

Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Notes on the Contributors</i>	ix
Introduction: The Age of Revolutions, c.1760–1840 – Global Causation, Connection, and Comparison <i>David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam</i>	xii
1 Sparks from the Altar of '76: International Repercussions and Reconsiderations of the American Revolution <i>Gary B. Nash</i>	1
2 The French Revolution in Global Context <i>Lynn Hunt</i>	20
3 Revolutionary Exiles: The American Loyalist and French Émigré Diasporas <i>Maya Jasanoff</i>	37
4 Iberian Passages: Continuity and Change in the South Atlantic <i>Jeremy Adelman</i>	59
5 The Caribbean in the Age of Revolution <i>David Geggus</i>	83
6 The Dynamics of History in Africa and the Atlantic 'Age of Revolutions' <i>Joseph C. Miller</i>	101
7 Playing Muslim: Bonaparte's Army of the Orient and Euro-Muslim Creolization <i>Juan Cole</i>	125
8 Imperial Revolutions and Global Repercussions: South Asia and the World, c.1750–1850 <i>Robert Travers</i>	144

9	Revolutionary Europe and the Destruction of Java's Old Order, 1808–1830 <i>Peter Carey</i>	167
10	Their Own Path to Crisis? Social Change, State-Building and the Limits of Qing Expansion, c.1770–1840 <i>Kenneth Pomeranz</i>	189
	The Age of Revolutions in Global Context: An Afterword <i>C. A. Bayly</i>	209
	<i>Notes</i>	218
	<i>Further Reading</i>	273
	<i>Index</i>	288

1

Sparks from the Altar of '76: International Repercussions and Reconsiderations of the American Revolution

Gary B. Nash

A half-century has passed since the first volume of R. R. Palmer's *Age of the Democratic Revolution* (1959, followed by a second in 1964) offered a stunning treatment of the geographic reach of the American Revolution. More than any other historian of his generation, Palmer initiated the move towards an Atlantic-wide consideration of political ideology and political practice in the second half of the eighteenth century. In Palmer's view the American Revolution, suffused with enlightened ideological energy, 'dethroned England and set up America as a model for those seeking a better world'. In particular, he explained how Europeans cast their eyes in wonderment upon the state constitutions cobbled together during the long war with Great Britain, seeing these expressions of fundamental law as 'the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment . . . put into practice' and 'made the actual fabric of public life among real people, in this world, now'.¹ Palmer showed how key elements of American Revolutionary ideology spread – very unevenly to be sure – across the breadth of Europe and, eventually, in paler forms, to Latin America in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the key elements of 'the new order of the ages' were freedom of religion, popular sovereignty, the rights of man as unalienable and universal, and that all government should flow from written constitutions constructed by the people themselves.² The American Revolution, with the lofty goals of its early years for recreating government and society, set off a wave of radical, even utopian, thinking wherever the waters of the Atlantic tumbled ashore. Though he never quoted it, Thomas Paine's prediction in his

thunderous *Common Sense*, published half a year before the Declaration of Independence, expressed the heart of Palmer's almost reverential consideration of America's mission in the world as the founders of liberal democracy: 'The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. . . . 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now.'³

In recent decades, the ascent of Atlantic history, and more broadly global history, has brought certain advances in our understanding of the international impact of the American Revolution. David Armitage's *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (2007) shows how the American scripture drafted by Thomas Jefferson has inspired people around the world to mount revolts against colonial masters and fashion blood-drenched movements of national liberation and self-determination.⁴ But these movements, central to the break-up of empires, have usually not been accompanied by concurrent rights movements stressing individual freedom, the end of slavery and other forms of bound labour, the enlargement of the franchise, the democratization of law-making and political practice, the advent of public education, the expansion of woman's rights, or the redistribution of wealth – all of which were part of the radical agenda of American revolutionists. Similarly, P. J. Marshall's *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America c. 1750–1783* (2005) rightly argues that the loss of the American colonies did not diminish Great Britain's commitment to empire or even change its strategies for managing its ever-expanding overseas appendages.⁵ The notion of empire itself and the pursuit of dominance of lands and peoples outside of Europe continued and even accelerated. Nor in their new empire in India were the names of Paine, Franklin, Mason, Jefferson, or Madison raised in the name of popular sovereignty, religious toleration, or any other plank in the platform of revolutionary reform in North America. In another case, an expansive study, attempting to combine the American Revolution with Latin American independence movements, reads similarly. In Lester Langley's *The Americas in the Age of Revolution* (1996) social upheaval in the years from 1810 to 1850 was the work of indigenous and exploited people who did not speak the language of universal and unalienable rights but, as John Coatsworth has put it, came from 'diverse strata of the rural population, each with its own needs and goals' and each unfolding 'in particular institutional settings'.⁶ The American War for Independence, in sum, considered as an overthrow of colonial masters, would have much more influence – though haltingly – than the American

Revolution, an internal struggle to remake America along very different lines than had previously existed. Moreover, where the American Revolutionary universalistic and reformist goals had the quickest and greatest reach was in the parts of Europe that Palmer studied half a century ago.

Thus, we need to be cautious about overstating the aftershocks of the American Revolution, particularly about its internal struggles to restitch the social fabric of its peoples – a process which itself proceeded spasmodically and incompletely. For all the work on the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804, occurring only several hundred miles from the new United States, the summary judgement is that the enormous upheaval of slaves owed far more to the French Revolution and to the slaves themselves (sometimes operating out of African values and African methods of attacking their enemies) than to the American Revolution. And the Haitian revolutionaries received support from only slender elements of American society, in particular from abolition-minded northerners who hoped black rebellion would aid the dismantling of racial slavery in the new American republic. In fact, even after becoming a free black republic in 1804, Haiti could not gain recognition from the American government until the 1860s.⁷ A recent study of the American Revolution and the British Caribbean concludes with a null thesis – that white planters resisted the American Revolutionary ideas about natural rights, as well they might, since they lived in a sea of exploited and enslaved agricultural labourers. More surprising is that the massive slave rebellion in North America occasioned by the British offer of freedom to slaves (and indentured white servants) escaping their masters inspired little rebellion among the several million Caribbean slaves. Even the Jamaica slave rebellion of 1776 sprang not from ideological fever but from hunger that spread when the provisions from North America – fish and grain – were halted by the war.⁸ The major slave revolts came later without much reference to American revolutionary ideas – in Barbados in 1816, Demerara in 1823, and Jamaica in 1831–2.⁹

That the American Revolution did not fulfil Thomas Paine's hopes outside of Europe seems to be the implicit conclusion of historians who have constructed arguments of a world crisis and 'converging revolutions' from 1760 to 1820. For example, C. A. Bayly's *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914* (2004), which incorporates Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America into his study of world empires from the late eighteenth century to the First World War, shrivels the American Revolution into insignificance. Jefferson, Madison, Paine, and other revolutionary political theoreticians make

cameo appearances; the revolutionary era constitution-making that figured so importantly in Palmer's thesis warrants no mention at all; levelling tendencies and communitarian leanings are associated with the French Revolution but not the American Revolution; and abolitionism merits only brief mention.¹⁰

Except for his neglect of abolitionism, which at least some important American revolutionary leaders promoted fervently, Bayly may be justified in giving a back seat to the American Revolution in a globe-encircling metahistory. In terms of the rise and fall and transformation of European empires in the modern age, the best study of the Seven Years War argues cogently that this prolonged global conflict of the major European powers was 'far more significant than the War of American Independence' (not to be conflated with the American Revolution).¹¹

One reason why the American Revolution did not reverberate much beyond the parts of Europe where Palmer's work provided rich detail, is that the Americans themselves did not wish to export their revolution insofar as it spoke of universal and unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, particularly to slave-holding regimes, where it was feared that the spark of rebellion might return to enflame the fast-growing slave society in the American South. In fact, the spark travelled in the opposite direction after 1790. It was black rebellion in Haiti, which neither the Directory nor Napoleon could contain, that inspired black insurrectionists in the United States, and it was the loss of Haiti that made Louisiana so dispensable to France and so cheap for the United States to purchase. Black Americans aspiring for the universal rights promised in the Declaration of Independence, as they and abolitionists understood it, had a long struggle ahead of them, and that struggle was made all the more difficult by the departure of some of the most talented, ideologically charged black men of the revolutionary generation, who flocked to the British to gain their freedom and then became part of the reverse diaspora carrying them after the war to Nova Scotia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and even Australia.¹²

Another reason for the muted resonance of the American Revolution in the broad Atlantic world and beyond is that at the time the most ardent enthusiasts of the Americans' 'glorious cause' became sorely disillusioned at the sight of the new American republic beating a retreat from antislavery inclinations that had been a part of the New World forward-looking agenda. Yet, as we will see, the American Revolution allowed already well-formed antislavery sentiment to blossom into an antislavery programme of action.¹³ Had the

Founding Fathers grasped the nettle of slavery at a time when a number of factors were converging to make this seem possible, as it did to many leaders even in Virginia, the worldwide effects of the American Revolution would have been enormously different.¹⁴ This chapter follows the travails of several Founding Fathers, urged on by European Friends of Liberty, in wrestling with the cancer of slavery that they knew must be cut from the American body politic if the revolution was to be true to its founding principles and was to usher in a new age of universal freedom.

