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TREACHERY OF SILENCE

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TREACHERY OF SILENCE:
USAGE OF PRO- AND ANTI-SLAVERY RHETORIC
AS A POLITICAL PROPAGANDA
IN 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY REVOLUTIONS

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara
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To my mom, dad, and my forever co-author, Hamilton



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REVOLUTIONS

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ABSTRACT

TREACHERY OF SILENCE: USAGE OF PRO- AND ANTI-SLAVERY RHETORIC AS A POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY REVOLUTIONS

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From the 18th century onwards, slavery held a consistent place in the Western intellectual heritage. American, Haitian and Greek Revolutionaries used the term slavery to describe their conditions under the colonial powers they were living in. According to their ideological and intellectual position, we can analyze how slavery was used in different ways. This research aims to explore how pro-slavery advocates used rhetoric linked to slavery to bolster their racial prejudices towards the Haitian revolutionaries and the Ottoman Empire. It underlines that due to their intellectual foundation, some Western intellectuals chose to retain hierarchies regarding Black individuals. On the other hand, some Western intellectuals chose to aid Greek revolutionaries due to their disenfranchised conditions under the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Slavery, French Revolution, Haitian Revolution, American Revolution, Greek Revolution, Orientalism, Rhetorical Slavery

ÖZET

SESSİZLİĞİN İHANETİ: 18 VE 19. YÜZYIL DEVRİMLERİNDE SİYASİ PROPAGANDA OLARAK KÖLELİK YANLISI VE KARŞITI RETORİĞİN KULLANIMI

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18. yüzyıldan itibaren kölelik, Batı'nın entelektüel mirasında tutarlı bir yer tutmuştur. Amerikan, Haiti ve Yunan Devrimcileri, içinde yaşadıkları sömürgeci güçler altındaki koşullarını tanımlamak için kölelik terimini kullanmışlardır. İdeolojik ve entelektüel konumlarına göre, kölelik teriminin nasıl farklı şekillerde kullanıldığını analiz edebiliriz. Bu araştırma, kölelik yanlısı politikacıların, Haitili devrimcilere ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na yönelik ırksal önyargılarını desteklemek için kölelikle bağlantılı retoriği nasıl kullandıklarını araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bazı Batılı entelektüellerin eğitim temelleri nedeniyle Siyah bireylerle ilgili hiyerarşileri korumayı tercih etmişlerdir. Öte yandan, bazı Batılı aydınlar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki haklarından mahrum bırakılmış koşulları nedeniyle Yunan devrimcilere yardım etmeyi seçmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kölelik, Fransız Devrimi, Haiti Devrimi, Yunan Devrimi, Amerikan Devrimi, Oryantalizm, Retoriksel Kölelik

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Slavery in the Atlantic sphere, from my undergrad years, became a personal interest of mine. Especially coming from my shock of many 18th century intellectuals silence towards this issue, I wanted to analyze this power dynamic. Interestingly many revolutionaries were using a similar narrative to describe their conditions. It came to my surprise that almost no one tried to analyze differences between usages of slavery in history. I want to thank my advisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Owen Miller for showing me the importance of other Atlantic Revolutions. It not only opened my scholarly perspective, but his dedication to global history influenced me to include Greek and Haitian Revolutions in my intellectual interests. Without your advice, this project wouldn't be here today. I want to thank Assist. Prof. Dr. Kenneth Weisbrode for constantly influencing me to broaden my knowledge of American history. Thank you for continually pushing me to see other sides of common perspectives. Without my friends Merve Günal, Cansu Yılmaz, Su Candemir, Süleyman Bölükbaş, and Burcu Kocakurt, this project would never end. I want to thank Assist. Prof. Dr. Luca Zavagno for always supporting me through my every step. Thank all of you for your never-ending supports. It not only pushed me through the most challenging times of my life to continue what I love to do. I want to thank everyone who spent some of their time making this project better. By constantly reading and giving comments, you pushed me to be better. I cannot possibly show

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Literature Review

Few intellectual topics influenced the Western hemisphere as much as the study of Greek antiquity. Not only did it provided a foundation for the Western intellectual sphere, but at the same time, its immerse history provided a solid starting point for Western civilization. Thus, 18th century societies and scholars prioritized Greek and Roman political ideas in their daily politics. As this link between the study of antiquity and education, emphasized by Caroline Winterer in her *The culture of classicism: ancient Greece and Rome in American intellectual life, 1780-1910*, shows that many politicians and intellectuals idealized ancient Roman and Greek figures. Academies expected every scholar in the 18th century to know Greek and Latin and to be cognizant of the histories of the ancient Mediterranean. However, parts of the United States society learned the history of Greek and Roman civilization via plays and stories.

The centrality of slavery in Roman and Greek societies enabled pro-slavery advocates to make arguments rooted in long-standing 'Western

traditions.' However, between the mid-18th to the early-19th centuries, political interest in Greek and Roman antiquity fluctuated among Western societies. These differences were emphasized by both J. R. Berrigan in his *The Impact of the Classics upon the South* and Carl J. Richard in his *The Golden Age of the Classics in America*. As they claimed, reaction to ancient history in political terms was different in northern and southern states. As Northern states disagreed with the incorporation of slavery as an institution in the Roman and Greek social sphere, southerners disagreed with the idea of democracy that actively supported the inclusion of many in the political sphere in Greek antiquity.

As abolitionism slowly grew in the wake of the US revolutionary war, pro-slavery advocates cherry-picked historical evidence from ancient societies of the Mediterranean world to make their case. Many politicians, including Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, James Madison, and John C. Calhoun, believed society was not ready to abolish slavery. The Haitian Revolution intensified the pro-slavery rhetoric. As analyzed by Rayford Whittingham Logan in his *The diplomatic relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891*, most of the American public and politicians perceived the insurrection in Saint Domingue to be violent and brutal. This perception was not entirely wrong. However, using the spectre of violence to defer anti-slavery movements in the Western sphere plays a crucial role in pro-slavery rhetoric. However, the southerners feared a possible insurrection such as that in Saint Domingue, the lucrative sugar and coffee trade between the United States and Saint Domingue proved too valuable to cut off. As Edward S. Corwin's analysis in his *French policy and the American Alliance of 1778* shows, both the British and French Empires aimed to control the trade between these two colonies. As emphasized by Eric Williams in his *Capitalism and Slavery*, C. L. R. James in his *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint*

L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution and Laurent Dubois in his *Avengers of the New World: the story of the Haitian Revolution*, sugar was one of the primary commodities of 18th century. It aided the French economy so much so that the French colonies in Carribeans became a lifeline for them. Thus, neither the Haitian or French politicians were willing to lose the sugar trade. However, the productive assets of the sugar trade were financially influencing all Atlantic powers. Thus, any political disruption on the island affected adjent nations. As conditions in the Caribbean colonies became common knowledge among French citizens in the 18th century, anti-slavery advocates started to voice their opinions. For members of the Society of Friends of Blacks, the French Revolution meant to change the conditions in the colonies. Especially for Abbé Grégoire, egalitarianism was more important than the economic conditions of post-revolutionary France.

Post-revolutionary Europe was in political and financial chaos. In an attempt to create a balance of power, the Great Powers created the Concert of Europe. Research conducted by A. K. Kyrou in his "From Russia with Love, from the West with Ambivalence: Orthodox Christian Relief during the Greek Revolution and the New Historiography on Humanitarian Intervention" and Yousef Hussein Omer in his "France's Policy Towards the Greek Independence (1828-1830): A Study in the Light of Unpublished British Documents" shows that the Great Powers were reluctant to support another political insurrection. However, ideas of equality and independence were already influencing various communities in the Mediterranean. Molly Greene analyzed the influence of bourgeoisie revolutions in her *The Mediterranean in History*, and *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. According to Professor Greene, although Western empires were distancing themselves from the Ottoman Empire, Balkan Greek Christians known as the Rum Milleti by Ottoman officials

had strong trade relations with the Western world. Greek merchants were known for their trade abilities in both the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas. Primarily motivated by their treatment in the Ottoman Empire and with the influence of diaspora writings of Greek intellectuals, Greeks revolted against the Ottoman Empire. As analyzed by Douglas Dakins in his *British and American Philhellenes During the Greek War of Independence 1821-1833*, W. C. Woodhouse in his *The Philhellenes*, Paul Pappas in his *The United States and the Greek War for Independence 1821-1828*, Maureen Connors Santelli in her *The Greek Fire: American-Ottoman Relations and Democratic Fervor in the Age of Revolutions* and Petros Pizani in his *The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European Event*, Western intellectuals were influenced by the Greek revolutionary rhetoric against the Ottoman Empire.

The dominant group of Western intellectuals found the conditions of Greek scholars and merchants under Ottoman Empire unacceptable. As Western intellectuals described the Ottoman Empire's treatment of Greeks as tyrannical, they started to collect financial aid for the Greek Revolutionaries. These notions of orientalism and racism were analyzed by Gregory Jusdanis in his *Belated modernity and aesthetic culture: inventing national literature* and Edhem Eldem in his "The Ottoman Empire and Orientalism: An Awkward Relationship". They claim that such descriptions of Ottomans were made with nationalistic intentions. One question that remained was why the Western world was interested in Greek Revolutionary's rhetorical slavery rather than the chattel slavery in the Caribbean. It would be an easy answer to call every Early-Modern intellectual and politician racist. However, individuals such as Edward Everett, Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, Adamantios Korais, Abbé Grégoire, and Samuel Gridley Howe show that there is no simplistic answer regarding the Western perspective on slavery.

However, most American politicians from the 1770s until the 1860s openly used slavery to favor their political stances. Although certain intellectuals organized anti-slavery societies such as Slavery and the Abolition Society and The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, their influence on daily politics was limited. Especially the power of Southern politicians held in the political arena was enough for intellectuals to stay silent on this issue. With the news of the Haitian Revolution, usages of slavery in the Atlantic political sphere completely changed. Through their violent insurgency against the slave system, Haitian Revolutionaries aimed to change the social hierarchies on the island. Although slavery had financial roots for colonial powers, many hierarchical-minded politicians used this connection to bolster anti-slavery rhetoric. Moreover, pro-slavery advocates used the violence of the Haitian Revolution as a political propaganda tool for their ideologies. Although many individuals discussed in this research accepted the idea of revolution, they were against changing hierarchies for everyone.

Some revolutionaries, such as Thomas Paine to Germaine de Staël, had an egalitarian worldview. On the other hand, intellectuals such as Thomas Jefferson limited their espousal of egalitarian ideals to mere rhetoric. Instead, they acted according to their material interests. Although many could be characterized as 'revolutionaries,' they differed dramatically on the extent they wanted to change the status quo. Not all revolutionaries wanted to transform their societies. Some individuals promoted demolishing hierarchies for everyone. Others tried to support these hierarchies. Hierarchical-minded politicians held forced many egalitarians to stay silenced on social issues. These hierarchial-minded people used Haiti to reinforce racial biases. The same thinkers, however, chose to ignore the violence of the Greek Revolutionaries. As Greek revolutionaries' violence

was deemed “natural” by Western scholars, the violence of Haitians was not. Underlying all of this was exactly who could be legitimated as a ‘revolutionary.’ For many, this legitimacy fell along the color line.

This study aims to analyze how revolutionaries in the Atlantic world were often measured not according to their ideals but the color of their skin. Although intellectual and political analysis of the 18th-century racial thought is a common topic for Early American scholars, I aim to showcase that certain Western intellectuals actively chose to support hierarchical policies that support their political and financial desires. This research aims to show that not every revolution has a common aim. Most importantly, all revolutions created politicians who supported hierarchical-minded or egalitarian policies according to their materialistic interests. One of the most significant anti-revolutionary phenomena produced after the 18th-century revolutionary period was Western intellectual’s silence towards slavery. I aim to explore these rhetorical differences for the United States’ perspective towards the Haitian and Greek Revolutions and French, Haiti, and Greek intellectual’s reactions to each other’s revolutions and rhetorics.

1.2 Methodology

This research predominantly uses private letters and public works of Edward Everett, Abbé Grégoire, Adamantios Korais, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Toussaint L’Ouverture, and Jean-Pierre Boyer, John Quincy Adams between mid-18th to mid-19th centuries. To understand Greek, Haitian and American political and intellectual connections, I analyzed the private letters at Founders Archive, American State Papers in Library of Congress, and United States National Archives. For newspaper analysis, I used Readex’s America’s Historical Newspaper’s database. I used Duke

University Library's Sylvanus Bourne papers and Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library to analyze reactions of the Westerners in Haiti. For Greek primary sources, I used Access Gallica, The Digital Library of Greek Studies, and the digital archives of the Academy of Athens. For the majority of the secondary sources, I used Bilkent Library's Early Modern depository.

This research makes allowances for possible biases of politicians and scholars in their political works. I understand that certain works may include particular political perspectives written to influence certain political groups. Unless it is a blatant political statement, as it can be seen in Adamantios Korais, Edward Everett, and John Quincy Adams' public papers, it is hard to analyze whether a writer is genuine in their work. However, this research assumes that all authors mentioned in this research propose their perspectives. Old age and political grievances may cause biased or wrong accounts. Thus, this research leaves space for discrepancies between their versions and the actuality of events mentioned. Any additional discrepancies will be noted either in text or in footnotes.

1.3 Thesis Outline

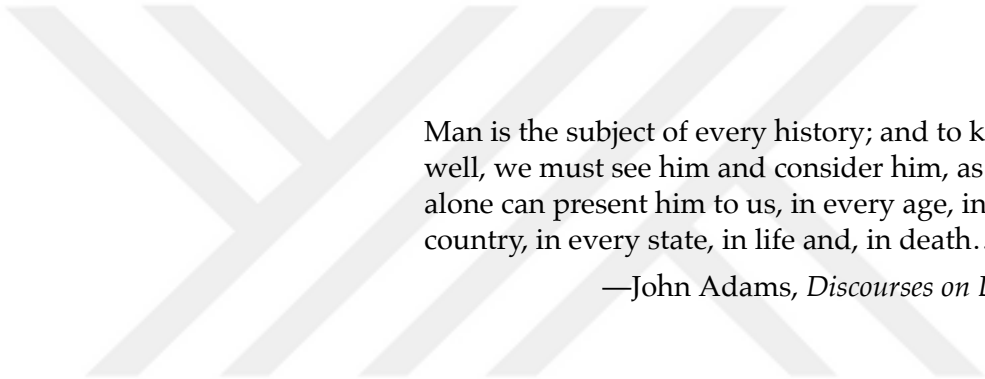
Chapter 2 shows the fundamental differences and similarities between the three principal revolutions this dissertation seeks to analyze. The American revolutionaries, compared to other Atlantic Revolutions, had a more hierarchal mindset. The Greek revolutionaries, in comparison to other bourgeoisie revolutions, had a similar mindset regarding the outcome of their revolution. On the other hand, the Haitian revolutionaries tried to break down the racial hierarchies by creating the first Black government in the Atlantic.

Chapter 3 aims to analyze the intellectual and political relationship between the Haitian, French and American revolutionaries during the 18th century. The sugar trade created one of the primary economic commodities in the Atlantic. However, due to the post-revolutionary depression, Haitian and French revolutionaries wanted to use the sugar trade to support their revolutions. This chapter analyzes the clash of economic and ethical problems the French, American, and Haitian revolutionaries faced during the Haitian Revolution.

Chapter 4 analyzes how Philhellenism transformed the Greek Revolution. It examines the role of Orientalism in Western intellectual's approach against the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, it analyzes how Philhellenism enabled financial aid to Greek Revolutionaries.

CHAPTER 2

ATLANTIC DYNAMIC



Man is the subject of every history; and to know him well, we must see him and consider him, as history alone can present him to us, in every age, in every country, in every state, in life and, in death...

