resolved to augment his wealth by pursuing his father's business. But the whole country was then desolated by a civil war, occasioned, as most of them are, by family disputes, which is was necessary to terminate before trade could be comfortably established.

To this task Ormond steadfastly devoted his first year. His efforts were seconded by the opportune death of one of the warring chiefs. A tame opponent, - a brother of Ormond's mother, - was quickly brought to terms by a trifling present; so that the sailor boy soon concentrated the family influence, and declared himself 'Mongo,' or Chief of the River.

Bangalang had long been a noted factory among the English traders.When war was over, Ormond selected this post as his permanent residence, while he sent runners to Sierra Leone and Goree with notice that he would shortly be prepared with ample cargoes. Trade, which had been so long interrupted by hostilies, poured from the interior. Vessels from Goree and Sierra Leone were seen in the offing, responding to his invitation. His stores were packed with British, French, and American fabrics; while hides, wax, palm-oil, ivory, gold, and slaves were the native products for which Spaniards and Portuguese hurried to proffer their doubloons and bills.

It will be readily conjectured that a very few years sufficed to make Jack Ormond not only a wealthy merchant, but a popular Mongo among the great interior tributes of Foulahs and Mandingoes. The petty chiefs, whose territory bordered the sea, flattered him with the title of king; and, knowing his Mormon taste, stocked his harem with their choicest children as the most valuable tokens of friendship and fidelity . . . .

I was a close watcher of Mongo John whenever he engaged in the purchaseof slaves. As each negro was brought before him, Ormond examined the subject, without regard to sex, from head to foot. A careful manipulation of the chief muscles, joints, arm-pits and groins was made, to assure soundness. The mouth, too, was inspected, and if a tooth was missing, it was noted as a defect liable to deduction. Eyes, voice, lungs, forgers and toes were not forgotten; so that when the negro passed from the Mongo's hands without censure, he might have been readily adopted as a good 'life' by an insurance company.

Upon one occasion, to my great astonishment, I saw a stout and apparently powerful man discarded by Ormond as utterly worthless. His full muscles and sleek skin, to my unpractised eye, denoted the height of robust health. Still, I was told that he had been medicated for the market with bloating drugs, and sweated with powder and lemon juice to impart a gloss to his skin. Ormond remarked that these jockey-tricks are as common in Africa as among horse-traders in Christian lands; and desiring me to feel the negro's pulse, I immediately detected disease or excessive excitement. In a few days I found the poor wretch abandoned by his owner, a paralyzed wreck in the hut of a villager at Bangalang.

MONROE DOCTRINE

INTRODUCTION *The Monroe Doctrine was enunciated by U.S. President James Monroe in his annual message to the United States Congress on December 2, 1823. It amounted to a statement that the United States would treat any attempt to extend European influence in the New World as a threat to its security. This was, in effect, an assertion that the Western Hemisphere was closed to European colonization in the face of U.S. ascendancy in the region. The Monroe Doctrine was one of the strongest early American expressions of anticolonialism, but it also demonstrated the dichotomous nature of U.S. policy since the United States would oppose some colonial ventures but accept others, including British efforts in Canada.*

December 2, 1823

... 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 independ-ent 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 . . . .

MUNDUS NOVUS

INTRODUCTION *In this excerpt from Amerigo Vespucci's Mundus Novus (1502), the Italian explorer describes the native peoples he encountered as he explored South America. Vespucci realized during a voyage to Brazil in 1501 that the landmass was part of a hitherto-unknown continent, which he called Mundus Novus, Latin for "New World." His revelation led European mapmakers to redraw maps of the world, among them the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller, whose proposal to call the newly discovered continent*

America immortalized Vespucci. Vespucci's contribution to European knowledge of the New World also took the form of letters to contacts in Europe, and written descriptions of the indigenous peoples of South America and their cultural and agricultural practices.

Amerigo Vespucci Views the Natives of South America, 1502

We found in those parts such a multitude of people as nobody could enumerate (as we read in the. Apocalypse), a race I say gentle and amenable.

All of both sexes go about naked, covering no part of their bodies; and just as they spring from their mothers' wombs so they go until death. They have indeed large square-built bodies, well formed and proportioned, and in color verging upon reddish. This I think has come to them, because, going about naked, they are colored by the sun. They have, too, hair plentiful and black.

In their gait and when playing their games they are agile and dignified. They are comely, too, of countenance which they nevertheless themselves destroy; for they bore their cheeks, lips, noses and ears. Nor think those holes small or that they have only one. For some I have seen having in a single face seven borings any one of which was capable of holding a plum. They stop up these holes of theirs with blue stones, bits of marble, very beautiful crystals of alabaster, very white bones, and other things artificially prepared according to their customs. But if you could see a thing so unwonted and monstrous, that is to say a man having in his cheeks and lips along seven stones some of which are a span and a half in length, you would not be without wonder. For I frequently observed and discovered that seven such stones weighed sixteen ounces, aside from the fact that in their ears, s, each perforated with three holes, they have other stones dangling on rings; and this usage applies to the men alone. For women do not bore their faces, but their ears only.

They have another custom, very shameful and beyond all human belief. For their women, being very lustful, cause the private parts of their husbands to swell to such a huge size that they appear deformed and disgusting; and this is accomplished by a certain device of theirs, the biting of certain poisonous animals. And in consequence of this many lose their organs which break through lack of attention, and they remain eunuchs.

They have no cloth either of wool, linen or cotton, since they need it not; neither do they have goods of their own, but all things are held in common. They live together without king, without government, and each is his own master. They marry as many wives as they please; and sons cohabits with mother, brother with sister, male cousin with female, and any man with the first woman he meets. They dissolve their marriages as often as they

please, and observe no sort of law with respect to them. Beyond the fact that they have no church, no religion and are not idolaters, what more can I say? They live according to nature, and may be called Epicureans rather than Stoics.

NORTHWEST ORDINANCE; JULY 13, 1787

INTRODUCTION *The Northwest Ordinance was passed by the United States Congress on July 12, 1787, to establish a system of governance for "the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio." With this ordinance, Congress worked out a new system of colonies to be called territories. The territories were granted the right to advance to full statehood and membership in the union. Section 14 of the Northwest Ordinance enumerates the rights of the inhabitants of the territories. Congress hoped that this ordinance would preempt the development of inequality between the residents of the thirteen colonies and the settlers of the country's western territories.*

AN ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO.

Section 1. *Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled,* That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Sec 2. *Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid,* That the estates, both of resident and nonresident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descent to, and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: And where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall in no case be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving, in all cases, to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and one third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and

judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed and delivered by the person being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, St. Vincents and the neighboring villages who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance, of property.

Sec. 3. *Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid,* That there shall be appointed from time to time by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 1,000 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

Sec. 4. There shall be appointed from time to time by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 500 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the Secretary of Congress: There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in 500 acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

Sec. 5. The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time: which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterwards the Legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

Sec. 6. The governor, for the time being, shall be commander in chief of the militia, appoint and commis-

sion all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Sec. 7. Previous to the organization of the general assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same: After the general assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of the magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers not herein otherwise directed, shall during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

Sec. 8. For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed from time to time as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

Sec. 9. So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants of full age in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect a representative from their counties or townships to represent them in the general assembly: Provided, That, for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty five; after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: Provided, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same; Provided, also, That a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

Sec. 10. The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years; and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

Sec. 11. The general assembly or legislature shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The Legislative Council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum: and the members of the Council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the Governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together; and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and, whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term. And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the general assembly, when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

Sec. 12. The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the governor before the president of congress, and all other officers before the Governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating but not voting during this temporary government.

Sec. 13. And, for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory: to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent gov-

ernment therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

Sec. 14. It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

Art. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Art. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offenses, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud, previously formed.

Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Art. 4. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes for paying their proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and, in no case, shall nonresident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefore.

Art. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western State in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash Rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due North, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and, by the said territorial line, to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line, drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: Provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And, whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: Provided, the consti-

tution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always,* That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23rd of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed and declared null and void.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of their soveriegnty and independence the twelfth.

OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE COMMERCIAL OR MERCANTILE SYSTEM

SOURCE *Adam Smith,* The Wealth of Nations, *[1776], edited with noted and marginal summary by Edwin Cannan in the 1904 Edition (New York: Bantam Classic, 2003), pp. 561-563.*

INTRODUCTION *The eighteenth-century Scottish economist Adam Smith coined the term* mercantile system, *which he used derisively. Smith contended that the fundamental error of the mercantilists was their confusion of wealth with money. Since they believed, mistakenly, that a favorable balance of trade was the primary means of acquiring wealth and money, they had been unable to conceive of the advantages to be derived from foreign trade. In this passage from* The Wealth of Nations *(1776), Smith comments on the mercantile system in a description of the trade relationship between Europe and the Americas.*

The importation of gold and silver is not the principle, much less the sole benefit which a nation derives from its foreign trade. Between whatever place foreign trade is carried on, they all of them derive two distinct benefits from it. It carries out that surplus part of the produce of their land and labour for which there is no demand

among them, and brings back in return for it something else for which there is there is a demand. It gives a value to their superfluities, by exchanging them for something else, which may satisfy a part of their wants, and increase their enjoyments. By means of it, the narrowness of the home market does not hinder the division of labor in any particular branch of art or manufacture from being carried to the highest perfection. By opening a more extensive market for whatever part of the produce of their labour may exceed the home consumption, it encourages them to improve its productive powers, and to augment its annual produce to the utmost, and thereby to increase the real revenue and wealth of the society. These great and important services foreign trade is continually occupied in performing, to all the different countries between which it is carried on. They all derive great benefit from it, though that in which the merchant resides generally derives the greatest, as he is generally more employed in supplying the wants, and carrying out the superfluities of his own, than of any other particular country....

It is not by the importation of gold and silver, that the discovery of America has enriched Europe. By the abundance of the American mines, those metals have become cheaper The discovery of America, however, certainly made a most essential [change in the state of Europe]. By opening a new and inexhaustible market to all the commodities of Europe, it gave occasion to new divisions of labour and improvements of art, which, in the narrow circle of the ancient commerce, could never have taken place for want of a market to take off the greater part of their produce. The productive powers of the market were improved, and its produce increased in all the different countries of Europe, and together with it the real revenue and wealth of the inhabitants. The commodities of Europe were almost all new to America, and many of those of America were new to Europe. A new set of exchanges, therefore, began to take place which had never been thought of before, and which should naturally have proved as advantageous to the new, as it certainly did to the old continent. The savage injustice of the Europeans rendered an event, which ought to have been beneficial to all, ruinous and destructive to several of these unfortunate countries.