Dr Richard Price, London's dissenting minister, tribune of religious toleration, and friend of Benjamin Franklin, yielded to no Englishman in his support of the American revolutionists' struggle for independence. For this disloyalty, by his own account, he was subjected 'to much abuse and some danger'. And hardly any writer of the post-war period was more fervent in believing that the American Revolution 'in favour of universal liberty' had opened 'a new prospect in human affairs' and ushered in 'a new aera in the history of mankind' by 'disseminating just sentiments of the rights of mankind and the nature of legitimate government, by exciting a spirit of resistance to tyranny . . . and by occasioning the establishment in America of forms of government more equitable and more liberal than any that the world has yet known'. Writing in 1784 – when the ink was hardly dry on the Peace of Paris treaty that ended the American war for independence – in his *Observations of the Importance of the American Revolution and the Means of Making It a Benefit to the World*, Price exulted that the Americans, in their 'sequestered continent', were now providing 'a place of refuge for opprest men in every region of the world' and 'laying the foundation . . . of an empire which may be the seat of liberty, science and virtue and from whence there is reason to hope these sacred blessings will spread till they become universal and the time arrives when kings and priests shall have no more power to oppress and that ignominious slavery which has hitherto debased the world exterminated.'¹⁵

Yet Price saw an ominous cloud hovering over North America that compromised and would surely doom the American revolutionaries' gift to humankind. With one-fifth of its population still in chains at the end of the war, the Americans were living out an atrocious contradiction. 'Till they have [abolished slavery]', lamented Price, 'it will not appear they deserve the liberty for which they have been

contending. For it is self-evident that if there are any men whom they have a right to hold in slavery, there may be others who have had a right to hold them in slavery. . . . Nothing can excuse the United States if it [the abolition of slavery] is not done with as much speed, and at the same time with as much effect, as their particular circumstances and situation will allow.¹⁶

Price's abolitionism had been influenced by John Lind, whose *Three Letters to Dr Price* in 1776 challenged Price's defence of the American revolutionaries. An internationalist at heart and adviser to King Stanislaus, the reform-minded Polish monarch, Lind collaborated with the young philosopher Jeremy Bentham on the Ministry-sponsored *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress* (1776), replying to the Declaration of Independence. Lind and Bentham laced their pamphlet with sardonic comments about American hypocrisy in proclaiming universal freedom while keeping half a million Africans in chains. Referring to Lord Dunmore's proclamation of November 1775, which offered freedom to all slaves and indentured servants who escaped their masters and reached British lines, Lind trumpeted that 'It is their boast that they have taken up arms in support of these their own *self-evident truths* – "that all men are *equal*" – "that all men are endowed with the *unalienable* rights of life, *liberty*, and the *pursuit of happiness*". Is it for them to complain of the offer of freedom held out to these wretched beings? of the offer of reinstating them in that *equality*, which, in this very paper, is declared to be the *gift of God to all*; in those *unalienable rights*, with which, in this very paper, God is declared to have *endowed all* mankind?'¹⁷

Price's comments remind us of how many of his contemporaries acknowledged the American Revolution as an audacious, breathtaking explosion of freedom unknown, as Thomas Paine put it, since the days of Noah's ark. His comments also remind us that the American Revolution was also a major disappointment, most tragically to the enslaved African Americans who hoped the moment of their deliverance was at hand, but also to the Continental Friends of Liberty who believed the Founding Fathers had betrayed the Enlightenment principles from which their revolution derived its ideological justifications. 'In Britain', wrote Richard Price, 'a negro becomes a freeman the moment he sets his foot on British ground.'¹⁸ Why not in the new centre of Enlightenment ideas and enlightened programmes?

Price's comments on slavery in the new United States, though brief and appearing at the end of his *Observations*, provided fodder for abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic, who jumped to put copies into the hands of American leaders. After receiving a number of

Price's *Observations*, Virginia's Richard Henry Lee, delegate to the Continental Congress, distributed copies among other delegates to the national legislature and put one in Washington's hands. Price had already packed off copies to Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Rush, and John Jay, Chief Justice of the newly formed Supreme Court. To the latter, he later delivered the acid comment that if it was true that his comments had offended South Carolina leaders and that they spoke for most Americans, then it appeared 'that the people who have struggled so bravely against being enslaved themselves are ready enough to enslave others. . . . The friends of liberty and virtue in Europe will be sadly disappointed and mortified' if the American Revolution 'will prove only an introduction to a new scene of aristocratical tyranny and human debasement.'¹⁹

Appearing almost simultaneously was Thomas Day's philippic mocking American pretensions to be tribunes of liberty. Like Price, Day had supported the American's 'glorious cause' but found nothing glorious about their perpetuation of slavery. 'If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independency with one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves. . . . YES, GENTLEMEN, AS YOU ARE NO LONGER Englishmen, I hope you will please to be men; and, as such, admit the whole human species to a participation of your unalienable rights.'²⁰

Working loosely with English abolitionists such as Granville Sharp, Thomas Day, and John Cartwright, Price became one of the cross-English Channel reformers who pushed the American self-liberators hard in the crucial years just after the American Revolution to complete the freedom project upon which they had embarked. In particular, they zeroed in on Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin, the internationally famous trio that was best positioned to trade on the moral capital they had accumulated in the course of founding their nation. In this effort, the French and English reformers only loosely coordinated their efforts; but they were keenly aware of the common cause they were pushing and indeed were better coordinated than most historians have allowed.

With Franklin, the cross-channel ideologues had some success. Franklin the Philadelphia slave-owner of the 1740s and 1750s had responded step by step to the passionate teachings of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, who were making the immorality of slavery a topic of general concern on both sides of the Atlantic.²¹ In England from 1757 to 1762, Franklin's antislavery sentiment grew, partly as a result of the flight of King, his son William Franklin's slave, who had

taken up service as a free man in the household of a gentlewoman outside London. Franklin was also nudged towards an antislavery position by the unconscious black agency of another Franklin family slave, a male child named Othello, who, according to reports from Franklin's wife, was making excellent progress in a new school for Philadelphia blacks, thus disproving notions of inherent African inferiority. When Franklin returned to London in 1764, he began to express himself publicly against slavery, most famously in 1772, by which time he was in touch with early English abolitionists such as Thomas Day and Richard Price.²²

Though the war interrupted all discourse with English friends, Franklin became more ardently antislavery when he became an American in Paris from 1778 to 1785. While in the thick of diplomatic negotiations – first to bring France into an alliance with the Americans in the war for independence and then in the extended negotiations in Paris over a treaty of peace with Great Britain – it was convenient and even prudent to remain on the sidelines of the growing transatlantic debate over slavery. Yet Franklin was learning to buckle on his armour amidst the company of the Enlightenment figures with whom he so happily mingled – the reformer-lawyer de Beaumont, the jurist Malesherbes, the economist Turgot, and, especially, the Abbé Raynal, Voltaire, and Condorcet. Franklin was particularly taken with Condorcet's *Reflections on Negro Slavery*, published in 1781 when Franklin was at the height of his salon popularity. He bonded with the passionate Condorcet, a man half his age, more than with any other titan of the Enlightenment.²³ Where John Adams looked down his nose at the *philosophes*, thinking them naive romantic revolutionaries and not moving an inch towards forthright abolitionism, Franklin took the French intellectuals seriously and veered towards using his political capital in the interest of antislavery efforts.²⁴

In the summer of 1782, when the peace negotiations with England were fully in play, Franklin took a semi-public stance in quietly circulating 'A Thought Concerning the Sugar Islands'. In it, he railed against 'the Wars made in Africa for Prisoners to raise Sugar in America, the Numbers slain in those Wars, the Number that being crowded in Ships perish in the Transportation, & the Numbers that die under the Severities of Slavery'. Given all this cruelty and violence, a devotee of sweetness 'could scarce look on a Morsel of Sugar without conceiving it spotted with Human Blood' if not 'thoroughly died red'. Franklin circulated the brief essay among Benjamin Vaughan, David Hartley, and Richard Oswald, all but making his anti-

slavery position public. Indeed, he intended his remarks to be shown to the British government, for Oswald was a key English peace commissioner, Vaughan was Franklin's old friend and English publisher of his work, and Hartley was a Member of Parliament long involved in the peace talks. Though the essay was not published until just before his death, Franklin by this time was not chary of speaking firmly about the execrable system of coerced labour.²⁵

A year later, Franklin again enlisted for duty in the ranks of the antislavery soldiers. In a letter that he probably received in July 1783, Anthony Benezet implored him to speak to the king of France about the continuing Atlantic slave trade and press the argument that 'what an honour it would be to him [the king] & his country if he would take the lead in putting an end to that unreasonable, inhuman & dreadful traffick'.²⁶ No evidence remains that Franklin made such an intercession with the French king, but by now he surely understood how important his support was for the friends of the enslaved. By the time he returned to Philadelphia in September 1785, Benezet was dead, though it may not have been lost on Franklin that at the funeral, the largest known in Philadelphia until then, one of the speakers vowed that 'I would rather be Anthony Benezet in that coffin than George Washington, with all his fame'.²⁷

The Philadelphia to which Franklin returned had been transformed not only by the return of peace and the painful adjustments to a still roiled post-war economy but by the emergence of North America's largest free black community.²⁸ Out of the shadows to lead the emerging free black community were spirited and determined figures such as Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. Both had recently purchased their own freedom and stepped forward, their lowly positions and lack of any formal education notwithstanding, to create a Free African Society, which pushed for the right of blacks to control their own burial ground and to sow the seeds for the creation of independent black churches and schools. Franklin never acknowledged in his correspondence his reaction to black accomplishment and activism, but it is reasonable to assume that he knew of the opinion of his friend Benjamin Rush, ablaze with zeal for the cause of black Philadelphians, that 'such is their integrity and quiet deportment that they [black Philadelphians] are universally preferred to white people of similar occupations'.²⁹

Amidst such signs of black success, so at odds with Jefferson's musings about black inferiority, Franklin, now an old and pain-racked man, aligned himself with that to which he had contributed only haltingly. By his eighty-first birthday, in the year the Constitutional

Convention met in Philadelphia, he was speaking against slavery with an open heart. After accepting the ceremonial presidency of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society on 23 April 1787, just a few weeks before the arrival of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, the Old Revolutionist signed a public antislavery exhortation that declared that ‘the Creator of the world’ had made ‘of one flesh, all the children of men’.³⁰

Just before Franklin died on 17 April 1790, he signed his last public documents, a strongly worded ‘Address to the Public’ from the reorganized Pennsylvania Abolition Society and a petition to Congress to cut the cancer of slavery out of the American body politic. Then he had his last say on slavery: a biting parody aimed at a Georgia congressman who had attacked the Quakers for introducing a petition before the first federal congress for ending the slave trade.³¹ In the end, Franklin heeded one of Poor Richard’s pieces of advice: ‘Search others for their virtues, thy self for thy vices.’³² In his sojourn from slave-holder to critic of slavery, he had been moved deeply by the transatlantic friends of universal liberty with whom he had mingled in Philadelphia, London, and Paris.

