

PEACE AND WAR IN 1880s EUROPE: ZÓFIMO CONSIGLIERI PEDROSO'S VIEWS ON EUROPEAN MULTILATERALISM

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A prominent figure of the Portuguese republicanism, Consiglieri Pedroso (1851-1910) built a relevant analytical discourse concerning the relations between states of the "Old World" during the 1880s.

A careful observer of the political landscape and its evolution, this professor of the *Curso Superior de Letras* and editor-in-chief of *Os Debates* between 1888 and 1889, centers his reflections and news stories he publishes on the main tendencies of European diplomacy at the time, while also presenting pacifistic solutions to European issues. This paper pertains to demonstrate a systematic view of the author's work, integrating it with 19th century thought on European multilateralism.

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A Short Biography of Zófimo Consiglieri Pedroso (1850-1910)

Zófimo Consiglieri Pedroso was born in Lisbon, on March 10th, 1851. He studied in the city's *Curso Superior de Letras*, applying to an opening for professor in 1879, thanks to his dissertation *A Constituição da Família Primitiva*, being accepted that same year. As a republican, he was selected as a member of the Portuguese chamber of representatives from 1884 to 1889. Later, he also co-founded two republican papers: *Os Debates* and *A Vanguarda*, which became the main outlet for his political views. Nevertheless, Pedroso also tended to focus on scientific writing, taking particular interest in the study of languages (a number of which he became proficient in) and of Portuguese ethnography (Ventura, 2004, pp. 373-374). A respected member of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, the republican rose to its presidency in 1909. Consiglieri Pedroso passed away in Sintra, on September 3rd, 1910.

A Continent-encompassing Concept of Peace: The United States of Europe

One of the earliest accounts we could find relating to Pedroso's stance on the possibilities of peace through multilateralism in Europe comes from the 1872-1874 publication of a translation by Pedroso's friend and fellow republican, Magalhães Lima of *The United States of Europe*, by Charles Lemonnier². It seems safe to assume that Pedroso agreed with Lemonnier's position on the topic since he himself published a translation of a short story about the Franco-Prussian war in the second volume where the text is found in. From 1886 to 1888, he also

published a variety of texts about themes similar to that of the French author's work (Ventura, 2004, p. 372). To Lemonnier, the Franco-Prussian war had caused a shock to the possibility of a permanent peace in Europe, since it had pitted against each other the two nations considered to be able to form the basis of it: France and Prussia. Inside such a framework, the United States of America and the Helvetic confederation were to the French author the demonstration that the formation of a federal state led to a reduction of the arms race and the establishment of perpetual peace in countries that adopted it (Lemonnier, 1874, pp. 4-6). The logical step up from this idea was, hence, its expansion to more than one country. As such, the philosopher argued for a confederation of European republics, in order to prevent war. Lemonnier's stance on the idea of a united Europe does include additions, though. In fact, the author also states his adherence to ideas such as the introduction of arbitrage for the resolution of international conflicts and the formation of a body where nations would be represented in order to discuss matters that concerned them (Lemonnier, 1874, pp. 41-45). The French republican was also in favour of the extinction of national armies during peacetime and the subsequent implementation of "national militias" (Lemonnier, 1874, pp. 52-56). Nevertheless, his most telling position appears when he argues for the creation of an international tribunal elected by the people of the various European countries (Ventura, 2011, p. 121). If such body had the power to make its decisions into law, he writes, it could become a *de facto* international government, which should be "Republican and federative", ruling over "a federation of peoples

under the denomination of the United States of Europe" (Lemonnier, 1874, pp. 56-58). One should note, however, that although the term "federation" is applied, Lemonnier actually argued for the existence of a confederation with a shared constitution (Lemonnier, 1872, pp. 11-18), an army, as well as free trade (Baltazar, 2011, p. 74). Taking such view of peace into account, we discuss Pedroso's view on an activity he also saw as part of a peaceful European continent: trade.