OF THE SILVER OF THE INDIES, 1590

SOURCE *José de Acosta,* Natural and Moral History of the Indies, *Edited by Jane E. Mangan, Translated by Frances López-Morillas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 172-73, 174, 179-80.*

INTRODUCTION *José de Acosta, a sixteenth-century Jesuit missionary in South America, was a forceful critic of the violent Spanish conquests of Mexico and Peru and the inhumane treatment inflicted on the colonized peoples. Acosta arrived in Peru in 1569 and traveled widely throughout the Andean region, gaining firsthand knowledge of the many difficulties faced by an indigenous population continually confronted with ambitious colonial administrators and often ignorant and unsympathetic missionaries. In his* Natural and Moral History of the Indies, *a treatise on the lives and customs of the region's indigenous peoples, Acosta provided this account of the backbreaking work performed by slaves and native laborers at the silver mines in Potosí.*

The famous mountain of Potosí is located in the province of Los Charcas, in the kingdom of Peru; it is twenty-one and two-thirds degrees distant from the southern or Antarctic Pole, so that it lies within the Tropics near the edge of the Torrid Zone. And yet it is extremely cold, more than Old Castile and more than Flanders, although it ought to be warm or hot considering the distance from the pole at which it lies. What makes it cold is that it is so high and steep and all bathed in very cold and intemperate winds, especially the one they call tomahaui there, which is gusty and very cold and prevails in May, June, July, and August. Its surroundings are dry, cold, and very bleak and completely barren, for it neither engenders nor produces fruit or grain or grass and thus is by nature uninhabitable owing to the unfavorable weather and the great barrenness of the earth.

But the power of silver, desire for which draws all other things to itself, has populated that mountain with the largest number of inhabitants in all those realms; and silver has made it so rich in every sort of foodstuff and luxury that nothing can be desired that is not found there in abundance. And, although everything has to be brought in by wagon, its marketplaces are full of fruit, preserves, luxuries, marvelous wines, silks, and adornments, as much as in any other place. The color of this mountain is a sort of dark red; it is very beautiful to look upon, resembling a well- shaped tent in the form of a sugar-loaf....

This is the way in which Potosí was discovered, Divine Providence decreeing, for the good of Spain, that the greatest treasure known to exist in the world was hidden and came to light at the time when the Emperor Charles V, of glorious name, held the reins of empire and the realm of Spain and seigniory of the Indies. Once the discovery of Potosí became known in the kingdom of Peru many Spaniards went there, along with most of the citizens of the city of La Plata, which is eighteen leagues from Potosí, to establish mining claims;

a large number of Indians also came from different provinces, especially those who owned smelting ovens in Porco, and in a short time it became the largest town in the realm....

As I have said, the mountain of Potosí has four chief lodes, namely the Rich, Centeno, Tin, and Mendieta.... Each lode has different mines that form part of it, and these have been taken over and divided among various owners, whose names they usually bear.... There are seventy-eight mines in the lode called Rich;... There are twenty-four mines in the Centeno lode....

The miners always work by candlelight, dividing their labor in such a way that some work by day and the rest by night, and others work at night and the rest by day. The ore is usually very hard and is loosened by blows of a mattock, which is like breaking stone. Then they carry the ore on their backs up ladders made of three strands of leather plaited into thick ropes, with sticks placed between one strand and another as steps, so that one man can be descending while another is climbing. These ladders are 60 feet long, and at the end of each is another ladder of the same length, which starts from a ledge or shelf where there are wooden landings resembling scaffolding, for there are many ladders to climb. Each man has a fifty-pound load in a blanket tied over his breast, with the ore it contains at his back; three men make the climb at one time. The first carries a candle tied to his thumb so that they can see, for, as I have said, no daylight comes from above. They climb by catching hold with both hands, and in this way ascend the great distances I have described, often more than 150 *estados*, a horrible thing about which it is frightening even to think.

Such is the power of money, for the sake of which men do and suffer so much.

OF THE WAR COMBATS, BOLDNESS, AND ARMS OF THE SAVAGES OF AMERICA

SOURCE *Jean de Lery,* History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise called America Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behavior of Villegagon in That Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the American Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown over Here, 1578. *Translation and introduction by Janet*

INTRODUCTION *Jean de Léry was a French Calvinist who traveled in 1556 with a small group of French Protestants to Brazil, where they hoped to establish a colony. The colony was not a success, and the group took refuge among Brazil's Tupinamba Indians until they could return to Europe. Léry later wrote about his experiences in* History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America, *published in 1578. In this passage from that work, Léry describes the Indians' method of warfare.*

Our Tupinikin Tupinaba follow the custom of all the other savages who live in that fourth part of the world, which includes more than two thousand leagues of latitude from the Strait of Magellan, lying fifty degrees toward the Antarctic Pole, to Newfoundland, at about sixty degrees on the Arctic side: that is, they wage deadly warfare against a number of nations of their region. However, their closest and principle enemies are those whom they call *Margaia,* and their allies the Portuguese, whom they call *Pero,* reciprocally, the Margaia are hostile not only to the Tupinamba, but also to the French, their confederates.

But these barbarians do not wage war to win countries and lands from each other, for each has more than he needs; even less do the conquerors aim to get rich from the spoils, ransoms, and arms of the vanquished: that is not what drives them. For, as they themselves confess, they are impelled by no other passion than that of avenging, each for his side, his own kinsmen and friends who in the past have been seized and eaten, in the manner that I will describe in the next chapter; and they pursue each other so relentlessly that whoever falls into the hands of his enemy must expect to be treated, without any compromise, in the same manner that is, to be slain and eaten. Furthermore, from the time that war has been declared among any of these nations, everyone claims that since an enemy who has received an injury will resent it forever, one would be remiss to let him escape when he is at one's mercy; their hatred is so inveterate that they can never be reconciled. On this point one can say that Machiavelli and his disciples (with whom France, to her great misfortune, in how filled) are true imitators of barbarian cruelties; for since these atheists teach and practice, against Christian doctrine, that new services must never cause old injuries to be forgotten- that is, that men, participating in the devil's nature, must not pardon each other - do they not show their hearts to be more cruel and malign than those of tigers? . . . .

So they are assembled, by the means described to you, in the number of sometimes eight or ten thousand men; there are many women along as well, not to fight, but only to carry the cotton beds and the flour and other foodstuffs. The old men who have killed and eaten the greatest number of enemies are ordained as chiefs and leaders by the others, and everyone sets forth under their guidance. Although they keep no rank or order while marching, when they go by land they are in serried troops with the most valiant in the lead; and it is a wonder how that whole multitude, without field-marshall or quarter-master, can so conjoin that, without any confusion, you will always see them ready to march at the first signal . . . .

They ordinarily go twenty-five or thirty leagues to seek out their enemies; when they approach their territory, here are the first ruses and stratagems of war that they use to capture them. The most skillful and valiant, leaving the others with the women one or two days' journel behind them, approach as stealthily as they can to lie in ambush in the woods; they are so determined to surprise their enemies that they will sometimes lie hidden there more than twenty-four hours. If. the enemy is taken unawares, all who are seized, be they men, women or children, will be led away; and when the attackers are back in their own territory all the prisoners will be slain, put in pieces on the boucan, and finally eaten. Such surprise attacks are all the easier to spring in that the villages - there are no cities - cannot be closed, and they have no doors in their houses (which are mostly eighty to a hundred feet long, with openings in several places) unless they block the entrances with branches of palm, or of that big plant called pindo. However, around some villages on the enemy frontier, those most skilled at warfare plant stakes of palm five or six feet high, and on the approaches to the paths they go around and stick sharpened wooden pegs into the earth, with their points just above ground level . . . .

If the enemies are warned of each others' approach, and the two armies come to confront each other, the combat is cruel and terrible beyond belief – which I can vouch for, having myself been a spectator. For another Frenchman and I, out of curiosity, taking our chances of being captured and either killed on the spot or eaten by the Margaia, once went to accompany about four thousand of our savages in a battle .that took place on the seashore; we saw these barbarians fight with such a fury that madmen could do no worse. First, when our Tupinamba had caught sight of their enemies from something less than a half mile away, they broke out into such howls (our wolf-hunters over here make nothing like such a noise), and their clamor so rent the air that if the heavens had thundered we would not have heard it. As they approached, redoubling their cries, sounding their trumpets, brandishing the bones of prisoners who had been eaten, and even showing off the victims' teeth

strung in rows - some had more than ten feet of them hanging from their necks - their demeanor was terrifying to behold. But when they came to join battle it was still worse: for as soon as they were within two or three hundred feet of each other, they saluted each other with great volleys of arrows, and you would have seen an infinity of them soar through the air as thick as flies. If some were hit, as several were, they tore the arrows out of their bodies with a marvelous courage, breaking them and like mad dogs biting the pieces; all wounded as they were, they would not be kept from returning to the combat. It must be noted here that these Americans are so relentless in their wars that as long as they can move arms and legs, they fight on unceasingly, neither retreating nor turning their backs. When they finally met in hand-to-hand combat, it was with their wooden swords and clubs, charging each other with great two-handed blows; whoever hit the head of his enemy not only knocked him to the ground but struck him dead, as our butchers fell oxen . . . . After this battle had gone on for about three hours, and on both sides there were many dead and wounded lying on the field, our Tupinamba finally carried the victory. They captured more than thirty Margaia, men and women, whom they took off into their own territory. Although we two Frenchmen had done nothing (as I have said) except hold our drawn swords in our hands, and sometimes fire a few pistol shots into the air to give courage to our side, still, since there was nothing we could have done to give them greater pleasure than to go with them to war, they continued to hold us in such high esteem that, since that time, the elders of the villages we visited always showed us the greatest affection.

SECOND TREATISE ON GOVERNMENT-JOHN LOCKE, 1690

INTRODUCTION *By the seventeenth century, the most persuasive and frequently cited argument favoring appropriation of aboriginal lands in America was the theory of property derived from the Roman law of* res nullius *(no thing) and perpetuated most effectually by the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) in his* Two Treatises of Government *(1690).* Res nullius *held that all lands that were "unoccupied" remained common property until they were put to use, usually agriculturally. Locke's influential views on property, slavery, and war, described in this excerpt from the* Second Treatise, *powerfully legitimated colonial acquisition of indigenous territory through the*

authority of natural law rather than legislative decree. Only the preface and sections 16-39 are included here.