While English and French antislavery activists could take satisfaction with Franklin’s conversion to abolitionism, the chances for success in the new United States rested more with those who were younger, and particularly those who were Virginians. With Washington, the prospects of gaining an indispensable ally, at least for a short time, seemed bright. Washington had been troubled ever since seeing black soldiers fighting valiantly for the American cause in the battles of Newport, Monmouth Courthouse, and, most memorably, Yorktown, where the Rhode Island Black Regiment had removed any lingering doubts that black men under arms would fight tenaciously. As the war drew to an end, Washington contemplated whether he might be the key figure in securing the unalienable rights of man.

Pushing him hard was the dashing young Marquis de Lafayette, who amidst the din of war had become far more to Washington than a comrade-in-arms. From the time Washington sent the nineteen-year-old Lafayette into battle at Brandywine in September 1777, they became surrogate father and son.³³ Lafayette had not come to the rebelling American colonies with antislavery sentiments or even much acquaintance with the *philosophes* of his day.³⁴ Then, what we might term an unprogrammatically black agency came into play. Lafayette’s transformation into a stalwart abolitionist owed much to his battlefield experiences with African Americans, most poignantly with James Armistead, the Virginia slave who served at his side and

played a crucial role in the victory at Yorktown after infiltrating the British lines posing as a runaway slave and returning with crucial knowledge of the British deployments. Even before he left to return to France before the end of the war, Lafayette had become convinced that the flight of slaves by shoals to the British to gain their freedom showed that a revolution that left the edifice of slavery in place was a deeply flawed 'glorious cause'.

After returning to France following the epic victory at Yorktown in October 1781, the French nobleman acted on what apparently were earlier talks with Washington about rooting slavery out of America. When word reached Lafayette in Cadiz, Spain, that American and British negotiators had signed a preliminary treaty of peace on 20 January 1783, he dispatched a letter of congratulations to 'our beloved matchless Washington'. Lafayette proposed that the nation's conquering hero join him in a grand experiment to free their slaves. Lafayette would purchase an estate on the coast of French Guiana, and there their slaves would be settled in preparation for freedom. 'Such an example as yours might render it a general practice', wrote Lafayette, and he even imagined that 'if we succeed in America', he would devote himself to spreading the experiment to the West Indies. 'If it be a wild scheme', Lafayette concluded, 'I had rather be mad that way than to be thought wise on the other tack.'³⁵

Washington did not dismiss the idea. He knew he might be the exemplar whom others would follow. 'I shall be happy to join you in so laudable a work', he wrote to Lafayette, and would welcome seeing his adoptive son to discuss the details 'of the business'.³⁶ Lafayette indeed came to Mount Vernon the next summer – in August 1784 – where the two compatriots discussed the experiment over a period of eleven days. William Gordon, the antislavery Boston minister who would write one of the first histories of the American Revolution, recalled after visiting Mount Vernon when Lafayette was there that Washington 'wished to get rid of his Negroes, and the Marquis wisht that an end might be put to the slavery of all of them'.³⁷ Gordon also played on Washington's enormous clout, urging that, teamed with Lafayette, 'your joint counsels and influence' might accomplish emancipation, 'and thereby give the finishing stroke and the last polish to your political characters'.³⁸

In the end, Washington withdrew from the project, though one planter, Joseph Mayo, had freed more than 150 slaves in the hope of encouraging other Virginia planters.³⁹ Yet slave-holding gnawed at Washington, all the more intensely as he became the nation's first president in 1790. If Henry Wienczek is correct, Washington drafted a

public statement in which he would announce as he assumed the presidency that he was freeing some of his slaves and preparing others for eventual emancipation. Had this occurred, it would have established the precedent that the man elected to the highest office in the new republic should disavow slavery before taking office. The ripple effect was incalculable.⁴⁰

Washington drew back from this breathtaking action, but early in his second presidential term, he told his private secretary, Tobias Lear, of his hope ‘to liberate a certain species of property which I possess, very repugnant to my own feelings’. Wiencek explains that Washington had ‘experienced a moral epiphany’ and did not, in the early 1790s, believe that the obstacles to emancipation set forth by Lower South politicians were ‘insuperable to him at all’.⁴¹ Disappointed at Washington’s retreat from the grand experiment, Lafayette wrote to Washington with uncommon bitterness: ‘I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America, if I could have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery.’⁴² Washington would remain troubled by slavery; but his usefulness to the abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic from this point forward was limited. It bears remembering, however, that Lafayette’s scheme remained in Washington’s mind, finally bearing fruit when the first American president’s will revealed after his death in 1799 that he had provided for the freedom of his slaves. The will was published in many newspapers and his words – ‘All my Negroes are to be free’ – were featured in eulogies up and down the eastern seaboard.⁴³

Of all the Americans that European abolitionists wished to enlist in the cause, Jefferson was undoubtedly the most important, both because of his enormous reputation on both sides of the Atlantic and because, as one of Virginia’s major slave-owners (and the largest in Albemarle County), the precedent he would set if he were to take a lead in purging himself of slave-holding would almost certainly have global repercussions. As William Lloyd Garrison would say many years later, ‘What an all-conquering influence must have attended his illustrious example’ if he had seized the moment.⁴⁴

Once in Paris in late 1784, Jefferson embraced French reformers. Renewing their relationship established late in the American Revolution, Lafayette became one of Jefferson’s closest and most important friends in Paris.⁴⁵ At Lafayette’s home and in his social circle, Jefferson communed with other French intellectuals, fellow leaders of the Enlightenment, including Chastellux, Condorcet, Buffon, La Rochefoucauld, Volney, Raynal, and the Abbé Gregoire. Most important among them were the Abbé Raynal, fierce

campaigner against slavery, and the Marquis de Condorcet. Born in the same year as Condorcet, Jefferson was especially close to the man who stood as informal heir to Voltaire and was revising the monumental *Encyclopédie*. Dubbed the 'snowy volcano' for his calm exterior but passionate views, Condorcet topped his reform agenda with the abolition of slavery and the conferring of equal rights on women. As early as 1776 he had called slavery a 'horrible violation of human rights', and in 1781 he had written a widely circulated treatise that labelled slavery as a criminal act. Jefferson translated Condorcet's essay himself, rendering one sentence as even if 'the human race unani- mously voted approval [of slavery], the crime would remain a crime'.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Jefferson learned of the efforts of the English abolitionists Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce, who were seeking the end of the slave trade and the amelioration, if not the extinction, of slavery. The fiercely determined Sharp was also concerned about the fate of the black poor in England, some of whom were African American veterans of the British army in America who had fallen on hard times in the English capital. Sharp helped to implement a plan in 1786, with which Afro-Britons concurred, by which they would settle in an area to be called Sierra Leone on Africa's west coast. That the English had no title to this land bothered nobody except the Mende people who lived there. Later, Sharp's scheme to populate Sierra Leone embraced over one thousand Black Loyalists then living unhappily in Nova Scotia.⁴⁷

The influence of French and English abolitionists on Jefferson during his first several years in Paris was palpable. Prizing his inclusion among the intelligentsia, relishing their admiration of his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and far away from his Virginia plantations, he found no discomfort in aligning himself with a circle of cosmopolitan intellectuals who were decidedly antislavery and prepared to do something about it. None of his French friends seem to have challenged him about the black inferiority he had alleged in the *Notes*; they were simply inclined to believe that the degradation of blacks could be lifted along with the chains of slavery.

It speaks to Jefferson's inner turmoil that while he was telling American friends that the time was not ripe for floating an emancipation scheme, he was eager to redeem the Americans' reputation in Europe by telling European friends that the time *was* right for this. In response to Richard Price's finger-wagging letter of July 1785, Jefferson replied that in the northern states 'you may find here and there an opponent to your doctrine [of ending slavery] as you may

find here and there a robber and a murderer, but in no greater number'. Southward of the Chesapeake, he continued, most would oppose all emancipationist schemes, but in Virginia, 'from the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake with some degree of certainty, . . . the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find a respectable minority ready to adopt it in practice, a minority which for weight and worth of character preponderates against the greater number who have not the courage to divest their families of a property which however keeps their consciences inquiet'. Marylanders, he explained, were not as ready 'to begin the redress of this enormity', but here too the 'spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression' was tilting towards abolitionism because of 'the influx into office of young men grown and growing up' who 'have sucked in the principles of liberty as it were with their mother's milk'.⁴⁸

With these words, Jefferson all but said that leading men of conscience who wanted to abolish slavery, supported by 'the bulk of the people', needed only courage to place the 'weight and worth of [their] character' behind an emancipation scheme. Yet Jefferson was not ready to display that courage. Part of his reluctance was concern about his political aspirations, and linked to this was the fear of offending friends and fellow planters ready to charge him with betraying his class. He had heard early in 1786 that the Virginia legislature had taken up the revised constitution he had drafted in 1783 and had scornfully rejected a petition calling for a general manumission of Virginia's slaves. This, reported Madison, 'was rejected without dissent, but not without an avowed patronage of its principle by sundry respectable members'.⁴⁹ In this situation, those sympathetic to Jefferson's proposal to free all slaves born after the passage of the law once they reached adulthood held back the measure, reasoning that since the legislature had rejected the petition for a general emancipation they would scorn and revile proponents of such a weighty attempt to change the course of Virginia's history – and that of the nation.