The Conception of Commerce as an Intrinsically Peaceful Activity

When in 1884 Pedroso applied to become a professor at Lisbon's Institute of Commerce, he wrote a paper entitled "The factors of the historical evolution of universal commerce". The concept of evolution in use is not only connected to the author's concept of civilization, but also with a particular set of economists that the republican enumerates as central references to his work: Gustav von Schönberg and Wilhelm Roscher (Pedroso, 1884a, p. 3). Modern historical writings on Rocher's work tell us that the author is considered to be the cofounder of the "Old Historical School", a German school of political economic thought, which argued against Adam Smith's idea of the individualistic attitude of economic actors, proposing instead that economics should study the regularities in the economic evolution of countries through history (Dias, 2015, p. 52). Authors like Schumpeter, though, argue that a true school only formed when the "Young Historical School" was founded. Such school, the economist argues, meant to study all facets of economic phenomena, using history. Both schools also attributed supreme importance to the state (Schumpeter, 1986, p. 780).

Yet, in the case of Pedroso, although the author argues his connection to the "Old Historical School", a closer analysis of the republican's thought reveals his position is much closer to what Schumpeter describes as "Historian's Evolutionism" (Schumpeter, 1986, p. 417). Indeed, in line with his conception of progress, Pedroso states his paper intends to study the history of commerce by relating it with that of civilization (Pedroso, 1884a, p. 4). He does this by arguing that a number of natural

and social factors have influenced the development of commerce. Factors such as climate, endogenous diseases, fauna and flora are brought forward, as are social deterrents of commerce, such as piracy; or social promoters of it, such as international trade agreements (Pedroso, 1884a, pp. 4-12).

One can quickly glance, though, that social promoters of commerce tend to rely on developed and internationally linked organizations. Indeed, much like other followers of an evolutionist perspective on society and economics, Pedroso views economic development as being necessarily associated with the appearance of certain institutions. One of them is particularly central to his position: currency. Hence, he proposes, there are periods of "completely distinct civilization" (meaning, civilizational development) in the world: the period before the use of currency and the period after it (Pedroso, 1884a, p. 10). Yet, some societies, even at the time, did not use currency in order to close transactions. To that fact, Pedroso responds that such peoples were in a lower state of civilizational development, but even they, inexorably, would come to rely on it, which would also amount to a demonstration of their progress as a society. The use of railways convoys or caravans is also considered a factor, leading Pedroso to argue that although more developed countries (meaning, European ones) needed not rely on such ancient method for the protection of their traders, owing to the existence of a "similar international Law" in the continent, they too had relied on it in the past. However, railways caravans are connected to the idea of peace, since Pedroso argues that, in order to be profitable, commerce must bridge physical and political obstacles between nations. As such, railways convoys allowed traders protection in the exercise of their peaceful activity (Pedroso, 1884a, pp. 11-12).

The same argument can be found when considering another factor: markets and fairs. Such are argued to have, over time, brought different groups together, since, Pedroso writes, even the barbarian tribes that invaded the Roman Empire would sometimes stop at roman encampments to trade (Pedroso, 1884a, pp. 14-15). Notwithstanding, Pedroso also identifies a number of

factors that were only present in the "cultured nations" of the time: postal services, maritime insurance, consulates, commercial law, commercial treaties and universal expositions (Pedroso, 1884a, p. 20). The later factor is included because it was argued as permitting a connection between different cultures, as well as business opportunities. However, it also seems to be a political stance in favour of a particular event, seen as evidently peaceful: the French Universal Exposition of 1889.

Showcasing Peace itself: the 1889 Universal Exhibition during Realpolitik's Apogee

After the defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, France was forced to pay 5 billion francs in war reparations to the newly formed German state. The war also led to the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. Nevertheless, France was quickly able to gather the capital necessary to pay those reparations, as well as it was able to bounce back in terms of industrial production and army size. In spite of such progresses though, the blow to French national pride the defeat against Germany had caused, instilled many of its citizens and politicians with a sense of nationalist anger and desire for revenge (Milza, 2007, p. 12). Bismarck, though, continued to focus on France's diplomatic isolation. In fact, such guaranteed the maintenance of peace in Europe through a network of cleverly formed alliances. A peace which also relied on a simple proposition: not allowing a Franco-Russian alliance that could force Germany into two front war (Milza, 2007, p. 40). Hence, the Triple Alliance is renewed in May 1887, with Italy forming a defensive alliance with Germany against France, seeing a *status quo* in the Mediterranean guaranteed, as well as the promise of compensation if Austria-Hungary was to advance in the Balkans. Italy also signed a treaty with Great Britain. Austria-Hungary will come to join the Alliance agreement in March, as well as Spain in May. Russia, reluctant to enter such an Alliance, seeing it as though as not providing significant gains in the Balkans, settled for the secret "Counter-Security" treaty with Germany, guaranteeing neutrality if a war against France was to ensue. Bismarck's *Realpolitik* will, though, fall in 1890, owing to William II's bigger focus on

