

The Origins of Global Humanitarianism

Whether lauded and encouraged or criticized and maligned, action in solidarity with culturally and geographically distant strangers has been an integral part of European modernity. Traversing the complex political landscape of early modern European empires, this book locates the historical origins of modern global humanitarianism in the recurrent conflict over the ethical treatment of non-Europeans that pitted religious reformers against secular imperial networks. Since the sixteenthcentury beginnings of European expansion overseas and in marked opposition to the exploitative logic of predatory imperialism, these reformers - members of Catholic orders and, later, Quakers and other reformist Protestants - developed an ideology and a political practice in defense of the rights and interests of distant "others." They also increasingly made the question of imperial injustice relevant to growing "domestic" publics in Europe. A distinctive institutional model of long-distance advocacy crystallized out of these persistent struggles, becoming the standard weapon of transnational activists.

Peter Stamatov is currently Associate Professor of Sociology at Yale University. His work has appeared in *The American Sociological Review, Theory and Society*, and *Contemporary Sociology*, as well as in Hungarian and Brazilian scholarly journals. He is a past winner of the Bendix Prize of the Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association and was a recipient of Cátedra de Excelencia (Excellence Chair) at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.





CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN SOCIAL THEORY, RELIGION AND POLITICS

Editors

David C. Leege, University of Notre Dame Kenneth D. Wald, University of Florida, Gainesville Richard L. Wood, University of New Mexico

The most enduring and illuminating bodies of late-nineteenth-century social theory - by Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and others - emphasized the integration of religion, polity, and economy through time and place. Once a staple of classic social theory, however, religion gradually lost the interest of many social scientists during the twentieth century. Recent phenomena such as the emergence of Solidarity in Poland; the dissolution of the Soviet empire; various South American, Southern African, and South Asian liberation movements; the Christian Right in the United States; and Al Qaeda have reawakened scholarly interest in religiously based political conflict. At the same time, fundamental questions are once again being asked about the role of religion in stable political regimes, public policies, and constitutional orders. The Cambridge Studies in Social Theory, Religion and Politics series produces volumes that study religion and politics by drawing on classic social theory and more recent social scientific research traditions. Books in the series offer theoretically grounded, comparative, empirical studies that raise "big" questions about a timely subject that has long engaged the best minds in social science.

Titles in the Series

Paul A. Djupe and Christopher P. Gilbert, *The Political Influence of Churches* Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper, *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany*

Jonathan Fox, A World Survey of Religion and the State

Anthony Gill, The Political Origins of Religious Liberty

Brian J. Grim and Roger Finke, The Price of Freedom Denied: Religious Persecution and Conflict in the Twenty-First Century

Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow, editors, Religion, Class Coalitions, and Welfare States

Ahmet T. Kuru, Secularism and State Policies toward Religion: The United States, France, and Turkey

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide

Peter Stamatov, The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religion, Empires, and Advocacy





The Origins of Global Humanitarianism

Religion, Empires, and Advocacy

PETER STAMATOV

Yale University





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

> www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107021730

> > © Peter Stamatov 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Stamatov, Peter, 1967-

The origins of global humanitarianism : religion, empires, and advocacy / Peter Stamatov, Yale University.

pages cm. – (Cambridge studies in social theory, religion and politics)
Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Indigenous peoples - Colonization. 2. Europe - Territorial expansion.

3. Europe – Colonies – History. 4. Imperialism – Moral and ethical aspects – History. 5. Humanitarianism – Religious aspects – Christianity – History. I. Title.

JV305.873 2013 361.7'509-dc23 2013017439

ISBN 978-1-107-02173-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



> ... for the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.