—John Adams, *Discourses on Davila*, 1805

2.1 Slavery in Atlantic

Adamantios Korais, approximately thousands of miles away from his homeland, was writing his version of the history of the Greek civilization. In his work titled *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce*, Korais was presenting the influence of the Ancient Greek scholarly work over the Western intellectual heritage. He claimed most of the Greek Christians forgot about their past. Similarly, the Western intellectual memory overlooked the Ancient Greek past until the 17th century. From the Roman occupation of Greece in 31 BC to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Greek populations in the Mediterranean lived under three different Empires. The 17th century Western traveler accounts and the lack of translated Ancient Greek scholarly works pushed the Greeks aside in the Western

intellectual spheres. As a scholar of Ancient Greece, Korais wanted to prove the opposite. Echoing the French Enlightenment intellectuals, Korais was dedicated to the re-education of the Greek masses. As he underlined the Greek Christians lack of education for their ignorance, Korais claimed that “the small number of books, the ignorance of printing, the lack of communication formerly prevented peoples from being enlightened or from recovering the enlightenment they had lost”.¹ He believed that as the Greek Christians become aware of the 18th century revolutionary ideals, they would be willing to change their social statuses.

In a letter to Edward Everett – then to be the Representative of Massachusetts and the Secretary of the Boston Philhellenic Society – Thomas Jefferson mentioned Korais’ fears regarding the Greek Christians under the Ottoman Empire. Jefferson claimed that, Korais “expresses a melancholy fear for his nation by saying, ‘qui a montré jusqu’à ce moment des prodiges de valeur, mais qui, délivrée d’un joug de Cannibals, ne peut encore posséder les leçons d’instruction, ni celles de l’expérience.’”.² As Korais agreed with Western fears concerning the future of Modern Greece, he emphasized the importance of Western financial and political aid. As the Greek revolutionary ideas progressed, Philhellenism became a lifelong passion for Adamantios Korais. To spread Philhellenism, Korais was in connection with multiple Western intellectuals that he became friends over his stay in France. From Thomas Jefferson to Abbé Grégoire, Edward Everett, and Lord Byron, Korais’ intellectual circle filled many

1. “Le petit nombre de livres, l’ignorance de l’imprimerie, le défaut de communication empêchoient autrefois que les peuples fussent éclairés ou qu’ils recouvraient les lumières qu’ils avoient perdues.” Adamantios Korais, *Mémoire sur l’état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* [in fr] (F. Didot, 1803)

2. ‘who has so far shown wonders of worth, but who, delivered from a yoke of Cannibals, cannot yet possess the lessons of instruction, nor those of experience.’ “From Thomas Jefferson to Edward Everett, 27 March 1824”, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-4143>

revolutionaries and intellectuals willing to aid the Greek cause. With the 18th century translations of Homer's works by Alexander Pope, the "Greek Fire" was starting to transform the Western intellectual sphere and gather interest over the Ancient Greek scholarly works.

Created to support the rebirth of a separate Greek state, Philhellenism became one of the predominant intellectual movements of the 18th century. Influenced by the 18th century bourgeoisie revolutions, the Greek Revolutionaries aimed to create an independent nation that upheld the political values of the French Enlightenment. The main political issue Greeks emphasized in their political works was based on the Ottoman Empire's treatment of non-muslim — *Rum Milleti* — population in the Ottoman Empire. Describing the Empire's treatment of the non-muslim population as 'slavery,' the Greek revolutionaries demanded political and economic aid from Western Philhellenes. As they likened the Ottoman Empire's treatment of the non-muslim population to tyranny, Western intellectuals agreed with the Greek Christian's demands of liberty. As some Greek Enlightenment figures, such as Adamantios Korais, used slavery to describe the Greek's treatment under the Ottoman Empire, Western intellectuals put themselves on a humanitarian mission to save them. Although Western society's commitment to egalitarianism was remarkable, their treatment of other revolutionaries was different. Especially the Atlantic sphere's treatment of the Haitian Revolution was distinct. Most of the anti-revolutionary reactions came from pro-slavery sanctions that supported slavery and the sugar trade in Haiti. Although both the Haitian and Greek revolutionaries used slavery to describe their conditions, the Haitian revolutionaries were deemed undeserving of revolutionary change by the hierarchial-minded revolutionaries.

The 18th and 19th century intellectual sphere gave many opportunities to Atlantic intellectuals to start a common response against slavery. Starting two years after the Estates-General of 1798, the Haitian Revolution was a slave rebellion aimed to change the social hierarchies in Saint Domingue. Haitian revolutionaries sought to gain the right to represent themselves in their governments to develop the first black-led republic in the Caribbean. Thus, slavery played a deterministic role in both revolutionary and post-revolutionary Haiti. However, Haiti wasn't the only revolutionary place that fermented its reaction to the American and French Revolutions. During the second phase of the Haitian Revolution, another revolution was sprouting out in the Mediterranean. The Greek Christians were rebelling against the Ottoman Empire.

Created by the different descriptions of slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries, two different usages of it can be used. In the pre-18th century juristical texts, slavery was described as "... a product of the *ius gentium*, whereby someone against nature is made subject to the ownership of another".³ However, this description made by the Roman jurist Iavolenus Priscus was insufficient for modern slavery. Especially in 18th century, Enlightenment thought, scholars believed that every man in the "state of nature" is free. However, conditions of freedom was different for the captives of war "... and of those upon whom deprivation of liberty was inflicted, as a punishment for their crimes".⁴ Such individuals had no personal rights in law. Later similar descriptions of slavery were rephrased

3. "Servitus est constitutio juris gentium, qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subiicitur." cited in John W. Cairns, "The Definition of Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Thinking," in *The Legal Understanding of Slavery*, ed. Jean Allain (Oxford University Press, September 27, 2012), 61

4. Lord Andrew MacDowall Bankton, *An Institute of the Laws of Scotland in Civil Rights: With Observations Upon the Agreement Or Diversity Between Them and the Laws of England. In Four Books. After the General Method of the Viscount of Stair's Institutions ...* [in en] (R. Fleming, 1751), 67.

by Johann Gottlieb Heineccius as the difference between *persona* and *homo* where *homo* does not have any civil status in the society.⁵ His differentiation between *homo* and *persona* can be seen in many 18th century political and philosophical debates regarding the human rights laws. From John Locke's *Second Treatise of Civil Government* to Adam Ferguson's *The Progressive Character of Human Nature*, numerous canonical Age of Enlightenment works emphasizes the difference between civil status and state of nature. Indeed, if we consider a slave as an individual without any civil status, previous accounts prove Adamantios Korais, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and Samuel Adams' description of their social conditions. However, the social conditions of these three individuals are different. L'Ouverture and his people were a byproduct of years of inhumane conditions under the French Empire in Saint Domingue. Similar conditions were alive in the United States that Samuel Adams was living in.⁶ Adamantios Korais knew that the conditions in the French colony of Saint Domingo and southern states of the United States were different than the Greek Christian's conditions under the Ottoman Empire. However, one notable difference between these three individuals is that Western judicial systems would consider American and Greek revolutionaries as *persona*. On the other hand, Ottomans and Haitians would be considered lesser beings due to oriental and racial prejudices.

Throughout the *Orientalism*, Edward Said claims that most of the Western discourse reflects European colonialism and their lack of factual information on the Orient.⁷ Especially most of the travel accounts of Westerners on the Orient reveals that travelers tend to position themselves against the Orient

5. Cairns, "The Definition of Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Thinking," 63.

6. Although Adamses did not actively participate in slavery in the United States by either buying or selling slaves, slavery was still alive in Massachusetts colony where they lived throughout their lives.

7. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* [in English], 25th Anniversary Ed with 1995 Afterword Ed edition (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

and highlight everything different to the Western culture. Although it is not a revelation that Western travelers carry their personal biases in their writings, the Ottoman Empire's geopolitical position puts the Empire in a distinct place in the European political scene. Throughout the 15th and 18th centuries, Ottoman Empire held an important position among the Mediterranean and Atlantic empires. Participating in multiple Western conflicts, the Ottoman Empire was an important player among the European empires. However, the dominant Arab/Muslim image of the Ottoman Empire was already canonical in European scholarship. As late as the 18th century, Ottoman diplomats tried to break this perspective. However, Muslim Turk's savage, despotic and barbarous image became a common description of the Ottoman Empire in Western intellectual works.

As the silence of individuals silences some opinions, it amplifies others. Although the silence thesis among the Early American scholarship is a common perspective, the most interesting aspect is the usage of silence by pro-slavery sanctions. Most of the responses from the post-revolutionary governments amplify the idea that slavery is a necessary evil for their economic survival. Although not every Western intellectual supported this claim, it was still one of the main arguments against the abolition of slavery by American and French intellectuals. Although most of the abolitionists were prominent in their political arenas, they got silenced by the 18th century pro-slavery politicians to the point that pro-slavery arguments became a central political idea in the late 18th century Atlantic political sphere. To understand the creation of the hierarchial-minded rhetoric that kept slavery alive until the mid-19th century, we start this research by going back to the summer of 1776.

2.2 American Revolution

Primarily known as one of the first instances of an armed rebellion against a colonial power, American Revolution stays as an exemplary incident for all the Atlantic revolutions. As a product of the Seven Years War, the American Revolution's progress starts as a small-town rebellion against the British colonial officials. As it progresses, it turns into a revolutionary war between colonial powers and American rebels. With its less violent nature than the French and Haitian Revolutions, American Revolution became a favorite example among the early-modern politicians and historians. From the enslavement of thousands of Africans to the massacre of Indians, in reality, American Revolution was further than peaceful. In comparison to French Revolution, it lacked the political violence between the Jacobins and Girondins. It still encapsulated the violence between colonials and local forces in the Haitian Revolution. The harsh realities of mid-18th century American lifestyle shaped their reaction. The revolutionaries fought with everything they had against the politically and economically superior British colonial officers. From children to women, conditions forced them to be a part of the ongoing war. The economic and political conditions that created the American Revolution were simple. Every political conflict created its financial problems, and after the Seven Years War, Great Britain was going through an economic depression.

After parliamentary sessions, George Grenville (1712-1770) was finding himself in a conundrum. For decades, British officials refrained from introducing new taxes to the North American colonies. Especially after the introduction of *Molasses Act of 1733*, evasion of colonial laws was still a constant concern for the British Empire. The monetary rates of the colonial currency were so low that many American merchants opted to obtain sugar

and spices from other Atlantic colonies illegally. While smuggling was aiding the North American merchants, it was hurting the British revenues.⁸ Starting with the Navigation Acts (1651, 1660), British officials tried to force every good imported by the colonists to go through the British ports. It enabled the British to control the illegal trade between Atlantic colonies and helped them tax valuable goods that entered the American colonies. It was the first parliamentary move that severed ties between North American colonists and the British Empire. Later, in 1764, the British parliament, in hopes of curbing the illegal importation of sugar cane between Haiti and North American colonies, passed *the Sugar Act (1733)*.⁹ These acts influenced the mercantile class of the North American society against the British Empire profoundly. While the North American merchants were affected to publish pamphlets, such as the Boston merchant Oxenbridge Tatcher's *The Sentiments of a British American (1764)* or the Rhode Island governor Stephen Hopkins' *The Rights of the Colonies Examined (1764)*, their reaction to the recently introduced acts was muted than expected. Colonist's dull response to acts influenced Grenville and the British Parliament to introduce more taxes on commercial goods.

On March 9, 1764, Grenville announced his intentions to introduce another bill to raise stamp duties on the North American paperwork.¹⁰ While reactions to the Currency and Sugar acts were muted than expected, North American colonist's response to the Stamp Act was catastrophic. As Randolph G. Adams claimed in his *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* that,

8. Ernest Cassara, "The intellectual background of the American Revolution" [in eng], *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 31 (-01-01 1977): 438–452.

9. Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804* [in English], 1st Edition edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, September 2016).

10. Peter Thomas, *George III: King and Politicians 1760-1770* [in English], 1st edition (Manchester : New York: Manchester University Press, October 2002), 105.

In the third stage of the controversy, the colonies admitted the right of Parliament to act as a quasi-imperial superintending power over them and all the dominions, but denied that Parliament had any legislative authority over the colonies as a general proposition, on the ground that the colonies were not represented in Parliament.¹¹

The Stamp Act emphasized the unjust treatment of American colonists by British officials. As many North American colonists thought they were equal with other British subjects, new acts introduced by the British officials prove the exact opposite sentiment.

2.2.1 Rebel With a Cause

Most of the revolutionary activity was coming out of Boston, Massachusetts. From pamphlets to open rebellions against the tax collectors, Boston's political sphere was open and alive. In communication with printers, rebels used newspapers, pamphlets, and political stages to promote their political ideas. Especially coffee houses were the main political stages where the rebels can talk about their opinions openly. While most of the published work was propaganda against the colonial forces, they were highly influential in shaping society against colonial taxes. As rebels insisted that recently introduced taxes will deprive North American subjects of their self-evident rights, it would put them in a state " ... of the most abject slavery, whose property may be taken from them under the notion of right..."¹² Underlining the unjust conditions put by the British officials, North American colonists were comparing their social conditions to slavery to prove their righteous cause. Such mobilization tactics worked well

11. Randolph Greenfield Adams, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution..* [in eng] (Durham, N.C., Trinity college press, 1922), 69.

12. John Dickinson, "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies" [in English] (1767).

enough to create a negative consensus towards the British taxes.¹³

As colonial governors such as Thomas Hutchinson tried to suppress individuals against the British policies, he was fighting against the political propaganda of Samuel Adams. As a son of Boston brewer, Samuel Adams was a well-known individual in Boston and a prominent member of the Sons of Liberty. Starting with the Boston Tea Party at the Boston bay, the Sons of Liberty managed to revert British taxes and create a political movement against monarchy and despotism. However, none of the participants expected that their movement would be influential enough to change the hierarchical order of the Atlantic sphere. Revolutionaries influenced by the American Revolution changed their social and political realities and altered their connection to daily politics.

2.3 Haitian Revolution

Located in the Greater Antilles archipelago on the Caribbean Sea, Haiti has a tremendous history. Peninsula the island was standing on projected into one of the most strategic points of world history; Winward Passage as known as the *Gibraltar of Carribean*. From Columbus' First Voyage to the creation of the first Black nation, Haiti continues to prove its importance throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Control over the island was so prized for the Spanish, British, and French Empires that the French minister to Spain Marquis d'Ossun, in his memoir dated February 10, 1774, declared that;

It [Saint Domingue] is the finest and richest colony that remains to the French after the considerable losses that they sustained in America; and it is their principal resource for the maintenance of a navy that because more

13. Ruma Chopra, "Loyalist Women in British New York City, 1776–1783," in *Women in Early America*, ed. Thomas A. Foster (New York: NYU Press, 2015), 210–224.

necessary every day to counterbalance the formidable power of the English.¹⁴

On the eve of the French Revolution, Haiti was still one of the primary economic sources for the French Empire. According to the French national financial tables of 1788, Saint Domingue exported 205\$ millions of livres in the currency of Saint Domingue as a commodity to France.¹⁵ Thus, keeping a good trade and political relation with the island, according to Colbert, was required to keep the economic power of France against their neighbors.¹⁶

Code Noir, or as known as The Negro Code, created by Louis XIV, aimed to introduce more humane conditions to the island of Saint Domingue. Codes ordered that “two pots and a half of manioc, three cassavas, two pounds of salt beef or three pounds of salted fish” be given every week to every slave on the island.¹⁷ However, in most cases, slave owners only provided slaves with half of what is obligated by the French law. On most days, tired of the working conditions, slaves would not have any will to cook or even eat their food. Slaves who refused to work on the fields received the most brutal punishments. These conditions made armed uprisings common occurrences in Haitian history. Between 1679 to 1704, multiple slave rebellions occurred in places under Spanish and French control. As much as the soul and real deaths were a part of daily life in Saint Domingue, the island was still constantly booming with new merchants every day. Like tobacco in Virginia, sugar cultivation was the primary source of wealth for the white colonists on the island. After planting the cane, it required special attention for the first four months and to grew up

14. Rayford Whittingham Logan, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 3.

15. Logan, 3.

16. Stewart Lea Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy* (Palala Press, September 2, 2015), 69.

17. C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1989), 11.

for 18 months until it reached its maturity.¹⁸ Due to the peculiar nature of the plant, it had to be harvested and carried as quickly as possible to keep the plant fresh. This required slaves to work all day, and in most cases even through the night, to harvest enough sugar cane to sell. Thus, the production of the sugar cane required intimate care and time investment to be efficient. As sugar became the primary commodity of the 18th century, the slave population on the island grew to 9,082.¹⁹

Division among the society in Saint Domingue followed the dichotomy between the white slave owners and black slaves. However, the mulattoes or free-blacks had a peculiar status in Haitian society. Forced to enter a mandatory three-year military establishment known as *maréchaussée*, they were responsible for the island's security. Their governmental duty alienated them from both white and black classes of Haitian society. It was forbidden for them to own property on the island. These economic and societal differences bound them to work alongside the white slaveowners. Thus, they saw themselves as superior to black slaves due to their official status. However, according to the White settlers, their societal status was lower than white colonists due to their skin color. These social circumstances put them in a peculiar position, almost a *persona non grata* in Haitian society. As the slave population grew, societal differences among the Black community of Haiti became more and more complex. Especially societal differences between free-blacks categorized as "Noirs," "Noirs affranchis," and "Nègres libres" became more and more apparent through the mid-18th century.

