Study Guide

to accompany

Levack _ Muir _ Maas _ Veldman

The West
Encounters & Transformations
Volume II

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ANSWER KEY TO SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION QUESTIONS 193
CHAPTER 14

The Age of Confessional Divisions, 1550-1618

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

The late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century was a period characterized by anxiety for the European people. Confessional divisions, inflation and population expansion exacerbated religious and political tensions and provoked civil wars. European states allied themselves with the churches in an attempt to discipline their peoples.

A. The Peoples of Early Modern Europe

1. Introduction

From the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century, Europe experienced several crises caused by periodic famine, plagues such as the Black death and economic collapse that led to population decline. In the sixteenth century the population and economic life began to rebound.

2. The Population Recovery

During the lost sixteenth century (ca. 1480-1640) the population of Europe grew from 60.9 million to 77.9 million. The rate of population growth was much higher in northern Europe than in southern Europe with France having the largest population. The population and economic growth of this period can be explained in part by the change from subsistence to commercial crops, which produced greater availability of food, and fewer children starved.

3. The Prosperous Village

The success of commercial agriculture required on the availability of free labor, access of capital investment and markets. Villages like Buia in northeastern Italy made a successful transition from subsistence to commercial crops because serfdom no longer existed in the area allowing people to sell their labor, the form feudal lords were willing to invest their capital in the village and the village had access to the markets of Venice.

4. The Regulated Cities

By the 1480s cities had begun to grow as the surplus population and crops of the villages flowed to the cities. The cities were unhealthy places with no sewage systems and were cluttered with people, animals and garbage, which made them vulnerable to epidemics. City governments made up of officials
elected by the richer inhabitants attempted to deal with the problem of a growing population. They maintained grain storehouses and regulated the price of bread to ensure that the poor had access to food. They also implemented swift and gruesome punishment for even petty crimes. The cities’ economic guilds ensured the quality of the cities’ economic production. As much as a quarter of the cities’ population was the destitute. Several public and religious institutions helped provide for the welfare of the indigent by establishing orphanages, hospitals and poorhouses. Efforts were also undertaken to distinguish between the “honest” and “dishonest poor.”

5. Price Revolution

The Price inflation was one of the major problems of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Inflation was partly the result of the discovery of new sources of gold in Africa and silver in central Europe and in Potosí (Bolivia). Inflation caused widespread human suffering for the common people whose real wages declined as the cost of living increased substantially. The Price inflation severely weakened governments whose sources of taxes became inadequate to cover the government expenses. Charles V resorted to deficit financing by selling juros to cover the expenses of his wars, and his son Philip II of Spain was forced the declare bankruptcy.

B. Disciplining the People

1. Introduction

The First generation of Protestant and Catholic reformers had dealt with doctrinal disputes. Their successors faced the more formidable task of building institutions that firmly established Catholic and Protestant cultures.

2. Establishing Confessional Identities

Between 1560 and 1650 confessional identities shaped European culture. A confessional consisted of the followers of a particular statement of religious belief. For Lutherans it was the Confession of Augsburg, for Calvinists the Helvetic Confessions, for Anglicans, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and for Catholics the decrees of the Council of Trent. Based on these statements of faith, clergy disciplined the people and promoted a distinct culture and behavior pattern. The princes of each state associated conformity to the particular religious confession with loyalty to the prince. In each state the clergy of the dominant confession became members of the bureaucracy and received government stipends.

3. Policing the Family

All religious groups viewed the authority of the father over the family as the foundation of society. The father’s authority reflected the authority of the clergy and state over society.
In the same period the structure of the family underwent a major transformation. The new family pattern first appeared in Northern Europe when couples began to marry in their mid- to late-twenties. Parental approval remained more important than romantic love in choosing a spouse. The new families were also smaller as families began to space out their children.

From the fifteenth century onward, middleclass families began to place greater emphasis on the moral guidance and religious education of their children. Also great emphasis was placed on strict discipline. The ideal father cultivated both love and fear in his children.

4. Suppressing Popular Culture

Religious Reformers placed great emphasis in purifying society by imposing strict regulation of human behavior. They acted to suppress un-Christian practices in popular culture such as rough sports, card games, drinking and dressing up in costumes. One of their main targets was the festival of Carnival, which preceded Lent. They also used preaching and instruction to encourage values of thrift, modesty and chastity.

5. Hunting Witches

The major manifestation of the great anxiety felt by people in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the witch hunting. Thousands of people were accused and tried for practicing witchcraft either in the form of maleficia (doing harm) or diabolism (devil worship). In the German lands between 1550-1650, over 100,000 people were tried for witchcraft and about 50,000 executed.

C. Confessional States

1. Introduction

In 1555 the Peace of Augsburg provided the solution to the religious divisions caused by the Protestant Reformation in the principle cuius regio eius religio whereby the ruler determined the religion of the land. It was expected that a state would have one king, one faith and one law and no religious group—Lutheran, Calvanist or Catholic—advocated toleration. In states where significant religious minorities existed, there was constant tension and suspicion which at times led to civil wars. In each religious group there appeared persons, commonly called fanatics, who were willing to pursue their mission to violent ends.

2. The French Wars of Religion

By 1560, there were significant communities of French Calvinists called Huguenots, which included large numbers of nobles. The accidental death of King Henry II (r. 1547-1559) of France, left his fifteen-year-old son, Francis II (r. 1559-1560) and, widowed queen, Catherine de Medici in control of the
kingdom. Francis II and his successors failed to maintain the internal peace of the country. The result was a confusing set of intrigues between the royal family, the leading Huguenot nobles led by the Châtillon family and Catholic nobles led by the Guise family. When a plot to kill the Guise was discovered, the Protestant plotters were ambushed. The Guises were intent on the destruction of the Protestants and in 1562 massacred the Protestant congregation of the village of Vassy. In response Protestant nobles led by the Bourbon family and Henry of Navarre raised armies and initiated a civil war that lasted forty years. Neither side was able to gain a decisive advantage. In 1572 an attempt was made to end the wars when Henry of Navarre was offered the hand of Henry II’s daughter, Marguerite Valois in marriage. When Protestants arrived in Paris for the wedding, many were slaughtered by the Guise retainers with the approval of Queen Catherine de Medici and King Charles IX in what came to be known as Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre. Many other Huguenots were murdered throughout France, but the leaders escaped.

In the aftermath of the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, the religious wars were renewed. Huguenot political thinkers François Hotman and Théodore de Beze launched an attack on the monarchy itself by justifying political revolution, arguing that since the authority of all officials even the low nobility came from God, they were obligated to resist tyrannical kings. The assassination of King Henry III in 1589 left Henry Bourbon, king of Navarre and leader of the Huguenots, as sole successor to the French throne. In order to make his claim acceptable, Henry IV renounced Protestantism and converted to Catholicism. The conversion, allowed Henry to claim the support of the papacy and the moderate Catholics. Resistance to the monarchy collapsed. In 1589, Henry conciliated Huguenots by offering them limited toleration in the Edict of Nantes. During his reign he promoted economic development of the kingdom. The passions of religious division were not entirely calmed. After 18 attempts on his life he was finally assassinated in 1610.

