

# Revolutionary cosmopolitanism

## Transnational migration and political activism, 1815-1848



Frédéric Sorrieu, La République universelle démocratique et sociale - Le Marché, 1848. Musée Carnavalet.

Online conference, Utrecht University, 22 January 2021

Organization: Camille Creighton



Universiteit Utrecht

This conference is part of the research project 'Revolution in exile: Transfer of ideas among émigré intellectuals in Paris and London, 1815-1848'.

It is hosted by the Amsterdam-Utrecht Global Intellectual History seminar series. See: <https://globalintellectualhistory.org/>

## Programme

**9.30-9.40 opening words**, Camille Creighton (Utrecht University)

**9.45-11.00 keynote by Maurizio Isabella** (Queen Mary, University of London), Crossing the Mediterranean in the Age of Revolutions: the Multiple Mobilities of the 1820s followed by a response by Beatrice de Graaf (Utrecht University) and questions

### **11.30-13.00 Panel 1: Reluctant revolutionaries: Between saving old worlds and adapting to new ones**

Moderator: Matthijs Lok (University of Amsterdam)

- James Morris, Crossing the Counterrevolutionary Border in Wallachia, 1848-49
- Oliver Zajac, Hotel Lambert's Republic of Letters: František Zach's mission in Belgrade as an example of a cosmopolitan revolutionary network
- Piotr Kuligowski, Between Lamennais and Tocqueville: Polish Democracy in Exile at a Crossroads
- Oliver Schulz, Policing immigration and migrant networks: the Swiss cantons, European politics and the question of political asylum (1815-1848)

### **14.00-15.30 Panel 2: (Self-)fashioning of revolutionaries and PR strategies**

Moderator: Alex Drace Francis (University of Amsterdam)

- Pierre-Marie Delpu, The Transnational Community of Revolutionary Martyrs (Southern Europe, 1830-1848)
- Peter Morgan, Exilic Anglophilia and the hope of intervention: Recasting British exile in the age of revolution with Francisco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar
- Matilde Flamigni, Agostino Codazzi: A Transatlantic Life (1793-1859)

### **16.00-17.30 Panel 3: Large scale and/or involuntary migrations and the spread of revolutionary ideas**

Moderator: René Koekkoek (Utrecht University)

- Sebastian Majstorovic, The Vagrant Threat: Political Journeymen Activism as a European Phenomenon, c. 1834-1848
- Alessandro Bonvini, La causa del Nuevo Mundo: Bonapartists in the Latin American Wars of Emancipation
- Elena Bacchin, Transportation of political prisoners: Roman detainees landing in Brazil in 1837

**17.30-18.00 discussion and closing comments** by Camille Creighton

Note: All times are CET (which is the local Dutch time zone)

## **Aims and questions**

Napoleon's fall and the settlement of the Vienna Congress in 1815 in no way represented the end of the era of revolutions and political uprisings. To the contrary, several waves of revolution would follow in the Atlantic world in the 1820s and 1830s, culminating into the 1848 'springtime of the peoples' in large parts of Europe and beyond. These subsequent waves of revolution are increasingly studied from transnational perspectives focussing on, for instance, Mediterranean connections in the 1820s (Isabella and Zanou 2016), a 'common European revolutionary culture' in 1848 (Freitag 2003) or the global context (Armitage and Subrahmanyam 2007).

The same period saw large numbers of people moving beyond state boundaries: tens of thousands of young German craftsmen found employment in Paris and London; impoverished Germans and Irish crossed the Atlantic in search for a better life in the United States; the suppression of the Polish November Uprising in the beginning of 1831 led to what is known as the Great Polish Emigration; and several thousand free Black Americans settled on the coasts of West Africa creating new societies such as Liberia. Apart from these large-scale movements, a couple of individual cases are well-known, such as Garibaldi's activities in Latin America or Robert Owen's attempts to create a self-sufficient community in Indiana. In addition, expanding colonialism and increasing cross-boundary traffic led to the mobility of ever larger numbers of seamen, soldiers, colonizers and colonized. Following Jan and Leo Lucassen's model for cross-cultural migration (2009), these movements of people have to be considered genuine forms of migration too.