This was much on Jefferson's mind in 1786 when he was mingling with French intellectuals who yearned to see America wash its hands of slavery and bring its laws into conformity with its revolutionary principles. His friend Lafayette kept up his fusillade against the weak-kneed American leaders, writing to John Adams, now the American minister to England, that 'in the cause of my black brethren, I feel myself warmly interested and most decidedly side, so far as respects them, against the white part of mankind. . . . It is to me a matter of great anxiety and concern, to find that this [slave] trade is sometimes

perpetuated under the flag of liberty, our dear and noble stripes to which virtue and glory have been constant standard bearers.⁵⁰ Also pressing Jefferson hard was Jean Nicolas Dêmeunier, the young French thinker and devotee of the Abbé Raynal who was charged with preparing a long essay on the United States for Condorcet's revised *Encyclopédie méthodique*. Why, asked Dêmeunier, in a series of queries to Jefferson in 1786, had Virginia passed a revised legal code without some promise of emancipation? Eager to have Virginia's reputation saved from opprobrious comments in a book that was sure to reach an international audience, Jefferson waffled in his reply. Though he and the abolition-minded George Wythe were unable to participate in the debate, he said, 'men of virtue' were not lacking to press cogent arguments for ending slavery; but 'they saw that the moment of doing it with success was not yet arrived, and that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivery to this oppressed description of men.'⁵¹

Continuing to avow his disgust with slavery, Jefferson scourged the man who 'inflicts on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose'. But from this unequivocal position Jefferson retreated to a position that would soon steer the course he maintained for the next four decades of his life. If he and his friends could not do what they knew must be done, they must patiently await God's intervention – 'the workings of an overruling providence'. When the slaves' 'groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness', he assured Dêmeunier, 'doubtless a god of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder', slavery would come to an end. Jefferson was experimenting, to use David Brion Davis's phrasing, 'with the locutions which for the rest of his life would characterize his response to such questions' about slavery. 'We do not ordinarily associate Jeffersonian democracy with a quietistic surrender to fate', Davis writes. 'And what would the younger generation whom he trusted to solve the slavery problem think when they heard their intellectual mentor recommending faith in providence as a substitute for social action?'⁵²

Shortly after his reply to Dêmeunier, Jefferson fell into a liaison that indirectly connected him with a clarion black voice becoming an important part of the English abolitionist movement. Entranced with the languorous, twenty-seven-year-old Maria Cosway, the loneliness of the Monticello widower converged with Cosway's marital unhap-

piness in a summer and autumn of passion. Meanwhile, across the Channel in London, the black servant of the Cosway family was writing the fieriest – and longest – abolitionist pamphlet of the late eighteenth century. Ottobah Cugoano, enslaved at age thirteen in West Africa in 1770, had gained his freedom in England in 1772, was baptized at St James's Church the next year, and had entered the service of Richard Cosway in about 1784. By this time, he was becoming a leader of London's Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor and a friend of the reformer Scipione Piattoli, adviser to Poland's King Stanislaus and drafter of the Third of May Constitution. One of those remarkable Africans who gained literacy and put it to use, the twenty-six-year-old black Londoner was at work on his *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* at just the time the woman of the household in which he served, away from her foppish husband, described as 'a preposterous little Dresden china manikin', was consorting with Jefferson in Paris in 1786. Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments* came off the press in 1787, one of the first antislavery pamphlets to flow from the pen of an African-born ex-slave. A friend of Olaudah Equiano and Thomas Clarkson, Cugoano became part of the growing international campaign to end the slave trade and slavery.⁵³

Did Jefferson read Cugoano's *Thoughts and Sentiments* while playing cat and mouse with the wife of Cugoano's master? Jefferson could have read either the first edition of 1787 or a French translation published in Paris the next year. The Cosways certainly knew of the publication, for it was extraordinary for a person serving in the household of the court painter to publish a book on a touchy subject. Maria Cosway was fascinated with music, art, and Jefferson, so she may have found the muscular attack on slavery by her servant an inconvenient topic of discussion with her paramour. But Jefferson's head, if not his heart, must have caught the poignancy that the woman who had aroused passion in him as never before also held in her employ a former slave who had gained a public platform in London through his attack on slavery.

The year 1788 marked a turn, if only briefly, in Jefferson's thinking about his role as slave master. With Cugoano's attack on slavery circulating widely, Jefferson's friend Brissot de Warville took the lead in founding the Société des Amis des Noirs as a political lobby to end France's involvement in slavery and the slave trade. Lafayette, Condorcet, and other of Jefferson's friends quickly joined and implored the Master of Monticello to add his name. Dodging behind diplomatic protocol, Jefferson argued that he could not join for fear

of charges that he was meddling in French politics (though he soon became involved in the intricate politics of the French Revolution). Yet Jefferson was caught up in the vibrant salon discussions that typically turned from gardens, literature, science, and philosophy to the universal rights of man. Amidst this, after receiving a letter from Edward Bancroft asking his views on an experiment in Virginia, where Joseph Mayo, a Quaker, had freed his scores of slaves and then hired them as tenant farmers, Jefferson announced an astounding change of position. Though he had only fragmentary reports that the Quaker experiment had not gone well, perhaps because freed slaves without title to their own property would not work hard, Jefferson vowed that 'I am decided on my . . . return to America to . . . import as many Germans as I have grown slaves.' He would allot fifty acres to each family, slave and German intermingled, and 'place all on the footing of the Metayers [leaseholders] of Europe. Their children shall be brought up as others are in habits of property and foresight, and I have no doubt but that they will be good citizens.' He would retain from the marketable commodities they harvested 'a moderate portion of it as may be a just equivalent for the use of the lands they labour and the stocks and other necessary advances'.⁵⁴

Jefferson's plan to intermingle freed slaves and German immigrants on his Virginia land sharply reversed the conviction he so firmly expressed in his *Notes on Virginia* that emancipated slaves would have to be sent to some distant land because admixing with whites would never work peacefully. Is it possible that he had changed his mind not only because of his ardent friendship with his Enlightenment friends in Paris and his amorous connection with Cugoano's employer but also because of another warmth that was developing, at just this moment, with a beautiful young woman barely beyond adolescence in his own Paris household – the charming teenager Sally Hemings?⁵⁵

For all the comments above regarding the limits of the American Revolution's ramifications outside of Europe, R. R. Palmer's focus on the reverberations of the revolution within Europe bears amendment, as the discussion above suggests, in the matter of race, slavery, and the claims of enslaved Africans in the Americas to the universal rights asserted in the Declaration of Independence. In the half-century after independence, the United States made its descent into the unenviable and contradictory status of slave-holding republic. Though the slave trade had ended in 1808, an illegal slave trade still flourished and,

through natural increase, the slave population had quadrupled from half a million when the American Revolution began to nearly two million in 1820. Jefferson's Friends of Liberty on the other side of the Atlantic, understanding that the United States had descended into a 'racial Thermidor', would not leave the Sage of Monticello alone.⁵⁶ Coming to remind him of the overdue universal freedom promised in his Declaration of Independence was the Marquis de Lafayette, who visited Monticello in 1824 and 1825.

For eleven days Lafayette stayed at Monticello, sharing meals and earnest conversation with the mansion's master. Brushing aside the fervent idolatry he had encountered in scores of villages and cities, Lafayette did not hide his bitterness at the growth of slavery and the vast racial gulf that now yawned between whites and blacks. Speaking openly in the presence of Israel, Jefferson's slave, who waited on their tables and stood postillion on his master's carriage, Lafayette told Jefferson 'that the slaves ought to be free; no man could rightfully hold ownership to his brother man'; and that 'he gave his best services to and spent his money on behalf of the Americans freely because he felt that they were fighting for a great and noble principle: the freedom of mankind, that instead of all being free a portion were held in bondage', which made him grieve. Israel later related how he 'treasured [the conversation] up in [my] heart'. But Jefferson demurred. He contended that slavery should be extinguished, but that the proper time had not yet arrived, not indicating, Israel recalled, 'when or in what manner'.⁵⁷

In what amounted to a last-ditch effort to rescue Jefferson from his own demons, Lafayette did not soften his displeasure with slavery after Jefferson adopted a defensive posture. The French hero 'never missed an opportunity to defend the right *which all men without exception* have to liberty', wrote his secretary, who accompanied him throughout the thirteen-month American pilgrimage.⁵⁸ Such forthrightness soon led Virginians to cordon off slaves as the French hero passed through the state from town to town. This became apparent after his travelling party left Monticello. After four days at James Madison's Montpelier estate, Lafayette proceeded to Fredericksburg. Slave owners there were asked to keep their slaves out of sight when the procession made its way through the town, while 'all colored people are warned that they are not to appear on any of the streets through which the procession will pass'.⁵⁹ In Savannah, Georgia, white authorities similarly banned blacks from all celebrations, but that did not stop Lafayette from searching out – after the parade – an old slave he had known nearly half a century before. Once again, the universalistic principles of the

American Revolution were emanating from the eastern rather than western rim of the Atlantic world.

