

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations xi

Timeline of Key Events xv

Introduction: Reconstruction and World Democracy 1

PART I. MARTYRDOM

1 Tributes of the Nations 15

2 Retribution 42

PART II. AMERICA FOR AMERICANS

3 The Mexican Lesson 69

4 Russia Exits 99

5 Home Rule for Canada 121

6 Avanza Lincoln 147

PART III. EUROPE'S DEMOCRATIC REVEILLE

7 British Democracy 175

8 Spain's Democratic Moment 202

X CONTENTS

9	The Last Monarch of France	231
10	The Fall of Rome	263
	Coda: The Undoing	284

Acknowledgments 299

List of Abbreviations 303

Notes 305

Index 357

INTRODUCTION

Reconstruction and World Democracy

It was the greatest and most important step toward world democracy of all men of all races ever taken in the modern world.

—WILLIAM E. B. DU BOIS, *THE GIFT OF BLACK FOLK*, 1924

In April 1865, America's grueling war against the slaveholders' rebellion ended with the Union victorious, slavery on the verge of extinction, and the American experiment in democracy sustained. At home and abroad, supporters celebrated the Union victory as a welcome harbinger of human progress and a "new birth of freedom," in Abraham Lincoln's felicitous words. Days later, John Wilkes Booth, enraged by Lincoln's promise to grant voting rights to Blacks, fired the shot at Ford's Theatre that propelled a wave of horror, grief, and outrage around the world.

News of the assassination traveled to nearly every inhabited part of the globe. In large cities, people poured into the streets, gathered in public halls, and milled outside U.S. diplomatic posts to learn more about what happened in America. Hundreds of public meetings took place in the days, weeks, and even months that followed. Workers, students, women's groups, former slaves, exiled revolutionaries, and people

from every social station gathered to listen to tributes to the fallen American leader and endorse resolutions to carry on the cause he died serving. “We are the fellow-citizens of John Brown, of Abraham Lincoln, and of Mr. Seward,” a group of students in Paris told John Bigelow, America’s minister to France. “We young people, to whom the future belongs, must have the courage to found a true democracy.”¹

A flood of similar messages, eulogies, speeches, condolence letters, and other tributes to Lincoln poured into U.S. diplomatic posts abroad. Bigelow was amazed at the public response and the courage of French students, Masons, republicans, and other opponents of Napoleon III’s Second Empire to brave the police and government censors by issuing messages often laced with biting political innuendo. He sent a batch to Secretary of State William H. Seward, who lay bedridden at his home in Washington, recuperating from a terrible carriage accident and a vicious knife attack from one of Booth’s fellow assassins. After the assailant’s pistol jammed, he lunged at Seward with a Bowie knife and nearly severed his cheek from his jaw. Seward could barely walk without help or speak due to a heavy leather-clad iron brace that stabilized his jaw. But he was eager to return to duty, and when he saw the bundle of condolence messages Bigelow sent from Paris, he realized their value.

Here was the unfiltered voice of the “public mind” politicians and journalists always wrote about, though rarely with reliable evidence. Many messages came from workers and ordinary citizens, handwritten on plain paper. Others came grandly decorated with calligraphic lettering on parchment or even velum, some with heavy black mourning borders, others adorned with colorful ribbons and wax.

The messages of condolence voiced solidarity with America. They proclaimed Lincoln a martyr to the Great American Republic, as admirers called it, and to the universal cause of emancipation of enslaved Africans and “universal emancipation” of the oppressed everywhere. Many letters recounted the story of the humble rail-splitter who, by diligent labor and dedication to learning, prepared himself to become president of a nation at arms, the personification of republican virtue at war with the slaveholding aristocracy.

Seward had the letters translated, published, and bound in handsome, gilt-lettered volumes. He sent them out to every nation in the world and each person and organization contributing to the book. The public response to Lincoln's martyrdom abroad signaled widespread enthusiasm for Lincoln and the American cause. They also transmitted a genuine revival of confidence among reformers and revolutionaries and sounded a reveille for a new birth of freedom abroad.

In Europe, notably Britain, France, and Spain, the resurgence of reform spawned new political organizations promoting the demands of workers for political rights, new antislavery movements, international peace leagues, and the proliferation of progressive political journals. It gave rise to huge public meetings full of speeches and defiant public demonstrations in support of democratic reform. These noisy assemblies also demonstrated awareness of the international connections between the Civil War in America, workers' rights in Britain, the Italian Risorgimento, Giuseppe Garibaldi's march on Rome, the execution of Maximilian in Mexico, and myriad other events, people, and ideas coursing through the Euro-American world.

The story of the new birth of freedom abroad after the Civil War is what this book is about. Most of the action occurs within Reconstruction's usual time frame, about 1865 to 1871, yet it takes readers outside the familiar national boundaries to Mexico, Alaska, Canada, and Cuba and across the Atlantic to Britain, Spain, France, and Rome. Though the international perspective adopted here is novel, the book also focuses on more traditional subjects of politics and foreign policy with the familiar players, such as secretaries of state William Seward and Hamilton Fish, presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses Grant, and myriad members of Congress, senators, and diplomats. This is an international history involving matters of state, but it explores the less familiar interconnections between nations and the pervasive transnational influence of ideas, famous heroes, models of government, reform, and revolution.

Whenever possible, I have given the stage to the actors who made this history, allowing readers to hear their voices and sense their passion. They will witness extraordinary oratory rising from foreign parliaments

and raucous histrionics from the public squares of many lands. From the Cooper Union in New York City, a favorite venue for political speech, we will hear militant Irish Fenians, Cuban revolutionaries, exiled Mexicans, and others summoning Americans to their cause. From London's St. James Hall, readers will listen to advocates of the working class denouncing the privileged aristocracy and calling for a new birth of democracy in Europe. Out of the streets of Paris will come "Red" republicans chanting *Déchéance! Déchéance!* calling for the overthrow of Napoleon III and his Second Empire. In Madrid is heard the voice of European republicanism, Emilio Castelar, imploring the Spanish Cortes to follow Lincoln's example of immediate emancipation. And we will hear Karl Marx addressing the new International Working Men's Association, aka the Communist First International, congratulating Abraham Lincoln, the "single-minded son of the working class" whose emancipation edict signaled the "reconstruction of a social world."

This book departs from the usual confines of Reconstruction history, which until recently has remained a tightly nation-bound story that requires no attention to the world beyond America. Historians of slavery and emancipation have produced a rich body of comparative studies, but few others have included foreign affairs in their treatment of Reconstruction.² Since the 1960s, historians of Reconstruction have been obsessed with discrediting the influential interpretation of the "Dunning School" that became implanted in textbooks and the popular imagination since the end of the nineteenth century, coinciding by no accident with the undoing of Reconstruction. William Archibald Dunning, an eminent historian at Columbia University, propagated an ideologically driven narrative of Reconstruction as a travesty visited on the South by vindictive Radical Republicans who were determined to upend white supremacy by enfranchising former slaves, whom Dunning deemed unfit for democratic governance.³

The guiding light for revisionist historians was William E. B. Du Bois, a leading African American scholar and civil rights leader. His book, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America*,

1860–1880 (1935), was a tour de force of empirical scholarship combined with a passionate denunciation of the Dunning School and the exaltation of African Americans for their unsung role in redeeming America's democracy (as the book's original subtitle underscored). Du Bois's book remained in the shadows of the Dunning School until a new generation of historians rediscovered it during the "Second Reconstruction" and the Black civil rights movement beginning in the 1950s. Du Bois's legacy would guide revisionist scholarship along two major imperatives: Blacks' positive role in Reconstruction's history must be central, and the baleful influence of the Dunning School must be refuted by empirical research and discredited for its underlying racist motivation.