3. Philip II, the King of Paper

Spain under Charles V abdicated in favor of King Philip II. Spain was the most powerful state in Europe. His domain included Naples, Milan, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the colonies of the New World. Philip exercised a personal supervision over the affairs of his far-flung empire from the seclusion of the palace of El Escorial, making him an office-bound bureaucrat. Philip saw himself as the protector of Catholicism and enemy of Muslims and Protestants. Fearful that the Moriscos of Spain would give support to the Ottoman Turks, he banned all vestiges of Muslim culture. He also maintained garrisons in North Africa and joined with Venice in defeating the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Briefly married to Mary I, the Catholic queen of England, Philip hoped to retain England for Catholicism and as a Spanish ally. But Mary’s successor, Elizabeth I, returned to the Protestant Anglican Church and allowed English pirates to attack Spanish ships. In 1588 Philip amassed a
great armada to attempt an amphibious assault on England. The Armada was largely destroyed by weather and English ships in 1588.

4. The Dutch Revolt

The Netherlands held some of Europe’s richest cities. In 1548, Charles V had annexed the northern provinces to the southern provinces he had inherited from his father to they were not subject to the clauses of the Peace of Augsburg allowing local provinces to determine the religion of their lands. The consolidation of the region under Spanish rule was very difficult. Philip’s harsh attitudes toward Protestantism and the arrival of French Huguenot refugees increased the fanatical anti-Catholicism of the Calvinists. In 1566, Calvinists attacked Catholic churches and destroyed paintings and statues. In response Philip introduced the Spanish Inquisition to the Netherlands and dispatched an army under the command of the Duke of Alba to restore order. Alba imposed a martial reign of terror. Protestant nobles and suspected revolutionaries were executed under the authority of the military tribunal, the Council of Blood. Alba’s cruelty backfired and a full-scale civil war between the Spanish and Protestants ensued after 1572. The Protestants led by Prince William the Silent of Orange controlled the provinces of Holland and Zealand. Alba’s failure led to his removal leaving unpaid Spanish troops to loot Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp, which were loyal to Spain. The seven northern provinces declared independence in 1581 with William the Silent as stadholder, while the 10 southern provinces remained loyal to Spain. The Dutch carried on a sporadic war until they were recognized as independent in 1648.

5. Literature of the Age of Confessional Division

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century saw the vernacular languages of Europe become literary languages.

In France royal decrees in 1520 and 1539 made French the official Language. The greatest French writers of the period were François Rebelais (1483-1553) and Michal de Montaigne (1533-1592).

The period represented the golden age of letters in the Iberian peninsula. In Portugal, Luis Vas de Camões (1524-1580) wrote the Lusiads (1572) a great epic poem celebrating Vasco da Gama’s discovery of the sea route to India. In Spain, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616) who participated in the Battle of Lepanto and spent five years in a Turkish prison wrote Don Quixote.

In England, Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) avoided the civil wars affecting other parts of the continent. Among the great literary figures was the poet Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Edmund Spencer. The major literary figure was the dramatist William Shakespeare (1564-1616).
D. States and Confessions in Eastern Europe

1. Introduction

Eastern Europe escaped the religious controversies that disrupted the confessional states of Western Europe.

2. The Dream World of Emperor Rudolf

The Holy Roman Empire was made up one emperor, seven electors and hundreds of small states. The empire famed many challenges caused by the turmoil resulting from the Lutheran reformation and the foreign threat of the French in the West and the Ottoman empire in the east. A further crippling weakness was the lack of leadership of emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576-1612) who was incapable of governing because of mental illness. Without a strong emperor, the empire was unable to function and religious conflict was allowed to reach a boiling point.

3. The Renaissance of Poland-Lithuania

Late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Poland-Lithuania experienced a great cultural revival. Many of its greatest minds went to study at Italian universities. Politically Poland was ruled by an elected king. The nobles held real power through their control of the provincial assemblies and by demanding the principle of unanimity in the diet. They also had the right to organize armed confederations to resist the power of the king. The rule of the nobles in Poland-Lithuania hurt the peasant by forcing them into serfdom and depriving them of legal rights. During the mid-sixteenth century Poland-Lithuania held great religious diversity. During the late sixteenth century Poland-Lithuania reconverted to Catholicism through the work of the Jesuits.

4. The Troubled Legacy of Ivan the Terrible

Russia experienced the strengthening of royal power in the sixteenth century. The grand-dukes of Moscow freed themselves from the control of the Tartars in the fifteenth century. They then increased their authority at the expense of the nobles (boyars) and cities while allowing nobles to impose serfdom on the peasants. Ivan III, “the great” (1462-1505) married a Byzantine princess and adopted the title of tsar. Ivan IV, “the Terrible” (1533-1584) carried out a reign of terror against his enemies. He set aside half of the kingdom for his personal domain and used it to finance the army, which successfully fought Poland-Lithuania and Sweden. In the early seventeenth century, Russia experienced great chaos known as the “Time of Troubles” (1604-1613), which concluded with the election of Michael Romanov as tzar.
TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

- Calvinists begin revolt of Netherlands
- Moriscos expelled from Spain
- Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre
- Edict of Nantes
- Defeat of the Spanish Armada

1566
1572
1588
1598
1609

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

- Catherine de Medici
- Guise family
- Pappenheimer Family
- Henry IV of France
- Huguenots
- Michael Romanov
- Saint Bartholomew’s Day
- Edict of Nantes
- Ivan “the Terrible”
- Poland-Lithuania
- Philip II of Spain
- Spanish Armada
- Revolt of the Netherlands
- Duke of Alba
- William the Silent
- Time of Troubles
- Stanislaus Hosius
- Luís Vaz de Camões
- William Shakespeare
- Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra
- Michel Montaigne
- Price Revolution
- Confessions
- auto-da-fé
- Carnival
- magic
- witch-hunt
- fanatic
- French Wars of Religion
- Dutch Revolt
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

   Paris               Poland-Lithuania
   Spain               Sweden
   Venice              Bavaria
   Netherlands         England
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What was the price revolution? How did it affect people?

2. In what ways did the family structure change in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?

3. How did cities attempt to regulate the lives of people living in them?

4. How did religious differences lead to internal violence in France and the Spanish Empire? How were the revolutions different? How were they similar?

5. In what ways did Poland-Lithuania and Russia develop differently in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?

6. In what ways did the union between church and political authority help discipline the peoples?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to summarize the mayor conclusions of the chapter.

1. In what ways does the document “Disciplining Children and Encouraging Informants” reflect the idea that children’s behavior must be strictly controlled?

2. How does the document “How Women came to be accused of Witchcraft” reflect popular fears about the actions of witches?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. How did demographic and economic changes affect European society in the period 1480-1640? Describe the impact of population rates, commercial agriculture, urbanization, guilds, banking, and the Price Revolution.

SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which of the following did NOT occur during the Price Revolution?
   a. Grain prices rose faster than those of manufactured goods.
   b. Landlords with long-term rents suffered.
   c. Landlords received payment in kind benefits.
   d. Wages continued to rise throughout the century.

2. Magical practices and the belief in witchcraft
   a. were restricted to the poor and illiterate.
   b. were limited to circles of witches and sorcerers.
   c. appealed to people at all levels of society.
   d. were virtually unknown in the sixteenth century.

3. The most common targets of investigation for magical practices were
   a. the insane.
   b. children.
   c. men.
   d. women.