Although many of these migrant movements can be associated with political uprisings, only few connections have been made between the study of migration history and history of political thought and practices. Migration history, with its roots in labour history, tends to focus on social and economic aspects of migration and ignores how migration informed the transfer of ideas. Research on revolutionary cosmopolitanism concentrates on the eighteenth century and presumes that cosmopolitanism came to an end after the 1789 French Revolution due to the rise of nationalism (Palmer 1959; Polasky 2015). That this has hardly been contested so far is due in part to the fact that nineteenth-century revolutionaries are still mostly researched in national contexts, leaving aside their transnational connections, the imperial geographies in which many of them operated, and their experiences of migration (as is shown by Panter 2015).

This one-day conference aims to open a conversation between these different strands of research. How did experiences of migration and cross-boundary mobility contribute to the formation of common revolutionary cultures in the period 1815-1848? To what extent did revolutionary cosmopolitanism survive into the first half of the 19th century? What forms of interplay existed between transnational migrations, cosmopolitanism, the rise of nationalism and imperial reform movements? These are the questions this conference intends to address.

## Abstracts

**Maurizio Isabella** (Queen Mary, University of London), Crossing the Mediterranean in the Age of Revolutions: the Multiple Mobilities of the 1820s

By using the biographies of three individuals temporarily based in Sicily in 1820 and moving from there in different directions in the following years, I will demonstrate the coexistence of very different brands of revolutionary cosmopolitanism and volunteerism, based on a variety of overlapping ideas of nation, empire, and internationalism. I hope also to raise questions and discuss themes that engage with the various papers of the conference.

### **Panel 1: Reluctant revolutionaries: Between saving old worlds and adapting to new ones**

**James Morris** (Cambridge University, [jm581@cam.ac.uk](mailto:jm581@cam.ac.uk)), Crossing the Counterrevolutionary Border in Wallachia, 1848-49

Revolutionary actors in the Ottoman principality of Wallachia spent the summer of 1848 appealing to the idea of Europe. Events across the continent had politicised the Wallachian populace, and they gave it a new sense of contemporaneity with the other peoples of Europe. The counterrevolutionary order needed to break this link. A joint Ottoman-Russian invasion toppled the revolutionary government and installed a new regime. Its first objective was to inoculate the principality against further upheaval, and this meant policing the flow of information and people across the border. This paper will consider these efforts. It will look at attempts to restrict access to European news and politics as well as the new and tighter passport controls that operated in coordination with investigations into revolutionary participants. These were international efforts that united the Ottoman, Russian, and Austrian Empires. Much has been written about the interconnectivities of revolution in 1848, but less attention has been paid to cross-border counterrevolutionary connections. Ongoing revolutionary troubles in Austrian Transylvania created a refugee crisis that threatened to undermine the new order in Wallachia as thousands of people spilled across the border in the winter and spring of 1848/49. The three imperial forces needed to work together to stem the revolutionary tide and apprehend revolutionary agents. By studying the borderlands of a borderland territory, subject to Ottoman suzerainty and Russian protection and sandwiched between these two and the Austrian Empire, this paper will offer a new trans-imperial perspective on international counterrevolution in the mid-nineteenth century.

**Oliver Zajac** (Institute of History, Slovak Academy of Sciences, [zajac.oliver@gmail.com](mailto:zajac.oliver@gmail.com)), Hotel Lambert's Republic of Letters: František Zach's mission in Belgrade as an example of a cosmopolitan revolutionary network

In his self-written instruction from 1843 František Zach, then preparing for his mission as Hôtel Lambert (aristocratic faction of the Polish Great Emigration led by prince Adam Czartoryski) agent in Belgrade, has written that his actions in the Serbian capital should be non-revolutionary and his main task would observe and report. However, in the same document Zach also stated that he would put his effort in the promotion of Slavic cooperation which, whether he realised it or not, was in the eyes of contemporary political elites a revolutionary idea. After all, in the records of Austrian secret services he was identified as an advocate of Pan-Slavism and a revolutionary threat. Also, his original idea to maintain a position of distant observer proved to be unreal during the four years of his mission and Zach was many times personally engaged in local events.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that he failed in the task to observe and report, quite the contrary. Zach was able to build a wide network of contacts, which served as a communication canal of revolutionary ideas throughout several movements (Serbian, Illyrian, Bosnian, Slovak...) His case shows that even though a realisation of political activities of Hôtel Lambert's agents was very limited, the real asset of their mission lied in the gathering of information and cooperation with revolutionary movements.