In the new wave of scholarship on Reconstruction since the 1950s, nowhere was the debt to Du Bois more evident and more impressively repaid than by Eric Foner in his revisionary synthesis, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (1988). Foner set forth a compelling story of African Americans and white Radical Republicans struggling to build a biracial democracy. He buried the Dunning School, which had no heirs willing to defend the old orthodoxy by this time. Foner's widely acclaimed book was so broad in scope, meticulously researched, and convincing that one admiring reviewer, Michael Perman, dubbed it the "finished revolution." With the Dunning School vanquished, Du Bois redeemed, and a well-defined argument as to the meaning of Reconstruction, the only question remaining, Perman said, was, "What is left to be done?"⁴

Some historians answered Perman by pushing the geographic boundaries of Reconstruction beyond the South to the North and West and expanding its chronological limits toward the end of the nineteenth century. This "Greater Reconstruction," as some called it, was a national story that examined some of the familiar themes of expanding federal authority, racial strife, and white supremacy, but now regarding Indians, Chinese, and Hispanics in the West.⁵ Richard White's *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States during Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865–1896* may do for the Greater Reconstruction what Foner did for Southern Reconstruction: provide a coherent synthesis of a big story.⁶

Still, the reigning narrative of Reconstruction history remains nation bound as though the rest of the world does not exist. Though rarely noticed, Du Bois had framed America's Reconstruction story within the larger context of world history. He was a cosmopolitan who saw America's racial divide as part of a global clash between European whites and the "colored" races, African, Asian, and all non-whites. "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line," he told the Pan-African Congress meeting in London in 1900. Had America's national experiment in biracial democracy succeeded, Du Bois told readers, it might have been a significant advance for world democracy. But Du Bois's hint toward an international approach went unnoticed.⁷

Thirty years after *Black Reconstruction*, in 1965, David Potter wrote a suggestive essay on the impact of the Civil War on the world, particularly the revival and convergence of liberalism and nationalism. It was one of several efforts to expand the horizons of American historians and overcome what Potter complained was their habit of "navel-gazing." But international history and political ideology went against the primary current of the revisionists' attention to African Americans and race.⁸

As we pass through the 150th anniversary of Reconstruction, there are welcome signs that historians are heeding Potter's call. A flurry of conferences, essays, and books seems to herald an exciting new international direction in Reconstruction studies. As usual, the many conference papers and collections of essays often fly in many directions and are necessarily narrow in focus.⁹ Several recent monographs and auspicious dissertations develop intriguing links between Latin American countries and America during Reconstruction.¹⁰ At this nascent stage, no single theme or question appears to direct the recent burst of new research, yet it shows the international approach is full of future promise.

What is missing thus far, and what I hope this book provides, is a volume encompassing the panoramic scope of radical change in the 1860s and advancing a coherent interpretation of what it all means. My fundamental premise is that there were *two* Reconstructions, domestic and international, each complementary and grounded in a common republican

ideology. Domestic Reconstruction aimed at pacifying the South, abolishing slavery, dethroning the slaveholding aristocracy, and rebuilding the South on a firm republican foundation.

In the American hemisphere, international Reconstruction sought to ensure national security by ridding the Americas of predatory European empires and creating a zone of friendly, independent, ideally republican nations, “buttresses,” as William Seward called them, surrounding and supporting the United States. The underlying premise of U.S. foreign policy was that monarchy, aristocracy, and slavery were inherently hostile to republican institutions and that government, by consent of the people, ensured peace within and between nations.

To justify domestic Reconstruction, Radical Republicans employed a once obscure clause in the U.S. Constitution committing the federal government to “guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government.” The foreign policy equivalent of the “guarantee clause” was a muscular new version of the Monroe Doctrine that emerged, not as formal policy from William Seward and the State Department but from outrage in Congress and the public square against France’s sinister design to erect a monarchy on the ruins of the Mexican republic. Initially a warning against further European colonization of the Americas, after 1865, proponents of the Monroe Doctrine propagated the idea that the entire Western Hemisphere must be a haven for republicanism and that monarchy and slavery were no longer welcome. In this meaning, the Monroe Doctrine’s new slogan, “America for Americans,” became a Pan-American cause.

This book has a different take on William Seward, the principal architect of post-Civil War foreign policy, and his successor, Hamilton Fish. While Charles Sumner and other Radical Republicans focused on rebuilding a republican South, William Seward set out to make the American Continent safe for republicanism by driving out European imperialists, ending slavery, and fostering the spread of republican principles abroad.

The main thrust of international Reconstruction, I argue here, was anti-imperialist, antislavery, and pro-democracy. It played out in two theaters of action. In the American Continent, U.S. foreign policy was

the leading force. In Europe, it was the inspiration of the Union victory, Lincoln's martyrdom, and the example of a thriving democracy that effected change.

The most tangible achievement of international Reconstruction was the withdrawal of European empires from the American Continent and the decolonization of British North America. Within days of one another, in the spring of 1867, France pulled its troops out of Mexico, Russia sold Alaska to the United States, Britain proclaimed the Dominion of Canada, an autonomous home-rule state, and Spain agreed to accept U.S. mediation in wars it had provoked with Peru and Chile. Spain had already vacated Santo Domingo, and in October 1868, Cuban rebels fed up with their Spanish rulers proclaimed independence. These European powers had many factors to calculate before deciding to withdraw, but America's proven military prowess and powerful ideological appeal with the European people were foremost among them.

U.S. foreign policy during Reconstruction was anti-imperialist in another sense. Contrary to the familiar claim that Seward and America remained enthralled by Manifest Destiny, the only significant acquisition during this period, indeed during the half century between 1848 and 1898, was the Alaska Purchase. Further to this point, during the Johnson and Grant administrations, the United States spurned several opportunities for annexing new territories. These included outright invitations to annex Santo Domingo (the Dominican Republic), the Danish West Indies (Virgin Islands), and the Spanish Caribbean (Cuba and Puerto Rico).

International Reconstruction also should be credited with hastening the abolition of slavery in the Americas. Seward turned U.S. foreign policy against slavery early in 1862 when he signed a treaty that finally put the United States on the right side of Britain's effort to suppress the African slave trade. The Lyons-Seward Treaty sounded a death knell for slavery in Cuba and signaled the antislavery turn in U.S. foreign policy. Later, Seward forcefully stopped Maximilian's scheme to reintroduce slavery in all but name as part of a plan to colonize northern Mexico with ex-Confederates. Seward also objected strongly to Maximilian's plans to enlist enslaved Sudanese soldiers in Maximilian's imperial army.

“It is settled,” Seward let it be known, “that African slavery, in any form, ought henceforth to cease throughout the world.”¹¹

When Spain failed to deliver on promises to abolish slavery after its democratic revolution in 1868, Seward’s successor, Hamilton Fish, used the threat of recognizing Cuban rebels to coerce Spain into passing what they called the Fourth of July Law in 1870. The Moret Law, as it was also known, put in motion a plan for gradual abolition, which Fish protested as disingenuous. He kept up the pressure, and in 1873 Spain abolished slavery outright in Puerto Rico and promised the same for Cuba once the rebels lay down their arms. Brazil, the only remaining slave nation, followed the same path by enacting a “free womb” law in 1871. The final death of slavery came to Cuba in 1886 and Brazil in 1888. After roughly four centuries, the vast and hugely profitable regime of African slavery in the Americas had ended.¹²

Coinciding with their retreat from the American hemisphere after 1865, European powers experienced a wave of reform and revolution that toppled thrones and challenged aristocratic oligarchies. Whatever role the United States had in stirring European reform, it was by inspiration and indirect influence, not foreign policy or government propaganda. The same European powers that withdrew from the Americas after 1865, Britain, France, and Spain, faced restless agitation for democratic reform at home. The American Civil War created rallying points for the opposition in each case.

Britain’s workers and middle class had come around to supporting Lincoln and the Union by early 1865. They learned to use America as a benchmark against which to measure their limited political rights and grim standard of living. In 1865 the International Working Men’s Association (a.k.a. the First International), cofounded by Karl Marx, launched the Reform League to “conquer political power” for workers. The League mobilized a massive protest movement and took to the streets. When the workers defied a government ban on public meetings in Hyde Park, a pall of fear spread across the country that Britain was on the brink of genuine social revolution. The League’s show of strength forced Parliament to pass the Reform Act of 1867, which doubled the number of voters and placed Britain on the road to democracy.

One year later, in September 1868, Spain's Glorious Revolution overthrew the decrepit Bourbon throne of Queen Isabella II and established a democratic government that astonished Europe. Spanish opposition liberals became enchanted with America as a model of modernity and democratic freedom, and the new constitution of 1869 borrowed heavily from the U.S. model. Despite that, Spain, like Britain, sought to democratize within the traditional casing of monarchy rather than risk a pure republican form of government. Spain's democratic experiment did not last long, but it left behind a liberal constitutional monarchy and a commitment to end slavery.