By this time, African Americans were looking to England and its Canadian province in the hope that 'the cause of America', as Paine had phrased it, 'is in a great measure the cause of all mankind'. Indeed, black Americans had been embracing Great Britain, not the United States, as the avatar of freedom since the War of 1812 when thousands of Chesapeake area slaves claimed their freedom, as they had done in the American Revolution, by fleeing to the arms of the British army where freedom awaited them. Moreover, they knew as well as everyone else that, after the British and American abolition of the slave trade beginning in 1808, it was the British Royal Navy that more strenuously enforced the ban than the republican American government.⁶⁰ America, it was widely thought among those who were black, had betrayed their revolution. It would take some time to express this in the starkest terms, but by the 1840s Frederick Douglass would say of the United States: 'It is not a true democracy, but a bastard republicanism that enslaves one-sixth of the population.'⁶¹

Mastering the art of dramatic pronouncements, Thomas Paine was not far from the mark in 1776 by opining that the American Revolution would affect posterity 'even to the end of time'. At that time, only a few months after arriving in America, he was hopeful for both American independence and a radical cleansing of colonial society. Years later, returning to the United States in 1802 after a tumultuous experience in revolutionary France, he choked at what he found. In a series of letters 'To the Citizens of the United States', the threadbare Paine held to account the Americans in whom he had invested so much hope. Calling his missives 'sparks from the altar of Seventy-Six', he lamented the retreat in America from 'a *new system* of government in which the rights of *all* men should be preserved'.⁶² Paine would carry such disappointments to his grave. Among them was the growth of slavery in the American South. What Jefferson imagined would blossom into an 'empire of liberty' in North America was turning into an empire of slavery, in part because the Sage of Monticello had held himself in bondage to the southern patrician slaveocracy rather than heeding the supplications of his transatlantic friends, who had argued for a quarter-century before he died that Jefferson could secure his place in history by stepping forward on the 'boisterous sea of liberty' to lead the abolitionist crusade.

Index

- abolitionism
 and the Caribbean 88–91
 dominant Europe-centred narratives
 on 88
 influence of Haitian Revolution on
 27, 41, 86, 89, 90, 91
- Adams, John xiii, 7, 8, 14, 40–1
- Adelman, Jeremy xxii, 56, 59, 146
- Africa xviii, 101–24, 210
 and Atlantic commercialization/
 commerce 101, 102, 105,
 114–19, 121–2, 124
 commodities traded with Europeans
 115
 ‘communal ethos’ 101, 105, 111,
 112–13, 114, 117, 118, 119, 123,
 124
 development of major trading
 networks 116
 early trade in 111
 emergence of warrior polities
 117–18
 European commercial investment in
 108
 financing of African merchants by
 European credit 117–18, 119,
 120, 123
 gold sources 108, 115
 historical dynamics of commercial
 capital in 110–14
 historical dynamics of debt 119–20
 increase in competitive individuation
 and violence 116–17
 parallels with Europe 121–4
 populist uprisings 117
 slavery 108, 110, 117–18, 119, 121,
 124
 and Soninke traders 111–12, 116
 ‘Age of Revolutions’
 origin of term xii–xiii
- Algeria 210
- Aliens Act (1793) 48, 49
- Allen, Richard 9
- American loyalists 37–58
 absence of in United States
 historiography 39
 black 41, 46, 47, 57
 in Britain 55
 British relief programme for 46–7
 comparison with French émigrés
 50–7
 destination of migrants 46, 47
 impact of in new settings 47
 indemnification for property losses
 46–7
 migration of and numbers involved
 38–9, 41, 42, 46
 parallels and differences between
 French émigrés and 50–1
 persecution of and legislation against
 42–3
 reasons for migrating 42
 response to measures against 43
 role played in reconfiguration of
 imperial government in Canada
 47, 53
 similarities with Saint Domingue
 émigrés 51–2
 stereotyping of 39
- American Revolution xii, xiii, xv,
 xxix, 1–9, 37, 51, 211
 contrast between French Revolution
 and 38, 51
 impact of on British Empire 52–3,
 56
 international impact of 2–3
 migration of American loyalists *see*
 American loyalists
 Palmer’s view of 1
 perception of as civil war 39

Index

289

- American Revolution – *continued*
 reasons for muted resonance in
 Atlantic world and beyond
 4–5
 and slavery issue 3, 4–19
 spread of key elements of ideology of
 1
- American War of Independence 2–3
- Americas 62, 81, 106, 108
 map 67
 slave trade 66
 unrest in 1780s 64
see also individual countries
- Amiens, Peace of (1802) 50, 68, 169
- Anderson, Benedict 35
- Anglo-Dutch War, Fourth (1780–4)
 168
- Anglo-Mysore War (1787–9) 178
- Arblay, general Alexandre d' 49
- Aristotle 139, 140
- Armistead, James 10–11
- Armitage, David xii, 31, 98, 213
*The Declaration of Independence: A
 Global History* 2
*The Ideological Origins of the British
 Empire* 28–9
- Arnold, Benedict 37, 47
- Artigas, José 78
- Atlantic commerce/commercialization
 and Africa 101, 102, 105, 114–19,
 121–2, 124
- Auckland, George Eden, 1st earl of
 156
- Aurangzeb, Emperor 146
- Averröes (Ibn Rushd) 139
- Avicenna (Ibn Sina) 139
- Azimabad xiii
- Bahamas
 settlement of American loyalists
 47
- Bailyn, Bernard 41–2
- al-Bakri, Sheikh 'Ali 134–5
- Balkans xxviii
- Bancroft, Edward 17
- 'bare sticks' 192
- Batavian Legion 172
- Batavian Republic 21, 168
- Batsányi, István
 'On the Changes in France' xxiii
- Bayly, C. A. xix, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 61,
 126, 157–8, 176, 209
The Birth of the Modern World 3–4,
 145–6
- Bazin, Louis xvi
- Beaumetz, Bon Albert de 49
- Beaumont, Élie de 8
- Beccaria, Cesare 31
- Belgrano, Manuel 69
- Benezet, Anthony 7, 9
- Bengal xvi, 146, 158, 211
 conquest of by East India Company
 xii–xiii, 145, 147, 149
- Benot, Yves 92, 93
La Révolution française 23
- Bentham, Jeremy 6
- Benton, Lauren 61
- Bernier, François xv, xvi
- Bernoyer, François 134, 143
- Biassou, Georges 97
- black loyalists 41, 46, 47, 57
- Blackburn, Robin 26, 27, 89, 92, 93,
 96, 97
- Blanning, T. C. W. 212
- Bogle, George 160
- Boigne, Adèle d'Osmond de 49
- Bolívar, Simón 27, 75, 78–9, 99
- Bonaparte, Joseph xxx
- Bonaparte, Louis 169
- Bonaparte, Napoleon *see* Napoleon
- 'Book of Negroes, The' 46
- Bose, Sugata 159, 163
- Bosnia xxvii
- Botany Bay 53
- Bowen, Huw 155
- Boxer Rebellion (1898–1901) xxxii
- Brazil 64, 66, 71, 74, 76–7, 78, 80, 86,
 107
- Brewer, John 211
- 'brig men' 113

- Brissot de Warville, Jacques Pierre 16
- Britain
- abolition of slavery in colonies (1833) 84, 85, 91
 - abolition of slave trade (1807) 19, 212
 - American loyalists in and relief programme for 46–7, 55
 - and American Revolution 2
 - cotton industry 144
 - French émigrés in 48–9, 52, 54, 55–6
 - and India *see* India
 - industrialization 144
 - invasion and occupation of Java (1811–16) 56, 167, 169, 175, 176–80, 187
 - sponsoring of émigré landing at Quiberon (1795) 48
 - support of French Catholic priests 55
 - trade with Asia 154
- British Empire 52, 56–7, 147, 210–11
- expansion of 56
 - impact of American Revolution on 52–3, 56
 - impact of French wars on 56
- Brown, Christopher L. 215
- Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc, comte de 12
- Burke, Edmund 25, 32, 55, 147, 148
- Burlamaqui, Jean-Jacques 31
- Burma 162, 189, 215
- Burney, Charles 55
- Burney, Fanny (Madame d'Arblay) 49, 55
- Cádiz, constitution of (1810) 213
- Calcutta 162
- Camus, Albert 210
- Canada
- black loyalists in 47, 53
- Carey, Peter xxvi, 167
- Caribbean xviii–xix, 83–100
- and abolitionism 88–91
 - colonial rule 83–4, 99
 - decline in economic and geopolitical importance 85–6, 100
 - decline in slave population 86
 - free coloured activism 87, 88, 93, 94
 - impact of abolition of legal racial discrimination in colonies 87–8
 - influence of events in on French politics 28
 - map 90
 - revolutionary change 86–7
 - and slavery 27, 28, 83, 84–5, 88–91, 100
 - sugar production 85, 86
 - see also* Haitian Revolution; Saint Domingue
- Cartwright, John 7
- Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, viscount 78
- Catherine II the Great, Empress xvii, 212
- Catholics
- targeting of in Britain 55
 - see also* non-juring priests
- causation xix, xxix–xxx
- Césaire, Aimé 92
- Ceylon 211, 213, 216
- Chapelain, Jean xv–xvi
- Charles IV, King of Spain xxx
- Charles X, King of France (Comte d'Artois) 44, 48, 50
- Chastellux, François Jean, marquis de 12
- Chevallier, Pierre Frederic Henri 184
- China xxvi, 160
- map 198–9
 - see also* Qing empire
- Chinese, in Java 180–6
- Christophe, Henry 97, 98
- Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) 42, 44
- civil war(s)