PREFACE

Reader, thou hast here the beginning and end of a discourse concerning government; what fate has otherwise disposed of the papers that should have filled up the middle, and were more than all the rest, it is not worth while to tell thee. These, which remain, I hope are sufficient to establish the throne of our great restorer, our present King William; to make good his title, in the consent of the people, which being the only one of all lawful governments, he has more fully and clearly, than any prince in Christendom; and to justify to the world the people of England, whose love of their just and natural rights, with their resolution to preserve them, saved the nation when it was on the very brink of slavery and ruin. If these papers have that evidence, I flatter myself is to be found in them, there will be no great miss of those which are lost, and my reader may be satisfied without them: for I imagine, I shall have neither the time, nor inclination to repeat my pains, and fill up the wanting part of my answer, by tracing Sir Robert again, through all the windings and obscurities, which are to be met with in the several branches of his wonderful system. The king, and body of the nation, have since so thoroughly confuted his Hypothesis, that I suppose no body hereafter will have either the confidence to appear against our common safety, and be again an advocate for slavery; or the weakness to be deceived with contradictions dressed up in a popular stile, and well-turned periods: for if any one will be at the pains, himself, in those parts, which are here untouched, to strip Sir Robert's discourses of the flourish of doubtful expressions, and endeavour to reduce his words to direct, positive, intelligible propositions, and then compare them one with another, he will quickly be satisfied, there was never so much glib nonsense put together in well-sounding English. If he think it not worth while to examine his works all thro', let him make an experiment in that part, where he treats of usurpation; and let him try, whether he can, with all his skill, make Sir Robert intelligible, and consistent with himself, or common sense. I should not speak so plainly of a gentleman, long since past answering, had not the pulpit, of late years, publicly owned his doctrine, and made it the current divinity of the times. It is necessary those men, who taking on them to be teachers, have so dangerously misled others, should be openly shewed of what authority this their Patriarch is, whom they have so blindly followed, that so they may either retract what upon so ill grounds they have vented, and cannot be maintained; or else justify those principles which they preached up for gospel; though they had no better an author than an

English courtier: for I should not have writ against Sir Robert, or taken the pains to shew his mistakes, inconsistencies, and want of (what he so much boasts of, and pretends wholly to build on) scripture-proofs, were there not men amongst us, who, by crying up his books, and espousing his doctrine, save me from the reproach of writing against a dead adversary. They have been so zealous in this point, that, if I have done him any wrong, I cannot hope they should spare me. I wish, where they have done the truth and the public wrong, they would be as ready to redress it, and allow its just weight to this reflection, viz. that there cannot be done a greater mischief to prince and people, than the propagating wrong notions concerning government; that so at last all times might not have reason to complain of the Drum Ecclesiastic. If any one, concerned really for truth, undertake the confutation of my Hypothesis, I promise him either to recant my mistake, upon fair conviction; or to answer his difficulties. But he must remember two things.

First, That cavilling here and there, at some expression, or little incident of my discourse, is not an answer to my book.

Secondly, That I shall not take railing for arguments, nor think either of these worth my notice, though I shall always look on myself as bound to give satisfaction to any one, who shall appear to be conscientiously scrupulous in the point, and shall shew any just grounds for his scruples.

I have nothing more, but to advertise the reader, that Observations stands for Observations on Hobbs, Milton, and that a bare quotation of pages always means pages of his Patriarcha, Edition 1680.

Of the State of War.

Sec. 16. The state of war is a state of enmity and destruction: and therefore declaring by word or action, not a passionate and hasty, but a sedate settled design upon another man's life, puts him in a state of war with him against whom he has declared such an intention, and so has exposed his life to the other's power to be taken away by him, or any one that joins with him in his defence, and espouses his quarrel; it being reasonable and just, I should have a right to destroy that which threatens me with destruction: for, by the fundamental law of nature, man being to be preserved as much as possible, when all cannot be preserved, the safety of the innocent is to be preferred: and one may destroy a man who makes war upon him, or has discovered an enmity to his being, for the same reason that he may kill a wolf or a lion; because such men are not under the ties of the commonlaw of reason, have no other rule, but that of force and violence, and so may be treated as beasts of prey, those dangerous

and noxious creatures, that will be sure to destroy him whenever he falls into their power.

Sect, 17. And hence it is, that he who attempts to get another man into his absolute power, does thereby put himself into a state of war with him; it being to be understood as a declaration of a design upon his life: for I have reason to conclude, that he who would get me into his power without my consent, would use me as he pleased when he had got me there, and destroy me too when he had a fancy to it; for no body can desire to have me in his absolute power, unless it be to compel me by force to that which is against the right of my freedom, i.e. make me a slave. To be free from such force is the only security of my preservation; and reason bids me look on him, as an enemy to my preservation, who would take away that freedom which is the fence to it; so that he who makes an attempt to enslave me, thereby puts himself into a state of war with me. He that, in the state of nature, would take away the freedom that belongs to any one in that state, must necessarily be supposed to have a foundationtofeallathevrest;hasghelthat,hin theestateeofgsociety, would take away the freedom belonging to those of that society or commonwealth, must be supposed to design to take away from them every thing else, and so be looked on as in a state of war.

Sec. 18. This makes it lawful for a man to kill a thief, who has not in the least hurt him, nor declared any design upon his life, any farther than, by the use of force, so to get him in his power, as to take away his money, or what he pleases, from him; because using force, where he has no right, to get me into his power, let his pretence be what it will, I have no reason to suppose, that he, who would take away my liberty, would not, when he had me in his power, take away every thing else. And therefore it is lawful for me to treat him as one who has put himself into a state of war with me, i.e. kill him if I can; for to that hazard does he justly expose himself, whoever introduces a state of war, and is aggressor in it.

Sec. 19. And here we have the plain difference between the state of nature and the state of war, which however some men have confounded, are as far distant, as a state of peace, good will, mutual assistance and preservation, and a state of enmity, malice, violence and mutual destruction, are one from another. Men living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth, with authority to judge between them, is properly the state of nature. But force, or a declared design of force, upon the person of another, where there is no common superior on earth to appeal to for relief, is the state of war: and it is the want of such an appeal gives a man the right of war even against an aggressor, tho' he be in society and a fellow subject. Thus a thief, whom I cannot harm, but by appeal to the law, for having stolen

all that I am worth, I may kill, when he sets on me to rob me but of my horse or coat; because the law, which was made for my preservation, where it cannot interpose to secure my life from present force, which, if lost, is capable of no reparation, permits me my own defence, and the right of war, a liberty to kill the aggressor, because the aggressor allows not time to appeal to our common judge, nor the decision of the law, for remedy in a case where the mischief may be irreparable. Want of a common judge with authority, puts all men in a state of nature: force without right, upon a man's person, makes a state of war, both where there is, and is not, a common judge.

Sec. 20. But when the actual force is over, the state of war ceases between those that are in society, and are equally on both sides subjected to the fair determination of the law; because then there lies open the remedy of appeal for the past injury, and to prevent future harm: but where no such appeal is, as in the state of nature, for want of positive laws, and judges with authority to appeal to, the state of war once begun, continues, with a right to the innocent party to destroy the other whenever he can, until the aggressor offers peace, and desires reconciliation on such terms as may repair any wrongs he has already done, and secure the innocent for the future; nay, where an appeal to the law, and constituted judges, lies open, but the remedy is denied by a manifest perverting of justice, and a barefaced wresting of the laws to protect or indemnify the violence or injuries of some men, or party of men, there it is hard to imagine any thing but a state of war: for wherever violence is used, and injury done, though by hands appointed to administer justice, it is still violence and injury, however coloured with the name, pretences, or forms of law, the end whereof being to protect and redress the innocent, by an unbiassed application of it, to all who are under it; wherever that is not bona fide done, war is made upon the sufferers, who having no appeal on earth to right them, they are left to the only remedy in such cases, an appeal to heaven.

Sec. 21. To avoid this state of war (wherein there is no appeal but to heaven, and wherein every the least difference is apt to end, where there is no authority to decide between the contenders) is one great reason of men's putting themselves into society, and quitting the state of nature: for where there is an authority, a power on earth, from which relief can be had by appeal, there the continuance of the state of war is excluded, and the controversy is decided by that power. Had there been any such court, any superior jurisdiction on earth, to determine the right between Jephtha and the Ammonites, they had never come to a state of war: but we see he was forced to appeal to heaven. The Lord the Judge (says he) be judge this day between the children of Israel and the children of Ammon, Judg. xi. 27. and then prosecuting,

and relying on his appeal, he leads out his army to battle: and therefore in such controversies, where the question is put, who shall be judge? It cannot be meant, who shall decide the controversy; every one knows what Jephtha here tells us, that the Lord the Judge shall judge. Where there is no judge on earth, the appeal lies to God in heaven. That question then cannot mean, who shall judge, whether another hath put himself in a state of war with me, and whether I may, as Jephtha did, appeal to heaven in it? of that I myself can only be judge in my own conscience, as I will answer it, at the great day, to the supreme judge of all men.

Of Slavery.

Sec. 22. The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but to have only the law of nature for his rule. The liberty of man, in society, is to be under no other legislative power, but that established, by consent, in the commonwealth; nor under the dominion of any will, or restraint of any law, but what that legislative shall enact, according to the trust put in it. Freedom then is not what Sir Robert Filmer tells us, Observations, A. 55. a liberty for every one to do what he lists, to live as he pleases, and not to be tied by any laws: but freedom of men under government is, to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative power erected in it; a liberty to follow my own will in all things, where the rule prescribes not; and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man: as freedom of nature is, to be under no other restraint but the law of nature.

Sec. 23. This freedom from absolute, arbitrary power, is so necessary to, and closely joined with a man's preservation, that he cannot part with it, but by what forfeits his preservation and life together: for a man, not having the power of his own life, cannot, by compact, or his own consent, enslave himself to any one, nor put himself under the absolute, arbitrary power of another, to take away his life, when he pleases. No body can give more power than he has himself; and he that cannot take away his own life, cannot give another power over it. Indeed, having by his fault forfeited his own life, by some act that deserves death; he, to whom he has forfeited it, may (when he has him in his power) delay to take it, and make use of him to his own service, and he does him no injury by it: for, whenever he finds the hardship of his slavery outweigh the value of his life, it is in his power, by resisting the will of his master, to draw on himself the death he desires.

Sec. 24. This is the perfect condition of slavery, which is nothing else, but the state of war continued, between a lawful conqueror and a captive: for, if once

compact enter between them, and make an agreement for a limited power on the one side, and obedience on the other, the state of war and slavery ceases, as long as the compact endures: for, as has been said, no man can, by agreement, pass over to another that which he hath not in himself, a power over his own life.

I confess, we find among the Jews, as well as other nations, that men did sell themselves; but, it is plain, this was only to drudgery, not to slavery: for, it is evident, the person sold was not under an absolute, arbitrary, despotical power: for the master could not have power to kill him, at any time, whom, at a certain time, he was obliged to let go free out of his service; and the master of such a servant was so far from having an arbitrary power over his life, that he could not, at pleasure, so much as maim him, but the loss of an eye, or tooth, set him free, Exod. xxi.

Of Property.

Sec. 25. Whether we consider natural reason, which tells us, that men, being once born, have a right to their preservation, and consequently to meat and drink, and such other things as nature affords for their subsistence: or revelation, which gives us an account of those grants God made of the world to Adam, and to Noah, and his sons, it is very clear, that God, as king David says, Psal. cxv. 16. has given the earth to the children of men; given it to mankind in common. But this being supposed, it seems to some a very great difficulty, how any one should ever come to have a property in any thing: I will not content myself to answer, that if it be difficult to make out property, upon a supposition that God gave the world to Adam, and his posterity in common, it is impossible that any man, but one universal monarch, should have any property upon a supposition, that God gave the world to Adam, and his heirs in succession, exclusive of all the rest of his posterity. But I shall endeavour to shew, how men might come to have a property in several parts of that which God gave to mankind in common, and that without any express compact of all the commoners.

Sec. 26. God, who hath given the world to men in common, hath also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of life, and convenience. The earth, and all that is therein, is given to men for the support and comfort of their being. And tho' all the fruits it naturally produces, and beasts it feeds, belong to mankind in common, as they are produced by the spontaneous hand of nature; and no body has originally a private dominion, exclusive of the rest of mankind, in any of them, as they are thus in their natural state: yet being given for the use of men, there must of necessity be a means to appropriate them some way or other, before they can be of any use, or at all beneficial to any particular man. The fruit, or venison, which nourishes the wild Indian, who knows no enclosure, and is still a tenant in common, must be his, and so his, i.e. a part of him, that another can no longer have any right to it, before it can do him any good for the support of his life.