Thanks to Napoleon III's disastrous Grand Design for Mexico, France's liberal opposition gained support. Once cynical about America's claims as "the great republic," the French left became enamored of Lincoln and the Union and embraced America as a standard of liberty it demanded for France. Napoleon III tried to appease the opposition by easing censorship and bowing to limited democratic reform. To rally support for the "liberal empire," Napoleon III led France into a disastrous war against Prussia that abruptly ended the Second Empire. In Paris, radical republicans and socialists went to the barricades to proclaim the Paris Commune as the vanguard of a radically new social order.

Though the Papal State of Rome was not among the powers of Europe, its pontiff, Pope Pius IX, exercised enormous moral power, always against the tide of modern secular liberalism in the Americas and Europe. He became the embodiment of Catholic reaction, author of the *Syllabus of Errors*, which denounced religious tolerance and liberalism generally, and host to the Vatican Council, which ratified the syllabus and declared the pope infallible. When France pulled its troops out of Rome to fight the Prussians, the Italian army stormed the gates and proclaimed the city the new capital of united Italy. Liberals everywhere cheered the fall of papal Rome as another sign of the new birth of freedom.

This book illuminates a capacious Age of Revolution that encompassed the Americas and Europe for a century between the 1770s and 1870s. Fired by ideas of natural rights and human equality coming out of the radical fringe of the Enlightenment, this transatlantic Age of Revolution witnessed a relentless struggle between the advocates and

enemies of those ideals. That struggle defined the modern age and continues to do so.

There were disturbing contradictions and sad failings in domestic and international Reconstruction. Woman suffragists, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and others, had supported emancipation and equality for former slaves and made their claim to the same rights accorded newly freed African Americans but were made to wait for an entire half century.¹³ While the United States pursued noble goals at home and abroad during Reconstruction, the government carried out horrific wars and atrocities against Indians in the trans-Mississippi West. In its brutality, racism, and claims to be civilizing its victims, America's Indian policy resembled the most objectionable features of imperialism that lay ahead, even though its purpose was not to wring wealth from Native Americans in the manner typical of imperialist systems. The "Indian Question," according to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis A. Walker, was how to remove them as "an obstacle to the national progress" and what to do with them after ceasing to obstruct the extension of railroads and white settlement. Walker's solution was to remove Indians to reservations, out of the way of "national progress." But insofar as Indians continued to resist "national progress," it was left to the Army to deal with them through a brutal campaign of genocidal warfare.

As for Chinese immigrants, whose labor was indispensable to the national progress Walker celebrated, they were also subjected to horrible exploitation and prejudice, then banned altogether from further immigration in 1882. Underlying the nation's treatment of African Americans, women, Indians, and Chinese immigrants was a common thread of "scientific" theories of inherent human differences in their fitness for full citizenship as members of the republic. Racism in its modern "scientific" guise served to justify the undoing of Reconstruction's domestic and international aspirations.¹⁴

I wrote this book during an unusually perilous time for democracy in America and the world. Nearly every day, some television pundit reminds us of the relevance of Reconstruction, whether about new voter

suppression laws, police violence against Black citizens, impeachment, or insurrection. At no time has the history of Reconstruction commanded a more disturbing relevance. On the last page of *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois lamented, “The unending tragedy of Reconstruction is the utter inability of the American mind to grasp its real significance, its national and worldwide implications.”¹⁵ I hope readers will find in this book a bracing reminder of a moment when much of the world looked to the United States not as a perfect model of democratic success but as an inspiration to continue the forever unfinished task of realizing democracy’s promise for America and the world.

INDEX

Note: Page numbers in italic type indicate illustrations.

- abolition. *See* slavery: abolition of
Abolitionista, El (newspaper), 204
Adam, Juliette, 249–50
Adams, Charles Francis, 124–25, 133, 177, 195
Adams, John Quincy, 49
Aduallamites, 183–85, 194
African Americans and Black peoples:
 British workers likened to, 177, 178; and
 Cuba, 167–70; Irish likened to, 133; at
 Lincoln's death, 17; racist attitudes about,
 4–5, 287, 292–97; Reconstruction and,
 4–5, 287–88; suffrage for, 287–88, 293.
 See also slavery
Agassiz, Louis, 36–37
Agramonte, Ignacio, 164
Aguinaldo, Emilio, 289
Alabama Claims, 119–21, 126, 144–46, 170
Alaska Purchase, 8, 63–64, 99–104, 112–19, 122
Alexander II, Tsar of Russia, 100, 102–8, 112
Alfonso XII, King of Spain, 230
Allain-Targé, Henri, 23
Allen, William H., 82–83
Amadeo, King of Spain, 229–30
American Anti-Slavery Society, 168–69
Americas: European imperialism in, 42,
 49–51, 53; international Reconstruction
 and, 7–8; Spanish imperialism in, 8, 50,
 53, 59–60, 147–72, 206. *See also individual*
 countries; British North America;
 Monroe Doctrine; Pan-Americanism
Anglo-American, 102, 121, 127, 139, 205
Anglo-Saxon culture, 52, 63, 70, 171, 290–94
Anthony, Susan B., 11
Antonelli, Giacomo, Cardinal, 265, 269, 273
Argentina, 38
aristocracy: challenges to European, 4, 9,
 24, 46, 100; democracy/republicanism
 vs., 7, 53, 54, 70; in Russia, 100; Southern
 slaveholders associated with, 2, 7, 24, 36,
 46, 100
Army and Navy Gazette (newspaper), 108
Aubert, François, “Emperor Maximilian’s
 Firing Squad,” 97
Avenir National (newspaper), 31
Aztecs, 96
Baez, Buenaventura, 64
Bagdad Raid, 88–89, 88
Bakunin, Mikhail, 105, 244
Balbontin, Manuel, 79
Bancroft, George, 43–49, 44, 51, 100; *History*
 of the United States of America, 45
Banks, Nathaniel P., 143, 167, 217, 235
Battle of Mentana (1867), 274, 274
Battle of Santa Gertrudis (1866), 91
Bazaine, François Achille, 84–85, 92, 94–95,
 248
Beales, Edmond, 179, 180, 187–88, 191, 195,
 197
Becerra, Manuel, 220–21
Becker, Lydia, 199
Beesly, Edward, 175, 177