- African 116
 American 216
 American and French Revolutions as
 38, 39, 51
 English 42
 Spanish American 60, 70–1, 81–2
 Clarkson, Thomas 16
 Clive, Robert xiii, xvi, 187
 Coatsworth, John H. 2
 Cobb, Richard 40
 Cole, Juan xxvi, 125, 159, 164
 Colwill, Elizabeth 26, 28
 commercialization
 Africa and Atlantic 101, 102, 105,
 114–19, 121–2, 124
 history of process xviii, 101, 105–10
 Committee for the Affairs of East
 Indian Trade and Colonies 168
 Committee of Public Safety 49
 ‘communal ethos’, African 101, 105,
 111, 112–13, 114, 117, 118, 119,
 123, 124
 Compagnie des Indes 29, 159
 comparison xxiii, xxxi, 152, 165–6,
 203–8
 Condorcet, Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de
 Caritat, marquis de 8, 12, 13, 16,
 28
 Reflections on Negro Slavery 8
 Constant, Benjamin 214
 Constitutional Act (1791) 53
 Constitutional Convention (US) 9–10
 constitutionalism 60, 61
 constitutions xii, 213–14
 Continental Friends of Liberty 6
 Cortés, Hernán 107
 Cosway, Maria 15–16
 Cosway, Richard 16
 Council of the Indies (Spanish) 66
 Coutinho, José Joaquim da Cunha
 Azeredo 69
 Craton, Michael 89
 creolization, French-Muslim xxvii,
 125–42
 crisis, model of xix, xxii
 see also General Crisis, World Crisis
 Crossley, Pamela 211
 Crouzet, François xxv
 Cuba 27, 84, 85, 86
 Cugoano, Ottobah 16
 *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of
 Slavery* 16
 cultural factors xxv
 Daendels, Willem 167, 169, 172–6,
 178, 187
 Danton, Georges 29
 Darwin, John xix
 Davis, David Brion 15, 88
 Day, Thomas 7, 8
 Declaration of Independence, US
 (1776) 4, 6, 17, 21, 213
 Declaration of Independence, Haitian
 (1804) 98
 Declaration of the Rights of Man and
 Citizen (1789) 22, 31, 36, 94–5
 decolonization xii, 83
 Dêmeunier, Jean Nicolas 15
 Deschamps, Léon 91
 Deshpande, Prachi 151
 Dessalines, Jean-Jacques 97, 98
 Desvernois, Nicolas Philibert, baron 131
 Diponegoro, Pangéran 170, 171–2,
 180, 187
 divine-right monarchy 129
 Doguereau, Jean-Pierre 138
 Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo)
 84
 Douglass, Frederick 19
 Drake, Francis 62
 Drescher, Seymour 88, 89, 91, 93
 dress
 and French Revolution 34–5
 Dubois, Laurent 28, 93, 97
 Duchet, Michèle 88
 Dundas, Henry, 1st viscount Melville
 158
 Dunmore, John Murray, 4th earl of 6
 Durkheim, Emile 34
 Dutch *see* Holland

- Dutch East India Company (VOC)
167, 168
- Dutch West India Company 107
- East Asia xxvi
- East India Company xiii, 49, 148, 153,
162, 211
American loyalists in army of 47
closer supervision of under India Act
53
conquest and rule of Bengal
xii–xiii, 145, 147, 149
dismantling of commercial monopoly
156
extension of operations 158–9
as major pillar in London stock
market 154–5
reform of 157
war with Burma (1825–6) 162
see also Dutch East India Company
- East Indies 169
- economic
and political xxiv–xxv
- Egypt xxvi, 125–43, 211
attitudes towards Islam by French
officers and civilians 141–2
condemnation of Islam by militant
partisans 133–4
condemnation of Sufis by al-Jabarti
135–7
conquest of by Napoleon 21, 125,
128, 159
criticism of Sufi spectacles by
Bernoyer 134–5, 137
Greek theology in Islamic debate
139–40, 143
invasion of by Britain 56
Mahdist revolt against French 137–8
Napoleon's Islam policy 126,
128–32, 138, 141, 142
Ottoman rule 127
sharing of cynicism about Sufi
practices between Bernoyer and
elite Egyptians 135–7, 143
émigrés *see* French émigrés
- Engelhard, Nicolaus 174
- Engels, Friedrich xxiv
- England *see* Britain
- Equiano, Olaudah 16
- Esteban, Javier Cuenca 155
- Étang, Antoine de l' 49
- 'Eurasian Revolution' xix
- Europe 104, 105–10
domination of xvii, 144, 145–6
- Fabre d'Eglantine, Philippe François
Nazaire 29
- Fatih, Sayyid Badawi ibn 136
- Ferdinand VII, King 71, 72, 76, 77–8
- firearms
in private hands in China 201–2
- First World War xxviii
- Flügel, J. C. 34
- Founding Fathers, American 5, 6
- France 107, 159
abolition of slavery (1794) 21, 26,
92–3
conquest of Algeria 210
and India 159
revenues 205
- Franklin, Benjamin 7–10
- Free African Society 9
- free trade imperialism 215
- French colonies 21, 23, 28–9, 36
influence of events in on French
Revolution 28–9
and slavery 23–4
see also Saint Domingue
- French émigrés 37–58
amnesty given to and return to
France 50
in Britain 48–9, 52, 54, 55–6
composition 41
depiction of in historiography
39–40
emigration to India 49
geographical distribution of Third
Estate emigration 45
measures taken against 44–5
French émigrés – *continued*

- migration of and numbers involved 38–9, 41, 45
- monitoring of activities in European states 48
- pace of migration 43–4
- parallels and differences with
American loyalists 50–7
- property claims 50
- reasons for migration 42
- sheltering of in foreign states 47–8
- in United States 49
- and women 45
- French Revolution xii, xiii, xvii, xxiii, 20–36, 51
- Burke on 25
- commercialization of politics 32–3
- connections to the broader world 20–2
- contrast between American
Revolution and 38, 51
- and Declaration of the Rights of
Man and Citizen 22, 31, 36, 94–5
- and dress 34–5
- as experienced in Afro-Asia 126
- expulsion of non-juring priests 44, 49, 55
- and Haitian Revolution 3, 22, 26–7, 28, 91–9, 100
- and Indies Company 29
- influence of events in French
colonies on 28–30
- internalist accounts 20, 22–4, 32, 52
- international influence of xxx, 25
- migration of French émigrés *see*
French émigrés
- neglect of colonial dimension of 23–4
- politicization of daily life 32, 33
- and rights of free blacks 28
- rivalry with Britain as cause 24, 29
- role of global framework in
precipitating 30
- September massacres 44, 54
- sources for the Rights of Man 31–2
- Friend of the People, The* 20
- Friends of Liberty 18
- Frost, Alan 158
- Fujian 197, 200
- Furet, François xxxii, 34
Interpreting the French Revolution 23
- Galib, Sheyh xxviii
- Garrigus, John 28
- Garrison, William Lloyd 12
- Gauthier, Florence 26, 93
- Geggus, David xviii–xix, xxii, 22, 28, 83
- General Crisis xix, xxii
- Genovese, Eugene 95, 97
- global history xiv
- global ‘turn’, in historical studies 33–4, 36, 209
- globalization xiv, 145, 158, 161, 164–5
- Godechot, Jacques xvi
France and the Atlantic Revolution 95
- gold, African 107, 115
- Gold Coast 108, 115, 116, 117
- Goldstone, Jack xxv
- Gordon Riots (1780) 55
- Gordon, William 11
- ‘Great Masculine Renunciation’ 34
- Greek learning
and Islam 139–40
- Grégoire, Henri, abbé 12, 28
- Grenada 87
- ‘Grito de Ipiranga’ (1822) 80
- Grotius, Hugo 31
- Guadeloupe 28
- Guiana 49
- Guizhou 189
- gunpowder revolution 106
- Gusmão, Alexandre de 63
- Habermas, Jürgen 215
- Habsburgs xxvii, 107
- Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) xvii, 4, 23, 25, 26–8, 85, 86, 10
- Haitian Revolution – *continued*

- and French Revolution 3, 22, 26–7, 28, 91–9, 100
 influence on abolitionism 27, 41, 86, 89, 90, 91
 lack of impact of American Revolution on 3
 and United States 27
- Haiti xv, 22, 98–9, 212
 Declaration of Independence (1804) 98
 massacre of French colonists 98
 US recognition 3
see also Saint Domingue
- Hamilton, Alexander 49
- Han Chinese 189, 195
- Hanover, House of xxx
- Harper, Tim 163
- Hartley, David 8, 9
- Hasan al-Kafrawi, Sheikh 137
- Hastings, Warren 25, 53, 149, 158
- Havana, Masonic plots in 87
- Heber, Reginald 215
- Hegel, G. W. F. xviii
- Hemings, Sally 17
- Hidalgo Revolt (1810) 74
- Hilton, Boyd 155, 157
- Hobsbawm, Eric xix, xxiv
The Age of Revolution xvii–xviii, 144–5
- Ho Chi Minh 21–2
- Holland
 French occupation of 56
 and Java War 170
 rule in Java 167, 168, 169, 170, 172–6
 war with Britain (1780–3) 168
- Hong Kong 159
- human rights 31–2, 38, 214
- Hunan 189
- Hunt, Lynn xxx, 50, 52, 212
- Husayn (grandson of Muhammad) 135
- Hutchinson, Thomas 43
- hybrid legitimacy 61
- Hyder Ali 159
- Hyderabad, Nizam of 56, 162
- Iberian empires 59–82
 defensive positions of 62–3
 demise and reasons 76–80
 driving out of French 75
 erupting of civil wars 75
 flourishing of trade within 68
 impact of Revolutionary Wars 68–9, 71
 internal discord within 75–80
 linking of interests of metropole with colonies 68–9
 militarization of politics 80
 Napoleon's campaign against and response to occupation 71–5, 210
 and property 70
 reconstruction strategies after French occupation 76–8
 reforms and provoking of unrest 63–5
 and slave trade 65–6
 sources of friction in colonies 73–5
 steps taken to preserve regimes under attack from Napoleon 72–3
 trade reforms 63–4
 and Treaty of Tordesillas 62
- Ibrahim Bey 127–8
- ideology xxv
 'imperial revolutions'
 age of xxii, 56
 and state formation in South Asia 144–52
- Indemnity Bill (1825) 50
- independence 31
- India xii, 21, 56, 144–52, 187, 213, 216
 Anglo-French conflict in southern 147
 bankruptcy of agency houses in Calcutta 162–3
 British rule and expansion in 145, 147, 149, 150, 163–4