4. Which of the following community activities was strongly attacked by religious reformers?
   a. perambulation
   b. All Hallows’ Eve
   c. Carnival
   d. rites of May

5. In the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre
   a. Henry Bourbon was assassinated.
   b. the Guises were assassinated.
   c. there was indiscriminate slaughter of Protestants, but most of the Huguenot leaders escaped.
   d. there was indiscriminate slaughter of Catholics, but most of the Catholic leaders escaped.
6. Which of the following was initially a French Huguenot?
   a. Henry Guise
   b. Henry Bourbon of Navarre
   c. Catherine de Medicis
   d. Henry II

7. Which Russian ruler succeeded in getting rid of the Tartar Woke?
   a. Ivan III, the Grea
   b. Henry II
   c. Catherine de Medicis
   d. Ivan IV, “The Terrible”

8. Who was the author of *Don Quixote*?
   a. Luis Vas de Camões
   b. William Shakespeare
   c. Michal de Montaigne
   d. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra

9. During the reign of Elizabeth I, England
   a. conquered France.
   b. became Catholic.
   c. Queen Elizabeth carried out a reign of terror against the nobility.
   d. avoided religious wars.

10. During the late sixteenth century, Poland became Catholic through
    a. the efforts of Michal de Montaigne.
    c. religious wars.
    d. the epic poem, the *Lusiads*.
    d. the reign of terror of Ivan IV.
CHAPTER 15

Absolutism and State Building in Europe, 1618-1715

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

   As a result of the religious wars in Europe in the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth century, the political order virtually collapsed. In light of this political instability and civil wars, Thomas Hobbes wrote his book *Leviathan*. In it he argued that in the state of nature humans found themselves in constant conflict. Therefore they agreed with each other to form a political society in which a ruler made laws, administered justice and maintained order. In the seventeenth century, European kings turned to absolutism to restore order to their chaotic and war-ravaged countries.

   A. The Nature of Absolutism

      1. Introduction

         To best understand absolutism we need to differentiate between theoretical definitions as postulated by writers such as Thomas Hobbes and practice as applied by the various monarchs of Europe. Although the term *absolutism* may conjure images of despotic rulers, seventeenth-century kings did not have the resources and power to impose their will on the entire people of their country.

      2. The Theory of Absolutism

         When seventeenth-century political writers such as Jean Bodin refer to the king as having absolute power, they mean that he did not share the power to make laws with national representative assemblies; in other words he was “sole legislator.” In addition, to discourage rebellion, absolute monarchs claimed that they held power by divine right; therefore a revolt against the king was to resist divine will. Absolutist kings also claimed that they were above the law and as the highest judge in the land could not be held accountable for their actions. This meant that they acted for reasons of state, i.e. the benefit of the entire kingdom, and therefore could not be expected to observe the rights and liberties of their subjects. The same theorists argued that the distinctive feature of European absolutism was that the kings abided by the rule of law, while non-European rulers such as the Ottoman sultan and the Russian tzar could seize the property of and execute their subject without reference to the law.
3. The Practice of Absolutism

In the seventeenth century European monarchs took several steps to ensure their authority was held supreme within the state. First, they eliminated or weakened national representatives assemblies. Second, they secured the support of smaller regional assemblies, which posed less of a direct challenge to centralized authority. Third, they subordinated the nobility to the king and made them dependent on his favor, while excluding him from positions of power. Fourth, the kings established centralized bureaucracies that collected taxes, recruited soldiers and operated the judiciary.

4. Warfare and the Absolutist State

The growth of European states in the seventeenth century was largely the result of war. Between 1600 and 1721 Europeans powers were constantly at war. By the end of the Thirty Years’ War in 1648, most European countries had a standing army, which could be used in foreign wars as well as in maintaining internal order. In the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century these armies became larger. They were equipped with new gunpowder technology such as the musket, which required more intensive training. The cost of recruiting soldiers, equipping them with arms and uniforms and training them was so high that only the state could afford it. The need to meet the financial cost of the military forced states to improve the bureaucracy and tax collection.

B. The Absolutist State in France and Spain

1. Introduction

The two European countries where royal absolutism first became the form of rule were France and Spain. While France under Louis XIV became the model of an absolutist state, which others sought to copy, Spain established forms of absolutist rule, but never matched the achievements of France.

2. The Foundations of French Absolutism

Efforts to establish the absolute monarchy in France began in response to the chaos of the religious wars. The Huguenot Henry IV (r. 1598-1610) converted to Catholicism when he became king of France. He restored internal religious peace by granting toleration to the Huguenots in the Edict of Nantes (1598). His chief minister, the Duke of Sully, promoted the economic recovery of France by giving government support to commercial expansion. When Henry IV was assassinated, his heir Louis XIII (r. 1610-1643) was still a child. The aristocracy took advantage of this weakness to try and build up its power. Louis XIII and his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, worked to centralize power in the hands of the French state. Richelieu suppressed rebellions led by nobles and restricted the independence of the regional supreme courts or parlements. Richelieu also improved the administration by establishing a system of professional bureaucrats called intendants to supervise local
administration. When conflict erupted between the Huguenots and the crown, they were defeated and their town fortifications were razed. Richelieu also increased such taxes as the taille and imposed a tax on office holders. After Richelieu died, he was succeeded as chief minister during the early reign of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) who became king at the age of three, Cardinal Mazarin faced a series of revolts against the crown called the Fronde. The first Fronde was led by the judges of parlement of Paris, who refused to register a royal order requiring them to give up four years worth of their salary. The royal family fled Paris and used royal troops to blockade the city until a compromise was reached. The second Fronde, led by the Prince of Condé, was also defeated by the crown. Within a decade the French state had recovered from these challenges.

3. Absolutism in the Reign of Louis XIV

After the death of Cardinal Mazarin, Louis XIV personally took over the government of France. Louis XIV acquired a reputation as the most powerful European monarch of the seventeenth century both through his policies as well as through the image he conveyed. Art and architecture was used to convey the enormous power of the king. He built a new royal palace at Versailles in the baroque style, which through its size emphasized the unrivaled power of the king. Paintings, sculptures and theatre productions always portrayed the symbols of power. In more practical manner, Louis curbed the power of the nobility, by requiring members of noble families to live at Versailles for part of the year. At court they participated in the ritual of court life that revolved around the person of the king, but were excluded from the running of the government. The offices of state were filled by bureaucrats recruited from the merchant and professional classes. At the local level, intendants ensured the cooperation of city councils, judges and parish priests to enforce the royal will. Louis also promoted religious uniformity by revoking the Edict of Nantes, forcing the Huguenots to either convert or leave the country. Large numbers of Huguenots emigrated to the Netherlands.

The government took an active role in the economic life of the country. The controller general, Jean Baptiste Colbert, promoted a set of policies called mercantilism to promote the economic expansion of France by improving the transportation network, promoting industry and expanding the merchant fleet.

4. Louis XIV and the Culture of Absolutism

Louis XIV attempted to transform French culture by his patronage of cultural institutions. To promote the fine arts Louis XIV granted royal patronage to the Academy of Fine Arts and established the Academy of Music and the theatre company Comédie Française, which had among its dramatists Jean Baptiste Molière and Jean Racine. He also established the Académie Française, which produced the first French Language dictionary. He also founded the Royal Academy of Sciences.
Louis also introduced uniformity to the government. His personal life, the royal bureaucracy and the army were all organized along rational, orderly principles. The achievements and style of Louis XIV influenced other royal courts, which attempted to copy him in the eighteenth century.