- Bigelow, John, 2, 24–25, 27, 28, 31, 39–40, 59, 62, 77–79, 85–88, 94, 101, 107, 207–10, 237, 241
- Bird, M. B. (Mark Baker), 33–34
- Bismarck, Otto von, 216, 246–48, 253
- Black Decrees, 83–84, 160, 163
- Black peoples. *See* African Americans and Black peoples
- Blair, Montgomery, 59, 79, 318n27
- Blanc, Louis, 29
- Blondeel, Edouard, 44
- Bolívar, Simón, 96
- Book of Blood, The*, 160
- Booth, John Wilkes, 1, 2, 17, 72
- Bourbon dynasty, Spanish, 10, 147, 203, 204, 207–16, 230
- Bradlaugh, Charles, 196
- Braganza, Antónia de (Infanta of Portugal), 216
- Brazil, 9, 36–37, 227, 229, 233–34
- Brewster, Harriet, 203–4
- Bright, John, 144, 177, 179, 182–83, 185, 191–94, 193
- Bristol Reform Union, 22
- Britain: American Northwest and, 101–2; and Anglo-American culture, 290; attitudes about America in, 181–84, 200; and Canada, 8, 55–57, 118–19, 121–29, 141–46; and democracy, 175–202; Irish animosity for, 131–33; and liberalism, 177, 198–99; and Lincoln, 16, 19–22, 20, 123; monarchy in, 10, 194; Parliament in, 9, 116, 135, 142, 144, 179, 181–85, 192, 195–96, 198–200; reform efforts in, 3, 9, 22, 181–202; suffrage in, 179–82, 185–87, 191–95, 197–200; United States and, 20–21, 43, 46–48, 55–57, 100, 104, 108, 116–18, 123–26, 144–46, 175; workers in, 9, 19, 21–22, 177–86. *See also* British North America
- British Columbia, 101, 117–20, 144, 146
- British North America (1867), 8, 18, 62, 117–20, 122–23, 126–30
- British North America Act, 123, 142, 144
- Brown, George, 127
- Brown, John (American abolitionist), 2, 25, 234
- Brown, John (Queen Victoria's servant), 194
- Bruce, Frederick, 43, 46, 47, 117–18, 143
- Bryant, William Cullen, 53, 59
- Bryce, James, 182, 290–93; *The American Commonwealth*, 290–92
- Burgess, John W., 292
- Cairolì, Benedetto, 283
- Camagüey Revolutionary Committee, 163–65
- Campbell, Lewis, 94
- Campobello campaign, 139
- Canada, 121–46; Britain and, 55–57, 118–19, 121–29, 141–46; British Columbia and, 101, 117–20, 146; confederation movement in / dominion of, 8, 118, 122–23, 127–30, 129, 142–46; and democracy, 122–23, 128–29; Fenian Brotherhood and, 43, 122, 131–33, 138–42, 144, 146; and Lincoln, 18; name of, 142–43; origins of, 127; Parliament in, 123, 128–29, 146; United States and, 121–27, 130–31, 143–46. *See also* British North America
- capital punishment, 269
- Carducci, Giosuè, 281
- Caribbean: calls for U.S. annexation of, 62; Spanish imperialism in, 8, 50, 53, 147–72, 206; as troublesome region during Civil War, 61. *See also individual countries*
- Carlitas, 204–6, 230
- Carlos (brother of Ferdinand VII), 204
- Carlota, Empress of Mexico, 91–92
- Carlyle, Thomas, 197
- Carr, Raymond, 221
- Cartier, George-Étienne, 127
- Carvajal, José, 90–91
- Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio, 4, 207, 223–25, 224, 229, 286
- Castro, Fidel, 167

- Catholicism: Fenian distancing from, 135;
and First Vatican Council, 274–76, 275; in
France, 256, 258; in Ireland, 133; liberal-
ism opposed by, 10, 263–64, 275–76; and
Lincoln's assassination, 267–71; and
Maximilian, 89–90; and papal infallibil-
ity, 275–76; Protestantism vs., 135, 264,
267, 271–72, 271; in Spain, 207; and U.S.
Civil War, 47, 263–65, 267, 271. *See also*
Papal States; Pius IX, Pope
- ensorship: in France, 2, 10, 23, 29, 31,
232–33, 239–41, 247, 256; in Spain, 48
- Céspedes, Carlos Manuel de, 157–59, 161–65,
167
- Chambord, Henri, Comte de, 254
- Chandler, Zachariah, 145
- Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 96
- Chartists, 179, 187, 196
- Chassin, Charles-Louis, 27–29
- Chernyshevski, Nicholas, 105
- Chicago Tribune* (newspaper), 125
- Chile, 8, 38–39, 53, 59–60, 149, 152
- China and Chinese immigrants, 11, 47, 228,
234
- Chincha Islands, 148, 151
- Christ. *See* Jesus Christ
- Civil War (United States): Brazil and, 36;
Britain and, 46, 47, 55, 100–101, 104,
123–26, 141, 176–77, 291; Canada and,
123–24; Catholicism and, 47, 263–65, 267,
271; Cuba and, 153–54; Europe and, 43,
46–59, 123, 176; Fenian Brotherhood and,
131–33; France and, 23–24, 46–47, 55, 74,
100–101, 104, 208, 232–33; international
effects of, 6, 9, 42; Italy and, 279; Mexico
and, 8, 35; and Monroe Doctrine, 49–50,
53–55; retribution for, 43, 57–59, 61–62,
76, 121–22, 124, 144–46; Russia and,
99–104; Spain and, 147, 149. *See also*
Confederates/Confederacy
- Clemenceau, Georges, 236, 241, 242, 243,
248, 254, 259
- Cluseret, Gustave Paul, 195–96, 258
- Cobden, Richard, 182
- Cochin, Augustin, 27, 233–34, 240
- Colonial Reform Commission (Spain),
156–57
- Columbus, Christopher, 206
- Comité français d'émancipation. *See* French
Committee of Emancipation
- Commonwealth, The* (British newspaper),
196
- Communism/Communist, 230, 256, 260,
261, 262, 264. *See also* Paris Commune
- Confederates/Confederacy: British support
for, 46; Catholic support for, 47, 264, 267,
271; European support for, 42, 53, 55, 61,
69–70; French support for, 46, 74; Maxi-
milian's relationship with, 8, 35, 74, 76,
83–85. *See also* Civil War
- Conservative Party (Britain). *See* Tory
Party
- Conservatives (Church Party) [Mexico],
69–70, 89–90
- Constantine, Grand Duke, 112
- coolies. *See* China and Chinese immigrants
- Cooper Union, New York City, 4, 36, 51, 79,
150
- Corona (Mexican general), 95
- Coronado, Carolina, 202, 208
- cosmopolitanism, 6, 33, 45, 176, 290
- Courrier des États-Unis* (newspaper), 48
- Crawford, R. Clay, 88–89
- Crimean War (1853–56), 100–103
- Cuba: Creoles in, 152–53, 156; flag for, 165–67,
166; independence movement in, 8, 34–35,
62, 157–72, 217, 219, 229–30, 288–89; and
Lincoln, 34–35, 152–54, 158; slavery and
enslaved peoples in, 8–9, 152–59, 162–64,
167–69, 220–29; Spain and, 8–9, 152–72,
208, 218–30, 288–89; Spanish atrocities
against, 160–61, 169; Spanish reform ideas
for, 156–57; United States and, 62, 63,
161–72, 168, 169, 208–9, 217–30; and U.S.
annexation, 8, 62, 162, 164–65, 167, 171–72,
209, 226

- Darboy, Georges, 258–59
- Davis, Henry Winter, 42, 53–54, 57–59
- Davis, Jefferson, 47
- Defenders of the Monroe Doctrine, 83
- democracy: Britain and, 175–202; Canada and, 122–23, 128–29; democratic peace theory, 244; Europe and, 176, 179, 281, 286, 291; France and, 31, 232, 259; goals of, 176; Lincoln as symbol of, 2; monarchy and, 286; Spain and, 202–3, 214, 230; in Switzerland, 22–23; Tocqueville and, 181–82; United States as model of, 31, 33, 105; violent revolution opposed by, 259; white supremacy linked to, 290, 293.
See also republicanism
- Democratic Party (United States): Andrew Johnson's reliance on, 137; and Catholicism, 272; and Mexico, 59; opposition to imperialism from Southern, 295–96; and Russia, 106
- democratic peace, 65, 123, 146, 244, 286, 316n51
- Denmark, 63–64
- Derby, Edward Stanley, Lord, 142, 184, 194–95, 197
- Derby, Elias H., 119
- Dewey, George, 289
- Dicey, Albert V., 182, 200
- Diplomatic Review* (newspaper), 116
- Disraeli, Benjamin, 141–42, 183, 185, 194, 197–98
- Dix, John, 125
- Dominican Republic, 53, 63–64, 147, 210.
See also Santo Domingo
- Douglass, Frederick, 168–69, 233
- Drescher, Seymour, 156
- Drouyn de Lhuys, Edmond, 85
- Du Bois, William E. B., 1, 4–6, 284; *Black Reconstruction*, 4–5, 12
- Dulce, Domingo, 160
- Dumas, Alexandre, 214, 246
- Dunning, William Archibald, 4, 287–88, 292
- Dunning School, 4–5, 292
- Egypt, 92
- Elcho, Francis Charteris, Lord, 186
- Emancipation. *See* slavery: abolition of
- Emancipation Law (Spain, 1880), 228
- Emancipation Proclamation (United States, 1863), 9, 37, 100, 123, 155, 178, 224, 229
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 198
- Ems telegram, 247
- Engels, Frederick, 180, 190
- Enlightenment, 10, 24, 129
- Escobedo, Mariano, 91, 95
- Espartero, Baldomero, 229
- États-Unis d'Europe, Les* (journal), 244.
See also United States of Europe
- Eugénie, Empress of France, 92, 212, 238, 239, 252–53
- Europe: and democracy, 176, 179, 281, 286, 291; imperialism in the Americas by, 8, 42, 47–48, 50, 53, 57–60; international Reconstruction in, 8–10; Mexico and, 53–55; political left in, 176; reform efforts in, 9–10, 16, 21; Russia and, 99–103; and U.S. Civil War, 43, 46–59
- European Union, 245
- Evans, Albert, 97–98
- Evans, Thomas, 252
- Exposition Universelle (Paris, 1867), 234–36, 235, 246
- Fabié, Antonio María, 156, 204
- Favre, Jules, 77, 240, 247, 250, 252
- Fawcett, Henry, 177
- Federal Elections Bill (United States), 294
- Fenian Brotherhood: and British reform efforts, 195–96; and Canada, 43, 122, 131–33, 138–42, 144, 146; and the Civil War, 131–33; Cluseret and, 258; in Ireland, 133–35, 146; Irish liberation as goal of, 43, 122, 133–42, 159, 258; membership of, 136; origin of, 131, 132; picnics held by, 43, 136–37, 136; stereotypes of, 133–34, 134, 137
- Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, 204–5
- Ferreira, Felix, 37
- Field, Cyrus W., 192
- Fifteenth Amendment (U.S. Constitution), 288