- India – *continued*
 decline of Mughal empire 146, 147, 149–50
 decline in textile exports 161
 demand for imperial reform 157–8
 East India Company's conquest of Bengal xii–xiii, 145, 147, 149
 effect of colonial governance 151–2
 emigration of American loyalists to 47
 and France 159
 global repercussions of British conquest of 153
 influence on British domestic and political affairs 155–7
 invasion of by Cossacks (1801) 160
 and opium trade 201
 Persian connection 164
 poor Britons serving in British forces in 155–6
 presence of French émigrés in 49
 role of in British trade and value of to Britain 154–5
 India Act (1784) 53, 156
 Indian Ocean 146
 Indian Rebellion (1857–8) xiii, xxxii, 145
 indigo 86
 individualism 108–9
 Indochina 216
 Indonesia 171, 188
 independence from Dutch (1945) 170, 172
see also Java
 Industrial Revolution xii, xvii, xxiv, 144
 infanticide
 China and selective 191–2
 Iran xvi, 211
 Ireland 55, 210
 Irish rebellion (1798) 210
 Islam
 engagement with Greek learning 139–40
 five pillars of 130–1
 and Java 170, 171–2
 and Napoleon's policy in Egypt 126, 128–32, 138, 141, 142
 and Qing empire 202
 al-Jabarti, 'Abd al-Rahman 129–30, 131, 132, 134–6, 140, 141, 142
 al-Jabarti, Hasan 140
 Jacobins 38
 Jahangir (Mughal emperor) 202
 Jamaica 85
 'Christmas Rebellion' (1831) 3, 91
 slave rebellion (1776) 3
 slavery 27
 sugar and coffee production 86
 James, C. L. R. 92
The Black Jacobins 26, 28
 Janissaries 127, 211
 Japan xxvi, xxxi, 216
 Jasanoff, Maya xxvi, 37, 159
 Jaubert, Pierre Amedée 131
 Jaurès, Jean 23, 93
 Java xxvi, 56, 167–88
 British invasion and occupation (1811–16) 56, 159, 167, 169, 175, 176–80, 187
 Chinese in 180–6
 and Diponegoro 170, 171–2, 180, 187
 divisions at courts during Dutch rule 173–4
 and Dutch East India Company 167
 Dutch occupation (1794–5) 168
 Edict on Ceremonial and Etiquette (1808) 182–3
 Franco-Dutch regime of Daendels (1808–11) 167, 168, 169, 170, 172–6, 178, 187
 impact of 1812 treaties on 178–9
 and Islam 170, 171–2
 legal reforms under Raffles 178–9
 looting of Yogyakarta *kraton* by British 177–8, 179–80
 and opium retail trade 185–6

- Java – *continued*
 pre-1808 history 168–9
 tiger and buffalo fights 175–6
 tollgates (*bandar*) and impact of
 180–4, 185
 Java War (1825–30) 169–70, 171, 179,
 180, 186
 Jay, John 7
 Jean-François (Haitian general) 97
 Jefferson, Thomas 2, 7
 and Maria Cosway 15–16
 and Haitian Revolution 27
Notes on the State of Virginia 17
 and slavery 12–15, 18, 19
 João VI, Prince 75
 Jones, Absalom 9
 Jones, Sir William 164
 José I, King 64
 Joubin, Rebecca 138
 Jovellanos, Gaspar Melchor de 71
- al-Kabir, Yusuf Bey 137
 ‘Kew Letters’ 168
 Keynes, John Maynard 153–4
 Knox, Henry 49
 Kokandis 189, 195
 Koselleck, Reinhart xv
 Kuhn, Philip
Soulstealers 216
- La Marche, Jean François de 54
 La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, François-
 Alexandre-Frédéric, duc de 12,
 49
 Lafayette, Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch
 Gilbert Du Motier, marquis de
 10–11, 12, 14–15, 16, 18, 28, 38
 Langley, Lester
The Americas in the Age of Revolution
 2
 Latin America 1, 2, 25, 56, 61, 99
 Law, John 29
 Lear, Tobias 12
 Lee, Richard Henry 7
 Levant Company 153
- Lib Sing 184
 Lind, John
Three Letters to Dr Price 6
 Loango 116, 118
 Louis XVI, King of France xxvii, 44,
 96
 Louis XVIII (Comte de Provence) 48
 Louis-Philippe, King of France 50,
 159
 Louisiana 4, 21, 27
 Louverture, Toussaint 92, 96, 97, 98
 Loyalist Associations 56
 Loyalist Claims Commission 47, 55
 loyalists, American *see* American loyalists
 loyalty oaths 43, 44
 Luanda 66, 116, 117, 118
- Macartney, George, 1st earl Macartney
 160
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington 165
 MacGillivray, Mauritz 183
 Madiou, Thomas 96
 Madison, James 14, 18, 61
 Mahdi 137–8, 142
 Mahmud II, Sultan xvi
 Malesherbes, Chrétien Guillaume de
 Lamoignon de 8
 Malthus, Thomas xxiv
 Manchuria 194, 200
 Manigat, Leslie 99
 Marat, Jean-Paul 20
 Marathas 147, 151
 Markovits, Claude 163
 Marshall, P. J. 52
The Making and Unmaking of Empires
 2
 Martinique 95
 Marx, Karl 33
 al-Masiri, Sheikh 131
 Matthews, Gelien 89
 Mauritius 176
 Mayo, Joseph 11, 17
 Mecca xxviii
 Medina xxviii
 Merapi, Mount (Java) 169

Index

297

- merchant capitalists
 Iberian empires 64–5, 66, 67, 68,
 69, 70, 77
 merchant guilds 64
 Metcalf, Thomas 159
 Mexico 65, 73–4, 81
 Miller, Joseph C. xviii, 101, 210
 Millikan, Max xvii
 Mines, Mattison 126
 Ming empire xxii
 Minto, Gilbert Elliot, 1st earl of 177,
 187
 Mintz, Sidney 83
 Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Riqueti,
 comte de 28
 Miranda, Francisco de 56
 Mississippi Bubble 29
 Mohawk Indians 41
 Moiret, Joseph-Marie 132, 133
 monarchical rule 105–6, 108, 109
 Monroe, James 27
 Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat,
 baron de 61
 More, Hannah 55
 Morillo, general Pablo 77
 Mughal Empire xv, xxix, 146–7, 209
 decline of 146, 147, 149–50
 invasion of by Nadir Shah (1738–9)
 146
 Munro, Sir Thomas 165
 Muntinghe, Harman Warner 187
 Murad Bey 127–8
 Muslims 111, 125 *see also* Islam
 Mustafa, Haji xvi
 Mustafâ IV, Sultan xvi, xxvii
 Mysore 21, 56, 211

 Nadir Shah xiii, xvi, 146
 Naples 21
 Napoleon xxi, 21, 27, 33, 50, 57, 71,
 92
 attempt to re-establish slavery in
 Caribbean 26, 29, 85
 conquest and occupation of Egypt
 21, 125, 128, 159
 Continental Blockade 215
 and Iberian campaign 71–5, 210
 and India 159
 Islam policy 126, 128–31, 138, 141,
 142
 Napoleonic wars 59, 169
 Nash, Gary B. xv, 1
 nation-state 215
 National Assembly, French 92
 National Convention, French 21
 ‘national honour’, concept of 53
 nationalism xii, 35
 New Brunswick 47
 newspapers 215–16
 Ngabèhi, Pangéran 179
 Nicholls, David 98
 Niello-Sargy, Jean-Gabriel de 137
 non-juring priests 44, 49, 50, 55
North Briton, The 32
 Nova Scotia 47, 53

 O’Brien, Patrick 154
 Olavide, Pablo de 62
 opium trade 160, 162, 201
 in Java 185–6
 Opium War (1839–42) xii, 162, 189,
 216
 Oswald, Richard 8, 9
 Othello (slave) 8
 Ottoman Empire xxvii–xxviii, 21, 56,
 107, 127, 131–2, 146, 209
 Islamic law courts 132
 Janissary infantry 127
 survival of and reasons xxviii–xxix,
 211
 Ouidah 119

 Pacific Ocean xxiii
 Páez, José Antonio 78
 Paine, Thomas xiii, xvi, 1–2, 6, 19, 38,
 214
 Common Sense 1–2
 ‘Letters To the Citizens of the United
 States’ 19
 Palmer, John 162–3

- Palmer, R. R. 17, 20, 23
The Age of the Democratic Revolution
 xvi–xvii, xviii, 95
- Paris, Treaty of (1783) 46
- Parthasarathi, Prasanna 161
- Paul I, Tsar 160
- pawns, slaves as 112
- Pax Britannica xxiv–xxv
- Peabody, Norbert 151–2
- Pedro I, Regent of Brazil 80
- Pellerin, Jean-Charles 33
- Pennsylvania Abolition Society 10
- Pepperell, Sir William 54
- Perlin, Frank 150–1, 152
- Persian language 164
- Pétion, Alexandre 27, 98–9
- Philadelphia 9
- Philippines 213
- Piar, Manuel 78
- Piattoli, Scipione 16
- Pichegru, general Jean-Charles 168
- Pindaris 215
- Piquet, Jean-Daniel 93
- Pitt, William, the Elder 211
- Pitt the Younger, William 55, 156, 158
- Place, Lionel 126, 141
- Plassey, Battle of (1757) xiii
- Pocock, J. G. A. 213
- Polish revolution (1794) 23
- political outcomes
 and economic outcomes xxiv–xxv
- political thought 212–13
- Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho e
 Melo, marquês de 64
- Pombo, José Ignacio de 69
- Pomeranz, Kenneth xxiv, xxvi, 154,
 162, 189, 211, 216
- Popkin, Jeremy 26
- Portugal/Portuguese Empire 59
 commercial system 63
 internal discord 79–80
 resistance to reforms 64
 response to Napoleon's campaign
 against 71
see also Iberian empires
- Price, Dr Richard 5–6, 7, 8, 13
Observations on the American Revolution
 5–6, 6–7
- Protestantism, millenarian 202
- Prussia
 and French émigrés 48
 public sphere 216
- Puerto Rico 84
- Pufendorf, Samuel 31
- Punjab 147, 159, 211, 214
- Qing empire 189–208, 211, 214, 216
 absence of foreign threats and urban
 uprisings 197
 defeat of in Opium War 189
 foreign trade 200
 frontiers 195–6
 influence of foreign ideas 202
 Jahangir's invasion (1826) 202
 land and tenancy 190–1
 migration 193
 obstacles to industrial growth
 193–4
 and opium trade 201
 political and demographic
 reinforcement 191–2
 proliferation of firearms in private
 hands 201–2
 rebellions 189, 195–6, 200
 reforms 206
 regional differences 193
 revenue-raising 203–6
 road towards crisis 193–4
 rural unrest 197
 successes 207
 wage labourers 190
 and White Lotus Rebellion 189,
 195, 204, 206, 207
- Quebec 47, 53
- Quiberon Bay, Battle of (1795) 48
- Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford 167,
 169, 176, 177, 178, 185, 187
- Ragatz, Lowell 86
- Raimond, Julien 26, 94, 95