Sec. 27. Though the earth, and all inferior creatures, be common to all men, yet every man has a property in his own person: this no body has any right to but himself. The labour of his body, and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. It being by him removed from the common state nature hath placed it in, it hath by this labour something annexed to it, that excludes the common right of other men: for this labour being the unquestionable property of the labourer, no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good, left in common for others.

Sec. 28. He that is nourished by the acorns he picked up under an oak, or the apples he gathered from the trees in the wood, has certainly appropriated them to himself. No body can deny but the nourishment is his. I ask then, when did they begin to be his? when he digested? or when he eat? or when he boiled? or when he brought them home? or when he picked them up? and it is plain, if the first gathering made them not his, nothing else could. That labour put a distinction between them and common: that added something to them more than nature, the common mother of all, had done; and so they became his private right. And will any one say, he had no right to those acorns or apples, he thus appropriated, because he had not the consent of all mankind to make them his? Was it a robbery thus to assume to himself what belonged to all in common? If such a consent as that was necessary, man had starved, notwithstanding the plenty God had given him. We see in commons, which remain so by compact, that it is the taking any part of what is common, and removing it out of the state nature leaves it in, which begins the property; without which the common is of no use. And the taking of this or that part, does not depend on the express consent of all the commoners. Thus the grass my horse has bit; the turfs my servant has cut; and the ore I have digged in any place, where I have a right to them in common with others, become my property, without the assignation or consent of any body. The labour that was mine, removing them out of that common state they were in, hath fixed my property in them.

Sec. 29. By making an explicit consent of every commoner, necessary to any one's appropriating to himself any part of what is given in common, children or servants could not cut the meat, which their father or

master had provided for them in common, without assigning to every one his peculiar part. Though the water running in the fountain be every one's, yet who can doubt, but that in the pitcher is his only who drew it out? His labour hath taken it out of the hands of nature, where it was common, and belonged equally to all her children, and hath thereby appropriated it to himself.

Sec. 30. Thus this law of reason makes the deer that Indian's who hath killed it; it is allowed to be his goods, who hath bestowed his labour upon it, though before it was the common right of every one. And amongst those who are counted the civilized part of mankind, who have made and multiplied positive laws to determine property, this original law of nature, for the beginning of property, in what was before common, still takes place; and by virtue thereof, what fish any one catches in the ocean, that great and still remaining common of mankind; or what ambergrise any one takes up here, is by the labour that removes it out of that common state nature left it in, made his property, who takes that pains about it. And even amongst us, the hare that any one is hunting, is thought his who pursues her during the chase: for being a beast that is still looked upon as common, and no man's private possession; whoever has employed so much labour about any of that kind, as to find and pursue her, has thereby removed her from the state of nature, wherein she was common, and hath begun a property.

Sec. 31. It will perhaps be objected to this, that if gathering the acorns, or other fruits of the earth, &. makes a right to them, then any one may ingross as much as he will. To which I answer, Not so. The same law of nature, that does by this means give us property, does also bound that property too. God has given us all things richly, 1 Tim. vi. 12. is the voice of reason confirmed by inspiration. But how far has he given it us? To enjoy. As much as any one can make use of to any advantage of life before it spoils, so much he may by his Tabour fix a property in: whatever is beyond this, is more than his share, and belongs to others. Nothing was made by God for man to spoil or destroy. And thus, considering the plenty of natural provisions there was a long time in the world, and the few spenders; and to how small a part of that provision the industry of one man could extend itself, and ingross it to the prejudice of others; especially keeping within the bounds, set by reason, of what might serve for his use; there could be then little room for quarrels or contentions about property so established.

Sec. 32. But the chief matter of property being now not the fruits of the earth, and the beasts that subsist on it, but the earth itself; as that which takes in and carries with it all the rest; I think it is plain, that property in that too is acquired as the former. As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product

of, so much is his property. He by his labour does, as it were, inclose it from the common. Nor will it invalidate his right, to say every body else has an equal title to it; and therefore he cannot appropriate, he cannot inclose, without the consent of all his fellow-commoners, all mankind. God, when he gave the world in common to all mankind, commanded man also to labour, and the penury of his condition required it of him. God and his reason commanded him to subdue the earth, i.e. improve it for the benefit of life, and therein lay out something upon it that was his own, his labour. He that in obedience to this command of God, subdued, tilled and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his property, which another had no title to, nor could without injury take from him.

Sec. 33. Nor was this appropriation of any parcel of land, by improving it, any prejudice to any other man, since there was still enough, and as good left; and more than the yet unprovided could use. So that, in effect, there was never the less left for others because of his enclosure for himself: for he that leaves as much as another can make use of, does as good as take nothing at all. No body could think himself injured by the drinking of another man, though he took a good draught, who had a whole river of the same water left him to quench his thirst: and the case of land and water, where there is enough of both, is perfectly the same.

Sec. 34. God gave the world to men in common; but since he gave it them for their benefit, and the greatest conveniencies of life they were capable to draw from it, it cannot be supposed he meant it should always remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the use of the industrious and rational, (and labour was to be his title to it;) not to the fancy or covetousness of the quarrelsome and contentious. He that had as good left for his improvement, as was already taken up, needed not complain, ought not to meddle with what was already improved by another's labour: if he did, it is plain he desired the benefit of another's pains, which he had no right to, and not the ground which God had given him in common with others to labour on, and whereof there was as good left, as that already possessed, and more than he knew what to do with, or his industry could reach to.

Sec. 35. It is true, in land that is common in England, or any other country, where there is plenty of people under government, who have money and commerce, no one can inclose or appropriate any part, without the consent of all his fellow-commoners; because this is left common by compact, i.e. by the law of the land, which is not to be violated. And though it be common, in respect of some men, it is not so to all mankind; but is the joint property of this country, or this parish. Besides, the remainder, after such enclosure, would not be as good

to the rest of the commoners, as the whole was when they could all make use of the whole; whereas in the beginning and first peopling of the great common of the world, it was quite otherwise. The law man was under, was rather for appropriating. God commanded, and his wants forced him to labour. That was his property which could not be taken from him where-ever he had fixed it. And hence subduing or cultivating the earth, and having dominion, we see are joined together. The one gave title to the other. So that God, by commanding to subdue, gave authority so far to appropriate: and the condition of human life, which requires labour and materials to work on, necessarily introduces private possessions.

Sec. 36. The measure of property nature has well set by the extent of men's labour and the conveniencies of life: no man's labour could subdue, or appropriate all; nor could his enjoyment consume more than a small part; so that it was impossible for any man, this way, to intrench upon the right of another, or acquire to himself a property, to the prejudice of his neighbour, who would still have room for as good, and as large a possession (after the other had taken out his) as before it was appropriated. This measure did confine every man's possession to a very moderate proportion, and such as he might appropriate to himself, without injury to any body, in the first ages of the world, when men were more in danger to be lost, by wandering from their company, in the then vast wilderness of the earth, than to be straitened for want of room to plant in. And the same measure may be allowed still without prejudice to any body, as full as the world seems: for supposing a man, or family, in the state they were at first peopling of the world by the children of Adam, or Noah; let him plant in some inland, vacant places of America, we shall find that the possessions he could make himself, upon the measures we have given, would not be very large, nor, even to this day, prejudice the rest of mankind, or give them reason to complain, or think themselves injured by this man's incroachment, though the race of men have now spread themselves to all the corners of the world, and do infinitely exceed the small number was at the beginning. Nay, the extent of ground is of so little value, without labour, that I have heard it affirmed, that in Spain itself a man may be permitted to plough, sow and reap, without being disturbed, upon land he has no other title to, but only his making use of it. But, on the contrary, the inhabitants think themselves beholden to him, who, by his industry on neglected, and consequently waste land, has increased the stock of corn, which they wanted. But be this as it will, which I lay no stress on; this I dare boldly affirm, that the same rule of propriety, (viz.) that every man should have as much as he could make use of, would hold still in the world, without straitening any body; since there is land enough

in the world to suffice double the inhabitants, had not the invention of money, and the tacit agreement of men to put a value on it, introduced (by consent) larger possessions, and a right to them; which, how it has done, I shall by and by shew more at large.

Sec. 37. This is certain, that in the beginning, before the desire of having more than man needed had altered the intrinsic value of things, which depends only on their usefulness to the life of man; or had agreed, that a little piece of yellow metal, which would keep without wasting or decay, should be worth a great piece of flesh, or a whole heap of corn; though men had a right to appropriate, by their labour, each one of himself, as much of the things of nature, as he could use: yet this could not be much, nor to the prejudice of others, where the same plenty was still left to those who would use the same industry. To which let me add, that he who appropriates land to himself by his labour, does not lessen, but increase the common stock of mankind: for the provisions serving to the support of human life, produced by one acre of inclosed and cultivated land, are (to speak much within compass) ten times more than those which are yielded by an acre of land of an equal richness lying waste in common. And therefore he that incloses land, and has a greater plenty of the conveniencies of life from ten acres, than he could have from an hundred left to nature, may truly be said to give ninety acres to mankind: for his labour now supplies him with provisions out of ten acres, which were but the product of an hundred lying in common. I have here rated the improved land very low, in making its product but as ten to one, when it is much nearer an hundred to one: for I ask, whether in the wild woods and uncultivated waste of America, left to nature, without any improvement, tillage or husbandry, a thousand acres yield the needy and wretched inhabitants as many conveniencies of life, as ten acres of equally fertile land do in Devonshire, where they are well cultivated?

Before the appropriation of land, he who gathered as much of the wild fruit, killed, caught, or tamed, as many of the beasts, as he could; he that so imployed his pains about any of the spontaneous products of nature, as any way to alter them from the state which nature put them in, by placing any of his labour on them, did thereby acquire a propriety in them: but if they perished, in his possession, without their due use; if the fruits rotted, or the venison putrified, before he could spend it, he offended against the common law of nature, and was liable to be punished; he invaded his neighbour's share, for he had no right, farther than his use called for any of them, and they might serve to afford him conveniencies of life.

Sec. 38. The same measures governed the possession of land too: whatsoever he tilled and reaped, laid up and made use of, before it spoiled, that was his peculiar right;

whatsoever he enclosed, and could feed, and make use of, the cattle and product was also his. But if either the grass of his enclosure rotted on the ground, or the fruit of his planting perished without gathering, and laying up, this part of the earth, notwithstanding his enclosure, was still to be looked on as waste, and might be the possession of any other. Thus, at the beginning, Cain might take as much ground as he could till, and make it his own land, and yet leave enough to Abel's sheep to feed on; a few acres would serve for both their possessions. But as families increased, and industry inlarged their stocks, their possessions inlarged with the need of them; but yet it was commonly without any fixed property in the ground they made use of, till they incorporated, settled themselves together, and built cities; and then, by consent, they came in time, to set out the bounds of their distinct territories, and agree on limits between them and their neighbours; and by laws within themselves, settled the properties of those of the same society: for we see, that in that part of the world which was first inhabited, and therefore like to be best peopled, even as low down as Abraham's time, they wandered with their flocks, and their herds, which was their substance, freely up and down; and this Abraham did, in a country where he was a stranger. Whence it is plain, that at least a great part of the land lay in common; that the inhabitants valued it not, nor claimed property in any more than they made use of. But when there was not room enough in the same place, for their herds to feed together, they by consent, as Abraham and Lot did, Gen. xiii. 5. separated and inlarged their pasture, where it best liked them. And for the same reason Esau went from his father, and his brother, and planted in mount Seir, Gen. xxxvi. 6.