Although prior slave insurrections influenced French officials to

18. James, *The Black Jacobins*, 10.

19. Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, Includes index (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 19.

change their policies regarding Haiti, none of them influenced the Atlantic perspective towards the island as much as Riviere's rebellion. Romaine Riviere, a free black coffee plantation owner with Spanish ancestry, organized an armed uprising surrounding two port cities; Leogane and Jacmel. Claiming that they are in a personal connection with the Virgin Mary, Riviere promised their followers that Virgin Mary would guide their cause and help them win the fight against white slave owners on the island. As they ordered the mass killings of white residents of the island, *affranchis* — or as know as mulâtres, libres de couleur, or free-colored — had their plans for the leadership of the island.

Starting with the Makandal conspiracy in 1750, which started as a religious reaction to the French colonial power on the island, had one of the first networks of resistance where multiple slave groups revolted at the same time to become the "new masters of Saint-Domingue."²⁰ According to Carolyn Fick, Makandal Conspiracy was one of the first natural slave resistance where black slaves fought to become their masters by overthrowing white settlers. At the same time, it was a reaction where they showed "political notions of independence" expressed in messianic tones.²¹ On January 1785, Makandal aimed to kill all white plantation owners by collectively aiding slaves with poison. Although Makandal couldn't accomplish his resistance plans, his name became a political and religious symbol for blacks and whites in the colony.²² While Makandal Conspiracy

20. Terry Rey, "The Virgin Mary and Revolution in Saint-Domingue: The Charisma of Romaine-La-Prophétesse," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 11, no. 3 (1998): 342.

21. Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: Saint Domingue Revolution From Below* (University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 62.

22. Although some historians claim that Makandal did not used Voodoo because he was essentially a sorcerer rather than a priest. Thus, it creates a contradiction between the West and Central African religious traditions. More on this in David Geggus, "Marronage, Voodoo, and the Saint Domingue Slave Revolt of 1791," *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 15 (1992): 22–35

was influential enough for French colonial powers to take cautious steps in the colony, Romaine-la-Prophetess' influence on the Haitian Revolution was more permanent. Romaine Riviere, a free black coffee plantation owner with Spanish ancestry, managed to organize and create an armed rebellion in the area surrounding Leogane and Jacmel.

Romaine established a military camp in her coffee plantation, Trou Coffy.²³ While she followed the same tracks with Makandal on creating a connection with religion and politics in her message, her relationship with Catholicism was much more apparent. Claiming that she is Virgin Mary's godson, she distinguished himself from other cult leaders by creating central connectivity to Catholicism. Rise of Romaine-la-Prophetess' in every aspect connected to how she used the political dynamics of his day and how he used religion in her favor. Observers noted that Léogâne, where Romaine's coffee plantation Trou Coffy stood, was in a deep, narrow valley with only limited foreign interaction.²⁴ Parallel to previous slave revolts, Romaine's cult not only demanded freedom from colonial hierarchy but at the same time terrorized the region by instructions of mass murder of whites.²⁵ Although her insurgence, as Makandal's, crushed by French forces, they managed to inspire many to follow their steps to revert the social and political hierarchies on the island.

2.3.1 New Leadership

Most Haitian revolutionaries were fighting under Georges Biassou, an African-Spanish general loyal to the Spanish forces controlling the island's

23. Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, 127.

24. Terry Rey, *The Priest and the Prophetess: Abbé Ouvière, Romaine Rivière, and the Revolutionary Atlantic World* (2017), 28.

25. Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, 127.

northern region.²⁶ As the social stress between different sanctions of the Haitian society grew, controlling the revolutionary masses got harder. While other revolutionary leaders failed, two notable names stood out among them and kept the revolutionary masses under their control; Geroge Biassou and Toussaint L'Ouverture. While Biassou was aligning with the Spanish forces of the island, L'Ouverture was controlling the French revolutionary groups in Saint Domingue.

The leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture started with the Trou Coffy insurgency. As a fairly educated individual, Toussaint L'Ouverture was appearing as a natural leader among his contemporaries. Lucky enough to know how to read and write, he joined among the ranks of Biassou and was appointed as the Physicians of the Armies.²⁷ As he quickly climbed through military ranks among the Black Auxiliaries of Charles IV²⁸, his influence on rebel forces grew. In 1791 commissioners sent by the French Colonial Assembly arrived at Saint Domingue as a solution to the slave insurrections on the island. While the news of the insurrection in Haiti was arriving in other Atlantic nations, commissioners only learned the state of the Revolution in Haiti when they arrived on the island. They claimed that the National Convention of France ordered "the king [to] have control over the "exterior regime" of the colonies, notably trade policies, the "laws concerning the state of unfree persons and the political status of men of color and free blacks""²⁹ While the declaration of the National Convention

26. Crystal Nicole Eddins, "Runaways, Repertoires, and Repression: Marronnage and the Haitian Revolution, 1766–1791," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 25, no. 1 (2019): 4–38.

27. James, *The Black Jacobins*, 94.

28. the Black Auxiliaries of Charles IV was an army organization contained the leadership of most crucial rebel leaders of Haitian Revolution like Georges Biassou, Jean-François Papillion, Toussaint L'Ouverture. As it was named after Georges Biassou's alliance with Spain, Spanish forces gave freedom to rebel forces in exchange for their alliance against French forces in the Northern Region in the island.

29. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 125.

gave overpowering joy to the white citizens on the island, it couldn't be more disappointing to the rebels and rebel leaders who expected a different outcome.

News of the new constitution of France reached the colony in the late 18th century. The new constitution granted many rights to French citizens. As the Revolution in France was changing the social status of French citizens, Haitian slaves were excluded from these changes. Moreover, due to their insurgence, the new French Empire charged the Haitian Revolutionaries with the "revolutionary activities" that caused enormous damage to the French economy. As previously demanded by the National Convention, French officials expected the rebel slaves to return their position immediately. The broken French economy already damaged the post-revolutionary political status of France, and the French Caribbean colonies were seen as the life support of the nation. Like many Atlantic nations, France was bound to the booming sugar trade of the 18th century. However, Haitian revolutionary leaders aimed to keep this trade to support their cause. The introductory offer made by the revolutionary leaders promised a more regulated version of slavery on the island. In an anti-revolutionary fashion, they pledged to the National Convention that slaves would continue to work in plantations. Claiming that previously white slaveowners committed atrocious crimes against the black slaves on the island, in exchange, they demanded a portion of the sugar trade and stricter laws against slavery. While most of the acts French officials committed were forbidden by the Code Noir, French officials' duty was to regulate the white slave owners' cruel actions against their slaves. However, French officials refused to regulate it fairly. Asserting that slaves won't return to their field duties if these conditions were not fulfilled, they announced their decisions to the Colonial Assembly commissioners. On

April 24, 1792, the National Convention of France declared that free colored as the same political rights as their white contemporaries. Claiming not only do they have a right to vote in their local elections, but at the same time, they can be eligible for French citizenship. While this declaration gave new political and social rights to free-coloreds, it only created more tension between free-coloreds and black slaves in the colony.

2.3.2 Post-Colonial Assembly Haiti

New orders from the National Convention highlighted the social segregation between free and slave populations. While the new declaration favored the free-coloreds and their demands, most Black slaves were forced to stay in bondage. Enraged by the decision made by the National Convention, masses of slaves started to gather in Port-au-Prince. At the same time, whites encouraged free-coloreds to join in their ranks to fight against black slaves. Antonie Lajard, a French merchant who was living in Port-au-Prince during that time, described the atrocities committed by both sides as "...the murder, looting, arson; since that time every day has seen these crimes reappear, to which it is impossible to fix an end, and the northern plain, once so rich, so fertile, is no more than a heap of ashes watered with the blood of our brothers..."³⁰ Nonetheless, numbers of slaves fighting against the whites and free-coloreds were much more significant in numbers.³¹ By late 1792, colonial and slave forces burnt most of the plantations in Saint Domingue. Most of the island was either destroyed or damaged.

As they continued to voice their demands on the abolition of slavery,

30. "...le meurtre, le pillage, l'incendie; depuis ce temps tous les jours voient renaître ces crimes auxquels il est impossible de fixer un terme, et la plaine du Nord, autrefois si riche, si fertile, n'est plus qu'un monceau de cendres arrosé du sang de nos frères..." Jacques Cauna, "La Révolution à Port-au-Prince (1791-1792) vue par un Bordelais" [in fr], *anami* 101, no. 185 (1989): 178

31. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 136-138.

neither insurgence leaders nor rebel slaves were in a desire to abandon their cause. As the second Civil Commission arrived on the island under the leadership of Sonthonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud on September 18, 1792, they found a destroyed colony.³² As they were adamant opposers to slavery in France, ideals they brought to the island signaled a direct change in political and social affairs. Rebel forces were still hesitant to trust the new Civil Commission due to their prior experience with the National Convention. Under the leadership of Sonthonax, the Committee declared certain social realities for the colony. Committee claimed that sugar cultivation was crucial for the island. Thus, conditions that created this commodity must continue their existence. However, they denied the racial prejudices in Haitian society. As Sonthonax claimed, "... [they recognized] only two classes of men in the French part of Saint Domingue: free men without any distinction of color, and slaves".³³

As the political conditions in France developed into a complete revolution, the Committee of Public Safety took total control over the French Republic. Proportionately to these radical changes, the Second Civil Commission's duties and power on Saint Domingue grew. In late October 1792, three commissioners decided to divide their control over Saint Domingue among themselves. However, as the political problems between whites and blacks grew apart, Ailhaud left Saint Domingue and his powers to Polverel and Sonthonax. To bring two sides of the society, with the help of General Rochambeau, Sonthonax declared that the Haitian army has to include individuals from every status in the Haitian society. As news of the declaration spread throughout the island, white slaves owners

32. Justin Chrysostome Dorsainvil and Frères de l'instruction chrétienne, *Manuel d'histoire d'haïti* [in français] (H. Deschamps. [Port-au-Prince], 1934), 84-85.

33. Cited in Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 144.

opposed the decision based on the allegations of massacres of whites. As they claimed that free-coloreds would create another massacre on the island, they revolted against the Commissioners. As the continuous fight between slaves, free-coloreds, and whites continued, the new governor of Saint Domingue François-Thompson Galbaud du Fort arrived in Saint Domingue in early 1793.³⁴ His arrival gave hope to the white settlers as he supported white's rights over the land. The dichotomy between the Commissioners and Galbaud reflected the two sides of the late 18th century Haitian society.³⁵ As Galbaud's followers started an open war against the slave rebels, the Commissioners invited any able man to fight against the Galbaud forces for the French Republic. Fifteen thousand individuals voted for the emancipation of slaves on August 24, 1793, in an open meeting in Le Cap. As the island re-joined the French Republic in 1794, Toussaint L'Ouverture took the task of protecting the freedom and the rights of the Black individuals on the island.

2.4 Greek Revolution

After the French, American, and Haitian Revolutions, most of the Atlantic powers were ready to bring back their fallen economies. Especially French and British Empires, from the Seven Years War to the early 19th century, went through a catastrophic decade that changed the Atlantic political sphere. However, bourgeoisie revolutions continued to influence other revolutionaries. In places where trade creates the primary economic income, merchants play one of the most critical roles in creating new revolutionary movements. Almost creating a melting pot of ideologies, merchants carry contemporary ideas to their homelands. Thus, for the Greek independence

34. Galbaud was issued as the new governor of Saint Domingue by the French National Convention.

35. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 155.

movement, trade cities like Odessa play a foundational role. From the creation of “Society of Friends” (*Philiki Etaireia* -Φιλική Εταιρεία) to the influence of Philhellenes in the Western sphere, merchants from both Atlantic and European nations plays a vital role in the fermentation of Greek independence movement. While it is certain that Greeks were unhappy with their social status in the Ottoman society, the influence of the bourgeoisie revolutions plays a deterministic role in the outcome of the Greek Revolution.

2.4.1 Intellectual Crossover

The Ottoman society was a mix of individuals from many different ethnicities and religions. However, apart from the other Empires, Ottoman society was divided into two classes. The military class included individuals working for the sultan and the rest of the society known as *re'âyâ*.³⁶ Amount of tax an Ottoman subject paid was one of the main denominators of their status in the Ottoman society. Non-Muslim members had to pay a certain amount of additional taxes known as *cizye* and *haraç*. Moreover, they had special societal conditions where they cannot bear arms and cannot defend themselves against Muslims in courts. Additionally, many Christian groups were obligated to give a certain proportion of their children to be raised as janissaries for the Ottoman army. While some sources underline that certain Christian individuals resented this obligation, there is also evidence regarding the Christian parents who actively enroll their children for a position in the government.³⁷

36. Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı ve Avrupa: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Avrupa tarihindeki yeri* [in tur], 1. baskı, Osmanlı tarih dizisi 4 (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2017), 36.

37. Richard Clogg, “Aspects of the Movement for Greek Independence” [in English], in *The Struggle for Greek Independence: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Greek War of Independence*, 1st ed. 1973 edition, ed. Richard Clogg (Place of publication not identified: Palgrave Macmillan, October 2015), 1.

In contrast to merchants from other Western nations, Greeks had a familiarity with the Ottoman trade procedures.³⁸ This not only made the Greek merchants one of the primary sources of information for foreign merchants to gain information regarding Ottoman procedures but at the same time, put Greeks under constant connection with the Western merchants. Thus, it is not a surprise that *Philiki Etaireia* (Society of Friends) decided to open their headquarters in Odessa, one of the main Ottoman port cities, where they can have a constant intellectual connection with the Western world.

In the 18th century Ottoman Empire was losing its central power. As a result, *toprak ağaları* and *ayanlar* were continuously growing more powerful. Identical to societal changes in the Atlantic societies, class differences in Ottoman society changed in favor of middle-class citizens. Aligned with these changes, Greeks had considerable power over the land and had trade ties with the Western nations. Thus, such societal changes gave a political opportunity to the Greek population in the Ottoman Empire. As the news of other revolutions reached the Ottoman Empire, Christian groups such as Greeks became more and more interested in the revolutionary rhetoric of bourgeoisie revolutions. Numerous Greek merchants sent their kids to European countries to study in major Western cities where revolutionary ideas flourished. These opportunities not only enabled them to read recent philosophical works but, at the same time, put them in direct communication with both French and American revolutionaries. Educated in similar conditions, Adamantios Korais' first two pamphlets on Greek revolutionary movements "Paternal Instruction" (*Patriki Didaskalia* - Πατρική Διδασκαλία) and "Fraternal Instruction" (*Adelfiki Didaskalia* -

38. Evrydiki Sifneos, "Preparing the Greek Revolution in Odessa in the 1820s: Tastes, Markets and Political Liberalism," *Historical Review* 11, no. 0 (December 2014): 146-147.