In my proposed presentation, I will analyse the specific dimension of Zach's network: the question of its cosmopolite and revolutionary attributes, which by my suggestion were both presents, even though maybe in a more specific definition of these terms; his ability to establish and maintain these contacts and then to transfer his knowledge in favour of Hôtel Lambert; and the geographical and social structure of this network and its relevance for a transfer and nature of transferred ideas.

**Piotr Kuligowski** (École normale supérieure de Lyon, [piotr.kuligowski.1990@gmail.com](mailto:piotr.kuligowski.1990@gmail.com)), Between Lamennais and Tocqueville: Polish Democracy in Exile at a Crossroads

The Polish Democratic Society, that emerged amidst the wave of emigration from the Polish lands triggered by the defeat of the November Uprising, turned out to be the most influential and the longest-existing Polish organization in exile in the 19th century. Over the three decades of its activity, the Society proved not only its organizational effectiveness and flexibility, but also brought about a number of ideological novelties within Polish political discourse. One of the crucial intellectual debates within the organization happened at the turn of the 1830s and 1840s, when the two noteworthy sources of Polish democrats' inspirations may be grasped. First, it was a Polish translation of "La livre du peuple" (a book penned by Félicité de Lamennais), that was published in 1838. Second, in the second and third volume of the journal "Demokrata Polski" ["Polish Democrat"] were released translations of several extensive excerpts from the works of Alexis de Tocqueville on democracy. Despite the fact that the two French authors displayed highly diverged perspectives on democracy in their works, their reflections were in fact equally applauded by Polish

democrats. In my paper, I intend to tackle this conundrum by tracing both the directions in which the Polish democratic thought in exile evolved, as well as comparing the reception of Lamennais' and Tocqueville's ideas in the Polish milieu with other ways in which their thought was interpreted beyond France in this span of time.

**Oliver Schulz** (Université Clermont Auvergne, [oliver.schulz@uca.fr](mailto:oliver.schulz@uca.fr)), Policing immigration and migrant networks: the Swiss cantons, European politics and the question of political asylum (1815-1848)

After 1815, Switzerland as a possible haven for European Liberals was seen with utmost suspicion by its neighbours in the post-Vienna European order, and it had to cope with considerable political pressure. Fearing foreign military intervention, the Swiss Federal Diet passed the “Press and Aliens Conclusum” in 1823, which was to contain political and publishing activities of immigrants in Switzerland (as well as another “conclusum” on refugees in 1836). The issue of immigrants and their political activities was also linked to the inner Swiss struggle between Liberal and Conservative cantons that would finally lead to the “Sonderbund War”. And finally, the question how Swiss authorities were dealing with political emigration in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century is extremely relevant for current debates on immigration and Switzerland's mythical self-image as a “place of refuge” (“terre d’asile”).

The paper is to address political immigration from the German states to Switzerland before 1848 from the point of view of Swiss federal institutions and of the cantons which had to deal with it. The following main questions are to be addressed: Which cantons were particularly popular among German political immigrants? Which networks did these set up and what did Swiss authorities know about them? Which links did the German immigrants entertain with other immigrant communities (Italians in particular)? Which publishing activities were the German immigrants involved in? How did local authorities in the cantons react to these activities? Were there conflicts with federal authorities?

The paper will be based on printed sources, the press and secondary references (as well as on case-studies based on Swiss archives, if the situation in Europe should allow it and travel restrictions be lifted).