5. The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714

Louis XIV waged four of wars to increase the territory of France at the expense of the German states and Spain. These wars led Great Britain, Spain, Austria and the Dutch republic to form coalitions to stop French expansion and establish a balance of power among the power of Europe. Louis XIV’s last war was known as the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713). When Charles II of Spain died without an heir, he left the Spanish crown and empire to Louis XIV’s grandson. The other power refused to accept this increase of French power. After a decade of war, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) allowed Louis XIV’s grandson, Philip V, to become king of Spain on the condition the French and Spanish crowns never be unified. Also, the Spanish territories in Italy and the Netherlands were awarded to the Austrian Habsburgs.

6. Absolutism and State Building in Spain

In the seventh century Spain faced military defeat, population decline and economic failure. Spain in the seventh century remained a collection of territories with their own separate institutions unified only by the person of the monarch. In the first half of the seventh century, the Count-Duke of Olivares (1587-1645) attempted to integrate the various principalities into a more centralized state. He reformed the tax system replacing the millones tax with proportional tax contributions from all villages and town and required all territories to contribute to national defense. He also attempted to reduce the autonomy enjoyed by the different principalities. His policies produced separatist opposition in the various principalities. Although Spain managed to retain control of Italy and Catalonia, it lost Portugal. In the end he failed to reproduce the absolutist state of France because of military defeat abroad and internal opposition.

The seventh century is the Golden Age of Spanish letters and art. However, faced with decline and defeat, Spanish culture turned toward nostalgia. Writers like Miguel de Cervantes in his Don Quixote wrote of elusive dreams of military victory. The paintings of Diego de Velázquez reflected the ideals of seventh century absolutist culture, but avoided the reality of Spanish military and political decline.

C. Absolutism and State Building in Central and Eastern Europe

1. Introduction

The military experiences, which created the absolutist states in France and Spain, also contributed to the creation of absolutist states in the German lands and Eastern Europe.
2. Germany and the Thirty Years’ War, 1618-1648

The German lands were a confederation of kingdoms, principalities and church territories known as the Holy Roman Empire. The empire was not a unified, sovereign state. In 1618 a political incident in Bohemia known as the Defenestration of Prague where Protestant members of the Diet threw two royal officials out of a royal castle window triggered the Thirty Years’ War. The war devastated the German lands and retarded economic growth for more than half a century. The war ended with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which allowed the German territories to develop as sovereign states with their own armies and central governments. The two most powerful were the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy and Brandenburg-Prussia.

3. The Growth of the Prussian State

In 1648 Prussia was made up of a series of territories scattered throughout northern Germany and almost no state bureaucracy. Under the Great Elector Frederick William (r. 1640-1688), King Frederick I (r. 1688-1713) and King Frederick William I (r. 1713-1740) Prussia became a powerful state. The Great Elector secured the support of the Prussian nobles, known as Junkers, by giving them legal power over the serfs on their estates. Prussian rulers, then proceeded to enlarge and centralize the royal bureaucracy in Berlin, improved tax collection and expanded the army. By 1740 Prussia had an 80,000-men army, which was also the best trained army in Europe. Although the Prussian rulers consulted the local assemblies, they were sole legislators at the national level.

4. The Austrian Habsburg Monarchy

The Habsburg rulers of Austria were less successful in consolidating their state. The Habsburg territories were made up of several autonomous principalities with their own institutions and privileges, speaking different languages and following different religious practices and creeds. The Habsburgs created the Court Chamber as a unified bureaucratic institution to supervise the collection of taxes and recruit troops. The Habsburgs were most successful in the Austrian and Bohemian lands. Bohemia had been defeated at the Battle of White Mountain (1629) and its Protestant nobility was deprived of power. Hungary was able to resist Habsburg attempts to limit its constitutional autonomy.

5. The Ottoman Empire: Between East and West

The military frontier between the Habsburg and Ottoman lands marked both a political and a cultural boundary. The Ottoman Turks were not considered part of the West, as they were Muslims. The Turkish rulers, known as sultans, were considered by Western writers despots who ruled over their subjects as slaves. In practice their power, like that of western absolutist monarchs, was limited by the spirit of Muslim law. Also, Ottoman provinces enjoyed much
autonomy. While Ottomans and Europeans were frequently at war, contacts between the two included trade. Although most Europeans viewed the Ottoman Empire as “oriental,” it was a really a border between east and west.

6. Russia and the West

Russia also was a border state between east and west. Russia was ruled for several centuries by Asian peoples and did not participate in the European cultural experience. It also followed an Eastern orthodox form of Christianity. Thus, westerners saw it as “oriental.” During the Reign of Peter I, the Great, (r. 1862-1725) Russia began to adopt Western ways. Peter the Great established a standing army, trained in Prussian methods, imposed new taxes, created a centralized bureaucracy, and promoted industry. He also built the new city of St. Petersburg as a “window to Europe.”

D. Resistance to Absolutism in England and the Dutch Republic

1. Introduction

While the absolutist state was being established throughout most of Europe, England and the Dutch Republic successfully resisted centralization on power in the hands of the crown.

2. The English Monarchy

The English had a long tradition of relying on Parliament to make laws and levy taxes. The Stuart kings tried to introduce royal absolutism. James I (r. 1603-1625) was a strong believer in the royal prerogative and argued the function of Parliament was only to give advice, but made no attempt to legislate without it. When his successor, Charles I (r. 1625-1649) proceeded to impose forced loans on his subjects, Parliament responded with the Petition of Rights stating the fundamental rights of the people. In response Charles did not call Parliament from 1629 to 1640. During this period of personal rule, Charles collected taxes on his own authority. At the same time, his chief religious advisor, Archbishop William Laud, proceeded to restore ritual practices that leaned toward Catholicism. When Charles I tried to introduce this new liturgy to Scotland, it produced a civil war. Desperate for money to fight the Scots, Charles recalled Parliament.

3. The English Civil War and Revolution

Tensions between Charles and Parliament brought about the first modern revolution. The Long Parliament met from 1640-1649. It impeached royal officials and judges and declared the taxes not passed by parliament illegal. When the king attempted to arrest several members of Parliament, civil war broke out. Parliament created a new efficient army and defeated the king. When Presbyterian members of Parliament attempted to reach a compromise with the king, the army purged the Presbyterians from Parliament. The remaining members of Parliament, known as the Rump, put the king on trial.
He was convicted and executed in January of 1649. The revolution created a Republic with the House of Commons as supreme legislator. Soon, the popular party known as the Levellers began pushing for a more democratic form of government, including annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. The army again intervened, and its commander-in-chief, Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was named Lord Protector of England. When Cromwell died in 1658, the political conflict between the Parliament and the army was renewed. In 1660, the army restored the monarchy.

4. Later Stuart Absolutism and the Glorious Revolution

Charles II (r. 1660-1685) and his successor James II (r. 1685-1688) both favored absolutism, but neither tried to rule without Parliament. Their policy was to influence Parliament by packing it with their supporters. The major political crisis of Charles’ II reign came between 1679-81 when a group of members of Parliament known as the Whigs led by Earl of Shaftesbury (1621-1683) attempted to exclude the kings’ brother James from succeeding the English throne on the grounds that he was Catholic. The attempt failed and James succeeded the throne when Charles II died 1685. When James II exempted Catholics from the Test Act of 1673, which excluded them from public office, the country revolted against him. James II fled and Parliament invited his Protestant daughter, Mary and her husband, William of Orange, to become the new rulers. They were required to accept The Convention, which limited royal power and excluded Catholics from the throne. These events known as the Glorious Revolution were not really a revolution as the basic institutions remained the same. Only the center of power shifted from the king to the aristocracy sitting in Parliament. The Glorious Revolution was justified by John Locke in his Two Treatises of Government. Locke argued that man left the state of nature and established a government to protect its property and avoid chaos. But if the king acted against the interests of the people, they could revolt against him. The English Parliament as the new center of power followed the pattern set by other states in improving the military and expanding the bureaucracy.