Αδελφική Διδασκαλία) became famous among the “Society of Friends”.³⁹

Underlining the sentiment of slavery under the Ottoman Empire, Korais claimed that;

The so long and shameful slavery cannot of course correct us. It is a feature of slavery not to correct but further corrupt human soul. Correction was only hoped from our own holy religion, because it is the only religion which requires from its followers brotherly love and concord, but we came to the point of corrupting even that religion.⁴⁰

His call immediately influenced the Western intellectuals. The notion of slavery under the Ottoman Empire was when many Greek and Western intellectuals found their common cause.

While Greeks had fundamental political freedom in places they lived, their liberty was bound to Ottoman laws.⁴¹ Obtaining a significant amount of land and militia, Greeks had a tremendous amount of political and economic power in their hands. However, the pre-18th century Ottoman Empire had a stronghold on places they conquered. Moreover, their good relationships with other foreign powers and stability of their own political and financial systems made them a strong force in the Mediterranean. However, with military and political changes of the 18th century, Ottoman Empire lost a significant portion of its power. Especially after surrendering Crimea to Russians, Greeks and other minority groups recognized the lack of global power the Ottoman Empire had. As the Ottomans ought to accept Tsar’s right to protect the Orthodox Church, this decision put Greeks under

39. Adamantios Korais in American and French archives known as Adamantios Coray.

40. Adamantios Korais, *Γνώμαι Αδαμάντιου Κοραή* [*Opinions of Adamantios Korais*] (Athens: Ioannis Sideris [Ιωάννης Σιδέρης]) cited in Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, “Religion and Greek Nationalism: From Conflict to Synthesis” [in en], in *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), 3

41. Professor Paul Pappas, *The United States and the Greek War for Independence 1821-1828* [in English] (Boulder : New York: East European Monographs, October 1985), 2.

the Russian heir's de facto religious protection. Later as Napoleon seized the Ionian Islands from Venetians and tried to attack Ottoman Empire from Egypt, Ottoman Empire was left open to rebellions.

2.4.2 Poets and Rebels

Philiki Etaireia's first move was to side with the international powers to collect support for their revolutionary cause. While Greeks had their wealth, it was not enough to fully aid a revolution against an empire. Although Aleksandros Ypsilantis and Ali (Tepedelenli) of Epirus gave their military aid to the Greek cause, Ottoman naval power was more substantial than the Greek forces. As the war between Greek and Ottoman forces continued, the Greek political forces got divided into two sanctions under the Achaean Directory of Patras and the Messenian Senate of Kalamata. To bring these two sides together, The Peloponnesian Senate was formed in early June 1821. Later *Philiki Etaireia* sent Demetrios Ypsilantis as the leader of the Revolution against Theodoros Kolokotronis to prove their power. However, as Kolokotronis' power over Peloponnesian Senate grew, a political separation between the Senate and Society of Friends grew.

As the Civil War between Greek revolutionaries continued, Peloponnesian Senate declared a national election and established the Greek National Assembly in December 1821. However, the creation of the Assembly didn't solve the ideological separation between the two sides. With the help of the famous Philhellene Lord Byron, British society collected a loan to aid the new Greek government. However, another Civil War broke out regarding which government this aid will fund.⁴² As a result, two governments were created under the leadership of Theodore

42. George Gordon Byron, known as Lord Byron, was one of the most influential British Philhellenists of his time. He not only helped in the collection of economic aids to Greek rebels but also, due to his fame, put the Greek cause under an international spotlight.

Kolokotronis and George Koutouriotes.⁴³ While dichotomy between the two sides continued to affect the pace of the movement, Greek individuals in Europe were in constant connection with American, French, and Haitian Revolutionaries to gain their political aid for the Greek cause.

Following the American, French and Haitian Revolutions and later Napoleonic Wars, Europe wanted to establish an institution to stabilize the balance of power in the Atlantic. Thus, in 1815 the Congress of Vienna established the Concert System to stabilize Europe.⁴⁴ Bound to the new diplomatic realities, most of the reaction from Western empires came from individuals who had an intellectual bound to Greek history with passion. Philhellenism, as a movement, became one of the mainstream intellectual movements in the early 19th century. The two most influential diaspora Greeks who collected aid for the Greek cause were Adamantios Korais and Spero Vitalis. They constantly communicated with Western intellectuals such as Edward Everett, Daniel Webster, and Jeremy Bentham that put the Greek independence movement in French, American, and British political scenes. These intellectuals helped the Greek Revolutionaries support their revolution financially and put political pressure on the Ottoman officials to reform their policies. As a result, Great Britain called on Russia to neutralize political discrepancies between the Ottoman Empire and Greek minorities. Both empires signed the protocol of Saint Petersburg on April 4, 1826.

43. Like many other post-revolutionary governments, the two governments of Greece created two different approaches to nation-building. Koutouriotes aimed to create a more centralized government where the wealthy majority controlled the monetary and military operation of the new government. On the other hand, the Kolokotronis government supported a more de-centralized government that gave power to the local administrations. Such instances of separation among revolutionaries can be seen in the French and American Revolutions. Pappas, *The United States and the Greek War for Independence 1821-1828*, 9-10

44. A.k. Kyrou, "From Russia with Love, from the West with Ambivalence: Orthodox Christian Relief during the Greek Revolution and the New Historiography on Humanitarian Intervention" [in English], *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 14, no. 1 (2016 / 01 / 02 /): 35.

Russians aimed to secure Greek Christians' social position as Orthodox Christians under the Ottoman Empire.

As the Greek Revolution progressed, the Ottoman army started to regain its lost positions with the military aid sent by Muhammad Ali Pasha. When Mossolonghi, one of the most strategic towns in the southern Aetolia-Acarnania, fell under Ottoman control, France and Great Britain decided to sign another treaty to neutralize the region entirely. London Treaty signed on July 6, 1827, aimed to grant political sovereignty to Greeks under the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵ As the treaty promised Greeks an independent state, it kept their connection to the Ottoman Empire by declaring the Ottoman sultan as the supreme leader of Greece. However, the Ottoman Empire declined the London Treaty due to its superior naval and military power. As the treaty suggested, three Western powers—France, Russia, and Great Britain—interfered on behalf of Greece. On October 20, 1827, during the Battle of Navarino, the Ottoman-Egypt fleet was destroyed by three powers, and an independent Greek state was created.

Using slavery as political propaganda was undoubtedly a popular tactic in the late 18th century political arena. However, the conditions all rebels lived under differed their motives behind the usage of this term. Indeed, conditions under chattel slavery were much more dire and ruthless. However, by no means the Greek revolutionaries' social conditions were less valid than the Haitian ones. Moreover, it only proves that the unequal treatment made by the Ottoman Empire was a social reality for them. The most interesting aspect is that while most of the European empires chose to stay silent towards the chattel slavery that was alive in the United States and

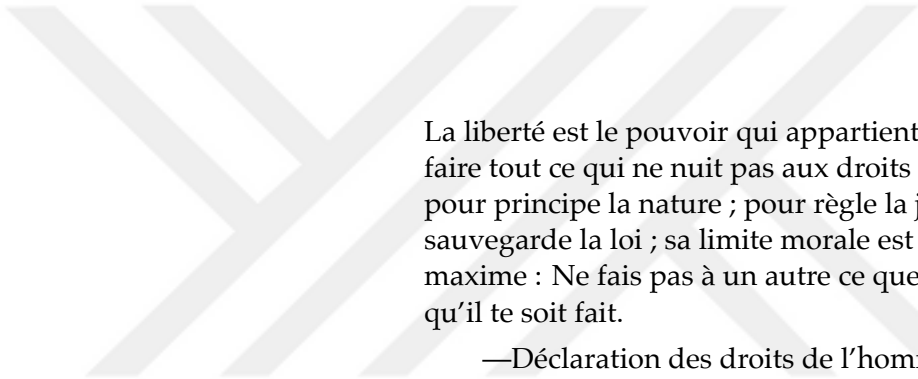
45. Yousef Hussein Omar, "France's Policy Towards the Greek Independence (1828-1830): A Study in the Light of Unpublished British Documents," *Osmanli Mirasi Arastirmalari Dergisi* 3, no. 7 (November 30, 2016): 2.

Haiti, they aided Greek revolutionaries due to their slavery-like conditions under the Ottoman Empire. One of the most well-known causes of this phenomenon was to protect their post-war economic and political statuses. However, the most interesting difference is that while supporting the Greek Revolution was an ethical issue for the Western intellectuals, similar ethical problems regarding slavery were not a conundrum.



CHAPTER 3

ATLANTIC ALLIANCES



La liberté est le pouvoir qui appartient à l'homme de faire tout ce qui ne nuit pas aux droits d'autrui : elle a pour principe la nature ; pour règle la justice ; pour sauvegarde la loi ; sa limite morale est dans cette maxime : Ne fais pas à un autre ce que tu ne veux pas qu'il te soit fait.

—Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen

3.1 Haiti and France

By the beginning of the French Revolution, more than six million Africans were carried out to the Caribbean islands to produce sugar to support the French economy. As many European intellectual spheres in the 18th century did, French abolitionists were starting to voice their opinions against Caribbean slavery and the slave trade. The abolition of slavery in the French empire was a byproduct of years-long political debates between monarchists and Revolutionaries. As political differences regarding the future of the French Empire turned into a discussion between Jacobins and Girondins in the late 18th century, the development of an abolitionist movement settled on the understanding of the economic stability of post-revolutionary France.

Emphasized in *Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen of 1789*, revolutionaries believed that every French citizen under the law was equal. Equality among commoners meant equality for all Frenchmen; this included Frenchmen in West Indies like Saint-Domingue, Grenada, Tobago, and Dominica. Places where most of the population were black slaves under white French slave-owners.

Many property-owning French citizens found the lucrative sugar trade in West Indian colonies quintessential for the French economy. However, the existence of slavery in the West Indies clashed with the equality claims that Third Estate used in their revolutionary rhetoric. As economic problems clashed with the financial alignment of the property-owning revolutionaries, the financial question regarding West Indies became “who has the right to decide the economic policies on the island?”¹ In years proceeding to the Revolution, the French Crown was in a state of budgetary crisis over the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and American Revolution (1765-1783). The immediate reaction to the monarchy’s fiscal problems was first solved by deciding how “authority over taxation and expenditure” should be split.² Both Jaques Necker, Charles-Alexandre de Calonne, as finance ministers of the Crown, offered their separate plans on possible changes on taxation. While Necker offered to pay only the interest payments of the new debt, Calonne wanted higher tax rates for the wealthier classes. Both of the proposals got strong reactions from both sides. Necker’s solution required a consistent fiscal policy and a stable government. On the other hand, Calonne’s proposal required raising taxes for the wealthier classes, which was previously declined by the clergy and nobility.

1. Peter McPhee, *Liberty or Death* (Yale University Press, May 2016).

2. Eugene Nelson White, “The French Revolution and the Politics of Government Finance, 1770-1815,” *The Journal of Economic History* 55 (1995): 229.

Conditions set by Louis XVI did not transfer a proper economic system for the revolutionaries to reform. Under the stress of economic and political problems, France tried to hold on to any financial possibilities to strengthen their economy to actualize their cause. As the Convention 1794's decree gave equal rights to ex-slaves, Napoleon Bonaparte re-introduced slavery to Saint Domingue eight years later. Between those eight years, abolitionist revolutionaries fought for the equal treatment of blacks in the French dominion. Especially the activities of the French abolitionist group *Société des Amis des Noirs* (Society of Friends of the Blacks) from its founding in 1788 to 1790 set an example for the post and proto-revolutionary abolitionist movements.

3.1.1 Women of the Revolution

Members of the Society of Friends of the Blacks were certain of their abolitionism in French dominion. With their political activism on paper and political scenes, they were adamant supporters of breaking social hierarchies in favor of disenfranchised individuals. Examples of such political and intellectual works are Olympe de Gouges and Germaine de Staël's writings that favored abolition in French dominion. Although the 18th and 19th century political and intellectual sphere were de facto closed to women intellectuals, they managed to raise interest in feminism and abolitionism in 18th century France and created an international web of intellectuals to find solutions for disenfranchised minorities. Mostly known as the author of *La Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne*, Gouges was one of the most prominent feminist writers of her time. Along with her 18th-century contemporaries, she believed that the conditions of women in France resemble slavery-like conditions. Mostly following British proto-feminist Mary Astell's steps on the condition of women after marriage,

Gouges thought that marriage traps women into slavery by claiming that

...the buying and selling of women was a kind of industry taken for granted in the first rank of society, which, henceforth, will have no credit. If it did, the revolution would be lost, and under the new order we would remain ever corrupt. Still, can reason hide the fact that all other routes to fortune are closed to woman, whom man buys like a slave on the African coast? The difference is great, as we know. The slave commands the master; but if the master sets her free, without compensation, at an age when the slave has lost all her charms, what becomes of this unfortunate creature?³

Later she underlined the unfortunate conditions of slavery in her play titled *Zamore et Mirza ou l'Esclavage des Noirs* that was republished one year before her death in 1792. Similarly, another revolutionary abolitionist, Germaine de Staël, used her political and social status to accentuate the social conditions of slaves in the West Indies. As the daughter of Louis XVI's finance minister Jacques Necker, she followed her father's steps on anti-slavery politics.⁴ In one of her later works titled *Historie de Pauline*, where she describes the conditions of slaves in Saint Domingue, she claims that "These scorching climates where men, solely occupied with a barbaric trade and gain, seem, for the most part, to have lost the ideas and feelings which could make them recoil in horror from such a trade."⁵ She claimed that Haitian violence comes from their decades-long disenfranchisement. She foregrounded their violence to their victimhood.

Along with Gouges, she claimed that French Empire must abolish

3. Olympe de Gouges, "Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen" (September 1791).

4. Karen de Bruin, "Romantic Aesthetics and Abolitionist Activism: African Beauty in Germaine de Staël's *Mirza Ou Lettre d'un Voyageur*" [in en], *Symposium: A Quarterly Journal in Modern Literatures* 67, no. 3 (July 2013): 135–147.

5. Germaine de (1766-1817) Auteur du texte Staël-Holstein, *Oeuvres Complètes de Madame La Baronne de Staël-Holstein. Oeuvres Posthumes de Madame La Baronne de Staël-Holstein, Précédées d'une Notice Sur Son Caractère et Ses Écrits. T.2* [in EN] (1871).

such a trade throughout their dominion. However, just like the Friends of the Blacks, they were faced with opposition by pro-slavery members of the French parliament. Although Gouges was guillotined years before Napoleon's coronation, Staël's post-revolutionary works directly addressed Napoleon's politics regarding Saint Domingue and France. As her house became an attraction for post-revolutionary politicians, Napoleon accused her of conspiring against the French government. As her abolitionist contemporaries, she spent most of her final years exiled in Germany.

3.1.2 Abbé Grégoire and Société des Amis des Noirs

Many generations of French intellectuals expressed their thoughts on the anti-slavery movement and the inhuman nature of the slave trade. As the conditions of slaves in Saint Domingue become a piece of common knowledge among the French society in the 18th century, French intellectuals' concerns over it become more apparent. Influenced by the narrative of the *Declaration of Independence*, French revolutionaries with *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* aimed to emphasize equality between individuals. Most importantly, Article 3 of *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* states that "all men are equal by nature and before the law". As it gave hope to Haitian Revolutionaries, it underlined the decades-long problem among French society on citizenship.