## **Panel 2: (Self-)fashioning of revolutionaries and PR strategies**

**Pierre-Marie Delpu** (Aix-Marseille Université, [pierre-marie.delpu@univ-amu.fr](mailto:pierre-marie.delpu@univ-amu.fr)), The Transnational Community of Revolutionary Martyrs (Southern Europe, 1830-1848)

Between the two European revolutionary waves of 1830 and 1848, the spreading of socio-political violence lead to an increase in the celebration of political victims and in the flows of political exiles. Both of these practises constituted tools of politicization, within liberal movements built around convergent demands and which took advantage of transnational circulations. While political exile has been a particular moment of

reconfiguring political mobilizations abroad, it contributed to the circulation and the consolidation of political victims' memories, increasingly considered as martyrs. By building images of suffering political beings, such a process takes from the religious area a tool recognized as pedagogically efficient, being able to embody abstract political ideas. The analysis will lean on two societies where such a practice knew a specific increase in the first half of the 19th century, linked with the building of liberal and democratic movements. The Italian States, first of all, generated massive flows of exiles which used to give rise for a relevant victimary literature, such as the Neapolitan Antonio Gallotti, established in France in the early 1830s, or Giuseppe Mazzini who played the role of an intermediary by spreading in Great Britain the memory of recent Italian martyrs, for instance the Bandiera brothers, executed in 1844. Spain, then, saw from the 1810s massive political migrations towards France and Great Britain. If such a process knew a massive decrease after the liberal transition of 1833, it contributed to the outreach of local martyre experiences, such as the executed Malagan liberals of 1831 or the victims of the first student riots in March and May 1848 in Madrid. The Italian and Spanish communities in Marseilles will be the main observatory to study such practices, compared with other ones in France and Great Britain. Leaning on some well-informed cases (police and justice documentation, memorial literature), we aim to enlighten the repertory of celebrations in favor of revolutionary martyrs in the lands of exile, between elaboration of a literary pantheon devoted to consolidate fragmented national or ideological communities, staging of commemorations abroad and expressions of political brotherhood towards foreign martyrs.

**Peter Morgan** (University College, London, [peter.morgan.17@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:peter.morgan.17@ucl.ac.uk)), *Exilic Anglophilia and the hope of intervention: Recasting British exile in the age of revolution with Francisco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar*

The intellectual history of diasporic experience in Britain during the age of revolution has made significant progress in recent years. Traditionally, exile agency was effaced by crude models of influence. Revolutionaries were depicted absorbing an ideological Anglophilia through a supposedly enchanting experience of life under the British state. Maurizio's *Risorgimento in Exile* is a prime example of how this approach can be reformed. In his account, Italian Patriots in early-19th century London reappear as thinking agents, scrutinising British political culture to selectively take ideas from it (and leave ideas to it).

But there still remains room for improvement in how historians approach Britain as a diasporic intellectual space during the age of revolutions. Too often, intellectual interventions made during British exile are assumed to have been sincere expressions of held belief and nothing else. Given the international political context of British hegemony in several exiles' home regions during the early-19th century (northern Venezuela and southern Italy, for example), this assumption impedes understanding of what exiles were doing with their public thought.

Taking the case of Caracas-born Francisco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar, my paper would argue that Anglophilic thought (such as Miranda's draft constitution for América) was composed in tandem with

a political project to procure British intervention against Spain back in the Caribbean. Without denying the conviction in these thinkers' admiration for Britain, I would emphasise that they produced political thought while cognisant that British readers would form their opinion on the question of intervention based on the politics which prominent 'natives' were promising would come from Spanish American independence. At a time when several visions of liberation – Jacobin and Haitian, for instance – were anathema to British elites, these exiles' choice of a decidedly English 'liberty' cannot be separated from their hope for Britain's direct support in the ongoing Wars of Independence.

My approach will thus recast diasporic life in Britain during the age of revolution. More than a space of 'influence' where political thought was formulated in dialogue with British norms, Britain was also a space of imperial power, where exiles' thought was often composed with an awareness (and concern) that its reception by local elites could determine whether Britain's global power would become supportive of their distant cause.