5. The Dutch Republic

The Dutch Republic remained a decentralized state. The Provinces formed a loose confederation sending deputies to the States General. The provinces also remained decentralized. Political power laid in the hands of the wealthy merchants and bakers who served as regents in the city councils. In foreign policy, first John de Witt, the grand pensionary of Holland, and later the House of Orange led in providing some semblance of centralized authority in the face of foreign threat. Like other countries, Holland accumulated a large standing army. The Dutch Republic played an important role in international trade serving as the middleman between Europe and the World and among European nations. The Dutch East India Company established trading posts in Asia and the Americas. The Exchange Bank of Amsterdam facilitated international trade transactions by having a monopoly of exchange in foreign currencies.
Because of its role as the great middleman of international trade it was the Dutchman, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) who first argued for the freedom of merchants to use the open seas. One of the more unusual features of the Dutch bourgeoisie was its willingness to allow a large degree of toleration to different religious groups. One of the most important contributions of the Dutch to European culture was in the arts. Because the Dutch Calvinist Reformation ended the tradition of religious paintings, Dutch artists of the seventeenth century turned to producing realistic portraits of merchants and financiers. Among its most famous painters were Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) and Jan Steen (1626-1679). In the early eighteenth century the Dutch Republic lost its economic superiority to the French and English.
**TIMELINE**

*Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event 1</th>
<th>Event 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1618</td>
<td>Defenestration of Prague</td>
<td>Edict of Nantes Revoked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>Execution of Charles I</td>
<td>Glorious Revolution in England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1649</td>
<td>Peace of Westphalia</td>
<td>Treaty of Utrecht</td>
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<td>1685</td>
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<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS**

*The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Fronde</td>
<td>Civil war in France (1648-1653)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Law of Free Monarchies</td>
<td>Idea that monarchs are subject to the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Richelieu</td>
<td>French cardinal and statesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Parliament</td>
<td>Parliament that met for a year or longer; often associated with the English Civil War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intendants</td>
<td>Provincial administrators in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hobbes</td>
<td>English philosopher and scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laviathan</td>
<td>Hobbes' treatise on the social contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parlements</td>
<td>Provincial assemblies in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Baptiste Colbert</td>
<td>French statesman and finance minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty of Utrecht</td>
<td>Peace treaty between France and England in 1671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versailles</td>
<td>Palace and seat of government in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Convention</td>
<td>French legislative body in 1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty of Ryswick</td>
<td>Peace treaty between France and England in 1697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal rule</td>
<td>Rule by an individual monarch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James I of England</td>
<td>King of England and Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count-Duke Olivares</td>
<td>Spanish nobleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petition of Right</td>
<td>English petition demanding the right of Parliament to question the King's actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver Cromwell</td>
<td>English military leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutism</td>
<td>Ideology that states all power comes from the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis XIV of France</td>
<td>King of France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty of Wesphalia</td>
<td>Peace treaty between France and the Holy Roman Empire in 1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dieggo de Velázquez</td>
<td>Spanish painter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutism</td>
<td>Idea that the monarch has absolute power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diego de Velázquez</td>
<td>Spanish painter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prerogative</td>
<td>Right of the monarch to rule without Parliament's consent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugo Grotius</td>
<td>Dutch jurist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junker</td>
<td>German nobleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War of Spanish Succession</td>
<td>War between France and Spain (1659-1668)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter the Great</td>
<td>Russian tsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balance of power</td>
<td>Idea that the balance of power among states is important for stability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rembrandt van Rijn</td>
<td>Dutch painter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Protector</td>
<td>William Laud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Laud</td>
<td>English statesman and archbishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Mazarin</td>
<td>French cardinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rump Parliament</td>
<td>Last Parliament of the English Civil War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glorious Revolution</td>
<td>English revolution against the Stuarts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Locke</td>
<td>English philosopher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Richlieu</td>
<td>French cardinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baroque</td>
<td>Art and culture characterized by ornate and elegant details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War of Spanish Succession</td>
<td>War between France and Spain (1659-1668)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Peter the Great</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rembrandt van Rijn</td>
<td>Dutch painter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

   the states with limited or constitutional monarchies
   the states with more absolute forms of government
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What was the “divine right of kings?” To what extent was it used by European monarchs?
2. How did warfare affect development of the absolutist state?
3. What was the theory of royal absolutism? How did it work in practice?
4. What were the origins of the royal crises of the seventeenth century? What theories were elaborated that permitted resistance to the monarchy?
5. What factors account for the rebellions in England? What was their result? How did Locke’s political theory justify them?
6. How did Louis XIV complete the creation of absolute government? How successful was it? How did other states attempt to copy it?
7. How did eastern European rulers acquire the support of their nobles to establish absolutism in their states?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. What reasons did Louis XIV give for revoking the Edict of Nantes? What steps did he take to enforce religious conformity of the former Huguenots?
2. Based on Grimmelshausen’s account, how did the troops behave when they attacked a region?
3. Why did John Lilburne feel the cause of the English Revolution had been betrayed?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. Compare and contrast absolutism in France and Spain in the seventeenth century. How did monarchs centralize their power? What resistance did they encounter? What economic policies did they pursue? How did the arts convey the values of the period? Which monarchy fared better during the period?
2. Discuss the reign of Peter the Great in Russia. In what ways did he try to Westernize Russia? How did he increase the power of the tsar? Why did he fight wars with the Turks and Swedes? How did St. Petersburg symbolize his reign?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which did NOT result from the wars of the seventeenth century?

   a. the loss of royal authority
   b. the growth of the size of royal armies
   c. the increase in efficiency of royal bureaucracies
   d. improvements in the collection of taxes

2. Which of the following artists was associated with Spanish art?

   a. Diego Velazquez.
   b. Peter Paul Rubens
   c. Ben Jonson.
   d. Anthony Van Dyck

3. The author of the *Leviathan* was

   a. John Locke.
   b. Miguel de Cervantes.
   c. Thomas Hobbes.
   d. Hugo Grotius.

4. Absolutism meant that the king

   a. was supreme legislator.
   b. could seize his subjects’ property at will.
   c. must consult the Diet frequently.
   d. was a despot.

5. Louis the XIV did all of the following to promote absolutism in France EXCEPT

   a. deprive the nobles of their role in government.
   b. call the Estates General.
   c. have himself painted holding the symbols of power.
   d. appoint professional bureaucrats.

6. The aristocratic rebellion in France against the regency government of Cardinal Mazarin was called the

   a. Fronde.
   b. Catalan rebellion.
   c. Sicilian Vespers.
   d. Jacquerie.
7. Which of the following did NOT result from the English Civil War?
   a. Parliament became more powerful than the king.
   b. Religious toleration became the rule.
   c. Royal power over taxation was curtailed.
   d. Absolute monarchy became constitutional monarchy.

8. Which of the following states did NOT develop royal absolutism?
   a. Dutch Republic
   b. Prussia
   c. France
   d. Russia

9. Eastern European Monarchs secured the acceptance of absolutism by their nobles by
   a. calling more frequent national Diets.
   b. cutting taxes.
   c. granting them power over the peasants on their estates.
   d. militarily crushing the nobles.