Main members of the Society of Friends of the Blacks by the beginning of 1794 included prominent names such as Marquis de Lafayette, Marquis de Condorcet, the Duke de Rochefoucauld, Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve, and Abbé Grégoire. The Society by no means was the first abolitionist group in the Atlantic sphere. In constant connection with the British abolitionist group Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, they aimed to abolish the slave trade in the Atlantic. As a member of the Society of Friends

of the Blacks and the French National Convention in 1789-1790, Abbé Grégoire stood as the champion of the anti-slavery movement in the late 18th century. As he defended the freedom and voting rights of mixed-blood (mulattoes) and free-blacks in the National Convention and during the Directory period, he fought for the emancipation of blacks in Haiti. As he supported the emancipation throughout the Atlantic, his most considerable intellectual interest was over Haiti. Meticulously working on their freedom, he underlined the importance of Haiti by claiming that;

Free Haiti is a beacon raised on the Antilles towards which the slaves and their masters, the oppressed and the oppressors turn their eyes, some sighing, others roaring; it is not given to anyone to lift the veil of the future and to conceal from it the secrets which God has kept for himself, but according to the data acquired by previous and contemporary events, *we see approaching the time when the sun in America will illuminate only free men, where its rays will no longer fall on irons and slaves.*⁶

However, against his Haitian contemporaries, Grégoire was against the independence of Haiti. Supporting the inclusion of Black slaves in French society, he believed that Saint Domingue could become a part of the French Empire. As representation issues in Haiti turned into a representation issue of colonies in the National Convention, Grégoire stood in front of a turning point. Were free-black individuals should be represented in the Constitutional Assembly? According to French metropolitan laws based on the Declaration of the Right of Man and the Citizen, there was no racial

6. "Haïti libre est un phare élevé sur les Antilles vers lequel les esclaves et leurs maîtres, les opprimés et les oppresseurs tournent leurs regards, ceux-là en soupirant, ceux-ci en rugissant ; il n'est donné à personne de soulever le voile de l'avenir et d'y dérober les secrets que Dieu s'est réservés, mais d'après les données acquises par les événements antérieurs et contemporains, on voit approcher l'époque où le soleil en Amérique n'éclairera que des hommes libres, où ses rayons ne tomberont plus sur des fers et des esclaves." Henri Grégoire, *De la Liberté de conscience et de culte à Haïti, par M. Grégoire,...* [in fr] (1824), 42

distinction between voters.⁷ Thus, on a legal basis, the French empire couldn't separate or retain French citizens from voting in elections. This situation was applicable if Haitian free-coloreds were considered French citizens. However, conditions created for free-coloreds were so limiting that even sending their children to France to get an education created a political problem for them in the colony.

Certain free-coloreds from Haiti, including Vincent Ogé and Julien Raymond, were sent to France to secure certain humanitarian rights for the Haitian free-coloreds. Raymond, the chosen spokesperson of the free-coloreds in Haiti, stated in his first petition that mulattoes and free-coloreds are not invited to the National Convention because "... an unjust and barbarous prejudice has seen to it that until this day we have been repulsed not only from all civil employment but even from the parish assemblies...".⁸ Indeed, the free-coloreds were pushed aside by both white slave owners and black slaves in Haitian society. Moreover, the free-coloreds were forbidden to hold assemblies in French colonies. Thus, Raymond was required to obtain political aid from white French citizens to make his case again for the unjust treatment of the free-coloreds. Raymond met with the politicians from the Friends of the Blacks in 1789 to further develop his ideas and compose a *cahier* for the political rights of free-coloreds.⁹ While the Friends of the Blacks were enthusiastic about aiding the free-coloreds, the Club Massiac – a French pro-slavery political organization — were equally

7. Jean-François Brière, "Abbe Gregoire and Haitian Independence," *Research in African Literatures* 35, no. 2 (April 2004): 2.

8. Julien Raimond, *Observations Adressées à l'Assemblée Nationale, Par Un Député Des Colons Américains* [in EN] (1789), 14 cited in Mercer Cook, "Julien Raimond," *The Journal of Negro History* 26, no. 2 (1941): 5

9. Cahiers are a list of political grievances drawn up by each estate of French society. These lists mainly consist of the political aims and problems of each class. They were required to be drawn up between March and April 1789 following the Estates-General of 1789.

against the abolition of slavery and slave trade in Haiti.

Mainly including slave-owning planters, the Club Massiac members were against the inclusion of free blacks and mulattoes in electoral processes. Basing their resentment on agricultural fears, they underlined the importance of keeping French laws in France.¹⁰ Economic system of French colonies was vastly different from the financial system in France. Driven mainly by mercantilistic desires, many individuals who invested in the slave trade or had property on the island wanted to keep slavery alive in Saint Domingue. Thus, the Club Massiac's narrative quickly influenced many slave-owning individuals in the National Convention. Underlining the hardships of the post-revolutionary economy, Club Messiac members claimed that such sudden political changes would hurt the pace of the cause. Indeed, the economic difficulties were the biggest obstacles in front of the Friends of the Blacks.¹¹ Main objective of revolutionaries during this period was "... to justify the Revolution, to acquit it of crimes, to explain away its criminals".¹² Lack of answers to the questions proposed by the Club Massiac was one of the essential argumentative errors the Friends of the Blacks had in their narrative. In a letter published in *Journal de Paris* in 1790, one of the Nantes' deputies of commerce, Jean-Baptiste Mosneron de l'Aunay, directly addressed Condorcet by claiming that "... abolishing the slave trade, ... would in a short time put an end to a business that feeds 5 to 6 million men...".¹³ Against the Club Messiac, the Friends of the Blacks was underlining the importance of colonies as an inseparable part of the

10. Brière, "Abbe Gregoire and Haitian Independence," 35.

11. White, "The French Revolution and the Politics of Government Finance, 1770-1815."

12. Stanley Mellon, *Political Uses of History: a Study of Historians in the French Restoration* (Stanford University Press, January 1, 1958), 3.

13. *Journal de Paris*, no. 24, 17 January 1790. cited in Fayçal Falaky, "Reading Rousseau in the Colonies: Theory, Practice, and the Question of Slavery" [in en], *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 19, no. 1 (March 2015): 5–19

empire. They supported the idea that this interconnected web of interests would eventually lead to the actualization of revolutionary political aims. As slavery and the slave trade in the colony continued, Antoine Barnave, on March 8, 1790, announced that colonies could hold their election and manage their domestic affairs.

3.1.3 Free Citizen

Self-government meant little to nothing to black slaves in Saint Domingue. While this decision was favored by free-coloreds that planned to send representatives to the French parliament, it wasn't favorable among many Haitian revolutionaries. Most of them was considering Raymond's politics as self-serving and limited. Raymond did not ask to eliminate previous colonial laws but proposed a lighter version by suggesting special political statuses to light-skinned, wealthy free-coloreds.¹⁴ Unhappy by the conditions created by Raymond and National Convention, revolutionaries and Black slaves started to become vocal about their disappointment. However, revolutionaries and Black slaves were not the only ones who were disappointed by the decree. Property-owners and colonists tried to persuade members of the National Convention by claiming that France should not dictate colonies on the subject of race relations. To bring down the negative responses from the French colonies, members of the National Convention decided to keep the bill racially ambiguous. The final version of the bill passed and was later re-established in March 1792. However, certain members of the Friends of the Blacks were unhappy with this decision. Alongside the Haitian revolutionaries, Grégoire was fighting for the total abolition of the slave trade. However, unknown to him, Haitian revolutionaries were about to declare their independence and abolish

14. John D Garrigus, "Opportunist or Patriot? Julien Raimond (1744–1801) and the Haitian Revolution" [in en], *Slavery & Abolition* 28, no. 1 (April 2007): 6.

slavery in 1794.

Sonthonax's sudden declaration of the abolition of slavery on the island shook the French parliament. Abbé Grégoire noted his opinions towards this sudden change in his *De la traite et de l'esclavage des Noirs* as;

In the north of the island, Blacks have a completely organized government. Last June, the civil, criminal, and military rights were in the press; work, done by free hands, is protected and compensated, education and the arts are making progress. On January 1, the annual celebration of independence, they renew the oath never to tolerate the return of slavery.¹⁵

Sudden declaration changed every plan Friends of the Blacks had for the colony. Unpredictable declarations emphasized the unreliable nature of the Haitian Revolution in the eyes of the Atlantic revolutionaries. As the French Revolution progressed, most of the Society of Friends of the Blacks members were either dead or in jail for conspiring against the National Convention. After losing the majority of their power in the National Convention, none of the new politicians favored their aims for Haiti. Reputation tarnished by his vote in favor of the execution of Louis XVI, Abbé Grégoire was turned into a *persona-non-grata* among the French politicians.

3.2 Haiti and United States

From the early 18th century onwards, the United State's financial relationship with Haiti played a significant role for the American merchants. Predominantly based on the sugar trade between British and French

15. "Dans le nord de l'île, les Noirs ont un gouvernement complètement organisé. En juin dernier, les codes civil, criminel, militaire étaient sous presse; le travail, fait par des mains libres, est protégé et récompensé, l'éducation et les arts font des progrès. Le 1er janvier, fête annuelle de l'indépendance, on renouvelle le serment de ne jamais tolérer le retour de l'esclavage." Henri Grégoire, "De La Traite et de l'esclavage Des Noirs" (1815), 43–44 cited in Brière, "Abbe Gregoire and Haitian Independence," 5

colonies, Haitian and American merchants rebelled and fought over a century to keep this lucrative commerce alive. As the American and French Revolutions radicalized each other further, the interconnectedness of each created a common reaction to the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic. Similar to the French property-owning bourgeoisie, many American white Southern property-owners emphasized their concerns over the agriculture of the United States. Mainly using the violence of Haitian slaves to fear-monger against the Haitian Revolution, Southern politicians propagandized the Haitian rebels in favor of their pro-slavery aims. As the violation of revolutionary rhetoric first came from France as an anti-abolitionist narrative, similar economic and political reports were used by pro-slavery 18th century American politicians.

3.2.1 Economic Response

The United States, after the 1780s, was in an economic crisis. Permanently increasing war debt was one of the main issues of the Washington, Adams, and Jefferson administrations. Crippled by the war and national debt, a permanent solution for economic prosperity, according to the Federalists, laid on economic and political partnership with Great Britain. As one of the central economic powers in the 18th century, any collaboration with Great Britain proposed economic and political stability and international recognition to the new nations. In the end, like politics, economic order was changing in the Atlantic. The old physiocratic order was leaving itself to a mercantile system with the ongoing industrial changes. Britain carried the advantages of creating the trade systems and payments of the developed world.¹⁶ From the standpoint of American politicians, a diplomatic coalition with Great Britain would fasten the rebuilding of the American financial

16. Eric J. Hobsbawm and Chris Wrigley, *Industry and Empire* (The New Press, 1999), 13.

stability. They were the only Old Power that showed signs of economic and political stability. According to Alexander Hamilton in his *The Report on the Subject of Manufacturers* the power of labor, primarily cotton production, was an immense agricultural power the United States was holding in their hands.

In the words of Gordon Wood, the American Revolution and its nation-building phase was a “product of a complicated culmination of many diverse personal grievances and social strains, ranging from land pressures in Connecticut to increasing indebtedness in Virginia.”¹⁷ The United States as a whole was benefitting by the existence of this institution. However, they were not the only ones. The West Indies since the mid- 17th century accounted for 9% of total British exports. In 1773 one quarter of the English exports came from the Caribbean islands.¹⁸ This not only made the Carribeans one of the leading sugar exporters of the Atlantic but at the same time put all European powers in a fight to gain control over the region. This economic conundrum between yeoman farmers vs. plantation owners and physiocracy vs. mercantile financial systems continued to hunt the American political scene until the end of the 1960s. However, the social implications of this economic debate were much more significant than they seemed. Alliances not only changed the balance of power between France and Great Britain but at the same time changed the outcomes of the Atlantic revolutions between the late 18th to mid-19th centuries. As much as the economic limitations and political neutrality aims tried to set the United States as a neutral nation in the Atlantic, revolutionary rhetoric the American intellectuals used throughout the 18th century was already influencing the Atlantic political sphere.

17. Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (UNC Press Books, 1998), 75.

18. Eric Eustace Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (1994), 54.

One of the most peculiar differences in American society was the lack of proper social classes that were permanent in the pre-18th century Western societies. While differences between social classes were bound to birth holding hereditary titles and the governmental offices in the Western societies, the class difference between individuals was mainly based on either office they held or land they owned in the North Colonial American society. In a most literal sense, the subject's economic status was one of the main differentiating tools for social status in Colonial America. Thus, protection of these differences became an essential factor in the 18th century politics. While the early phases of the slave trade on the Atlantic were slower, as the industry grew, the desire for African slaves proportionately raised. According to the census of 1780, of 3.8 million people living in the entire country, 700,000 of them were slaves.¹⁹ That meant that almost 18% of the people who were living in the United States were in bondage. Through the end of the 18th century with the invention of the Cotton Gin, England became one of the top importers of cotton. This new world enterprise tired and forced the landowners to require more land. Moreover, it put immense demands on the black slaves to maximize the profits.²⁰

3.2.2 Propagandizing Slavery

One of the main political points that many American colonists agreed on during the Continental Congress was creating a consensus among the thirteen states. Accordingly, Southern states had the advantage of having economic and political power over politics during the mid-18th century. Moreover, they had the political incentives to support and force their

19. Anthony Zambelli, "Looking at History Through an Economics Lens: A Short History of North American Slavery from an Economic Point of View," *Social Studies Review* 52, no. 1 (2013): 56.

20. Philip D. Morgan, "Origins of American Slavery," *OAH Magazine of History* 19, no. 4 (-07-01 2005): 53.

political agenda during these meetings. Later implied by John Rutledge of South Carolina, many southerners considered any debate on slavery as inadequate for the southern Congress members. As he claimed that such debates propose whether “the Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union’, many Southern congressmen later used this argument as leverage over Northern politician’s anti-slavery policies.²¹ Similar rhetoric was used previously to force Jefferson to omit the slavery paragraph from the final version of the Declaration of Independence. As an answer to this omission, Jefferson noted that

South Carolina & Georgia who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who on the contrary still wished to continue it. our Northern brethren also I believe felt a little tender under those censures; for tho’ their people have very few slaves themselves yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others.²²

As much as Jefferson tried to position the issue of slavery as silence from both sides, there is no denying the political power Southern politicians held in the Early American political arena. Similarly, James Madison urged his friend William Bradford in 1776 to not report the arming of slaves by the British in fears of political reactions from the Southern states.²³ These small instances show that while Southern congress members used slavery to force their political agenda.

Tracing the debate on slavery back shows that many members of the Congress who participated in these debates were silent or got silenced on this issue. James Madison wanted this issue to be solved later when

21. “The Debate in the Convention of 1787 on the Prohibition of the Slave-Trade.,” *The New York Times: Archives*, November 24, 1860, ISSN: 0362-4331.

22. “Notes of Proceedings in the Continental Congress, 7 June–1 August 1776”, *Founders Online*, National Archives.