Weltpolitik (Milza, 2007, pp. 40-43). Yet, as *Realpolitik* reached its peak, the 1889 Universal Exposition took place.

"Out of this grand exposition, France expects grand results. She sees it as a solemn demonstration to honour her among nations, as an act showing her power, as a peaceful victory returning her to her rightful rank in the world" as Brooks (2013, p. 72) states. The 1889 Exhibition was used to combat the Third Republic's concerns related to the influence monarchists and Bonapartists had in the country: colonial and social matters, the government's relationship with the Catholic Church, as well as industrialization and population loss. As such, the government meant to instil the public consciousness with two main ideas: the importance of maintaining a colonial presence and the idea of regaining the international standing France had lost.

Firstly, as a Republican, Pedroso sees the French Third Republic as an example of what Portugal and, by that measure, all monarchical countries in Europe should aim to achieve in terms of their political regime (Pedroso, 1889, n° 234, p. 1), as a Republic was seen as a guarantee of economic progress and prosperity, consubstantiated in the Exhibition itself, an event presented as a "never before seen confraternization of peoples and labour from all over the world". A demonstration of France's "peaceful victory" over her victorious adversary in 1870-1871, through economic development, instead of armed conflict. The image presented of France's neighbour is hence one of economic disgrace (Pedroso, 1889, n° 270, p. 1), social unrest, militarism (Pedroso, 1889, n° 259, p. 1) and diplomatic machinations meant to isolate the country (Pedroso, 1889, n° 234, p. 1). Yet, to the Portuguese publicist, it was France's isolation itself that made her strong (Pedroso, 1889, n° 233, p. 1). A beacon of "vitality", with a "generous spirit" and "fecund initiative", based upon democratic institutions (Pedroso, 1889, n° 234, p. 1). Pedroso argues France instilled in all those that visited the Exhibition an idea of the possibility of the "fraternity of all peoples" (Pedroso, 1889, n° 355, p. 1), united through labour and commerce. As such, the 1889

Exhibition is seen as an exercise in the demonstration of the possibility of a peaceful Europe: one uniting the continent's future republics through commerce and shared economic development; with the "peaceful and in love with work" (Pedroso, 1889, n° 234, p. 1) Republic of France at the helm, against a backdrop of a presently monarchical continent, unaware of what Pedroso argued their peoples wished for - democratic governments. Nevertheless, although remaining peaceful, France herself maintained an army, which, the Portuguese author argued, kept the Triple Alliance from starting a war, for fear of steadfast retaliation (Pedroso, 1889, n° 367, p. 1), notwithstanding France's diplomatic isolation at the time.

"Cosmopolitan Pretensions": Pedroso's Racial Blocs and his all-Encompassing Position

Taking into account Pedroso's position in favour of the democratization of European countries, one should also note how such ideas relate to Pedroso's concept of race and, as such, his idea of what we shall call "racial blocs". In fact, the concepts of race and civilization in his work are mainly present and explained in his historiographical writings. The author's view of race is centred firstly on anatomical characters that would let one, when observing another person, roughly determine their filiation to one of three major races: white, black and yellow. Yet, to truly make sense of historical developments, one should also consider the concept of people which, in many cases, is used in the same way the concept of civilization is: in order to refer to a number of cultural aspects like religion, philosophy, development of the arts, literature and economic activities, as well as their level of development, which would distinguish some peoples (or races) from others. Inside such framework, Europe and its peoples/races were considered the most civilized of all. Hence, Pedroso argues for the possibility of the formation of three racial blocs, encompassing a number of nationalities that shared cultural values as well as racial characteristics: the Pan-Germanic, Pan-Slavic and Pan-Latin blocs. The formation of such multilateral organizations should guarantee peace in Europe through an acceptable rebalance of power.