10. The institution that facilitated international commerce by holding a monopoly of foreign exchange was
    a. the States General.
    b. the Grand pensionary.
    c. the Stadholder.
    d. the Exchange Bank of Amsterdam.
CHAPTER 16

The Scientific Revolution

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

In 1609 the Italian mathematician Galileo Galilei invented the telescope. With the telescope Galileo discovered the mountains on the moon, the spots on the sun and four moons of Jupiter. His discoveries provided the evidence to support the theory that the Earth and other planets revolved around the sun. Galileo formed part of the basis for developments historians call the scientific revolution. It caused controversies in religion, philosophy and politics and ended up changing the way people Europeans viewed nature.

A. The Discoveries and Achievements of the Scientific Revolution

1. Introduction

The scientific revolution began in the middle decades of the sixteenth century and continued through the early part of the eighteenth century. It involved gradual developments in astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology.

2. Astronomy: A New Model of the Universe

The major change in astronomy was people accepted that the sun rather than the earth was the center of the universe. Until the sixteenth century Europeans followed the cosmology theory of the Greek astronomer Ptolemy. He believed that the earth was the center of the universe and the sun, the moon and the other planets revolved around the earth. This theory could by verified by human observation, but it failed to explain the path of the planets. The first challenge to Ptolemy’s cosmology came from Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) who proposed that the sun was the center of the universe. His work was too complicated to gain much acceptance. In the late sixteenth century the Dutch astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) agreed that the planets revolved around the sun, but said that the sun revolved around the earth. In the early seventeenth-century Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) used Brahe’s data to confirm that the sun was the center of the universe and the earth and other planets revolved around it. Galileo Galilei used his skills as a writer to popularize the idea of the sun-centered universe. Galileo was eventually tried by the church court, the Inquisition, for challenging the Bible and was forced to abandon the Copernican model of the universe.
3. Physics: The Laws of Motion and Gravitation

Galileo’s most important scientific contributions were in the field of physics. He formulated the laws governing the motion of material objects. Galileo proposed the theory of inertia, according to which an object moves or rests until something outside of it changes its motion. The most important achievements in physics were those of Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727). Building on the work of Galileo, Hooke and others, he explained theories of motion and inertia with the force of gravity. Newton also described the composition of light.

4. Chemistry: the Discovery of Elements of Nature

Until the seventeenth century, chemistry was tainted by its connection to alchemy. The Swiss physician, Paracelsus (1493-1541) rejected the ancient theory that disease was caused by an imbalance of the four humors (i.e. blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile). He began using chemicals to treat patients for diseases. The Englishman, Robert Boyle, made chemistry respectable by his discovery that the arrangement of atoms determines the characteristics of matter.

5. Biology: The Circulation of the Blood

William Harvey demonstrated how blood circulates through the human body.

B. The Search for Scientific Knowledge

1. Introduction

Scientists in the sixteenth century began to engage in extensive observation, experimentation and deductive reasoning to solve scientific problems.

2. Observation and Experimentation

Scientists in the sixteenth and seventeenth century stopped relying on ancient theories and preconceived notions. Instead they began using a process of induction, whereby only after extensive observation and experimentation did they publish their theories.

3. Deductive Reasoning

Another feature of sixteenth and seventeenth century research was the use of rational deduction. This idea was promoted by René Descartes (1596-1650) who argued that the best way to solve problems was to establish fundamental principles and then deduce more specific ideas.
4. Mathematics and Nature

A third method of scientific research was the application of mathematics to help explain the physical world. Newton explained his theories in mathematical formulas.

5. The Mechanical Philosophy

Much seventeenth century research assumed that the natural world worked like a machine. The human body was understood as being dualistic; according to Descartes, the body was a machine, but the mind was an immaterial substance. The understanding of nature was called *mechanical philosophy* and it challenged the earlier view of the Neoplatonists, who viewed the natural world as having a soul.

C. The Causes of the Scientific Revolution

1. Introduction

A series of intellectual development dating back to the Middle Ages helped bring about the Scientific Revolution.

2. Developments Within Science

Several causes of the Scientific Revolution came from within scientific research. The Scientific Revolution was partly caused by research on motion done by the Scholastic Philosophers of the fourteenth century. Second, the Humanist Scholars rediscovered many ancient works on science that stimulated new thinking on scientific issues. Third, several of the older conceptual frameworks or paradigms were proven incorrect.

3. Developments Outside Science

There were also a number of non-scientific developments that encouraged the acceptance of new scientific ideas. First was the rise of Protestantism. Protestants were more open to new scientific ideas because of the idea that God revealed himself in both the Bible and in nature. So nature should be studied because it helped better understand God. Second, the rise of new academies provided support for scholars to do their research. Third, the printing press provided a more accurate way to publicize scientific discoveries. Fourth, the military’s need for new technology for war and the merchants’ need for better navigational technology encouraged further research to solve scientific problems. Finally, the voyages of discovery disproved ancient beliefs about the Southern part of the globe and revealed new continents not previously known, thus challenging established authority.
D. The Intellectual Effects of the Scientific Revolution

1. Introduction

The Scientific Revolution had a great impact on education and religious beliefs.

2. Education

As science gained more respectability in the seventeenth century, it challenged the dominance of classical authors in the University curriculum.

3. Skepticism and Independent Reasoning

One the most important effects of the Scientific Revolution was the rise of skepticism. Descartes reached the extreme of skepticism by doubting his own existence. Then, he realized that his own act of thinking proved his own existence. Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) argued that truth should be based only on solid reason. He also believed that nature followed unchanging laws, which could be made understandable in mathematical terms.

4. Science and Religion

The Scientific Revolution presented several challenges to religion. Among these was the idea that the universe worked like a machine according to natural laws and without the intervention of God. This position was adopted by the Deist philosophers in the eighteenth century. Another challenge was the idea that reason should determine the existence of the supernatural. The spread of the new science led to a decline in religious fanaticism.

5. Magic, Demons, and Witchcraft

The new science led to a decline in the belief in natural magic such as alchemy and demonic magic. By the eighteenth century the educated classes denied the existence of demons and power of witchcraft. Balthasar Bekker (1691-1693) went so far as to deny that the devil had any power over the natural world. The skeptical views of the educated classes were not shared by the common people for whom religion remained important. The result was a divide between learned and popular culture.

E. Humans and the Natural World

1. Introduction

The spread of scientific culture led the educated people to reconsider their relationship with nature.
2. The Place of Human Beings in the Universe

By making humans the inhabitants of a tiny planet circling the sun, the Copernican Universe reduced the importance of humanity. It led people to begin to question the place of mankind in creation.

3. The Control of Nature

The Scientific Revolution increased the belief that humans could control nature. Some philosophers argued that by gaining knowledge of the laws of nature, humans could acquire dominion over nature. They began to believe that science and technology could improve human life. This belief in progress became an integral part of Western culture.