23. David Waldstreicher, “The Beardian Legacy, the Madisonian Moment, and the Politics of Slavery,” *American Political Thought* 2, no. 2 (2013): 275, ISSN: 2161-1580.

the topic was presented during the Continental Congress of 1780. As he mentioned to his friend Joseph Jones whether they would enlist black slaves on November 28, 1780, Madison claimed that the "...experience having shown that a freedman immediately loses attachment & sympathy with his former fellow slaves."²⁴ For Madison, slaves and slave owners would not be able to create a mixed society because of their hatred towards each other. In one of the most critical debates of the Constitutional Convention, both Virginia and New Jersey Plan touched on the issues of slavery and representation. As Madison insisted, the real problem was not big versus small states but the representations of slave versus free states.²⁵ These debates only affirmed that slavery was very much a part of the Early American political scene. While many progressive members of Congress were not against the anti-slavery movement, they actively chose to discuss their ideas on this subject in their private letters. By keeping their silence on this issue, they decided to compromise their ideals by introducing lesser clauses to postpone the abolition of slavery further. Against the Founder's expectations, rapid developments in agricultural technology didn't change the Southern position towards slavery. As Great Britain demanded more cotton, Southern slave owners began to cling to this institution even further. Slave-owners' unwillingness to accept modern agricultural advancements primarily lies in the early Nationalist movements that put local economic and political interests over the social improvements.²⁶ Although cotton production made lands futile, for many Southern politicians, it was the only way of living. However, this lifestyle wasn't only for monetary gain. At a

24. "From James Madison to Joseph Jones, 28 November 1780", *Founders Online*, National Archives.

25. Waldstreicher, "The Beardian Legacy, the Madisonian Moment, and the Politics of Slavery," 277.

26. Joyce E. Chaplin, "Slavery, Progress, and the "Federal-National" Union," in *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 358.

certain point, their commitment to slavery became a political stance against the anti-slavery rhetoric. Thus, incorporating slavery into Southern politics was not a displeasing factor for them. On the contrary, it was a political point they used in their daily politics.

Most of the American revolutionaries wanted to keep egalitarian revolutionary rhetoric. Moreover, they aimed to influence other oppressed individuals to take arms against their oppressors. However, the American Revolution wasn't just a national issue. On the contrary, the American Revolution wouldn't be actualized without the Spanish and French economic and military aid. As a debt to their help, France expected the United States to aid their political and economic causes in the Atlantic. This expectation meant economic and political assistance for the French in the Caribbean. However, the political and economic status of the Early American government wasn't strong enough to fully aid the French Empire. Moreover, the news of slave insurgences coming from Haiti was underlining an unwanted point. None of the Atlantic nations was welcoming a slave rebellion. Haiti, by its location, influenced many Great Powers' economic stability. The Revolution started under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Haitian Revolutionaries were proposing a new economic and political order for the Atlantic.

3.2.3 Political Response

Haitian Revolution, with the Trou Coffy insurgence, started turmoil in the Atlantic Political sphere. Starting with solid and reactionary foundations, the Haitian Revolution was, in the end, was creating one of the earliest examples of a self-governing Black state run by former slaves. As C.L.R. James claimed in *Black Jacobins*, Haitian Revolution wasn't only significant because it was one of the earliest examples of slave revolts, but "the magnitude

of the interest” shown by other European and Atlantic nations proved the power of the movement.²⁷ Starting with the United States gaining its independence in 1783 with the Treaty of Paris and later French Revolution in 1789, political and social structures in the Atlantic were changing. Especially in Haiti, British, French, and Spanish colonial powers were trying to own the lucrative trade on the island. By the end of August 1793, Spain was allied with black rebel armies and controlled a significant portion of the Northern provinces of the colony.²⁸ On the other hand, prominent colonial leaders like Toussaint L’Ouverture were in contact with the United States and Great Britain to find the economic and political support they needed. Indeed, in the late-18th century, the United States was a solid ally for L’Ouverture. Especially, during the period between 1795 to 1800, with the Jay’s Treaty and XYZ Affair, the United States was in a *quasi-war* with France. Thus, both Washington and Adams administrations were enthusiastic but cautious to aid the Haitian cause.

The first instance of political contact between the United States and Haiti for financial and political aid was right after the Trou Coffy insurrection. With the entrusted letters were written to United States Congress by President Boyer, M. Roustan reached Philadelphia in mid-September.²⁹ Unfortunate to him, both the Secretary of State and President of the United States was out of town during that time. However, the Pennsylvania state legislature took matters into their hands and on September 21 declared

that taking into consideration the distressed and wretched situation of the inhabitants of Cap Français, then closely

27. James, *The Black Jacobins*.

28. Carolyn E. Fick, “Revolutionary Saint Domingue and the Emerging Atlantic: Paradigms of Sovereignty,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 31, no. 2 (2008): 123.

29. Mary Treudley, “The United States and Santo Domingo, 1789-1866,” *The Journal of Race Development* 7, no. 1 (1916): 103.

besieged by an enraged and brutal multitude of negroes, the House of Representatives as men enjoying the blessings of peace and as citizens of the world being bound to relieve their fellow creatures in an hour of such terror and misery, which will not admit of any delay" should make arrangements to send two vessels with provisions to Cap Français.³⁰

Their quick answer to the Haitian government shows that the trade relations between Haiti and the United States were considered crucial to the American economy as it was to the French Empire. Thus keeping the trade between colonies was important to the balance of power in the Atlantic political sphere.

Before 1793, both Federalists and Republicans were willing to send financial and political aids to the French officials in Haiti. Pressuring Congress by citing his country's dire conditions, the French diplomat Jean Baptiste de Ternant demanded \$4000,000 for his use. The United States Congress accepted his demand with the help of Alexander Hamilton. Writing on February 22, 1792, Hamilton showed his sincere emotions by claiming

In making this payment, I derive pleasure from the idea of any accommodation which may result from it at the particular conjuncture; and I assure you of a cordial disposition on my part to cooperate in any extension which may be requisite and practicable.³¹

Moreover, in June 1792, the National Convention provided the use of four million livres of American debt to aid the French in St. Domingo.³²

30. *Report American Historical Association*, 1897, 491, in a letter from Phineas Bond to Lord Granville, October 2, 1791 cited in Treudley, "The United States and Santo Domingo, 1789-1866," 104

31. "From Alexander Hamilton to Jean Baptiste de Ternant, 22 February 1792", *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-11-02-0052>.

32. Treudley, "The United States and Santo Domingo, 1789-1866," 180.

However, this financial treatment didn't last long. As France was going through multiple revolutions, the economic instability of the revolutionary depression was much more apparent than before. From 1793 to 1794, the political and economic relationship between the United States and France deteriorated. Especially for the Federalists, Haiti's independence meant the tipping power of France in the Atlantic.³³ With the signing of the Jay's Treaty, United States Federalists not only officially agreed on siding with Great Britain against France, but at the same time, diplomatically showed that their economic and financial relationship with France was put on hold. The Adams Administration later reinforced this notion after the XYZ Affair, where they banned all trade with France and starting a *quasi-war* with them. According to Timothy Pickering

Nothing is more clear, than, if left to themselves, that the Blacks of St. Domingo will be incomparably less dangerous than if they remain the subjects of France France with an army of those black troops might conquer all the British Isles [in the Carib- bean] and put in jeopardy our Southern States. ³⁴

Republicans didn't share the same perception towards an independent Haiti. While they agreed on the principle of keeping both British and French powers away from the colony, at the same time, they were afraid of a possible slave rebellion in the Southern States. Especially after 1793, as the white government in St. Domingo collapsed, thousands of white refugees from the colony immigrated to the United States. Many French refugees found their new homes and unleashed a southern conservative, a

33. Donald R. Hickey, "America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti, 1791-1806," *Journal of the Early Republic* 2, no. 4 (1982): 365.

34. "Pickering to William Smith, Feb. 13, 1799", Pickering Papers, reel 10 (Massachusetts Historical Society) cited in Hickey, "America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti, 1791-1806"

pro-slavery argument against the slave uprisings in St. Domingo.³⁵

The Republicans did not share the Federalist's view of the Haitian Revolution. Parallel to the United States' interests over the region, Jefferson — like other Democratic-Republicans — considered the Haitian revolution an unwanted political dispute for the Atlantic sphere. In an attempt to surpass the French hegemony over the region and aid Southern finances and politics, Jefferson halted official relations with the Haitian revolutionaries in 1801.³⁶ Although, Jefferson in multiple private letters, underlined his aims for Saint Domingue, due to his racial prejudices, Haitian revolutionaries never had a chance to be equal to the Greek or French revolutionaries.³⁷ As the Jefferson administration put an embargo that cut off trade between the United States and Haiti between 1806 and 1810, it only diminished the fears of the Atlantic slaveowners momentarily. From news of insurgence to fictional works such as Leonora Sansay's *Secret History*, the creation of the rhetoric of violence regarding the Haitian revolutionaries was alive in the United States.

Interestingly, both Federalists and Democratic-Republicans had their narratives regarding the Haitian Revolution. Mostly came out from the political conundrum in Saint Domingue, the Haitian Revolution became a mythical story that French and American politicians used to aid their political ideologies. Inhumane conditions that most black slaves were living under mainly were a secondary thought for most of the 18th-century politicians.

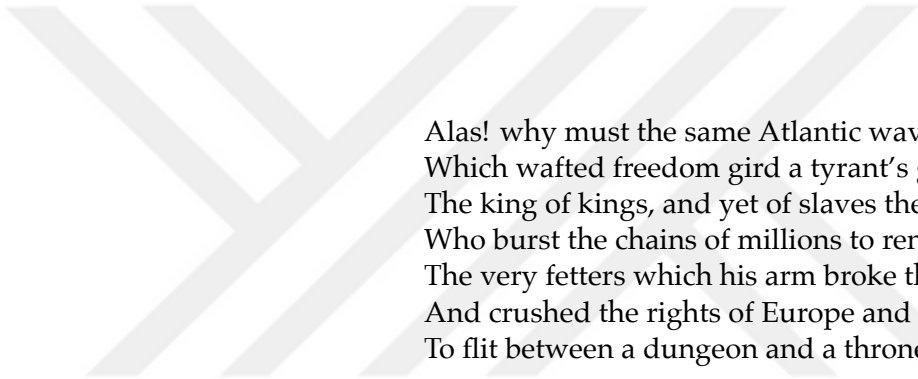
35. Timothy M Matthewson, "Jefferson and Haiti," *The Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 2 (1995): 216.

36. Donald R. Hickey, "America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti, 1791-1806," *Journal of the Early Republic* 2, no. 4 (1982): 369, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3123088>.

37. According to Jefferson, the United States can solve their slavery problem by sending Black slaves to Haiti. Although he acknowledged that such transformation of the society would affect the United States financially, he later admitted that a constitutional amendment would be required for such transformation. John Ashworth, *Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic* (Cambridge University Press, January 1996), 36

CHAPTER 4

MEDITERRANEAN ALLIANCES



Alas! why must the same Atlantic wave
Which wafted freedom gird a tyrant's grave -
The king of kings, and yet of slaves the slave,
Who burst the chains of millions to renew
The very fetters which his arm broke through,
And crushed the rights of Europe and his own,
To flit between a dungeon and a throne?

—Lord Byron, *The Age of Bronze*

4.1 Minorities in Ottoman Empire

From its first foundational steps, the Ottoman Empire incorporated multi-ethnic, racial, and religious groups into Ottoman society. Its geopolitical position offered many economic and political opportunities. After conquering one of the most influential Christian cities in the 15th century, Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire, in approximately 600 years, became one of the most powerful empires in the Mediterranean. With its powerful military advancements, the Empire was considered one of the major players in the Mediterranean außenpolitik. It wasn't until the 16th century the Ottoman Empire decided to expand its territories to the Balkans

and Aegean. From 1516 to 1517, Sultan Selim defeated the entire Levantine coast, Empire's connection with other trade routes became clearer.¹ These imperialist policies put the Ottoman Empire in a constant naval war with Venetians and Spaniards in the Mediterranean. As none of the three empires could prove their power over the Mediterranean sea, it became a war zone between them.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, most non-muslim subjects were barred from living in the perimeter of Istanbul's city walls.² As most of the Ottomans had little interest in the Cycladic islands, most of the non-muslim, especially Greek, the population were found their new homes in these islands. As these islands became a battle zone for the Orthodox and Muslim empires, Orthodox Greeks became the sole merchants who continued the international trade with other foreign empires. Mostly earning their livelihood from trading, wealthy Greek subjects became the natural trade mediators between the Ottoman Empire and other Western powers. Most of the Atlantic and Mediterranean trade was left to smaller merchants by the Great Powers after the Seven Years War. While French and English previously controlled these trade routes, now it was left to the smaller merchants to earn their fortunes. This transformation of sea trade in the 18th century not only elevated Greek merchant's social status but at the same time transformed Istanbul into a major European city. As Nikolai Todorov describes it in *The Balkan City, 1400-1900*, "Thanks to its key geographic position – at the crossroads of several major land and sea commercial thoroughfares – and to the privileges and facilities that it had enjoyed for

1. Molly Greene, "Resurgent Islam" [in English], in *The Mediterranean in History*, ed. David Abulafia (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 221.

2. Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1768: The Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 90.

several centuries, Istanbul was transformed into the largest city in Europe”.³ This transformation re-introduced the Greek populations back into city.

4.1.1 Ottoman Empire and Slavery

Slavery in the Ottoman Empire even today stays as an unexplored part of Ottoman history. Compared to American racial studies, slavery in the Ottoman Empire holds little to no space in Turkish collective memories.⁴ One of the main reasons for this erasure is that from the 1840s to 1870s, many Ottoman intellectuals created two different histories for two different audiences. While for western audiences, Ottoman intellectuals presented Ottoman slavery as *kul/harem* slavery, for Ottoman audiences, they claimed that domestic and agricultural slavery is the only slavery types in the Ottoman Empire.⁵ The majority of the female slaves worked mostly in domestic positions, and some of them became wives or concubines in Ottoman households. Although, in most cases, just like in the United States and France, such sexual acts of violence became a second nature of this institution and became a part of a captive’s life under slavery.⁶ Especially female captives from Sudan and Egypt not only created their Orientalist trophies for Western audiences. Authors such as Montesquieu, Domenico of Jerusalem, and Lady Mary Wortley used Harem and the sexualization of women in the Ottoman Empire as classic examples of Ottoman despotism and oppression to substantialize their ideas regarding the Ottoman Empire

3. Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City, 1400-1900* (University of Washington Press, January 1983), 55-56 cited in Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1768*, 95

4. Terence Walz and Kenneth M. Cuno, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: Histories of Trans-Saharan Africans in Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Cairo ; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 4.

5. Ehud R. Toledano, “Late Ottoman Concepts of Slavery (1830s-1880s)” [in en], *Poetics Today* 14, no. 3 (23): 477.

6. Michael Ferguson and Ehud R. Toledano, “Ottoman Slavery and Abolition in the Nineteenth Century” [in en], in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, First, ed. David Eltis et al. (Cambridge University Press, April 2017), 201.

further.⁷ Later, similar slavery rhetoric was used by revolutionary minorities such as Greeks to draw attention to their causes. Indeed, many non-Muslim individuals were used as military slaves by the Ottoman Empire. However, the diasporic literature of the Greek Revolution doesn't include either female or male slaves in their rhetoric. Although like every revolution, we come across revolutionaries that base their insurgence in egalitarian terms, such as Rigas Feraios that aimed to demolish hierarchies for every subject of the Ottoman Empire, prominent Greek Enlightenment thinker Adamantios Korais used the term slavery without including the condition of real disenfranchised individuals in the Ottoman Empire.⁸

4.2 Philhellenism in the West

Most of the non-muslim reâya were openly against the additional taxes they had to pay under the Ottoman Empire. As Şeriat considered Christianity and Jewish religions holy, many non-muslim individuals were regarded as second-class subjects by the Ottoman Empire. This pushed many non-Muslim minorities to seek closer ties with other Mediterranean powers. However, close relations with the other Mediterranean empires and cities like Venice made Greek merchants vital in Ottoman international trade. As the Ottoman Empire required Western glass, paper, and fabrics, other Western empires needed Ottoman grains. To deliver such goods, the Greek merchants were in constant connection with other Western merchants. Thus, it is not a surprise that many merchants were able to bring back the 18th century revolutionary ideas to the Ottoman Empire.

7. Christine Isom-Verhaaren, "Royal French Women in the Ottoman Sultans' Harem: The Political Uses of Fabricated Accounts from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 2 (2006): 159–196.