- Rainsford, Marcus 28
- Rajput kingship 151–2
- Ramayana* xxviii
- Ranjit Singh 147, 159, 211
- al-Rashid, Harun 139
- Ray, Rajat Kanta 163
- Raynal, Guillaume-Thomas-François, abbé xvi, 8, 12–13, 15
Histoire des deux Indes 28
- republicanism xv, xxxii, 56
- Restoration, French 40
- Réveillon Riot (1789) (Paris) xxvii
- revolution, concept and meaning of xiv–xvi
- revolutions, European (1848) 216
- Revolutionary Wars 53, 56, 68, 169
- Richelieu, Armand-Emmanuel du Plessis, duc de 48
- rights 214, 215 *see also* human rights
- Rio de Janeiro 64, 66, 71, 72, 73, 76–7, 79
- River Plate 56, 75
- Robespierre, Maximilian de 49–50
- Rodrigues, Feo 125
- Rome, Treaty of (2006) 213
- Rostow, W.W. xvii
- Rothschild, Emma 29
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques xxii, 34
Émile xiii
- Roy, Rammohan 145, 158, 213, 214
- Rush, Benjamin 7, 9
- Russia xxvii, xxxi, 212
Cossack invasion of India 160
- Russian Revolution (1917) xxxii
- Safavid empire 146, 209
- Saint-Denys, Jucherau de
Révolutions de Constantinople xvi
- Saint Domingue (later Haiti) 83, 86–7
coffee production 85
émigrés 49, 51–2
free coloured population 28, 94, 95, 97
independence of 97, 98
slave population 26, 66
slave resistance in 93–4
slave uprising (1791) 21, 23, 26, 95–7
wealth of 26
white settler autonomism 93, 94
see also Haitian Revolution
- Saint-Just 49–50
- St Vincent 87
- Saintoyant, Jules 92
- Sanger, Abner 43
- Santo Domingo 83–4
- Schama, Simon
Citizens 23
- Schmitt, Carl 60
- Schultz, Kirsten 76
- Scottish Association of the Friends of the People 20
- Sedition Act (1798) 49
- Selim III, Sultan xxvii–xxviii, xvi, 128
- Sen, Sudipta 147
- Senegambia 108, 116
- September Massacres (1792) 44, 54
- Serbia xxvii
- Seven Years War (1756–63) xiii, xxx, 4, 24, 209, 216
- Sharp, Granville 7, 13
- al-Sharqawi, Sheikh ‘Abdullah 139, 140, 141
- Sheikha 134–5
- Shovlin, John 29
- Sierra Leone 13, 47, 53, 54, 57
- Sikh movements 214
- Silva Lisboa, José da 77
- silver 107, 201
- Silverman, Kaja 35
- Singapore 159
- Siraj-ud-daula xiii
- Skocpol, Theda 24
- slave trade xii, 114, 212
abolition of in Britain (1807) 19, 212
abolition of in United States (1807) 17
and Iberian empires 65–6
- slave-soldiery 127

- slavery 65–6
 abolition of in British colonies
 (1833) 83, 84, 85, 91
 abolition of by France (1794) 21,
 26, 92–3
 and Africa 108, 110, 117–18, 119,
 121, 124
 and American Revolution 3, 4–19
 and Caribbean 27, 28, 83, 84–5,
 88–91, 100
 Cugoano's attack on 16
 and Franklin 7–10
 and French colonies 23–4
 growth of in American South 19
 and Haitian Revolution *see* Haitian
 Revolution
 and Jefferson 12–17, 18, 19
 and Lafayette 10–11, 12, 18
 Napoleon's efforts to re-establish in
 Caribbean 26, 29, 85
 population 66
 settlement of slaves in Sierra Leone
 plan 13, 47
 uprising in Saint Domingue (1791)
 21, 23, 26, 95–7
 and Washington 10, 11–12
 Smith, Adam 34
 Société des Amis des Noirs 16–17, 28
 Société des Colons Américains 93
 Society for the Abolition of the Slave
 Trade 53
 Soninke 111–12, 116
 Sons of Liberty 42
 Sonthonax, Léger-Félicité 96, 97
 Sousa, Francisco Felix de 119
 South Asia
 global connections of 161–6
 imperial repercussions 153–60
 imperial revolutions and early
 modern state formation in
 144–52
see also India
 South-east Asia xxvi, xxxi *see also* Java
 Souza Coutinho, Rodrigo de 71, 72,
 75, 77
 sovereignty 59–61, 109, 213
 Spain/Spanish Empire 25, 59, 62, 107
 demise and reasons 76–9
 internal discord 77–9
 reforms and unrest provoked by
 64–5
 response to Napoleon's campaign
 against 71–2
 and Revolutionary Wars 68
 and slave trade 66
 trade boom 65
see also Iberian empires
 Spanish America xv, xxvi, 27, 73, 75,
 81–2
 Spanish West Indies 84, 99
 Spanish-American revolutions xiii
 standard of living, divergences in
 xxiv
 state 210
 early formation of in South Asia
 144–52
 statehood 61
 Stokes, Eric 150
 Stone, Bailey 24
 Subrahmanyam, Sanjay xii, 150
 Sufis 134
 Suleiman the Magnificent 132
 Tabataba'i, Ghulam Husain Khan xiii,
 xvi, 148
 Taiping Rebellion (1851–64) xiii,
 xxxii, 202, 205, 207–8, 214–15
 Taiwan
 Lin Shuangwen rebellion 189, 195,
 196
 Talleyrand, Charles-Maurice de, prince
 de Bénévent 37–8, 49, 140
 Tamerlane xiii, xv
 Taylor, Miles 157
 Tenmei Famine (1782–7) xxvi
 Thailand 211
 Thompson, E. P. 39, 40
 Thornton, Henry 54
 Tibet 160, 189
 Tilly, Charles 61, 206

Index

301

- Tipu Sultan of Mysore 21, 56, 147, 178, 211
- Tiradentes revolt (1789) 64
- Tocqueville, Alexis de 23–4, 33
Democracy in America 24
The Old Regime and the French Revolution 23
- Todd, James 152
- Tokugawa Ieharu xxvi
- tollgates (*bandar*) 180–4, 185
- Tordesillas, Treaty of (1494) 62
- Torres, Camilo 74
- Travers, Robert xvii, xxxi, 144, 214
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolphe 26
- Túpac Amaru revolt (1780) 64
- Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques, baron de l'Aulne 8
- ulema (Muslim clergy) 132–3, 142
- Union of Britain and Ireland (1801) 210
- United States
 abolition of slave trade 17
 French émigrés in 49
 and French Revolution 20
 and Haitian Revolution 27
 slave population 26
see also American Revolution
- Uruguay 78
- Utrecht, Treaty of (1713) 62
- van Braam, Jacob Andries 175
- van Burgst, Huibert Gerard Nahuys 184, 186
- van den Bosch, Governor-general Johannes 170
- van der Capellen, Governor-general Godert 169, 183, 185
- van Hogendorp, Willem 180
- van Sevenhoven, Jan Isäak 181, 182, 183, 185, 186
- Vaughan, Benjamin 8, 9
- Venezuela 84
- Victoria, Queen 157
- Vienna, Treaty of (1815) 167
- Vietnam 21, 189
- Virginia 14, 15, 85
- Vodou 94
- Volney, Constantin-François 12
- Voltaire xxxii, 8
- Wahhabis xxviii, 211, 214
- War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) xxii, 62
- warrior-kings 122
- Washbrook, David 145, 161, 165
- Washington, George 7, 38
 and slavery 10, 11–12
- Watson, Brook 54
- Weber, Max 34, 60
- Webster, Anthony 162
- Wellesley, Henry, 1st baron Cowley 77–8
- Wellesley, Richard, 1st marquess Wellesley 156, 178
- West, Benjamin 55
- White Lotus Rebellion (1796–1805) 189, 195, 204, 205, 206, 207, 214
- Wiencek, Henry 11, 12
- Wilberforce, William 13, 54, 57–8, 212
- Wilkes, John 32
- Williams, Eric 86, 88
- Wilmot Committee 54
- Wilmot, John Eardley 47, 54, 55
- Wilson, Jon E. 152
- Windward Isles 87
- women
 and clothing 34
 as French émigrés 45
 selling of in China 191
- Wong, R. Bin 207
- Woolman, John 7
- World Crisis xxiii, xix, 58
- Wythe, George 15
- Yeh-chen, Wang 205
- Yogyakarta 177–8, 179–80, 187
- Yunnan, rebellion (1817–18) 195