> > George Eliot, Middlemarch





Contents

Acknowledgments		page xi
	Introduction	I
	History's Tentacles	2
	History in the Present	8
	The Institution of Long-Distance Advocacy	ΙI
	Imperial Tensions and Religious Conflict	13
	The Religious Logic of Radicalization	18
I	Caribbean Beginnings, 1511–1520	24
	Predatory Imperialism and Its Religious Critics	26
	Hispaniola and the Beginnings of Exploitative Overseas Imperialism	29
	A Third Imperial Network	35
	The Endurance of Protest	36
	Enter Las Casas	38
	Reform	40
	The End of the First Wave of Protests and Reforms	42
2	Pro-Indigenist Advocacy in the Iberian Atlantic	45
	The Resumption of Advocacy in an Expanding Empire	46
	Contentious Indigenism in a Contentious Imperial State	53
	Theological Debates and Political Projects	56
	The Consolidation of Protest and the Consolidation of the State	60
	The Institutionalization of a Political Practice	65
3	Religious Radicalization and Early Antislavery	73
	The New Atlantic Slavery and the Hardening Moral Duality	
	of Imperialism	73
	Catholic Confrontations with Slavery	80
	Another Caribbean Beginning	85
	Conclusion	91

ix



X		Contents
4	Quaker Reformers and the Politicization of Antislavery	97
	Quaker Reform and Divestment from Slavery	100
	Imperial Conflicts	105
	A New Quaker Activism	106
	The Reformers' Evolving Politics	113
	A New Radicalism in the Imperial Context	121
5	Forging an Abolitionist Network	125
	The Initial Growth	125
	Prerevolutionary Synergies and Tensions	133
	Imperial Ruptures	140
	Mobilization Crosses the Atlantic	143
	The Dynamics of Network Expansion	148
6	The Emergence of a New Model	155
	The New British Abolitionism	155
	American Decline	162
	French Turbulence	164
	The London Model	169
	The Distal Effects of Religious Radicalization	172
	Conclusion	175
	Legacies	177
	Historical Continuities, Change, and Modernity	182
Bił	pliography	191
Index		225



Acknowledgments

Let me start by acknowledging the "civilians" from outside of academia who supported me through the long years of research and writing: Gabriel Bravo, Ildikó Krén, Miguel Otero, George Perez, and Laurence Winkworth. And where would I be without the support of my family, Katia, Sako, Zlati, and Philip? The "life-course" of this project coincided with the cruelly brief life of my dog Seven who I still miss enormously.

Rogers Brubaker and Rick Biernacki taught me how to be a sociologist. My interest in the questions this book addresses began to take shape in Budapest of the mid-1990s, in classes taught by Judit Bodnár and István Rév. In Los Angeles I was lucky to be able to discuss ideas with Mabel Berezin, Jon Fox, Robert Gedeon, Mara Loveman, Mick Mann, Eyal Rabinovitch, and Stephanie Limoncelli. Hannah Brückner and Chris Wildeman have been special in New Haven. Thanks also go to colleagues and students at Yale: Julia Adams, Jeff Alexander, Ateş Altınordu, Jen Bair, David Bargueño, Shai Dromi, Phil Gorski, Andy Junker, Alondra Nelson, Sam Nelson, Jensen Sass, Rachel Sherman, Sam Stabler, Luke Wagner, and Jonathan Wyrtzen. In Budapest, again, I had long conversations with Stefan Detchev, João Gonçalves, and Jon Stewart. And then my familia madrileña adopted me: Juan Díez Medrano, Juan Fernández, Roberto Garvía, Marga Torre, and Celia Valiente. I'm also indebted to Angela Alonso, Rossi Guentcheva, Maartje Jensen, and Damon Mayrl.

I would like to acknowledge the staff of several libraries that made my research possible: the UCLA Research Library; the former Social Science Library at Yale; Kati Deseő and Hédi Erdős at the, again, former library of Collegium Budapest; the Friends' Library in London; the British Library; and the María Moliner Library of the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Eric Crahan at Cambridge University Press believed in the project and gave it its title. I thank also Lew Bateman, Susan Thomas, and Shaun Vigil.

xi



xii

Acknowledgments

Research funding provided by the following institutions is gratefully acknowledged: the Collegium Budapest Institute for Advanced Studies, the Griswold Fund of the Whitney Humanities Center at Yale, the University of California Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, the Social Science Research Council, and Yale University. This book is being published with the generous assistance of the Frederick W. Hilles Publication Fund of Yale University.