8. It is essential to note that the constitution that was known as The Epidaurus Law adopted by the First National Assembly of Epidaurus on January 1, 1822, abolished slavery in Greece.

West's perspective on the Greeks and Greek history changed throughout the 18th century. Mostly forgotten before the Seven Years War, the Greek population in the Ottoman Empire was mainly bound to the vilification by the European intellectuals. British diplomat William Martin Leake in his *Researches in Greece* claims that "the modern dialect of the greeks bears the same comparison with its parent language, as the poverty and debasement of the present generation to the refinement and opulence of their ancestors".⁹ Mostly connecting their historical background to the Byzantine Empire, most of the 18th century intellectual figures were considering them as the lesser version of their ancestors. After the French and American Revolutions, on the eve of the 19th century, the European international society, under the leadership of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Spain, created the Congress of Vienna with the aims of bringing the balance of power between nations back to Europe. The decision made by the Great Powers created the Concert of Europe aimed to stabilize international order by underlining the common interests of the Great Powers. However, each Great Power had its own political and economic plan for the future of Europe. Divided into two groups under the Quadruple Alliance and the Holy Alliance, they defined Europe in secular and religious terms. As much as the Great Powers aimed to end political complications in Europe, the possible collapse of the Ottoman Empire posed a threat to European stability.¹⁰ As German diplomat Frederic von Gentz claimed, "Whatever happens in Spain, Portugal and North and South America, the European Alliance can wait with calmness...".¹¹ Thus, their first aim was to protect the Ottoman Empire's political status among the European nations.

9. William Martin Leake, *Researches in Greece* [in en] (J. Booth, 1814), 2.

10. Yannis A. Stivachtis, "'International Society' versus 'World Society': Europe and the Greek War of Independence" [in en], *Int Polit* 55, no. 1 (January 2018): 111.

11. Cited in Stivachtis, 111

From the early 18th century, Philhellenism became a predominant intellectual movement in Europe. As the Philhellenists claimed, most of the European intellectual foundation was built on the Ancient Greek scholarly works. The Philhellenist movement was based on re-introducing this intellectual foundation back to modern scholarship. Most of the 18th century intellectuals, if they want to get higher education, were bound to learn Greek and Latin. The predominant higher education institutions in the United States required every student to be able to read and write in Latin and Greek. Thus, most of the younger generation started to read works of Greek and Roman authors at a very young age.

Greek and Roman scholarly work's influence on early Atlantic politics carries a romantic bond to Greek and Roman history. This connection made Philhellenism a legitimate movement in Western societies. From Americans to Germans, many intellectuals flocked to the Ottoman Empire to see ancient Greek cities. However, their primary interest was in Ancient Greek monuments rather than the Greek intellectual tradition. Their aims mainly were a romantic aspiration influenced by their love for Greek antiquity rather than changing the Greek Christian's political status. Most of the Western Philhellenes were not able to travel to the Ottoman Empire. For financial and geographical reasons, such a journey would require sufficient funds in the 18th century. Thus, most of the Philhellenes had to imagine how Greece looked. As one of the many German Philhellenes who couldn't take this journey, Frederick Hegel would agree with the great German archaeologist Johann Winckelmann's description of Grece as "the land of beauty" where art and political freedom can openly flourish.¹²

12. Will D. Desmond, "Hegel and the Ancient World," in *Hegel's Antiquity*, Pages: 1-42
Publication Title: *Hegel's Antiquity* Section: *Hegel's Antiquity* (Oxford University Press, 2020), 12.

Aligned with the other nation-making processes in the 18th and 19th centuries, most of the Greek Philhellenes started to reshape their language and history to define their 'true' historical and intellectual identities. The change from romantic aspiration to a political movement happened approximately in the 1750s when Philhellenism became a predominant movement with the influence of Western intellectuals. Mainly carrying the same notions of emotional and historical roots of Romanticism, Philhellenism aimed to protect Greek history and philosophy. During the pre-revolutionary period, the term Philhellenism described a Greek individual who supported the rebirth of the Hellenes. It was later defined by the Greek historian Antinos Miliarakis in his review of Adamantios Korais' book as "[a person] who loved Greece in his manner, and worked unrelentingly towards the rebirth of Greece by publishing, correcting and annotating texts of ancient Greek writers".¹³ This minor change in the definition of this concept not only changed the 'we' versus 'them' perspective in the Greek revolutionary narrative, but at the same time further influenced the Western intellectuals to support the Greek Revolution.¹⁴ Later, continuing with the Greek history, Adamantios Korais, a Classical Greek scholar, refuted the Byzantine and Ottoman influences on Greek history. He claimed that due to Ottoman mistreatment, the Greek population under the Ottoman Empire was uneducated on their histories and historical changes of the 18th century. Thus, according to Korais, their 'awakening' was later than their European counterparts. Claiming in his

13. "οοποίος, αγαπών την Ελλάδα κατ'ιδιάζοντα τρόπον, ειργάσθη ανενδότης υπέρ της αναγεννήσεως αυτής δημοσιεύων, διορθών και σχολιάζων κείμενα αρχαίων Ελλήνων συγγραφέων" Α Μηλιαράκης, "Χαρακτηρισμός του Κοραή," *Εστία*, no. 4 (1877): 584 cited in Pechlivanos Miltos, "Adamantios Korais (Smyrna 1748–Paris 1833), philhellène à sa manière," in *Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism*, ed. Martin Vöhler, Stella Alekou, and Pechlivanos Miltos, Publication Title: Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism (De Gruyter, January 18, 2021), 177

14. Miltos, 178-179.

Memoire Sur L'etat Actuel de La Civilisation Dans La Grèce that “This painful discovery, however, doesn’t not precipitate the Greek into despair: We are descendants of Greeks, they implicitly told themselves, *we must either try to become again worthy of this name, or we must not bear it.*”¹⁵ As a classical scholar himself, Korais underlined the notion that the Greek population has to regain control over their classical history.¹⁶ By capturing the Western intellectual mind, Philhellenism was turned into “a political program for the benefit of the Greek cause”.¹⁷ Korais’ decision regarding the Greek language and history was in line with the widespread Western interest in Greek antiquity. Thus, the protection of Greece become an intellectual fight over the defense of freedom, democracy, and liberty from tyranny and cruelty.

4.2.1 American Philhellenism

Most of the prominent American intellectuals of the 18th century were political leaders of the new republic. Mostly educated on the classical teachings, their educational background shaped their political and moral understandings and perspectives. The usage of Athens or Rome as an example for the American governmental system was politically useful. Firstly, slavery — primarily white slavery — existed in both of these societies. Thus, most of the pro-slavery crowd enjoyed using Athens as an example for their ideal community. However, at the same time, Athens was too politically egalitarian and too unstable to lead. These two crucial factors of Athenian statesmanship helped to define the characteristic elements of the Early American democracy. First, for stability, a limitation on voting

15. Adamantios Korais, “Adamantios Korais: Report on the Present State of Civilization in Greece” [in en], in *Late Enlightenment: Emergence of Modern National Ides*, ed. Ahmet Ersoy et al. (Central European University Press, June 2006), 144.

16. Grigoriadis, “Religion and Greek Nationalism,” 15.

17. Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature*, Theory and History of Literature 81 (Minneapolis, Minn.: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1991), 16.

was necessary. Secondly, like Athens and Sparta, United States required slave labor to continue its economic power. Athens society, like Spartan, had a strict division between citizens and forced labor. Hierarchical-minded politicians used this fundamental similarity between two distinct societies to support slavery.

The Greek independence movement was put into modern mainstream politics by the English poet Lord Byron. As a Philhellene himself, he traveled to Ottoman Empire to aid the Greek Revolution. His poems on Greek life made Greek independence a popular movement among the European public spheres. Like many Atlantic counterparts, Americans felt a solid connection to Greek history. Due to their political and, even in some cases religious references, certain groups in the American society wanted to mobilize against the Ottoman Empire. Primarily used by the scholars and intellectuals in the 19th, usage of Greek language and knowledge of Greek history was predominantly an upper-class phenomenon. However, according to John Adams, the American Revolution could explain a sudden interest in Hellenic culture. Adams claims that the American Revolution led the motivation to research and write the first official histories of other classical empires.¹⁸ As prominent Classicists like Edward Everett defended the position of the classical languages in higher education, he later traveled to Greece to popularize the Greek independence movement in the Atlantic political sphere even further.

Primarily using Greek history as a negative example, many Early American politicians claimed Ancient Greek democracy brought Greeks their doom. Especially in Federalist 18 and Federalist 45, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison make claims on Ancient Greece's political

18. Meyer Reinhold, "Philhellenism in America in the Early National Period," *The Classical Outlook* 55, no. 5 (1978): 86.

fate.¹⁹ However, at the beginning of the mid-19th with the election of Andrew Jackson (1829 - 1837), American society's perspectives on Greek history, especially towards the Athenian democracy, changed exponentially. During the Antebellum period, politicians used Ancient Greek history for two distinct ideological aims. First, the Western Philhellenes like Edward Everett and Daniel Webster used Greek democracy to collect political and economic aid to support the Greek Revolution.²⁰ Especially favored among the antebellum American society, Americans were ready to collect aids for Greek independence. However, the United States government didn't prefer political and financial assistance to the Greek revolutionaries. Mainly due to President James Monroe's (1817–1825) political aim to refrain from any political coercion with the European sphere, the American government, like their European counterparts, chose to stay away from the political dispute between Ottoman Empire and the Greek population. These different reactions between the American government and American society created tension between American intellectuals and the early 19th century United States government.

Predominantly debated by Edward Everett and Daniel Webster, both intellectuals tried to pressure President James Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams to declare governmental aid to the Greek revolutionaries. In every case declined by Quincy Adams and Monroe, Monroe Presidency was persistent in their refusal. Even constant political works like George Fisher's Greek Revolution manifesto weren't enough to create pressure to push an official statement regarding the Greek Revolution. His call on the American society states that it was the Western nation's duty

19. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* [in English] (2016).

20. State of South Carolina Resoluiton, 19 December 1823, American State Papers.

to aid populations under tyranny. He claims that;

Such “my fellow citizens,” is the present state of our Greek brethren in the east, who are using all possible means to throw off the Ottoman yoke, and to assume a station among the powers of the earth, (as their ancestors have done.) They have declared themselves independent, have formed their government, and are a nation, but have to support yet what they have done. In a country where every member of the community is required to take his arms in self-defence, as well as to defend the helpless infant, and the silver locks of those who are with one foot in the grave ...²¹

Propaganda writing as such influenced American society deeply. Most of the American newspapers named this popular interest in the Greek Revolution as ‘Greek Fire.’ While most Western Philhellenes were capturing the emotions of the American society, many Western governments were still hesitant to support the Greek revolutionary movement. Especially, the United States government was not eager to openly send diplomatic aid due to their neutrality concerns. Underlined by President James Monroe in 1823, United States tried to stay neutral against European wars. Neutrality aims required the United States government to be an arbitrary power between nations. However, in the 19th century, many revolutionaries were looking up to United States government for political and financial aids due to their revolutionary rhetoric. Later same sentiments were underlined by Richard Rush and Andreas Luriottis — envoy of the provisional Greek government in Britain — in their letter to John Quincy Adams. Luriottis was claiming in a very emotional manner that “the seat of early civilization and freedom, stretches out her hands ... and ventures to hope, that the youngest and most vigorous sons of liberty, will regard with no common sympathy the efforts

21. “George Fisher: A Manifesto, 2 Oct. 1824, 2 October 1824”, *Founders Online*, National Archives.

of the descendants of the heir and the elder borne". As their invitation later echoed by the Secretary of Treasury Albert Gallatin and the Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, they requested three ships for the Greek revolutionaries.²² Their sentiment regarding the Greek Revolution was mostly echoing the demands made by Marquis de Lafayette during his Atlantic tour. However, against Calhoun, Lafayette and, Gallatin, John Quincy Adams insisted that the United States has to stay neutral regarding the demands of the European Alliance. Moreover, in President James Monroe's private letters with Thomas Jefferson, both intellectuals underline the importance of neutrality between the United States and other European nations. Especially firm on his commitment to the neutrality of the United States, Jefferson mentions in a private letter to Elbridge Gerry on January 26, 1799, that

free commerce with all nations; political connection with none; and little or no diplomatic establishment. And I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe; entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty.²³

Twenty-four years later, echoing his same sentiments, Jefferson answers Monroe on October 24, 1823, by underlining the neutrality of the United States that "... our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe".²⁴ Jefferson later uses the exact wording in a private letter to Adamantios Korais in 1823.²⁵ In line with the

22. Karine Walther, *Sacred Interests: The United States and the Islamic World, 1821-1921* [in en] (University of North Carolina Press, September 2015), 43-44.

23. "From Thomas Jefferson to Elbridge Gerry, 26 January 1799", *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-30-02-0451>.

24. "From Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, 24 October 1823", *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-3827>.

25. "No people sympathise more feelingly than ours with the sufferings of your countrymen, none offer more sincere and ardent prayers to heaven for their success: and nothing indeed but the fundamental principle of our government, never to entangle us with the broils of Europe, could restrain our generous youth from taking some part in this holy

Monroe administration's aims, in a private letter, Quincy Adams answers Luriottis by claiming that "The policy of the United States with reference to foreign nations has always been founded upon the moral principle of natural law — *peace with all mankind*".²⁶ Thus, United States was ready to accept Greek governments legitimacy once they became a legitimate nation.²⁷ Until then, the Monroe Administration stated that they would be neutral towards the political dispute between Ottoman Empire and the Greek minorities. United States government's decision of neutrality towards Greek independence movement continued until 1825.

The second usage of Western Philhellenism and the Greek Revolution was on a race basis. Slavery and race issues during the Antebellum period reached their highest point after the War of 1812. Underlining the notion of duty to save the Western civilization against the savage practices, American legal theorist Henry Wheaton defined international law that created the distinction between Christian and non-Christian states. Under the understanding of the dominion theology that claims domination of non-Christian nations by Christian, Philhellenes underlined that it was a Christian individual's duty to protect the Greeks over Ottomans. As later turning Greeks into 'whites' in the American imagination and highlighting the notion of slavery, American society was called into a total action against the Ottoman Empire. To emphasize the importance of domination, Wheaton claimed that "The interference of the Christian powers of Europe in favor of the Greeks, who, after enduring ages of cruel oppression, had shaken off the Ottoman yoke, affords a further illustration of the principles of international

cause." "From Thomas Jefferson to Adamantios Coray, 31 October 1823", *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-3837>

26. Correspondence From Mr. Adams to Mr. Rush, 18 August 1823, Box 05, Foreign Relations Vol. 5, p. 252-260, American State Papers.

27. Correspondence From Mr. Adams to Mr. Luriottis, 18 August 1823, Box 05, Foreign Relations Vol. 5, p. 252-260, American State Papers.

law authorizing such an interference".²⁸ As their claims of the Ottoman brutality were supported by the firsthand accounts in newspapers such as *North American Review*, American society was dedicated to liberating the Greek rebels from the Ottoman Empire. Although newspapers rarely gave official reports of the Greek brutality towards Muslims and Jews, such instances rarely influenced the Western perspectives towards the Ottoman Empire. In the case of such events, Greek actions were defined as results of slavery. Primarily explained by Leicester Stanhope that he had to excuse such actions of Greek people to the Westerners by saying;

It was my business to show them that people long enslaved could not be all virtuous; that the warriors and chiefs whose heroic conduct have shaved their country could not be expected to have yet limited their ambition; and that a government so situated must be to be circumstanced, however noble its intentions.²⁹

Thus, Westerners excused the actions of the Greek population as their final cry against the Ottoman injustice. Such accounts resonated with the American people who fought against the British army couple of years ago. As Edward Everett became the Secretary of the Philhellenic Committee of Boston, he translated communiques from the revolutionary committees regarding the Greek independence movement for American newspapers.³⁰ By pressures from both American society and intellectuals, John Quincy Adams, now as the President of the United States in 1825, decided to send a secret agent to Greece to show their support to the Greek cause. As the secret agent initially died on his way, other Western Philhellenes such as

28. Henry Wheaton, *Elements of International Law* [in en] (Lea and Blanchard, 1836), 91-92.

29. Leicester Stanhope, *Greece, in 1823 and 1824: Being a Series of Letters and Other Documents on the Greek Revolution, Written during a Visit to That Country* [in English] (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 14.