4. Women, Men and Nature

The new scientific ideas challenged the ancient and medieval beliefs about the physical and mental inferiority of women by concluding that both men and women made equal contribution to the reproduction. But, despite the theoretical foundation for sexual equality, traditional notions about women continued to dominate.
TIMELINE

*Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.*

Descartes published *Discourse on the Method.*
Galileo introduced the telescope.
Newton published *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy.*
Copernicus published *On the Revolution of the Heavenly Spheres.*
William Harvey demonstrated how blood circulates through the body.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1543</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1609</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1637</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1687</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

cosmology  scientific revolution  Nicolaus Copernicus
Tycho Brahe  Johannes Kepler  Galileo Galilei
Sir Isaac Newton  Paracelsus  alchemy
Robert Boyle  Claudius Ptolemy  William Harvey
Robert Hooke  induction  Rene Descartes
Christian Huygens  deduction  Neoplatonists
William Gilbert  paradigm  Royal Society of England
Baruch Spinoza  Deists  Blaise Pascal
demonic magic  Natural magic  Balthasar Bekker
Bernard de Fontenelle  Mechanical Philosophy  Francis Bacon
universal law of gravitation  deists
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What were the major astronomical, scientific, and mathematical discoveries?
2. What methods did scientists use to investigate nature?
3. How did the Scientific Revolution influence religious ideas?
4. How did the new mechanical philosophy describe nature?
5. How did scientific research before the sixteenth century contribute to the Scientific Revolution?
6. What factor outside of science contributed to the Scientific Revolution? How?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. According to Copernicus, how did ancient writers and observation influence his theories?
2. What did Balthasar Bekker propose as an alternative for blaming the devil as a cause for actions of unknown cause?
3. How did Elizabeth of Bohemia expose the weakness of Descartes’ dualistic philosophy?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. How did the Scientific Revolution influence the development of philosophical and religious thought in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries?
2. What was the importance of the "scientific method" as utilized within research?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. The cosmology described by what ancient astronomer was overturned during the scientific revolution?
   a. Aristotle
   b. Plato
   c. Ptolemy
   d. Thales

2. Which of the following statements concerning the astronomical discoveries of the scientific revolution is NOT accurate?
   a. Discoveries were made in virtually all parts of Europe.
   b. William Harvey demonstrated how blood circulates through the human body.
   c. Medieval and Renaissance scientific research made no contributions to the Scientific Revolution.
   d. Galileo provided visual confirmation of the mathematical proofs offered by Johannes Kepler for a heliocentric universe.

3. The Swiss physician Paracelsus
   a. experimented with gas and air.
   b. discovered the secret of the body’s circulatory system.
   c. discovered the law of gravity.
   d. rejected the idea that diseases were caused by an imbalance of the four humors.

4. Newton’s theory of gravity
   a. rejected the notion of dualistic philosophy.
   b. proved that the heart pumped blood by contraction and constriction.
   c. proposed that motion was the result of the interaction of objects and could be calculated mathematically.
   d. rejected the concept of materialism.

5. The mechanical philosophy challenged the ideas of a group of philosophers inspired by Plotinus called?
   a. Paracelsus
   b. Neoplatonists
   c. Scholastics
   d. Humanists
6. Which of the following was not a cause of the Scientific Revolution?
   a. the acceptance of Deism
   b. the voyages of discovery
   c. Medieval research on motion
   d. military and economic needs for few technology

7. According to Spinoza,
   a. all truth must be proved by reason.
   b. the universe is made up of two substances, matter and spirit.
   c. the heart pumps blood into the body.
   d. the earth revolves around the sun.

8. The Deists argued that
   a. the statements in the Bible about nature must be taken literally.
   b. demonic spirits could influence events and actions.
   c. diseases are caused by the imbalance of the four humors.
   d. since the universe functioned like a machine, God played very little role in it.

9. Which of the following denied that the devil could influence the natural world?
   a. René Descartes
   b. Balthasar Bekker
   c. Blaise Pascal
   d. Galileo Galilei

10. How did the Copernican concept of the universe affect views of humankind?
    a. It made them the greatest of God’s creations.
    b. It questioned their place in Creation.
    c. It gave them control over nature.
    d. It made both men and women equal.
CHAPTER 17

Eighteenth-Century Society and Culture

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

In 1745 a poor peasant named Thomas Brown was jailed in England for shooting deer and rabbits on his landlord’s land, in violation of the game laws. These anti-poaching laws were created by Parliament to reinforce the social distinction between aristocracy and the commoner. The aristocracy controlled most of the wealth, state office, Parliament and judiciary in the countries of Europe in the eighteenth century. They also set the standards of cultural life. Their power came under attack in the eighteenth century by the middle ranks of society demanding political reform and by the intellectuals’ philosophical movement known as the Enlightenment.

A. The Aristocracy

1. Introduction

In the eighteenth century the aristocracy included the wealthiest and most powerful people in society. The aristocracy was made up of the nobility and the lower nobility or gentry. The nobility held hereditary titles and privileges and usually numbered only a few hundred persons. The gentry numbered several thousand families, and although it had status, it was much less powerful than the nobility. The aristocracy was not completely closed to outsiders. Commoners with great wealth and land could sometimes gain entrance. In the eighteenth century the number of newcomers declined.

2. The Wealth of the Aristocracy

As the wealthiest social group in European society, the aristocracy lived in luxury and showed off wealth as a sign of social status. Most of their income came from land. Aristocrats owned at least 1/3 of the land. In the eighteenth century their wealth continued to increase. In Western Europe their wealth increased through investment in new economic enterprises such as mining and in Eastern Europe through increase demands on the serfs.

3. The Political Power of the Aristocracy

In the mid-eighteenth century the aristocracy was at the height of its power. In England it had taken power in the glorious revolution of 1688. In Poland and Hungary it dominated the provincial assemblies. Even in the absolutist monarchies the aristocracy controlled the provincial assemblies, many offices of the bureaucracy and the judiciary.
4. The Cultural World of the Aristocracy

The lifestyle of the aristocracy emphasized learning and appreciation of the fine arts. Their homes were built in the neoclassical style and housed large art collections. The aristocracy also was made up of patrons for musicians and artists. Composers such as Franz Joseph Haydn (1756-1791) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) worked primarily for aristocratic audiences.

B. Challenges to Aristocratic Dominance

1. Introduction

Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, the aristocracy’s values and lifestyle came increasingly under attack.

2. Encounters with the Rural Peasantry

One of the groups challenging the aristocracy was the peasants and serfs. The serfs of Eastern Europe suffered under oppressive burdens and had no personal freedom. In Western Europe serfdom had given way to tenant farming, but the peasants were coming under great pressure because of increased taxation and the elimination of common pasture rights as landlords began to turn their lands to commercial use. In the west peasants’ resistance appeared in form of lawsuits against their seigneurs or landlords and on occasion in the form of rural violence. In Eastern Europe, the decaying economic conditions of the peasants led to large-scale revolts such as the Pugachev Rebellion in Russia. Peasant revolts sought to regain lost privileges and did not seek a social or political revolution.

3. The Social Position of the Bourgeoisie

Another source of challenge to the aristocracy came from the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie was made up of the prosperous merchants and professionals of the cities. The bourgeoisie had acquired its own social and cultural identity; it was literate and politically active. They became the main critics of the aristocracy.

4. The Bourgeoisie Critique of the Aristocracy

The bourgeoisie criticism of the aristocracy was centered on three elements: first, the aristocracy’s luxury and idleness; second, sexual immorality and promiscuity; and third, a decadent internationalist culture at the expense of wholesome patriotic values. The bourgeoisie critique received much support from the intellectuals that were part of the movement called the Enlightenment.
C. The Enlightenment

1. Introduction

The Enlightenment was an eighteenth-century intellectual movement that promoted gaining understanding of humanity only by the use of a person’s reason. It had roots in the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century and was influenced by the ideas of Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke. Its influence spread throughout Europe and the Americas.