**Matilde Flamigni** (Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa/University of Naples Federico II, [mati.flamigni@gmail.com](mailto:mati.flamigni@gmail.com)), Agostino Codazzi: A Transatlantic Life (1793-1859)

The Italian political migration and the lives of exiles in the Risorgimento are increasingly studied from transnational perspectives. On the other hand, less historians have chosen to deal with military migrations to the Americas. Therefore, the stories of the many former Napoleonic officers and Italian corsairs who fought in the Bolivarian revolutions still remain to be investigated.

Joining the Napoleonic troops had marked the identities of these soldiers in a cosmopolitan sense, preparing them for the Latin American wars of independence experience. Indeed, the 'encounter' between Europe and America helped to create a real transnational culture of adventure. At the same time, their legacy underlines the links between Italy and the former Spanish America which influenced the identities, the economies and the political and intellectual orientations of the new republics. Among them, the geographer Agostino Codazzi (Lugo, 1793 – Espiritu Santo, 1859) is one of the Bolívar's officers of which much testimonies remain.

Following the events that led Codazzi to fight in the troops of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy to embarking for the Americas, enlisting in the Bolivarian armies and, finally, putting his cartographic knowledge at the service of the new republics, the paper aims to reconstruct his transatlantic life. Moreover, the purpose is to read the Codazzi's geographical expeditions in Venezuela and New Granada as a new space of adventure and a tool to analyze the social, economic and political transformations of the post-colonial context. With the end of Spanish domination, the main concern of the Latin American territories was to reinvent themselves as independent nations. However, the Codazzi's transnational citizenship highlights how this evolution was the result of a process involving intellectual efforts on both sides of the Atlantic.



### **Panel 3: Large scale and/or involuntary migrations and the spread of revolutionary ideas**

**Sebastian Majstorovic** (European University Institute, [Sebastian.Majstorovic@eui.eu](mailto:Sebastian.Majstorovic@eui.eu)), The Vagrant Threat: Political Journeymen Activism as a European Phenomenon, c. 1834-1848

This paper explores the transnational connections between journeymen activists on the eve of the 1848 revolutions across Europe. Uprooted by the effects of early industrialisation, hundreds of thousands of mobile craftsmen were roaming the continent on their quest for employment during the restoration period. Tramping from Transylvania to Paris, from Hamburg to Naples, and from Tuscany to London, these artisan workers were constantly on the move. Due to the function of journeymen years as a traditional vocational training phase, young craftsmen were allowed to cross borders relatively unhindered.

Apart from the German-speaking artisan clubs in Paris, London and Switzerland, however, little attention has been paid to such journeymen as political activists. And even those artisans have hitherto almost exclusively been viewed through the lens of methodological nationalism. In contrast, this paper suggests that journeymen from every corner of Europe formed extensive transnational subversive networks. The source material collected for this paper illustrates that journeymen were uniquely suited to carry subversive radical ideas across political and linguistic barriers due to their customary everyday mobility.

I suggest that it was precisely this high degree of cross-border mobility which turned journeymen into potential revolutionaries in the eyes of both state authorities and radical political leaders. In the period under investigation, secret societies with seemingly opposing ideologies – such as liberal republicanism, utopian socialism or early communism – all pivoted towards recruiting journeymen as the base of their membership. Furthermore, such diverse revolutionary movements as Young Europe, Giuseppe Mazzini's Apostolato Popolare and the Bund der Gerechten borrowed mobilisation techniques and propaganda strategies tailored around journeymen from one another. Based on Austrian secret police files, internal documents of journeymen associations, travelogues, and artisan passports sourced in Italy, Serbia, Switzerland and Austria, I propose that journeymen therefore represented a viable transnational revolutionary threat on the eve of 1848.