30. Ioannis D. Evrigenis, "A Founder on Founding: Jefferson's Advice to Koraes" [in en], *HR 1* (January 2005): 179.

Samuel Gridley Howe carried their political aid to the Greek revolutionaries. Two years after his presidency, Quincy Adams changed his position on the United State's neutrality towards the Greek independence under the claims of 'oriental despotism' of the Ottoman Empire. As Adams supported the purity and neutrality of American politics, he claimed that political and societal difference between Ottomans and Greeks — Muslims and Christians — forces other Western powers to intervene for the sake of protecting the Western civilization.³¹

4.3 Greek Enlightenment and Diaspora Literature

Most of the Greek subjects under the Ottoman Empire were aware of the Western interest in Greek history and philosophy. Especially children of the wealthy merchants were the ones who were mainly influenced by these ideals. Significantly, these Greek students created the Greek Enlightenment in the 18th century. Most of them were firsthand participants of the French and American Revolutions. Moreover, they had the opportunity to read and study the American and French Enlightenment ideals. Greek Enlightenment, with its nationalistic and romantic aspects, was a pure diaspora phenomenon. Enflamed by both the 18th century French Enlightenment and Greek scholars, Greek Enlightenment aimed to suggest a new solution for the Greek autocratic notions that prevailed during the first stages of the Greek independence movement. They influenced other Greek merchants and subjects to support these political activities by carrying these notions to their motherland. Especially port cities were creating ideal conditions for revolutionary activities to ferment.

31. Quincy Adams in his essay titled *Russia* openly correlates Western intellectual values with Greek intellectual works and supports the protection of such values. Moreover, it indicates that it was a Christian's duty to dominate and educate other nations. Walther, *Sacred Interests*, 53

As most of the Greek population in port-cities like Morea and Odessa were earning their livelihood from the mercantile activities, they were in constant connection with merchants from different nations. Economically and somewhat politically free Greek subjects were mainly bound to the European mercantile activities to keep their economic freedom. As they became more and more connected to the European nations, they became equally distant from the Ottoman *millet* system. Primarily defining Balkan Christians as Rum Milleti in the official records, this categorization aimed to group many Balkan Christians under one group. However, their social and political identities vastly differed. Categorizations of non-muslim groups changed throughout the 15th to 18th centuries. Initially, since Mehmet II, the word *millet* used to describe these groups. Recent studies show that the usage of *Rum Milleti* was mostly an 18th century phenomenon with the rise of the Phanariot elites in Istanbul.³² Mostly coined by the Ottoman Empire due to their loss of centralized power, usage of different *millets* aimed to bring hierarchy back to the Ottoman society. Especially the Greek population that emigrated to other Western nations was unhappy with such categorization.

Interestingly the ardent supporters of the Greek Philhellenism and Greek independence were Greek individuals who emigrated to other nations and graduated from European universities. One of such influential individuals was Adamantios Korais. Korais was influenced by the Enlightenment ideals during his travels to Amsterdam as a merchant and his studies at the University of Montpellier, France, during the French Revolution. His intellectual status and luck put him in connection with many other French and American revolutionaries. Especially his intellectuals correspondence

32. Yusuf Ziya Karabıçak, "Ottoman Attempts to Define the Rebels During the Greek War of Independence," *Studia Islam.* 114, no. 3 (2020): 323.

with Thomas Jefferson, Edward Everett, Lord Byron, and Abbé Gregoire gave us a great insight into correspondences between these intellectuals regarding Greek independence.

Although Jefferson was too old to dictate the American political scene regarding Greek independence in the 1820s, Korais insisted on continuing his intellectual connection with Jefferson on nation-making and constitutional processes. Adamantios Korais initially met Jefferson, who was Plenipotentiary American Minister in the 1780s in Paris. Actively participating in many memorable instances of the French Revolution, both Korais and Jefferson were ardent supporters of the Revolution.³³ Moreover, both of them were dedicated to the French Enlightenment thoroughly. Thus, their political aims correlated. Korais' two main aims for the Greek Revolution were re-building a Greek language that was completely purified from foreign influences and re-education of Greek masses to enlighten the Greek society. In both language and education approaches, Jefferson and Korais' aims for their societies correlated. Thus, it is not a surprise that Korais wanted to keep his communication with Jefferson alive almost 39 years later their first meeting. Although Korais' first letter doesn't consist of any of their common interests, he writes to then 80-years-old Jefferson;

It was not in the power of our tyrants to prevent this renaissance; but it is precisely because our liberty is only in its infancy that its education requires much care and much help in order for it not to perish in its cradle. We can only hope this help to come from men truly free.³⁴

33. Against other American Ministers like John Adams, which refuted the violent aspect of the French Revolution completely. Jefferson was so much so dedicated to continuing the legacy of Atlantic Revolutions that France's *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* was written with Jefferson's consultation.

34. "Il n'a pas été au pouvoir de nos tyrans d'empêcher cette renaissance; mais c'est précisément parce que notre liberté n'est encore qu'un enfant que son éducation exige bien des soins et des secours pour qu'elle ne périsse dans son berceau. On ne peut espérer ces secours que des hommes véritablement libres." "To Thomas Jefferson from Adamantios

However, Jefferson had little-to-non influence over the early 19th century American politics. Although both James Monroe and John Quincy Adams were familiar to Jefferson, he became just a respectable member of the Founding generation throughout the end of his life. Due to his second administration's political and economic decisions, Jefferson's political judgment in the public eye was not favorable. Thus, Jefferson didn't respond to either of Korais' requests. Instead, he was more than happy to give a lengthy — almost ten written pages written in clear French — judicial advice to Korais. As he mentions differences between the United States government and other European monarchies and governments, he emphasizes the importance of creating solid governmental bodies and a constitution. He claims that the Greek constitution must respect individual rights and freedoms. Moreover, it should include freedom of religion, freedom of person, trial by jury, and freedom of the press to ensure the independence of society. Furthermore, Jefferson underlines the importance of creating a singular executive and a stable governmental system. Aligned with his political ideology, Jefferson emphasizes that “every state retained it's self-government in domestic matters ... than a general government so distant from it's remoter citizens, and so little familiar with the local peculiarities of the different parts”.³⁵ Although Jefferson points out the possibility of creating a federal government would be better for the Greeks, he insists on keeping a good connection with their societies. Although Jefferson's response doesn't answer any of the questions Korais asked, he responds to Jefferson with the utmost respect by saying that “Too long for your respectable age, it seemed to me to be too short for the desire I had to

Coray, 10 July 1823”, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-3625>

35. “From Thomas Jefferson to Adamantios Coray, 31 October 1823”.

receive lessons from such a master".³⁶ One year before the creation of the Greek constitution Thomas Jefferson died without realizing that the Greek revolutionaries were committed to his ideas on their revolution. Although Korais' correspondence with Jefferson was short, their letters include their dreams on the future of Europe and the Atlantic Revolutions.

However, Thomas Jefferson wasn't the only revolutionary Adamantios Korais was in communication with. During the French restoration period, Abbé Grégoire started to support Haiti's independence from France. Claiming that Haitians would be better without the colonial tyranny, he spent the rest of his life helping Haitian revolutionaries and later as the religious advisor of the second president of the Republic of Haiti, Jean-Pierre Boyer. However, he didn't turn a blind eye to other revolutions that were happening around the world. Especially in 1823, Greek revolutionaries required his assistance to gain public aid for their cause. Especially his communications with Adamantios Korais offer us another perspective on the Greek-French relations during the Greek Revolutionary period. Philhellenism as an intellectual movement was equally alive in France as it was in other Western nations like Britain and the United States. While most of the religious classes were against aiding the Greek cause for their Orthodox background, Grégoire, as a Catholic priest, was more than willing to collect political aid for the Greek revolutionaries. To break misunderstanding between French Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches Grégoire wrote a pamphlet titled *Mémoire sur l'importance religieuse et politique de réunir les deux églises grecque et latine et sur les moyens d'y parvenir* in which he claimed that the political aid to Greeks would, bring homogeneity to the politics of Europe. Moreover, in his *Essai historique*

36. "To Thomas Jefferson from Adamantios Coray, 28 December 1823", *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-3937>.

et patriotique sur les arbres de la liberté Grégoire underlines the similar 18th century Western Orientalist view by claiming that “... the Greeks of [his] time [are] refugees in Italy to withdraw from the Ottoman despotism”³⁷ However, as his reputation after the French and Haitian Revolutions was tarnished, his pamphlets didn’t bring the political influence he hoped. His second suggestion to Greek Revolutionaries was to get in contact with Haitian revolutionaries. Grégoire thought that “the Haitians, who considered him as their father and their spiritual leader, could send aid to Greeks in men, arms and money”.³⁸ He suggested Korais send a letter to president Boyer to appeal their cause. Later the initial letter sent by the Greeks in Paris — Korais, Polychroniades, Bogoridi, and Clonaris — on August 20, 1821, was underlining the religious differences between Ottoman Empire and the Greek minority more strictly. They claimed that

[Greeks] have experienced the anguish of the bondage that once weighed on [them]. Children of Africa whose surroundings are contiguous to those of Greece come to our aid; thirty thousand guns and financial means are necessary for us; and if this donation or to this loan were added the arrival of one of your battalions, the appearance of those brave men who came from the depths of America would bring fear to the soul of our cowardly executioners.³⁹

Considering the economic conditions of post-revolutionary Haiti, any financial aid from them would shake their financial stability deeply.

37. Henri Grégoire, *Essai historique et patriotique sur les arbres de la liberté* (1824), 18, <https://www.decitre.fr/livre-pod/essai-historique-et-patriotique-sur-les-arbres-de-la-liberte-9782019623722.html>.

38. Michael Lascaris, “La Abbé Grégoire et La Grèce,” *La Révolution française : revue historique* 81, no. 1 (January 1932): 229.

39. “Généreux Haïtiens, vous avez éprouvé les angoisses de la servitude qui naguère pesait sur vous. Enfants de cette Afrique dont les parages sont contigus à ceux de la Grèce, venez à notre aide; trente mille fusils et des moyens pécuniaires nous sont nécessaires; et si à ce don ou à ce prêt se joignait l’arrivée d’un de vos bataillons, l’aspect de ces braves accourus du fond de l’Amérique porterait l’effroi dans l’âme de nos lâches bourreaux. L’île d’Hydra est le port sur lequel vous pouvez diriger vos secours.” Lascaris, 230

However, Boyer was sympathetic towards the Greek cause. In a recently published article, a direct translation of the letter sent by President Boyer on January 15, 1822, can be found. As he opens the letter with his greatest wishes, Boyer mentions that the previous and ongoing revolution left the Haitian economy in a terrible situation. Thus, they cannot send any economic aid. However, Boyer wishes the luck and power of their ancestor on them by saying;

May they prove to be like their ancestors and guided by the commands of Miltiades, and be able, in the fields of the new Marathon, to achieve the triumph of the holy affair that they have undertaken on behalf of their rights, religion and motherland. May it be, at last, through their wise decisions, that they will be commemorated by history as the heirs of the endurance and virtues of their ancestors.⁴⁰

Western reaction to Greek Revolution was the polar opposite of the Haitian Revolution. Due to the Haitian revolutionaries' economic and social position, their revolution was seen as a danger to the European balance of power. On the other hand, Greek Revolution was favorable among the Western societies due to its connection to Greek political and intellectual antiquity. Moreover, the Greeks fought against the Ottoman Empire, which many western societies considered savage and despotic. Thus, societal differences with the Orientalist perspective of travelers, Western societies poured financial aid to the Greek revolutionaries against the Ottoman Empire. However, between 1800 to 1820s, most Western governments were neutral towards the Greek revolutionaries due to their commitment to the Concert of Europe. Despite their insistence on staying neutral to protect the balance of power in the Mediterranean, certain governments decided to

40. E.G. Sideris and A.A. Konsta, "A Letter from Jean-Pierre Boyer to Greek Revolutionaries" [in en], *Journal of Haitian Studies* 11, no. 1, 168-169.

send secret agents to show their support. Such instances never happened for the Haitian revolutionaries. However, against racial differences, the Greek revolutionaries were open to accepting the legitimacy of the new Haitian government, and Haitians were open to return their favor.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

From the chants of equality of the Haitian rebels to the Greek revolutionaries' desires of freedom, the late 18th to early 19th century history lays out the political and social norms we live. As bourgeoisie revolutions of 18th century enabled certain liberties to certain individuals and classes, it shunned others from such transformation. While this unethical separation of the political sphere was accepted as the zeitgeist, intellectuals such as Abbé Grégoire, Edward Everett, and Adamantios Korais show that a different path was open for the 18th century intellectuals. However, examples from the French National Convention and the American Congress show that certain politicians wanted to use these norms to actualize their ideologies. Especially considering the economic and political power these individuals held in their hands, it is not a surprise that ideologues of the revolutionary assemblies were forced to stay silent.

Many post-French and American Revolutionaries use similar ideologies in their revolutions. Many historians analyze this resemblance as inspiration. Indeed, it is hard to refute this thesis. Most of the post-revolutionaries experienced these revolutions firsthand. Nonetheless, most of these

individuals created their transnational, national communities by combining their nationalistic identities with their immigrant identities. They not only transformed their generations but made progressive changes for future generations. However, the revolutionary narrative of these political events shows that due to their extensive knowledge of these societies, revolutionaries played along with the political norms of Western politicians. One of the most significant examples of this is the usage of *slavery*.

Throughout the end of the 18th century, white southerner politician's stance towards slavery was certain. They refuted any reference to the abolition on a constitutional basis. The same perspective was alive in the French National Convention. Especially on a financial basis, both of these politicians from separate nations agreed on keeping slavery alive to sustain their economy. The existence of slavery was not a secret for the French and American societies. Especially most of the immigrants, as Adamantios Korais, knew abolitionist intellectual's frustration over this subject. This ambivalence brings out the post-revolutionary conundrum. Revolutionaries knew that Western powers supported slavery and, in theory, if they keep that institution, they could gain a powerful political and financial ally. However, accepting slavery would directly challenge their revolutionary discourse.

Both Haitian and Greek Revolutions used the notion of slavery to describe their conditions under the Empires they were living in. From the triangle trade to the living conditions on the island, Haitian slave's inhumane living conditions were accepted as a norm by the French officials. The Greek Revolutionaries were discriminated against under the Ottoman Empire, and they were using this term to describe the living conditions under the Ottoman Empire. However, different usage of the notion of

slavery by Greek, French and American politicians turns this institution into a political propaganda material rather than a societal reality for many African slaves lived through the 18th and onwards.



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APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

MAPS



Figure 1: Jacques Nicolas Bellin, *A Map of the French Part of Saint Domingo*, 1800, Boston Public Library



Figure 2: William Faden, *Map of Greece, Archipelago and part of Anadoli*, 1791



Figure 3: Touquet, J.-B. (Jean-Baptiste-Paul), and Raban. "Chart shewing the tracks across the North Atlantic Ocean of Don Christopher Columbus." Map. 1828. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center

APPENDIX B

PORTRATIS



Figure 4: Pierre Joseph Célestin François, *Portrait de l'Abbé Grégoire*, 1800



Figure 5: Unknown, *Adamantios Korais*, unknown date



APPENDIX C

TIMELINE