Sec. 39. And thus, without supposing any private dominion, and property in Adam, over all the world, exclusive of all other men, which can no way be proved, nor any one's property be made out from it; but supposing the world given, as it was, to the children of men in common, we see how labour could make men distinct titles to several parcels of it, for their private uses; wherein there could be no doubt of right, no room for quarrel.

SPANISH COLONIAL OFFICIAL'S ACCOUNT OF TRIANGULAR TRADE WITH ENGLAND (c. 1726)

INTRODUCTION *By the late seventeenth century, the countries of Atlantic Europe and their colonies to the west were connected by an elaborate network of commerce known as* triangular trade. *Ships from Europe were loaded with slaves captured in Africa. The slaves were carried across the Atlantic, then sold in the Caribbean, where the ships were loaded with sugar and other goods in exchange. These goods were carried back to Europe, where they were exchanged for rum and other processed goods, which were finally sold in Africa, thus completing the triangle. The following account of the triangular trade system as it was practiced in the early eighteenth century was written by Alsedo y Herrera, an Spanish colonial official and governor of Panama from 1741 to 1749.*

On June 21 of the same year (1721) the Southern Fleet of galleons left Cadiz under the command of Lieutenant General Baltasar de Guevara. Upon its arrival at Porto Bello in time for the annual Fair it encountered the Royal George, the first of the English license ships. Though allowed no more than 650 tons of cargo by the treaty of 1716, the vessel actually carried 975. General de Guevara forthwith intrusted to three license masters of the fleet the duty of measuring the hold of the English ship, but they could not prove the excess. Their failure was due in part to a confusion of the measurement in geometric feet, by which the dimensions of vessels are gauged, with the cubic handbreadths by which the tonnage is determined.

In part, also, another circumstance is responsible for the failure of the Spanish officers to detect any evidence of fraud, assuming, of course, the absence of collusion on their side. Apparently the vessel had no greater carrying capacity than 650 tons, but persons who are expert in the rules of naval construction know very well that the steerage, commonly called "between-decks," equals in capacity a third of the hold, and the cabin a sixth of it; so when all three have been filled,—hold, steerage, and cabin,—the gross tonnage will be 975. The English ship always carried a cargo of this size. Indeed it was laden so heavily that its very gunwales were awash. Bundles and packages filled the hold, the steerage space was crowded with huge chests, and the cabin bulged with boxes and bales.

The English claimed that the materials stored in the steerage and cabin were furniture for the use of their trading houses, cloth goods for their agents and employees, and medicines and drugs for accidents and cures, but all of it was salable merchandise. Some things they could not conceal from the commander and the commercial representatives of the galleons. For example, many of the bales and bundles had not been pressed, the stitches in their seams were recent, and the ink of their lettering was still fresh. Hundreds of items, also, were lacking in the order of enumeration, which, if they had not been thrown overboard to lighten the ship during the course of the voyage, must have been put ashore somewhere.

The proof soon appeared when the Spanish commissioner of trade asked to see the original bill of lading so that he might know by this means whether the cargo was in excess of the amount permitted. On the ground that the treaty had authorized no such procedure, the request was denied.

During the course of the Fair the agents of the Royal George sold their goods to the colonial tradesmen thirty percent cheaper than the Spanish merchants of the galleons could do. This advantage came from the fact that they had been able to bring the commodities directly from the place of manufacture, exempt from Spanish customs duties, convoy charges, transportation expenses, commissions, and the like. Even after the original contents of the ship had been disposed of, the supply was kept up by secret consignments of goods of English and European manufacture received from the packet boats and sloops engaged ostensibly in the slave trade.

Instead of bringing the negroes in the slave hulks directly from Africa to the ports specified in the Asiento, the English cunningly devised the plan of landing them first at their colony of Jamaica. Here the slaves were packed, along with divers kinds of merchandise, into small boats that made frequent sailings. Not only was the cargo of the Royal George thus replenished as rapidly as it was exhausted, but trade could be surreptitiously carried on at times when the Fair was not in progress, and the treasure of the Spanish colonies duly gathered into English hands.

Nor was this all of their duplicity. On the pretext that a number of bales and boxes stored in the warehouse at Porto Bello were an unsold residue of the cargo, the governor of Panama was asked for the privilege of bringing them to that city. In this fashion the English could legitimize goods that had already been smuggled into the warehouses at Panama and then proceed to sell them to the merchants of New Granada and to the traders on the vessels that plied along the Pacific coast. On one occasion in 1723, at the instance of the Spanish commissary, ten loads of twenty bales each of the supposed residue of the cargo of the Royal George were opened on the way from Porto Bello to Panama and found to contain nothing but stones, sticks, and straw.

A knavish trick connected with the slave trade should now be described. Having brought the negroes in a number of small boats to out-of-the-way places not authorized for the purpose in the Asiento, the English traders sold them for a third less than the prices at the regular trading stations. But since the treaty empowered them to seize, as smuggled goods, slaves brought in by individuals of other nations, they posted guards and sentinels in the outskirts of the spot where the sale had just taken place, and had the purchasers arrested. Many a

thrifty-minded Spaniard who relished the thought of buying slaves at cheap rates fell into a snare from which he could not escape until he had paid the regular price in addition to what he had already given.

In order to obscure the facts of these fraudulent transactions as thoroughly as possible, the English contrived a scheme craftier than any hitherto related. It seems that the Asiento had allowed them to appoint "judges-conservators" whose business it should be to defend their privileges against unlawful interference. In the exercise of this right they appointed to the office the local governors of the ports where the traffic was carried on, and gave them a salary of two thousand dollars a year, supplemented by special gratifications in the shape of European furniture, jewels, and delicacies. Thus were the officials pledged to connivance and silence. If any of the governors should decline to be bribed, he was threatened with political destruction by the letters and complaints which the English minister at the Spanish court would surely present to the home authorities. Few there were under such circumstances who were able to resist the frauds, preserve their honor, and uphold their good name.

THE STAMP ACT

INTRODUCTION *The Stamp Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1765, imposed a tax on the issuing of all legal documents in the American colonies. Although Britain had taken control of French possessions in America after the French and Indian War ended in 1763, the war had been a costly enterprise, and London tried to recover its war expenses by increasing the financial burden of the colonies. The Stamp Act was one component of this effort. The colonists regarded the stamp tax as extremely unjust and staged protests and an embargo of British goods throughout the colonies. The tax soon proved to be uncollectible, and the Stamp Act had to be repealed in 1766. The colonists' response to the Stamp Act was an early sign of growing American resistance to British authority.*

March 22, 1765

AN ACT for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same; and for amending such parts of the several acts of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the said colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining and

recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned.

WHEREAS, by an act made in the last session of Parliament several duties were granted, continued, and appropriated toward defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America; and whereas it is just and necessary that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your majesty's dominions in America toward defraying the said expenses; we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, *in Parliament assembled, have therefore resolved to give and grant unto your majesty the several rates and duties hereinafter mentioned; and do humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted, and 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, that from and after the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty five, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto his majesty, his heirs, and successors, throughout the colonies and plantations in America, which now are, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of his majesty, his heirs and successors:*

1. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer or other pleading, or any copy thereof; in any court of law within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of three pence.

2. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any special bail, and appearance upon such bail in any such court, a stamp duty of two shillings.

3. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which may be engrossed, written, or printed, any petition, bill, answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, in any court of chancery or equity within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling and six pence.

4. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any copy of any position, bill, answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading in any such court, a stamp duty of three pence.

5. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any monition, libel, answer,

allegation, inventory, or renunciation in ecclesiastical matters, in any court of probate court of the ordinary, or other court exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling.

6. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any copy of any will (other than the probate thereof) monition, libel, answer, allegation, inventory, or renunciation in ecclesiastical matters, in any such court, a stamp duty of six pence.

7. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any donation, presentation, collation or institution, of or to any benefice, or any writ or instrument for the like purpose, or any register, entry, testimonial, or certificate of any degree taken in any university, academy, college, or seminary of learning within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two pounds.

8. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any monition, libel, claim, answer, allegation, information, letter of request, execution, renunciation, inventory, or other pleading, in any admiralty court, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling.

9. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any copy of any such monition, libel, claim, answer, allegation, information, letter of request, execution, renunciation, inventory, or other pleading shall be engrossed, written, or printed, a stamp duty of six pence.

10. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any appeal, writ of error, writ of dower, ad quod damnum, certiorari, statute merchant, statute staple, attestation, or certificate, by any officer, or exemplification of any record or proceeding, in any court whatsoever, within the said colonies and plantations (except appeals, writs of error, certiorari attestations, certificates, and exemplifications, for, or relating to the removal of any proceedings from before a single justice of the peace), a stamp duty of ten shillings.

11. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any writ of covenant for levying fines, writ of entry for suffering a common recovery, or attachment issuing out of, or returnable into, any court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of five shillings.

12. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any judgment, decree, sentence, or dismission or any record of nisi prius or postea, in any court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four shillings.

13. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any affidavit, common bail, or appearance, interrogatory, deposition, rule, order or warrant of any court, or any dedimus potestatem, capias subpoena, summons, compulsory citation, commission, recognizance, or any other writ, process, or mandate, issuing out of, or returnable into, any court, or any office belonging thereto, or any other proceeding therein whatsoever, or any copy thereof, or of any record not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations (except warrants relating to criminal matters, and proceedings thereon, or relating thereto), a stamp duty of one shilling.

14. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any note or bill of lading, which shall be signed for any kind of goods, wares, or merchandise, to be exported from, or any cocket or clearance granted within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four pence.

15. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, letters of mart or commission for private ships of war, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of twenty shillings.

16. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any grant, appointment, or admission of, or to, any public beneficial office or employment, for the space of one year, or any lesser time, of or above twenty pounds per annum sterling money, in salary, fees, and perquisites, within the said colonies and plantations (except commissions and appointments of officers of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, of judges, and of justices of the peace), a stamp duty of ten shillings.

17. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any grant, of any liberty, privilege, or franchise, under the seal or sign manual of any governor, proprietor, or public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, or any exemplification of the same, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of six pounds.

18. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of spirituous liquors, to be granted to any person who shall take out the same, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of twenty shillings.

19. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of wine, to be granted to any person who shall not take out a license for retailing of spirituous liquors, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four pounds.

20. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of wine, to be granted to any person who shall take out a license for retailing of spirituous liquors, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of three pounds.

21. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any probate of will, letters of administration, or of guardianship for any estate above the value of twenty pounds sterling money, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, a stamp duty of five shillings.

22. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such probate, letters of administration or of guardianship, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of ten shillings.

23. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money, not exceeding the sum of ten pounds sterling money within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, a stamp duty of six pence.

24. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money above ten pounds, and not exceeding twenty pounds sterling money, within

such colonies, plantations, and islands a stamp duty of one shilling.

25. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money above twenty pounds, arid not exceeding forty pounds sterling money, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of one shilling and six pence.

26. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, issued by any governor, proprietor, or any public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of six pence.

27. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling.

28. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land above two hundred, and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, and in proportion for every such order or warrant for surveying or setting out every other three hundred and twenty acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling and six pence.

29. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any original grant, or any deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands (except leases for any term not exceeding the term of twenty one years), a stamp duty of one shilling and six pence.

30. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument

whatsoever, by which any quantify of land above one hundred, and not exceeding two hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of two shillings.

31. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land above two hundred, and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, and in proportion for every such grant, deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument, granting, conveying, or assigning, every other three hundred and twenty acres, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of two shillings and six pence.

32. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, stall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of three shillings.

33. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land above one hundred, and not exceeding two hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within the same parts of the said dominions, a stamp duty of four shillings.

34. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land above two hundred, and not exceeding three hundred twenty acres, shall he granted, conveyed, or assigned, and in proportion for every such grant, deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument, granting, conveying, or assigning every other three hundred and twenty acres, within the same parts of the said dominions, a stamp duty of five shillings.

35. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any grant, appointment, or admission, of or to any beneficial office or employment, not herein before charged, above the value of

twenty pounds per annum sterling money in salary, fees, and perquisites, or any exemplification of the same, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands (except commissions of officers of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, and of justices of the pence), a stamp duty of four pounds.

36. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such grant, appointment, or admission, of or to any such public beneficial office or employments or any exemplification of the same, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of six pounds.

37. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any indenture, lease, conveyance, contract, stipulation, bill of sale, charter party, protest, articles of apprenticeship or covenant (except for the hire of servants not apprentices, and also except such other matters as herein before charged) within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of two shillings and six pence.

38. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any warrant or order for auditing any public accounts, beneficial warrant, order grant, or certificate, under any public seal, or under the send or sign manual of any governor, proprietor, or public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, not herein before charged, or any passport or let pass, surrender of office, or policy of assurance, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations (except warrants or orders for the service of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, and grants of offices under twenty pounds per annum, in salary, fees, and perquisites), a stamp duty of five shillings.

39. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any notarial net, bond, deed, letter of attorney, procuration, mortgage, release, or other obligatory instrument, not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two shillings and three pence.

40. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any register, entry, or enrollment of any grant, deed or other instrument whatsoever, herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of three pence.

41. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any register, entry, or enrollment of any grant, deed, or other instrument whatsoever, not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two shillings.

42. And for and upon every pack of playing cards, and all dice, which shall be sold or used within the said colonies and plantations, the several stamp duties following (that is to say):

43. For every pack of such cards, one shilling.

44. And for every pair of such dice, ten shillings.

45. And for and every paper called a pamphlet, and upon every newspaper, containing public news or occurrences, which shall be printed, dispersed, and made public, within any of the said colonies and plantations, and for and upon such advertisements as are hereinafter mentioned, the respective duties following (that is to say):

46. For every such pamphlet and paper contained in a half sheet, or any lesser piece of paper, which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one half penny for every printed copy thereof.

47. For every such pamphlet and paper (being larger than half a sheet, and not exceeding one whole sheet), which shall be printed, a stamp duty of one penny for every printed copy thereof.

48. For every pamphlet and paper, being larger than one whole sheet, and not exceeding six sheets in octavo, or in a lesser page, or not exceeding twelve sheets in quarto, or twenty sheets in folio, which shall be so printed, a duty after the rate of one shilling for every sheet of any kind of paper which shall be contained in one printed copy thereof.

49. For every advertisement to be contained in any gazette newspaper, or other paper, or any pamphlet which shall be so printed, a duty of two shillings.

50. For every almanac, or calendar, for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be written or printed on one side only of any one sheet, skin, or piece of paper, parchment, or vellum, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two pence.

51. For every other almanac or calendar, for any one particular year, which shall be written or printed within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four pence.

52. And for every almanac or calendar, written or printed in the said colonies and plantations, to serve

for several years, duties to the same amount respectively shall be paid for every such year.

53. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any instrument, proceeding, or other matter or thing aforesaid, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, in any other than the English language, a stamp duty of double the amount of the respective duties before charged thereon.

54. And there shall be also paid, in the said colonies and plantations, a duty of six pence for every twenty shillings, in any sum not exceeding fifty pounds sterling money, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with, or in relation to, any clerk or apprentice, which shall be put or placed to or with any master or mistress, to learn any profession, trade, or employment.

II

And also a duty of one shilling for every twenty shillings, in any sum exceeding fifty pounds, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with, or in relation to, any such clerk or apprentice...

V

And be it further enacted..., That all books and pamphlets serving chiefly for the purpose of an almanack, by whatsoever name or names intituled or described, are and shall be charged with the duty imposed by this act on almanacks, but not with any of the duties charged by this act on pamphlets, or other printed papers...

VI

Provided always, that this act shall not extend to charge any bills of exchange, accompts, bills of parcels, bills of fees, or any bills or notes not sealed for payment of money at sight, or upon demand, or at the end of certain days of payment....

XII

And be it further enacted..., That the said several duties shall be under the management of the commissioners, for the time being, of the duties charged on stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, in Great Britain: and the said commissioners are hereby impowered and required to employ such officers under them, for that purpose, as they shall think proper....

XVI

And be it further enacted... That no matter or thing whatsoever, by this act charged with the payment of a duty, shall be pleaded or given in evidence, or admitted in any court within the said colonies and plantations, to be good, useful, or available in law or equity, unless the same shall be marked or stamped, in pursuance of this act, with the respective duty hereby charged thereon, or with an higher duty....

LIV

And be it further enacted ... That all the monies which shall arise by the several rates and duties hereby granted (except the necessary charges of raising, collecting, recovering, answering, paying, and accounting for the same and the necessary charges from time to time incurred in relation to this act, and the execution thereof) shall be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and shall be entered separate and apart from all other monies, and shall be there reserved to be from time to time disposed of by parliament, towards further defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing, the said colonies and plantations....

LVII

... offenses committed against any other act or acts of Parliament relating to the trade or revenues of the said colonies or plantations; shall and may be prosecuted, sued for, and recovered, in any court of record, or in any court of admiralty, in the respective colony or plantation where the offense shall be committed, or in any court of vice admiralty appointed or to be appointed, and which shall have jurisdiction within such colony, plantation, or place, (which courts of admiralty or vice admiralty are hereby respectively authorized and required to proceed, hear, and determine the same) at the election of the informer or prosecutor....

THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER, 1931

SOURCE *22 George V, c. 4 (U.K.)*

INTRODUCTION *The Statute of Westminster, passed by the British Parliament in December 1931, formally declared the autonomy of dominion governments within the British Empire. By the early twentieth century, the settler colonies of the British Empire had achieved self-rule as dominions, although they were still largely dependent on Britain for defense and financial assistance. Following their participation in World War I (1914-1918), the dominions moved for clarification of their status relative to Britain. The result was the Statute of Westminster, which established the independence of much of the British Empire, including*

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland.

An Act to give effect to certain resolutions passed by Imperial Conferences held in the years 1926 and 1930.

[11th December, 1931]

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 holden 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 Conferences:

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 of 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 alteration 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:—

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.

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.

3. It is hereby declared and enacted that the Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation.

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.*

5. Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provisions of this Act, section 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.

6. Without prejudice to the 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.

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 relation to matters within the competence of the Parliament of Canada or of any of the legislatures of the Provinces respectively.

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.

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.

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 sub-section (1) of this section.

(3) The Dominions to which this section applies are the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and Newfoundland.

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 part of a Dominion.

12. This Act may be cited as the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT, 1916

INTRODUCTION *The Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) was a secret wartime treaty between Britain and France. It was named after its chief negotiators, Mark Sykes of Britain and Georges Picot of France. Based on the premise that the Allied Powers would win World War I, the Sykes-Picot Agreement reflected an effort to divide the Arab Middle East into spheres of influence that would come into effect after the war. The treaty recognized the region now corresponding to Syria and Lebanon, where France had longstanding economic and cultural interests, as part of a future French sphere, and the region of Mesopotamia (now Iraq) as part of a future British sphere. The agreement also provided for the international administration of Palestine and a limited degree of independent Arab control over parts of Syria, Arabia, and Transjordan. The Sykes-Picot Agreement, along with the postwar peace settlement, effectively drew much of the Middle East into the imperial embrace of Great Britain and France.*

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 Banias 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.

TREATY OF PARIS 1763

INTRODUCTION *The Treaty of Paris of 1763 ended the French and Indian War, the last great imperial war fought in America. The war began in 1754 in the Ohio Valley, and would determine whether the French settlements in Canada and Louisiana would link up to prevent the westward expansion of English colonies.*

Despite initial setbacks, British victories at the Plains of Abraham in 1759 and Montreal in 1760 effectively destroyed French Canada. The Treaty of Paris saw that all of North America west of the Mississippi was ceded to Britain, along with Grenada, Tobago, and Saint Vincent.

The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763. To which the King of Portugal acceded on the same day.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

Be it known to all those whom it shall, or may, in any manner, belong,

It has pleased the Most High to diffuse the spirit of union and concord among the Princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inspire them with the inclination to cause the comforts of peace to succeed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which having arisen between England and France during the reign of the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Second, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Third, his successor, and, in its progress, communicated itself to Spain and Portugal: Consequently, the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the grace of God, Most Christian King; and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Charles the Third, by the grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries signed at Fontainebleau the third of November last; and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Don Joseph the First, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to compleat, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpose, the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, viz. his Sacred Majesty the King of Great Britain, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, John Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, c. his Minister of State, Lieutenant General of his Armies, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most

Christian Majesty; his Sacred Majesty the Most Christian King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Csar Gabriel de Choiseul, Duke of Praslin, Peer of France, Knight of his Orders, Lieutenant General of his Armies and of the province of Britanny, Counsellor of all his Counsils, and Minister and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances: his Sacred Majesty the Catholick King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the Most Christian King's Orders, Gentleman of his Catholick Majesty's Bedchamber in Employment, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his Most Christian Majesty; his Sacred Majesty the Most Faithful King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, Knight professed of the Order of Christ, of his Most Faithful Majesty's Council, and his Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty.

Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, copies whereof are transcribed at the end of the present treaty of peace, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

Article I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places or of persons: So that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, and every thing shall be carefully avoided which might hereafter prejudice the union happily reestablished, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1661, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryswick of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that

of the quadruple alliance of London of 1118; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1750: as well as the treaties between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal of the 13th of February, 1668; of the 6th of February, 1715; and of the 12th of February, 1761; and that of the 11th of April, 1713, between France and Portugal with the guaranties of Great Britain, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty: and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word, so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides, in all their points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

III. All the prisoners made, on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, six weeks, at least, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances which shall have been made for the subsistance and maintenance of their prisoners by the Sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates and other authentic vouchers which shall be furnished on one side and the other. And securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and merchant vessels Which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea shall likewise be restored, bon fide, with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed or might have formed to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: Moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty, or otherwise, which the Most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now over the said countries, lands, islands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, in consequence, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and bring away their effects as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: The term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Lawrence:) And his Britannick Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the Most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton, out of the said gulph, the subjects of the Most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Macquelon, in full right, to his Most

Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen; and his said Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands; to erect no buildings upon them but merely for the conveniency of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to reestablish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty and those of his Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose, the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth: It is farther stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VIII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadeloupe, of Mariegalante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the British arms, provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there or in other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months

is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels which have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been farther agreed, that his Most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks or guards in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France, and that the merchandize which shall be found t herein shall be confiscated.

IX. The Most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada: And the partition of the islands called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right, and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

X. His Britannick Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his Most Christian Majesty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam, and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

XI. In the East Indies Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that Crown possessed, as well as on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretension to the acquisitions which he has made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa since the said beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanoully, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages farther, not to

erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations or pillage committed on the one side or on the other during the war.

XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannick Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in when conquered by the arms of the Most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there when the said island and the said fort were taken.

XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The Cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made at the same time for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain.

XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the Electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or shall be occupied by his Most Christian Majesty's arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight and metal.

XV. In case the stipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries should not be compleated at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wezel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire; and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their respective Sovereigns: their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties promise to proceed, bon fide, with all the dispatch the case will permit of to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the 15th of March next, or sooner if it can be done; and their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties farther engage and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours of any kind to their respective allies who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

XVI. The decision of the prizes made in time of peace by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the Courts of Justice of the Admiralty of Great Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties, in the Courts of Justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

XVII. His Britannick Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty; and his Catholick Majesty shall not permit his Britannick Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and for this purpose, they may build, without hindrance, and occupy, without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects; and his Catholick Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

XVIII. His Catholick Majesty desists, as well for himself as for his successors, from all pretension which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

XIX. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havannah; and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majesty's arms, provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: And for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to

his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Catholick Majesty, that the number of English vessels which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: it has been farther agreed, that his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks or guards in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the East or to the South East of the river Mississippi. And, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholick King and the Crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; so that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholick religion; he will, consequently, give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is

moreover stipulated, that his Catholick Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery or other things.

XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his Most faithful Majesty in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery and ammunition, which were found there: And with regard to the Portuguese Colonies in America, Africa, or in the East Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties which subsisted between the Courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns and places that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be, respectively and bon fide, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and Most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensations.

XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall compleat, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the Empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Guadeloupe, Desirade, Mariegalante Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river

Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the island of Minorca by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: And according to the conditions of the VIth article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St Peter, and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The Factories in the East Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The fortress of the Havannah, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done: And, at the same time, Great Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his most Faithful Majesty, in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty: And the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition, which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXV. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

XXVI. Their sacred Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe sincerely and bon fide, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten their Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary,

have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto. Done at Paris the tenth day of February, 1763.

Bedford, C.P.S. Choiseul, Duc de Praslin. El Marq. de Grimaldi.

(L.S.) (L.S.) (LS)

SEPARATE ARTICLES

I. Some of the titles made use of by the contracting powers, either in the full powers, and other acts, during the course of the negociation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, that no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties, and that the titles, taken or omitted on either side, on occasion of the said negociation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not become an example which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform themselves, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers, who are used, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the present treaty having still the same force and effect, as if the aforesaid custom had been therein observed.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not signed the present definitive treaty, their Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, acknowledge, nevertheless, that his Most Faithful Majesty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expressly signed the said treaty: Consequently, their Britannick, Most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, respectively and conjointly, promise to his Most Faithful Majesty, in the most express and most binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauses, contained in the said treaty, on his act of accession.

The present Separate Articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted in the treaty.

In witness whereof, We the underwritten Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary of their Britannick, Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, have signed the present separate Articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

Bedford, C.P.S. Choiseul, Duc El Marq. de

(L.S.) de Praslin. Grimaldi.

(L.S.) (L.S.)

His Britannick Majesty's full Power.

GEORGE R.

GEORGE the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, ArchTreasurer, and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, c. To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas, in order to perfect the peace between Us and our good Brother the Most Faithful King, on the one part, and our good Brothers the Most Christian and Catholick Kings, on the other, which has been happily begun by the Preliminary Articles already signed at Fontainebleau the third of this month; and to bring the same to the desired end, We have thought proper to invest some fit person with full authority, on our part; Know ye, that We, having most entire confidence in the fidelity, judgment, skill, and ability in managing affairs of the greatest consequence, of our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, John Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, Baron Russel of Cheneys, Baron Russel of Thornhaugh, and Baron Howland of Streatham, Lieutenantgeneral of our forces, Keeper of our Privy Seal, Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the counties of Bedford and Devon, Knight of our most noble order of the Garter, and our Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to our good Brother the Most Christian King, have nominated, made, constituted and appointed, as by these presents, we do nominate, make, constitute, and appoint him, our true, certain, and undoubted Minister, Commissary, Deputy, Procurator and Plenipotentiary, giving to him all and all manner of power, faculty and authority, as well as our general and special command (yet so as that the general do not derogate from the special, or on the contrary) for Us and in our name, to meet and confer, as well singly and separately, as jointly, and in a body, with the Ambassadors, Commissaries, Deputies, and Plenipotentiaries of the Princes, whom it may concern, vested with sufficient power and authority for that purpose, and with them to agree upon, treat, consult and conclude, concerning the reestablishing, as soon as may be, a firm and lasting peace, and sincere friendship and concord; and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded, for Us and in our name, to sign, and to make a treaty or treaties, on what shall have been so agreed and concluded, and to transact every thing else that may belong to the happy completion of the aforesaid work, in as ample a manner and form, and with the same force and effect, as We ourselves, if we were present, could do and perform; engaging and promising, on our royal word, that We will approve, ratify and accept, in the best

manner, whatever shall happen to be transacted and concluded by our said Plenipotentiary, and that We will never suffer any person to infringe or act contrary to the same, either in the whole or in part. In witness and confirmation whereof We have caused our great Seal of Great Britain to be affixed to these presents, signed with our royal hand. Given at our Palace at St. James's, the 12th day of November, 1762, in the third year of our reign.

His Most Christian Majesty's Full Power.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, To all who shall see these presents, Greeting. Whereas the Preliminaries, signed at Fontainebleau the third of November of the last year, laid the foundation of the peace reestablished between us and our most dear and most beloved good Brother and Cousin the King of Spain, on the one part, and our most dear and most beloved good Brother the King of Great Britain, and our most dear and most beloved good Brother and Cousin the King of Portugal on the other, We have had nothing more at heart since that happy epoch, than to consolidate and strengthen in the most lasting manner, so salutary and so important a work, by a solemn and definitive treaty between Us and the said powers. For these causes, and other good considerations, Us thereunto moving, We, trusting entirely in the capacity and experience, zeal and fidelity for our service, of our most dear and well-beloved Cousin, Csar Gabriel de Choiseul, Duke of Praslin, Peer of France, Knight of our Orders, Lieutenant General of our Forces and of the province of Britany, Counsellor in all our Councils, Minister and Secretary of State, and of our Commands and Finances, We have named, appointed, and deputed him, and by these presents, signed with our hand, do name, appoint, and depute him our Minister Plenipotentiary, giving him full and absolute power to act in that quality, and to confer, negociate, treat and agree jointly with the Minister Plenipotentiary of our most dear and most beloved good Brother the King of Great Britain, the Minister Plenipotentiary of our most dear and most beloved good Brother and Cousin the King of Spain and the Minister Plenipotentiary of our most dear and most beloved good Brother and Cousin the King of Portugal, vested with full powers, in good form, to agree, conclude and sign such articles, conditions, conventions, declarations, definitive treaty, accessions, and other acts whatsoever, that he shall judge proper for securing and strengthening the great work of peace, the whole with the same latitude and authority that We ourselves might do, if We were there in person, even though there should be something which might require a more special order than what is contained in these presents, promising on the faith and word of a King, to approve, keep firm and stable for ever, to fulfil and execute punctually, all that

our said Cousin, the Duke of Praslin, shall have stipulated, promised and signed, in virtue of the present full power, without ever acting contrary thereto, or permitting any thing contrary thereto, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, as also to cause our letters of ratification to be expedited in good form, and to cause them to be delivered, in order to be exchanged within the time that shall be agreed upon. For such is our pleasure. In witness whereof, we have caused our Seal to be put to these presents. Given at Versailles the 7th day of the month of February, in the year of Grace 1763, and of our reign the fortyeighth. Signed Lewis, and on the fold, by the King, the Duke of Choiseul. Sealed with the great Seal of yellow Wax.

His Catholick Majesty's full Power.

DON CARLOS, by the grace of God, King of Castille, of Leon, of Arragon, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordova, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarves. of Algecira. of Gibraltar. of the Canary Islands, of the East and West Indies, Islands and Continent, of the Ocean, Arch Duke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant and Milan, Count of Hapsburg, of Flanders, of Tirol and Barcelona, Lord of Biscay and of Molino, c. Whereas preliminaries of a solid and lasting peace between this Crown, and that of France on the one part, and that of England and Portugal on the other, were concluded and signed in the Royal Residence of Fontainbleau, the 3rd of November of the present year, and the respective ratifications thereof exchanged on the 22d of the same month, by Ministers authorised for that purpose, wherein it is promised, that a definitive treaty should be forthwith entered upon, having established and regulated the chief points upon which it is to turn: and whereas in the same manner as I granted to you, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost, Gentleman of my Bedchamber with employment, and my Ambassador Extraordinary to the Most Christian King, my full power to treat, adjust, and sign the beforementioned preliminaries, it is necessary to grant the same to you, or to some other, to treat, adjust, and sign the promised definitive treaty of peace as aforesaid: therefore, as you the said Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, are at the convenient place, and as I have every day fresh motives, from your approved fidelity and zeal, capacity and prudence, to entrust to you this, and otherlike concerns of my Crown, I have appointed you my Minister Plenipotentiary, and granted to you my full power, to the end, that, in my name, and representing my person, you may treat, regulate, settle, and sign the said definitive treaty of peace between my Crown and that of France on the one part, that of England and that of

Portugal on the other, with the Ministers who shall be equally and specially authorised by their respective Sovereigns for the same purpose; acknowledging, as I do from this time acknowledge, as accepted and ratified, whatever you shall so treat, conclude, and sign; promising, on my Royal Word, that I will observe and fulfil the same, will cause it to be observed and fulfilled, as if it had been treated, concluded, and signed by myself. In witness whereof, I have caused these presents to be dispatched, signed by my hand, sealed with my privy seal, and countersigned by my underwritten Counsellor of State, and first Secretary for the department of State and of War. Buen Retiro, the 10th day of December, 1762.

(Signed) I THE KING.