- First International. *See* International Working Men's Association
- First Vatican Council (1869), 274–76, 275
- Fish, Hamilton: and *Alabama* Claims, 146; and Alaska Purchase, 63; American security as goal of, 219; background of, 170; and Cuba, 160, 163, 167, 170–72, 209, 218–20; and foreign policy, 3, 7; and France, 257, 261; and Spain, 9, 160, 217–21, 223, 226–29
- Fogg, George, 22, 23
- Foner, Eric, *Reconstruction*, 5
- Forbes, Paul, 218, 219
- Forster, William E., 20–21
- Fourteenth Amendment (U.S. Constitution), 288
- Fourth of July Law (Spain, 1870). *See* Moret Law
- Fox, Gustavus Vasa, 107–12, 109, 111
- France: attitudes about America in, 24, 107, 233, 241–45, 252; and Catholicism, 256, 258; censorship in, 2, 10, 23, 29, 31, 232–33, 239–41, 247, 256; Corps Législatif in, 77, 89, 232, 236, 239, 245–46, 250, 252; and democracy, 24–26, 29–32, 232, 259; Government of National Defense, 252–54; Italy and, 273–74; and liberalism, 77, 176, 240–41, 245–46; and Lincoln, 23–31, 39–40; Mexico and, 7, 8, 10, 40, 46–47, 52–54, 59, 64, 67, 69–72, 74–95, 148, 206, 232, 235–37, 281; Paris Commune, 10, 231, 246, 254–62, 255; political left in, 10, 232–33, 236–37, 245; and Prussia, 10, 88, 216, 244, 246–54, 249, 276; reform efforts in, 3, 10, 23–31; republicanism in, 26, 236, 239–44, 246, 248–55, 261; Second Empire, 2, 4, 10, 23, 28–29, 231–32, 234–41, 245–50, 259, 260, 286; and slavery, 27, 233–34; suffrage in, 232; Third Republic, 246, 251, 252–53, 260, 286; tributes to Lincoln from, 2; United States and, 23–24, 46–48, 57, 74–95, 100, 104, 107, 232–33, 235–36, 260–62. *See also* French Revolution; Napoleon III; Paris, France
- Francis, Allen, 120
- French Committee of Emancipation, 27, 233–34
- French Medal, 27–31, 30
- French Revolution, 27, 30, 176, 196, 232
- Fürstnow, Heinrich, “The *Miantonomoh* Galop,” 108, 110
- Gaiffe, Adolphe, 19
- Galt, Alexander, 142
- Gambetta, Léon, 243, 250, 251, 252
- García Tassara, Gabriel, 147
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 3, 32, 95, 179, 214, 244, 263, 264, 273–74, 274, 279
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 234
- Geneva Peace Conference, 244–45
- Géricault, Théodore, *The Wreck of the Medusa*, 252
- “Get Out of Mexico” (song), 80, 81
- Gladstone, William, 181–86
- Gladstone Bill, 181–85, 197
- Glorious Revolution (Spain, 1868), 10, 150, 203, 210–14, 213, 221–22, 228–30, 286
- Godkin, E. L., 63
- Goicouria, Domingo de, 227
- Gorchakov, Alexander, 103, 105, 112
- Grand Design, of Napoleon III for the Americas, 10, 51–52, 67, 70, 94, 171, 232, 237. *See also* Latin race
- Grant, Ulysses S.: and *Alabama* Claims, 146; and Cuba, 62, 162, 167, 170, 221; and foreign policy, 3; French attitudes about, 243; and Mexican-American War, 73, 90; and Mexico, 73–77, 84, 86; and Spain, 217–18, 221, 227–29
- Great Coalition (Canada), 127
- Greater Reconstruction, 5
- Green, George, 95, 98
- Guadeloupe, 27, 233
- Guam, 289
- guarantee clause (U.S. Constitution), 7
- Guerra Chiquita (Little War) [Cuba, 1879–80], 172
- Gustavus Fox Expedition, 107–11, 109, 111
- Gwin, William, 84

- Habeas Corpus Act (Britain), 135
Haiti, 33, 150, 157
Hale, Charles, 270
Hale, John, 208, 212, 214
Hall, Henry C., 160–61
Harper's Weekly (magazine), 227, 262
Harris, Robert, *The Fathers of Confederation*, 129
Haussmann, Georges-Eugène, Baron, 232, 234–35, 255–57, 256
Hawai'i, 102
Hay, John, 214, 221, 223, 230, 289
Herzen, Alexander, 105
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 109
Holy Alliance, 50
Horsman, Edward, 182–83
Hovey, Alvin, 151
Howard, Elisa, 103
Howell, George, 180
Hugo, Victor, 15, 16, 29, 95, 176, 214, 239, 244, 245
Hyde Park riot (1866), 186–90, 189
immigration, 294
Immigration Restriction League, 294
Inter-American Congress (1864), 148
International Working Men's Association, 4, 9, 178–79, 244, 256, 260, 261
Ireland, 131, 133–35
Irish Republican Brotherhood, 131
Isabella I, Queen of Castile, 206
Isabella II, Queen of Spain, 10, 147, 150, 154, 203–12, 210, 214, 230, 286
Italy: France and, 273–74; Jews in, 265, 278; and liberalism, 32, 265–66, 273; and Lincoln, 32–33; nationalism in, 263, 279; and the Papal States, 10, 263–67, 273–83; reform efforts in, 16; republicanism in, 263, 281–83; Rome as capital of, 273–83, 286; unification of, 264–65, 273–74, 279, 280; United States and, 32–33, 279–81, 279
Jamaica, 179, 234
Jay, John, 79
Jefferson, Thomas, 114
Jequitinhonha, Francisco Gê Acayaba de Montezuma, Viscount of, 37
Jerome Napoleon, Prince (France), 107–8
Jesus Christ, 226, 229
Jews, 105, 265, 278
Jim Crow regime, 288
Johnson, Andrew: and Alaska, 113–14; American security as goal of, 51–52; animosity toward, 64; annexation of territories opposed by, 8; and Bancroft's congressional speech, 43, 48–49; and Canada, 143; and foreign policy, 3; impeachment of, 241, 243; and the Irish, 137–38; and Mexico, 72, 74, 76, 87; as president, 15, 27; and Reconstruction, 114; and slavery, 233; and Spain, 217
Johnson, William Edward (nom de plume: Malakoff), 25–26, 54, 57, 236–37, 239–41, 256
Johnson-Clarendon Treaty, 144
Jordan, Thomas, 160
Journal Officiel, 231
Juárez, Benito, 35, 73, 82–85, 90, 94–97, 96, 285
Karakozov, Dmitry, 105–6
Killian, Bernard Doran, 137–38
King, Rufus, 265, 268–70, 272–73
Kipling, Rudyard, "The White Man's Burden," 295–96
Kirk, Robert, 38
Koerner, Gustave, 205
Krabbe, Nikolay Karlovich, 112
Krupp, Alfred, 246
Ku Klux Klan, 287
Kung, Prince (China), 47
Laboulaye, Édouard, 24, 215, 233–34, 240
Labra, Rafael María de, 204
LaFeber, Walter, 61
Langston, John Mercer, 169
Lanjuinais, Victor, 239
Lanterne, La (newspaper), 239–40
Lapuente, Laurindo, "Republicanas," 151