**Alessandro Bonvini** (Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, [Alessandro.Bonvini@alumnifellows.eui.eu](mailto:Alessandro.Bonvini@alumnifellows.eui.eu)), La causa del Nuevo Mundo: Bonapartists in the Latin American Wars of Emancipation

This paper focuses on Bonapartist veterans who, between 1815 and 1820, left European coasts and took part in the struggle for the emancipation in Latin America. After the battle of Waterloo, many Grande Armée's soldiers were searching for a new cause. Informal agents, on behalf of the criollos patriots, warmly encouraged their recruitment overseas, offering salaries, granting rewards, and promising glorious careers in the revolutionary armies. Driven by a culture of adventure and universalistic solidarity, around 600 hundred veterans enlisted in the ranks of the ejércitos libertadores under the commands of Simón Bolívar

and José de San Martín. Fighting in foreign lands, often for voluntary recruitment and against the law, was the product of a solidarity deeply rooted in the Romantic culture and based on the idea of brotherhood in arms. To this generation, belonging to the Napoleonic armies had produced a consciousness marked by cosmopolitan tensions, which was suitable for adventuring through the Americas. Bonapartists acted as trans-national actors across state and imperial borders, connecting ideals, myths, and military practices between the Old Continent and the New World. On the South American battlefields, they also shared a precise set of values, such as bravery, brotherhood, and honor with a massive group of European mercenaries, contributing to transform the anti-Bourbon cause in a trans-Atlantic question. Furthermore, militancy in the revolutionary armies forged staunch political affiliations which allowed the Napoleonic veterans to have long careers in the post-colonial institutions, as military chiefs, entrepreneurs, or officials. As a whole, I suggest, the participation of Bonapartists in the Latin American wars of independence affected the anti-Hispanic conflicts, well as the birth of the emerging republics, even contributing to the configuration of a 'radical network' struggling against the powers of the Congress of Vienna.

**Elena Bacchin** (Ca' Foscari University of Venice and Columbia University, [ele.bacchin@gmail.com](mailto:ele.bacchin@gmail.com)),  
Transportation of political prisoners: Roman detainees landing in Brazil in 1837

The transportation of prisoners to distant territories was a global phenomenon of the 19th century and had characterised colonialism since its beginning. European countries aimed at eliminating criminals from the motherland, diverting other people from committing crimes, and giving criminals a second chance. While host societies perceived deportation as a means to populate border areas and often offered facilities and incentives.

The paper will focus on the case of Italian political prisoners, coming from the Papal States, transported in April 1837 to Salvador de Bahia. They had been deported in exchange for pardon, from the jail of Civita Castellana, where they were imprisoned for political activities related to the uprising of 1831. This example of forced migration have to be placed in the broader context of 19th century migrations, since their transportation was organised by the agent of the Society of Colonisation of Bahia and some of these ex-convicts traveled with their wives and children. However this practice had political implications and the question of their status appeared to be a key element. When they arrived in Brazil, the Society of Colonisation refused to welcome them, because they expected free citizens and not people "extracted from prisons", while Rome insisted on the liberal or republican character of the political views of ex-detainees. Moreover, after a few months 20 of them took part in the Sabinada, a revolt led by Francisco Sabino Alves de Rocha Vieira, which broke out in November 1837 and led to the proclamation of the independent republic of Bahia. Their participation in this revolt is part of the internationalisation of revolutionary ideas that characterised the first half of the 19th century.

**Practical information:**

The conference takes place in MS Teams. All participants will receive a link with which to join the Teams group in which the ‘meetings’ will be held. Instructions on how to use the software as an external user can be found by clicking the following link: <https://manuals.uu.nl/en/handleiding/teams-als-gastgebruiker-inloggen-vanuit-uitnodigingsmail/>

MS Teams enables you to share (powerpoint) presentations and to upload documents.

Panel presentations are planned to last for 10-15 minutes, leaving ample time for comments and discussion. In the Teams environment, a folder will be created to which all presenters and moderators have access (see: ‘files’ on top of your screen). Presenters are kindly requested to submit a written preparation (draft, outline, powerpoint, ...) to this folder by 19 January. Presenters can retrieve and read each other’s texts at that same place. Please, do not distribute the material posted in this folder any further as these are unpublished working documents!

After the conference, Camille Creyghton will contact all presenters about the prospect of publishing an edited volume.

All times are CET (which is the local Dutch time zone)

Please contact Camille Creyghton ([c.m.h.g.creyghton@uu.nl](mailto:c.m.h.g.creyghton@uu.nl)) with any further queries.

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