(And lower) Richard Wall

TREATY OF UTRECHT

INTRODUCTION *The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 ended the War of the Spanish Succession, a conflict that began in Spain with the death in 1700 of King Charles II, who had no children and no clear successor. By 1702 the conflict had spilled into North America, where it was called Queen Anne's War, after the queen of England. The settlement of Utrecht encompassed two other treaties, the Treaty of Rastatt and the Treaty of Baden, which together restored the balance of power in Europe. The terms of the Treaty of Utrecht suggested the ascendancy of Britain's colonial endeavors relative to France and Spain, as England obtained from France what is today much of eastern Canada, as well as access to the slave trade dominated by the Spanish.*

ARTICLE X JULY 13, 1713

The Catholic King does hereby, for himself, his heirs and successors, yield to the Crown of Great Britain the full and entire propriety of the town and castle of Gibraltar, together with the port, fortifications, and forts thereunto belonging; and he gives up the said propriety to be held and enjoyed absolutely with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever.

But that abuses and frauds may be avoided by importing any kind of goods, the Catholic King wills, and takes it to be understood, that the above-named propriety be yielded to Great Britain without any territorial jurisdiction and without any open communication by land with the country round about.

Yet whereas the communication by sea with the coast of Spain may not at all times be safe or open, and thereby it may happen that the garrison and other inhabitants of Gibraltar may be brought to great straits; and as

it is the intention of the Catholic King, only that fraudulent importations of goods should, as is above said, be hindered by an inland communications. it is therefore provided that in such cases it may be lawful to purchase, for ready money, in the neighbouring territories of Spain, provisions and other things necessary for the use of the garrison, the inhabitants, and the ships which lie in the harbour.

But if any goods be found imported by Gibraltar, either by way of barter for purchasing provisions, or under any other pretence, the same shall be confiscated, and complaint being made thereof, those persons who have acted contrary to the faith of this treaty, shall be severely punished.

And Her Britannic Majesty, at the request of the Catholic King, does consent and agree, that no leave shall be given under any pretence whatsoever, either to Jews or Moors, to reside or have their dwellings in the said town of Gibraltar; and that no refuge or shelter shall be allowed to any Moorish ships of war in the harbour of the said town, whereby the communication between Spain and Ceuta may be obstructed, or the coasts of Spain be infested by the excursions of the Moors.

But whereas treaties of friendship and a liberty and intercourse of commerce are between the British and certain territories situated on the coast of Africa, it is always to be understood, that the British subjects cannot refuse the Moors and their ships entry into the port of Gibraltar purely upon the account of merchandising. Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain does further promise, that the free exercise of their religion shall be indulged to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the aforesaid town.

And in case it shall hereafter seem meet to the Crown of Great Britain to grant , sell or by any means to alienate therefrom the propriety of the said town of Gibraltar, it is hereby agreed and concluded that the preference of having the sale shall always be given to the Crown of Spain before any others.

THE TWO MIDDLE PASSAGES TO BRAZIL, 1793

INTRODUCTION *This account of the Middle Passage, the shipboard journey of enslaved Africans from ports in West Africa to the Americas, was written by Luiz António de Oliveira Mendes in 1793. Millions of Africans were forcibly shipped to the Caribbean, Jamaica being the chief trading center, and then transshipped to Brazil, British North America, and other Caribbean islands. Many did not survive the Middle Passage, a horrific experience marked by inhuman conditions of transport, overcrowding, insufficient food, and disease. Mortality rates incurred from the point of capture in the African interior to transfer to a slave ship along the coast may have been even higher, suggesting the tremendous toll on human lives that slave trafficking exacted.*

Having been reduced to slavery in Africa, either because he was so condemned, or as a result of piracy and treachery, this once free black human being is the most unhappy person imaginable; because he is immediately placed in irons, and in this condition he eats only what the tyrants, the worst enemies of humanity, wish to give him.

In that moment in which he loses his freedom, he also loses everything which for him was good, pleasant, and enjoyable. In the presence of everything which he must suffer, how could we compare even the suffering of Adam when hewas banished from Paradise.

Since all those fortified places are spread inland at a distance of a hundred, two hundred, three hundred and more leagues, such as Ambaque and others, and since it is always expected that there will be slaves there who have been condemne and imprisoned in order to be bartered, there are backlanders, who in some places are called *funidores* and in other places *tumbeiros,* who are always journeying through those interior areas for the purpose of acquiring slaves condemned to captivity through the exchange of the merchandise . . . which they most prefer, including glass beads, coral, tobacco, rum, some iron instruments which they use, and muskets, powder, and lead.

After the deal has been concluded and the purchased article delivered over, there is a cruel scene, -because the *furidores* or *tumbeiros* carry in their *manpas* or baggage the needed libambo, [an iron chain used to bind the slaves together]. And the slaves leave the stocks or shackles or any other sort of confinement for the *libambo.* Each of the slaves is attached to this iron chain at regular intervals in the following manner; the backlanders and those persons who accompany the convoy pass a piece of

iron through the ring of the chain in the proper place, and out of this piece of iron the pound out another .ring, -placing the iron -points one above the other so that the slave's hand is imprisoned in this new iron ring . . . .

The backlanders or *funidores* pass from fortress to fortress, taking with them in the convoy the slaves they have purchased. Each slave carries on his back a provision sack, which the backlanders have brought for them to feed themselves until they arrive at another settlement, where they are resupplied . . . .

This brutal and laborious trek lasts from one to six, seven, or eight months. On the way they do not drink water whenever they wish, -but only when they reach some pool or pond. They camp whenever the *funidor* decides. Their bed is the earth, their roof the sky, and the blanket they cover themselves with the leaves of the trees, which do not cover them completely. The morning dew falls upon them. Their pillows are the trunks of the trees and the bodies of their companions. After the camping place has been selected, the slaves are arranged in a circle, and a bonfire is lit to provide heat and light. This lasts until dawn, when having warmed the earth with their bodies, their journey is resumed.

The night is passed in a state of half sleep and watchfulness, because even during the hours intended for rest and sleep, they are constantly aroused by their black guards, who, fearing an uprising, scream at them and frighten them, when in fact the exhausted and mistreated travelers are more disposed to sleep and to die than to resist. All this results from the unreasonable fear that, with so many slaves together, some might open the iron ring that attaches them to the *libambo.* And because of an even greater prejudice, and this is common to all, that the captive slaves know of a plant that causes iron to soften and break . . . .

When the slaves coming from many different parts of the interior reach the maritime ports of Africa, they are there once more traded for goods and merchandise to the many agents or merchants who have their houses established there for that purpose. Acquiring the slaves by means of such trading, they keep them for a time in the same libambo, and if they are not kept this way they are closed up in a secure ground-level compound surrounded by high walls, from which they cannot escape.

Here takes place the second round of hardships that these unlucky people are forced to suffer. By these new tyrants they are terribly handled and most scantily provided for, and for them they are like mere animals, their human nature entirely overlooked. The dwelling place of the slave is simply the dirt floor of the compound, and he remains there exposed to harsh conditions and bad weather, and at night there are only a lean-to and some

sheds or warehouses, also on the ground level, which they are herded into like cattle.. . .

They suffer in other ways. When they are first traded, they are made to bear the brand mark of the backlander who enslaved them, so that they can be recognized in case they run away. And when they reach a port-they are branded on the right breast with the coat of arms of the king and nation, of whom they have become vassals and under whom they will live subject to slavery, This mark is made with a hot silver instrument in the act of paying the king's duties, and this brand mark is called a *carimbo.*

They are made to bear one more brand mark. This one is ordered by their private master, under whose name they are transported to Brazil, and it is put either on the left breast or on the arm, also so that they may be recognized if they should run away . . . .

In this miserable and deprived condition the terrified slaves remain for weeks and months, and the great number of them who die is unspeakable. With some ten or twelve thousand arriving at Luanda each year, it often happens that only six or seven thousand are finally transported to Brazil . . . .

Shackled in the holds of ships, the black slaves reveal as never before their robust and powerful qualities, for in these new circumstances they are far more deprived than when on land. First of all, with two or three hundred slaves placed under the deck, there is hardly room enough to draw a breath. No air can reach them, except through the hatch gratings and through some square skylights so tiny that not even a head could pass through them . . . .

The captains, aware of their own interests, recognize the seriousness of the problem, and try to remedy it to some extent. Twice a week they order the deck washed, and, using sponges, the hold is scoured down with vinegar. Convinced that they are doing something useful, each day they order a certain number of slaves brought on deck in chains to get some fresh air, not allowing more because of their fear of rebellion. However, very little is accomplished in this way, because the slaves must go down again into the hold to breathe the same pestilent air . . . .

This contemporary watercolor shows crowded and emaciated slaves on the slave deck of the Albanez. It was painted by Francis Meynell, a lieutenant on a British anti-slavery vessel. "The Slave Deck of the Albanez," c. 1860, is today located at the National Maritime Museum, England.

Second, the slaves are afflicted with a very short ration of water, of poor quality and lukewarm because of the climate - hardly enough to water their mouths. The suffering that this causes is extraordinary, and their dryness and thirst cause epidemics which, beginning with one person, soon spread to many others. Thus, after only

a few days at sea, they start to throw the slaves into the ocean.

Third, they are kept in a state of constant hunger. Their small ration of food, brought over from Brazil on the outward voyage, is spoiled and damaged, and consists of nothing more than beans, corn, and manioc flour, all badly prepared and unspiced. They add to each ration a small portion of noxious fish from the African coast, which decays during the voyage . . . .

With good reason, then, we may speak of these black Africans, who resist so much and survive so many afflictions, as men of stone and of iron.

VERSAILLES TREATY: ARTICLES 1–26

INTRODUCTION *The first twenty-six articles of the Treaty of Versailles (1919), which established the terms of peace after World War I, constitute the Covenant of the League of Nations, an international body formed to promote cooperation, prevent war, and achieve lasting peace around the world. Article 22 of the Covenant created a new form of political supervision, called a* mandate, *under which the former colonies of the defeated countries were entrusted to "advanced nations" among the victorious Allies. These nations were to govern only until the mandated states were sufficiently developed to "stand by themselves," but because the assignment of mandates indulged the self-interests of the imperial powers, many mandates became a cover for colonial ambitions. All of the mandated territories, with the exception of Palestine, eventually gained independence.*

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE I

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to

this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion, or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval, and air forces and armaments. Any Member of the League may, after two years notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 3

The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may not have more than three Representatives.

ARTICLE 4

The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece shall be members of the Council. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council. The Council shall

meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League. At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

ARTICLE 5

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required. The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly. The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council. The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council. The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 7

The Seat of the League is established at Geneva. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere. All positions under or in connection with the League, including he Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women. Representatives of the Members of the League and offi-

cials of he League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings sha11 be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8

The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval, and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

ARTICLE 9

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval, and air questions generally.

ARTICLE 10

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action tnat may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case

any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12

The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council. In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13

The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made or any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitraion to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

ARTICLE 15

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and conside ation thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof. The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement. The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly,

if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Rpresentatives of the parties to the dispute shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nations and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League. Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States, not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to I6 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as

may be deemed necessary by the Council. Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22

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 recognised 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.

ARTICLE 23

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League: (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind; (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable. The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly. No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

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