- Latin race, 52, 70, 79, 94, 171, 206, 261
- League of Nations, 245
- League of Peace and Liberty, 244
- Leavitt, Joshua, 50–51, 69, 79; “The Key of a Continent,” 51
- Lecomte, Claude (French general), 254
- left. *See* political left
- Lemonnier, Charles, 244–45
- Leopold von Hohenzollern (Prussian prince), 215–16, 246–47
- Leutze, Emanuel, *Signing the Alaska Treaty*, 116, 117
- liberalism: Britain and, 177, 198–99; Catholic opposition to, 10, 263–64, 275–76; European opposition to, 50; France and, 77, 176, 240–41, 245–46; Italy and, 32, 265–66, 273; Mexico and, 52, 69; socialism vs., 260; Spain and, 204, 207, 210–11, 217
- Liberal Party (Britain), 177, 181, 183–84, 187, 194, 197, 200
- Liberation Army (Cuba), 34–35, 158–60, 162–63
- Lincoln* (ship), 116
- Lincoln, Abraham: Alexander II compared to, 104–6, 108; Catholic involvement in assassination of, 267–71; on Civil War outcome, 1; criticisms of, 16, 123, 265; Emancipation Proclamation, 37, 100, 123, 155, 178, 224, 229; and European imperialism, 53; Gettysburg Address, 16; and Mexico, 53, 70; news of assassination of, 1–2, 17–19, 21, 34–36, 38, 154, 177, 180, 233; as political symbol/model, 2, 3, 8, 13, 16, 21, 24–26, 31, 33–35, 37, 39, 60, 102, 105, 152–54, 158, 176–78, 180–81, 200, 204, 223–26, 233, 240–41, 281, 295; Second Inaugural Address, 16; Southern secession in response to election victory of, 69; and Spain, 149; tributes to, 1–4, 15, 18–42, 90, 96, 105, 155, 178, 180, 233, 240, 263, 265–67, 281–82
- Lincoln, Mary Todd, 17; gold medal presented by the French to, 27–31, 30
- literacy tests, 288
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 293–94
- London Emancipation Society, 19
- London *Times* (newspaper), 16, 48, 108, 116, 121, 126, 143–44, 276, 278, 283
- López, Narciso, 165–67
- Louisiana Purchase, 114
- Louis Napoleon. *See* Napoleon III
- Louis Napoleon, Prince (France), 238–39
- Louis Philippe, King of France, 208, 258
- Louis XVI, King of France, 257
- Louvre, Paris, 252, 257
- Lowe, Robert (First Viscount Sherbrooke), 183–84, 186, 194
- Lucraft, Benjamin, 186
- Luisa Fernanda, Infanta of Spain, 208
- Luxembourg, 244, 246
- Lyons, Richard, Lord, 117
- Lyons-Seward Treaty (United States, 1862), 8, 155–56
- Macdonald, John A., 122, 127–28
- Machado, Eduardo, 165
- Madison, James, 46
- Magniadas, Franky, 29
- USS *Maine*, 288
- Malakoff. *See* Johnson, William Edward
- Malespine, Aimé, 239
- Mambises. *See* Liberation Army
- Manet, Edouard, *The Execution of Maximilian*, 67, 97
- Manifest Destiny, 8, 64
- Marfori, Carlos, 212
- Maria Christina (Spanish regent), 204–5
- Maritime provinces, 128, 146. *See also* New Brunswick; Newfoundland; Nova Scotia; Prince Edward Island
- “La Marseillaise” (song), 232, 247–48, 258
- Marsh, George, 39
- Martí, José, 34, 154
- martyrdom, 17
- Marx, Karl, vii, 4, 9, 177–80, 190, 244, 256; *Communist Manifesto*, 256, 261; *Das Kapital*, 190

- Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, 3, 8, 35, 47–48, 53–54, 67, 69–70, 74–77, 80, 82–85, 89–98, 93, 148, 206, 232, 236, 267, 273, 281
- Mayne, Richard, 187–88, 190, 196
- Mazzini, Giuseppe, 32, 55–57, 58, 176, 214, 263, 273, 280–83, 282
- McClure's Magazine*, 295
- McKinley, William, 289
- Meade, George, 139
- Melvil-Bloncourt, Sainte-Suzanne, 233
- Men of Action, 139–40
- Mexico: American volunteers to fight in, 82–83; civil war in, 69; European aggression in, 53–55; France and, 7, 8, 10, 40, 46–47, 52–54, 59, 64, 67, 69–72, 74–95, 148, 206, 232, 235–37, 281; and liberalism, 52, 69; and Lincoln, 35–36; popular American songs about, 80–82; reform efforts in, 16; Reform War (1858–61), 69; Spain and, 147–48; United States and, 8, 35–36, 51, 70, 72–98
- USS *Miantonomoh*, 107–8
- “The *Miantonomoh* Galop” (song), 108, 110
- Michelet, Jules, 29, 243–44
- Midway Island, 63
- Mill, Harriet Taylor, 199
- Mill, John Stuart, 177, 179, 195, 198–99, 199
- Millard, Harrison, “Viva l’America,” 280
- I Mille (The Thousand), 264
- Mitchel, John, 131, 137–38
- monarchy: in Britain, 10, 194; democracy and, 286; republicanism vs., 7, 10, 45, 49–54, 57, 59–60, 64–65, 78–80, 100, 115, 143, 150–52, 167, 171, 175, 194, 253–54, 261; in Spain, 10, 205, 215, 229–30, 286; U.S. antipathy toward, 7, 45–46
- Monck, Charles Stanley, Lord, 125
- Moniteur, Le* (newspaper), 90
- Monroe, James, 49, 53
- Monroe Doctrine: bipartisan agreement on, 43, 51, 57, 80; calls for aggressive enforcement of, 43, 54–55, 79–83; Canada as target of, 143; Civil War and, 49–50, 53–55; defense of republicanism as purpose of, 7, 49–54, 57, 59–60, 64–65, 78–80, 126, 151–52, 167; European fears of U.S. uses of, 55–59; Johnson and, 73; and opposition to slavery, 92, 94; origins of, 49, 99; protection of the Americas as purpose of, 7, 43, 51, 53, 59–60, 72, 76, 126, 150–52, 167, 284–85; Spain and, 147; U.S. adherence to, 209, 218
- Monroe League, 83
- Montagnie, John de la, 28
- Montalembert, Charles Forbes, Comte de, vii, 31
- Montpensier, Antoine, Duke of, 208–9, 215
- Morales Lemus, José, 163
- Moran, Benjamin, 20, 181
- Morant Bay Rebellion (1865), 179, 234
- Moret Law (Spain, 1870), 9, 222, 225–28, 226
- Moret y Prendergast, Segismundo, 222–25
- Morley, John, 177
- Motley, John Lothrop, 201
- Mur des Fédérés (Communards’ Wall), 260
- Nabuco, Joaquim, 37
- Nadich, Abraham, 105
- Nanaimo Tribune* (newspaper), 120
- Napoleon I, Emperor of France, 50, 231, 233, 240, 257
- Napoleon II, 240
- Napoleon III, Emperor of France: and the American Confederacy, 46–47; American criticism of, 48; and Franco-Prussian War, 10, 216, 246–49, 249, 253; French rule of, 2, 4, 10, 23, 28–29, 97, 107, 176, 206–8, 216, 231–32, 234–41, 235, 245–48, 255, 276, 286; health of, 237, 238; and Italy, 263, 273–74; Mexican goals and the Grand Design of, 10, 46–47, 51, 52, 67, 69–70, 73, 77, 80, 84–95, 93, 107, 171, 232, 237; and Spain, 210, 212
- Narváez, Ramón María, 206–7