According to Pedroso, the formation of the Pan-German bloc should arise from the German language's expansion in Europe. Indeed, the Portuguese historian argues that the cultural justification for the unification of Germany in 1871 was the idea that the country should expand "*so weit die deutsche Zunge klingt*" (Pedroso, 1884b, p. 381). As such, in the Portuguese Chamber of Representatives of the Portuguese Parliament, the republican demonstrates his faith in the idea soon to come that there would be the time when "Germany's Austrian territories" would join the German federation, which shows that Pedroso adhered to a position close to that of a *Großdeutschland*, although excluding Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein (Câmara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação Portuguesa, 1885, p. 1033).

When it comes to the formation of a Pan-Slavic bloc, the author argues for the rise of a Republican Pan-Slavic nation under the cultural and political control of a democratically ruled Russia, which, he argues, all Slavs wished for (Pedroso, 2015, p. 141), since they shared deep cultural ties with the country (Pedroso, 2015, p. 132). As such, Slavic culture is argued to be the key to Russia's possible victories through peaceful exposure to Russian values and culture, "much more valuable than those achieved through war, nevertheless her colossal armies" (Pedroso, 2015, p. 150).

As for the Pan-Latin bloc, it is argued that he should be based on linguistic and cultural similarities as well, encompassing all nations that speak Latin-based languages and were viewed as possessing traits associated with the Latin race. Indeed, Pedroso argues that "neo-Latin nations are simply a transformation of the roman imperial society"³, as they shared their languages, religion, forms of government, law, municipal institutions and cosmopolitan spirit with Rome (Pedroso, 1884b, p. 216), as well as a "brilliant and imaginative Latin spirit" with each other (Pedroso, 2015, p. 155).

As for the system of governance the bloc should follow, in his newspaper *Debates*, Pedroso informs the reader of the aptly named socialist organization "Federation of Latin Peoples" which, during the 1889 Exhibition, hosted

a dinner in Paris. In it, the president of the organization had given a speech “asking for the proclamation of the great Latin republic” (Pedroso, 1889, nº 356, p. 1). During a similar event, a Portuguese factory worker had also toasted to “the union of the Latin race” (Pedroso, 1889, nº 357, p. 1).

Inside the framework of such position, France continued to be considered superior, as it was seen as the country that walked “in front of all Latin nations” (Pedroso, 1889, nº 233, p. 1), as well as the “great capital of Latin Europe” (Pedroso, 1889, nº 305, p. 3) and a “Great Latin democracy” (Pedroso, 1889, nº 321, p. 1) in addition to “Europe’s directive centre”, seeing “all nations assimilating the French civilization” (Pedroso, 1889, nº 333, p. 1). Nevertheless, during his trip to Russia, Pedroso admits that, “my Portuguese individuality greatly resists foreign influences through a surging patriotic reaction, notwithstanding my cosmopolitan predilections” (Pedroso, 2015, p. 159). He then goes on to describe how he adopted various traits of Russian culture while in the country. Notwithstanding, during his visit to Russia his concept grows once again, as Pedroso admits to a pacifistic cosmopolitan position, closer to that of his friend’s Magalhães Lima (who was influenced by Kant’s positions, much like Lemmonier), who, at one point, argued for the formation of a Universal Republic (Baltazar, 2011, pp. 71-81).

Conclusion

Pedroso’s most deeply rooted concept of peace may go beyond all the above described. The author starts in 1874 by taking Lemmonier’s position at face value, accepting a continent-encompassing concept meant to appease the relations between France and Germany and allow for the establishment of peace in Europe. Nevertheless, during the 1880’s, his concept of peace expands to a much more politicized view. Indeed, in several articles published, France becomes the example all of Europe should follow, being presented as a hallmark of civilizational development and political advancement, against the monarchical regimes of Europe. Later, he builds up his vision by giving it a more Kantian,

multilateral and utopic tone, influenced by his friend, Magalhães Lima.

Notes

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²The text we make reference to was published in two volumes belonging to the same collection, the first in 1872, and the second (where Pedroso’s participation is apparent), in 1874.

³Such nations are considered to be, in no particular order: France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Romania and Belgium.

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