- Nast, Thomas, 134, 262; “The British Lion Disarmed,” 145; “I am now infallible,” 277; “The Pope Bans Protestant Worship from Rome,” 271; “United Italy,” 279
- Nation* (magazine), 138
- nationalism: Bancroft and, 45; Fenians and Irish, 131, 135; Italian, 263, 279
- National Reformer* (British newspaper), 196
- National Roman Committee, 263, 265–66
- Native Americans, 11
- Nelson, Thomas, 38–39, 98
- New Brunswick, 128, 139, 144
- Newfoundland, 128, 144
- New York Cuban Junta, 219
- New York Herald* (newspaper), 82, 115, 125, 280
- New York Times* (newspaper), 26, 54, 56, 59, 80, 82, 100, 125, 126, 131, 172, 236, 256, 262, 271–72
- New York Union League Club, 79
- Nicholas I, Tsar, 102
- Nicolas, Grand Duke of Russia, 105
- Nova Scotia, 128, 144, 146
- Nova Scotian* (ship), 18
- O’Connell, Daniel, 132
- O’Donnell, Leopoldo, 206, 207
- O’Kelly, James, 159
- Ollivier, Émile, 245, 247
- O’Mahony, John, 136
- O’Neill, John, 140
- Ontario, 127, 129, 144, 146
- Ortega, Jesús Gonzáles, 82–83
- L’Osservatore Romano* (newspaper), 265
- Ostend Manifesto, 218
- Ostend Pact (1866), 207, 210
- Ottoman Empire, 102
- Oxford Radicals, 200
- Paine, Tom, 122
- Pall Mall Gazette* (newspaper), 118
- Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Lord, 43, 47, 60–61, 181
- Pan-African Congress, 6
- Pan-Americanism, 7, 37, 38, 49, 59–60, 74, 79–80, 90, 98, 150, 167, 172
- Pankhurst, Emmeline, 199–200
- papal infallibility, 275–76
- Papal States, 10, 263–83
- Paris, France, 2, 10, 86–87, 232, 234–36, 247–57, 251
- Paris Commune, 10, 231, 246, 254–62, 255
- Paul II, Pope, 273
- Pelletan, Eugène, 29, 31, 239
- Perman, Michael, 5
- Perry, Horatio, 152, 208
- Peru, 8, 38, 53, 58, 59, 148–49, 151–52
- Peterloo Massacre (1819), 191
- Peyrat, Alphonse, 31
- Phare de la Loire* (newspaper), 28
- Philippines, 102, 289–90, 294–95
- Piña Mora, Aarón, mural featuring Lincoln, Juárez, and Bolívar, 96
- Pinzón, Luis H., 148
- Pius IX, Pope (Pio Nono), 10, 47, 263–67, 271, 273–78, 277, 286; *Syllabus of Errors*, 10, 256, 264, 275
- Poland, 23
- political left: in Europe, 176; in France, 10, 232–33, 236–37, 245; liberalism vs. socialism in, 260; in Spain, 205, 230
- poll taxes, 288
- Portalís, Edouard, 243
- Potter, David, 6
- Potter, John Fox, 130–31
- Potter, Thomas Bayley, 21, 177–78, 179
- Preliti, Luigi, 32
- Presse, La* (newspaper), 48, 108
- Prévost-Paradol, Lucien-Anatole, 232
- Prim, Juan, 148, 158, 206–11, 213, 214–15, 218–21, 223, 229, 246
- Prince Edward Island, 128, 144
- Progressives (Spain), 203, 205, 206, 207
- Protestantism, 135, 138, 264, 267, 271–72, 271
- Prussia, 10, 88, 216, 244, 246–54, 276
- Puerto Rico, 9, 156–57, 170, 172, 203, 209, 219, 222, 228, 229, 289

- Quebec, 121, 122, 126–29, 142, 146
- racism: anti-Black, 4–5, 287, 292–97; exhibited by Anglo-Americans, 63, 78–80, 171, 290, 292–97; theories underlying, 11, 293–94
- Radepont, Aimé, marquis de, 171
- Radical Reconstruction, 114, 176, 224, 256, 292, 294–95, 296
- Radical Republicans (United States), 4, 5, 7, 53, 59, 100, 179, 241, 243, 256, 258, 287
- Rappel* (newspaper), 239
- Rawlings, Thomas, 126
- Rawlins, John, 167
- Reagan, Ronald, 273
- Reciprocity Treaty (1854), 130–31
- Reclus, Élie, 214
- Reclus, Élisée, 234
- Reconstruction: contemporary relevance of, 11–12; contradictions and failures of, 11, 286–97; domestic and international, 7–11, 287–97; goals of, 7–8; international perspective on, 6; Radical, 114, 176, 224, 256, 292, 294–95, 296; scholarship on, 4–6; Second, 5, 296–97; as symbol and model for Europe, 225, 243
- Reeve, Henry, 182
- Reform Act (Britain, 1832), 179
- Reform Act (Britain, 1867), 9, 197–98, 201, 205
- Réforme* (newspaper), 239
- Reform League (Britain), 9, 22, 179–80, 182, 184–96, 258; Clerkenwell Branch, 185, 187, 188, 196; Holborn Branch, 187
- republicanism: as check on imperialism, 63; European antipathy toward, 50; France and, 26, 236, 239–44, 246, 248–55, 261; Italy and, 263, 281–83; monarchy vs., 7, 10, 45, 49–53, 57, 59–60, 64–65, 78–80, 100, 115, 143, 150–52, 167, 171, 175, 194, 253–54, 261; United States as model of, 26; U.S. promotion of, 7, 45–46. *See also* democracy
- Republican Party (United States): and Alaska Purchase, 114–15; animosity toward Andrew Johnson from, 64, 137; and Mexico, 54; Southern animosity toward, 69, 287. *See also* Radical Republicans
- Reutern, Mikhail de, 112
- Revels, Hiram, 169
- Revista Hispano-Americana* (journal), 204
- Revolutions of 1848, 16, 32, 178, 244, 263
- Revue des Deux Mondes* (newspaper), 88
- Rhodes, James Ford, 292
- Rigault, Raoul, 258
- Rise and Fall of Emperor Maximilian, The* (pamphlet), 237
- Risorgimento, 3, 16, 32–33, 265, 273–83, 286
- Rivera, José, 79
- Roberts, William R., 137
- Robinson, Christopher, 38
- Rochefort, Henri, 239–40
- Rome. *See* Papal States
- Romero, Matías, 35–36, 53, 70, 71, 72–75, 79, 83, 319n36
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 289, 294
- Rouher, Eugène, 78
- Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817), 125, 130
- Russell, Earl, 46
- Russell, John, 181
- Russell, William Howard, 126
- Russia: and Alaska, 8, 99–104, 112–19; and Crimean War, 100–103; Europe and, 99–103; United States and, 47, 99–120; workers in, 100
- Sainte Marie, Henri Beaumont de, 267–69
- Santayana, Agustín, 215
- Santayana, George, 215
- Santo Domingo, 8, 58, 59, 62, 63, 150–51, 158, 210. *See also* Dominican Republic
- Santovenia, Emeterio, 154–55
- Savage, Thomas, 153
- Schofield, John M., 75, 86–87
- Schultz, Christian, *Fraternité Universelle*, 13
- Schurz, Carl, 294–95

- Second Reconstruction, 5, 296–97
- Second Reform Act (Britain, 1867), 128, 198
- self-rule, 96–97
- September Convention (Italy and France, 1864), 273–74
- serfdom, 100, 102, 106
- Serrano, Francisco, 210, 214
- Servius Tullius, Emperor of Rome, 266
- Seward, Frances (Fanny), 55, 72
- Seward, Frederick, 17, 72
- Seward, William H.: and *Alabama Claims*, 119–20, 144; and *Alaska Purchase*, 63–64, 101–2, 112–18, 117, 122; American security as goal of, 7, 50–53, 55, 57, 61, 63–65, 76–78, 101, 107, 172, 219, 285; and Asia, 102; attempted assassination of, 2, 17, 40, 72; belligerent rhetoric of, 60–61; and British Columbia, 119–20, 122; and Canada, 124–25, 130; and Cuba, 161–62, 172, 209; and the Irish, 133, 137–38, 139; and Italy, 266, 268–70, 272; and Mexico, 53, 70, 72–73, 76–79, 83–90, 92, 94, 95, 97–98; and slavery, 8–9, 155; and Spain, 151–52, 208, 212, 214; and United States as model for the world, 3, 25, 39–41, 48–49
- Shelby, Joseph O. “Jo”, 84
- Sherbatoff, Prince (Russia), 111
- Sherbrooke, First Viscount. *See* Lowe, Robert
- Sheridan, Philip, 74–76, 83–85, 90, 248
- Sherman, William Tecumseh, 94
- Shufeldt, Robert, 153–54
- Sickles, Daniel, 217–23, 222, 225–30
- slavery: abolition of, 8–9, 27, 37, 92, 94, 100, 155–57, 162–64, 203–4, 220–29, 233–34; aristocracy associated with, 2, 7, 24, 36, 46, 100; Brazil and, 36–37, 227, 229, 233–34; in Cuba, 8–9, 152–59, 162–64, 167–69, 220–29; French opposition to, 27, 233–34; gradual approaches to abolition of, 9, 221–26, 229; Mexico and, 35; serfdom likened to, 100; Spain and, 9, 155–56, 203–4, 220–29, 233; United States and, 7, 21–22, 155, 227–28
- Slidell, John, 86
- Smith, Goldwin, 179, 182, 291; *Essays on Reform*, 200
- Smith Edmund, Kirby, 74
- socialism, 179, 256, 258–59, 261, 264
- Society of Medical Students (France), 241
- Society of the American Union (Chile), 38–39
- Socrates, 13
- Spain: censorship in, 48; the Cortes in, 4, 150, 156, 204, 207, 214, 223–26, 229; Cuba and, 8–9, 152–72, 208, 218–30, 288–89; and democracy, 202–3, 214, 230; First Republic, 228, 230; imperialism in the Caribbean and South America, 8, 50, 53, 59–60, 147–72, 206; Isabella II’s reign in, 204–7; and liberalism, 204, 207, 210–11, 217; Mexico and, 147–48; monarchy in, 10, 205, 215, 229–30; political left in, 205, 230; rebellions in, 206–14, 213, 228–30, 286; reform efforts in, 3, 10, 150, 170; revolutionary provisional government in, 211; and slavery, 9, 155–56, 203–4, 220–29, 233; suffrage in, 211, 229; United States and, 48, 147, 149, 151–52, 170–71, 208–10, 214–30, 288–89
- Spanish Abolitionist Society, 155, 204, 207
- Spanish-American War (1898), 289
- Spanish Antilles, 209
- Spanish Volunteers, 159–61
- Spartacus, 226
- St. Albans raid, 123–26, 125, 130
- Stanley, Frederick, Lord, 117
- Stanton, Edwin M., 17, 268–69
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 11
- Stephen, Leslie, 182
- Stephens, Alexander, 55
- Stevens, Thaddeus, 106, 243
- Stillman, William J., 265–66
- St. James Hall, London, 4
- Stoeckl, Eduard de, 44, 103–4, 112–14, 116, 117
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 241; *La choza del negro Tomás*, 155
- St. Petersburg Journal* (newspaper), 105

- St. Thomas, 62
- Sturm, Herman, 90–91
- Sudan, 92
- Suez Canal, 232
- suffrage: African American, 287–88, 293; in Britain, 179–82, 185–87, 191–95, 197–200; in France, 232; in Spain, 211, 229; in United States, 200, 287–88, 293; woman, 11, 198–200, 199
- Sumner, Charles, 7, 99, 106, 109, 114–16, 117, 122, 144–45, 170, 208, 227, 258
- Surratt, John, 267–71
- Surratt, Mary, 267
- Sweeny, Thomas, 139
- Switzerland, 22–23
- Tassara, Gabriel García, 43
- Tavares Bastos, Aureliano Cândido, 36
- Temps, Le* (newspaper), 241, 242
- Tenniel, John: “Britannia Sympathises with Columbia,” 20; “The Brummagem Frankenstein,” 193; “The Fenian Pest,” 134; “Mill’s Logic,” 199
- Thiers, Adolphe, 236–37, 254–55, 257
- Thirteenth Amendment (U.S. Constitution), 155
- Thornton, Edward, 146
- Thurston, David, 18
- Tillman, Benjamin, 295–96
- Tinker, William C., 158
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 181–82, 291, 292
- Tory Party (Britain), 176, 177, 181, 183–86, 192, 194, 197, 201
- Treaty of Paris (1898), 289, 295–96
- Trement, Viscount P. (pseudonym of informant), 207–9
- HMS *Trent*, 61, 123
- Tribune* (French newspaper), 239
- Tributes of the Nations to Abraham Lincoln*, 40–41
- Tripoli* (ship), 270
- Turner, Nat, 234
- Twain, Mark, 289
- United Nations, 245
- United States: and Anglo-American, 102, 121, 127, 139; and Anglo-Saxon culture, 52, 63, 70, 171, 290–94; Britain and, 20–21, 43, 46–48, 55–57, 100, 104, 108, 116–18, 123–26, 144–46, 175; British attitudes toward, 181–84, 200; Canada and, 121–27, 130–31, 143–46; Congress in, 7, 43–48, 51, 53–54, 63–64, 70, 90, 106–7, 112–14, 227, 271–72, 289–90, 294; Cuba and, 62, 63, 161–72, 168, 169, 208–9, 217–30; failures of Reconstruction in, 287–88, 293–97; foreign policy of, 7–8, 50; France and, 23–24, 46–48, 57, 74–95, 100, 104, 107, 232–33, 235–36, 260–62; French attitudes toward, 24, 107, 233, 241–45, 252; imperialism and anti-imperialism of, 55–57, 56, 63–64, 102, 172, 288–90, 294–96; Italy and, 32–33, 279–81, 279; Mexico and, 8, 35–36, 51, 70, 72–98; as model of democracy, 31, 33, 105; and papal Rome, 268–73; and the Philippines, 290; post–Civil War army of, 55, 61–62; Russia and, 47, 99–120; and slavery, 7, 21–22, 155, 227–28 (*see also* Emancipation Proclamation); Spain and, 48, 147, 149, 151–52, 170–71, 208–10, 214–30, 288–89; suffrage in, 200, 287–88, 293; as symbol and model for Europe and the world, 9–10, 12, 16, 21, 23–26, 31–33, 36, 39–41, 45–46, 98, 176–77, 180, 189, 190, 200–202, 214, 223, 231, 232–33, 241, 243–45, 252, 280–81, 284–86, 295
- United States of Europe, 176, 223, 244–45, 281
- universal republic, 26, 32–33, 57, 176, 214, 244, 281
- U.S. Constitution, 214–15, 245
- U.S. State Department, 39, 41, 109, 114
- Valmaseda, Blas Villate de Herra, count of, 160, 162–63
- Valparaíso, Chile, bombardment of, 149, 149
- Vatican Council, 10
- Vendôme Column, Paris, 257

- Verdi, Giuseppe, "Chorus of the Hebrew Slaves," 265
- Victor Emmanuel II, King of Italy, 32, 229, 264, 276
- Victoria, Queen of England, 43, 123, 144, 194–95
- Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín, 59–60, 150
- Villalobos, Joaquín, 79–80
- Virgin Islands, 64
- Vizcarrondo, Julio, 203–4, 207
- voting rights. *See* suffrage; woman suffrage
- Walker, Francis A., 11
- Wallace, Lew, 89, 90–91
- Walpole, Spencer, 187, 190–91, 195–97
- War of 1812, 121, 130
- Washburne, Elihu, 256–58, 260–61
- Washington, George, 13, 37, 60, 226, 229, 241
- Webb, James Watson, 36
- Weed, Thurlow, 112
- Weichmann, Louis J., 268
- Welles, Gideon, 78, 107
- West Indies, 63–64
- White, Richard, *The Republic for Which It Stands*, 5
- white supremacy, 4–5, 290, 293–96
- Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, 216, 246–48
- Willard, Charles W., 217
- Wilson, Woodrow, 292
- woman suffrage, 11, 198–200, 199
- Wydenbruck, Baron, 43
- yellow fever/*vomito*, 92, 150
- Young, Bennett, 124
- Zacarias de Góis (Brazilian senator), 229
- Zambrana, Antonio, 164–65
- Zarco, Francisco, vii, 79
- Zouaves, 267–70, 278