2. Themes of Enlightenment Thought

According to the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1772-1804) the enlightenment was an approach to attaining knowledge as well as a frame of mind. The writers of the Enlightenment, known as *philosophes*, emphasized several themes. First, they had unlimited confidence in human reason. Second, they believed that the universe was governed by natural laws which human reason could discover. Third, they believed that society and human beings were also governed by natural laws. Fourth, they argued for the application of natural law to society. David Hume (1711-1776) proposed a science of the human mind in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) and Adam Smith (1723-1790) proposed a set of natural laws of economics.

The spread of scientific knowledge gave the philosophes a new understanding of the relationship between God and mankind. Most believed that God was the creator and author of natural law, but that he did not intervene in the day-to-day operation of the universe or humanity. This was known as *deism*. The Enlightenment thinkers disliked Christianity and denied that there was one true religion. They believed that morality did not need to be based on scripture. Rather, humans could use reason to discover what was natural and live accordingly. A more extreme position was that of Baron d’Holbach (1723-1789) who denied the existence of God.

The philosophes were firm believers in progress. Through the use of reason, the political and social order could be reformed to produce more efficient institutions and a better society. Cesare Beccaria called for legal reforms that would use criminal punishment to rehabilitate the individual.

3. Voltaire and the Spirit of the Enlightenment

The most representative of the ideas of the Enlightenment was Francois Marie Arouet (1694-1778) (better known as Voltaire). He attacked religion as irrational and barbaric. He attacked the aristocracy and the government for injustice.
4. Enlightenment Political Theory

Enlightenment thinkers were best known for their political theories and calls for reform of the state. Baron Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1785) satirized the ways of European governments in *The Persian Letters*. In *The Spirit of Laws*, Montesquieu proposed a separation of power as the best constitutional structure. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) rejected civilization and customs as slavery that corrupted humanity. He dis liked aristocracy and monarchy and instead called for sovereignty of the people. He believed laws should be determined by the General Will, by which he meant not the will of the majority but the consensus of what was in the best interest of the community. Thomas Paine (1737-1809) advocated for human freedom and equality arguing in his *The Rights of Men* that people possess natural rights that could never be taken away.

5. Women and the Enlightenment

The Enlightenment thinkers spoke of human beings as being equal, but did not believe that natural law made men and women equal. They believed that men and women belonged to separate spheres. Women belonged in the domestic sphere and were denied civil rights. Only in the 1790s did Enlightenment writers such as the Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794), Marie Olympe Aubrey de Gouges (1748-1793) and Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) begin to call for equality of men and women.

6. The Enlightenment and Sexuality

One theme of the enlightenment was the call for greater sexual permissiveness. Many philosophes lived openly with women out of wedlock. Giacomo Casanove (1725-1798) gained fame for seducing thousands of women while Alphose Donatien François, Marquis de Sade (1740-1814) became infamous for violent sexual encounters.

D. The Impact of the Enlightenment

1. Introduction

The ideas of the enlightenment spread among the educated classes of Europe and the Americas.

2. The Spread of the Enlightenment Ideas

The ideas of the Enlightenment spread quickly because printing technology allowed for printing of pamphlets and newspapers in large quantities. The major publication of Enlightenment ideas was the *Encyclopedia* edited by Denis de Diderot and Jean de Rond d’Alembert. Its seventeen volumes were filled with articles that advanced the ideas of the Enlightenment. Enlightenment ideas were also spread by library societies and book clubs,
which appeared in the major cities and promoted discussion of the latest publications. Another group that advocated the ideas of the Enlightenment were the freemasons. The freemasons called for the creation of a society based on reason and virtue.

3. The Limits of the Enlightenment

There was a limited appeal for the Enlightenment. Most Enlightenment publications did not sell well. People preferred to buy religious books, novels and literature on popular science topics. There was also popular interest on mesmerism and other forms of spiritualism. The illiterate masses remained untouched by the Enlightenment. Popular culture continued to believe in a world dominated by the supernatural. It also continued to practice violent sports, despite the criticism of the educated against these amusements.

4. Enlightened Absolutism

Rulers were generally suspicious of the Enlightenment though a few Eastern European rulers did enact reforms based on Enlightenment ideas. These rulers were known as Enlightened despots. The ruler of Prussia, Frederick II “the Great,” hosted Voltaire in Berlin. Frederick introduced religious toleration, codified Prussian law, abolished judicial torture, and introduced compulsory education. In Austria, Empress Maria Therese enacted a new code of criminal law that abolished torture. Her successor, Joseph II abolished capital punishment and granted religious toleration. Catherine II “the Great” of Russia implemented some educational and judicial reforms, but failed to abolish serfdom.

5. The Enlightenment and Revolution

Enlightenment ideas also inspired the reform and revolutionary movements that appeared in Europe and the Americas in the late eighteenth century. In Britain parliamentary reform and expansion of voting rights was inspired by the Enlightenment. In France many of the leaders of the French revolution were also influenced by the Enlightenment especially its attacks on the royal court. In the Americas, advocates of independence such as Thomas Jefferson and Simon Bolivar were also influenced by Enlightenment ideas.

6. Enlightenment and Western Identity

Enlightenment ideas influenced Western values, legal tradition, and politics, but have never been fully accepted because of their attack on religion and social order.
### TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>Voltaire’s <em>Philosophical Letters</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rousseau’s <em>The Social Contract</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>Montesquieu’s <em>Spirit of the Laws</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kant’s <em>Critique of Pure Reason</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>De Gouges’s <em>On the Rights of Women</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Smith’s <em>Wealth of Nations</em></td>
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<td>1776</td>
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<td>1781</td>
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<td>1791</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. **Define each one.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hidalgos</td>
<td>_class</td>
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<tr>
<td>szlachtas</td>
<td>Jean Jacques Rousseau</td>
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<td><em>philosophes</em></td>
<td><em>Encyclopedia</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adam Smith</td>
<td>Cesare Beccaria</td>
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<td>Voltaire</td>
<td>David Hume</td>
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<td>deism</td>
<td>neoclassicism</td>
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<td>progress</td>
<td>bourgeoisie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emelian Pugachev</td>
<td>Catherine II, the Great</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marquis de Condorcet</td>
<td>Thomas Paine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giacomo Casanova</td>
<td>Marquis de Sade</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frans Anton Mesmer</td>
<td>Frederick II, the Great</td>
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<td>aristocracy</td>
<td>nobility</td>
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<td>separate spheres</td>
<td>freemasons</td>
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<td>mesmerism</td>
<td>Old Regime</td>
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<td>gentry</td>
<td>Enlightenment</td>
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<td>szlachtas</td>
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<td>Emelian Pugachev</td>
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<td>Marquis de Condorcet</td>
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<td>Giacomo Casanova</td>
<td>Joseph II</td>
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<td>Frans Anton Mesmer</td>
<td>classicism</td>
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<td>aristocracy</td>
<td>enlightened despots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>separate spheres</td>
<td>franchise</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the country in which each of the following philosophers worked.

   Diderot  Voltaire  Hume
   Beccaria  Kant  Smith

2. In which countries did monarchs attempt to impose reforms based on the Enlightenment?
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What were the contributions of Voltaire, Hume, and Montesquieu? How did these men reflect the general world view of the Enlightenment?

2. Why did the thinkers of the Enlightenment believe in progress?

3. What impact did the Enlightenment have on European governments?

4. Define, insofar as possible, the European nobility. In what ways did they differ from country to country?

5. Who were the bourgeoisie? Who was a member in this social class?

6. What was the nature of aristocratic culture?

7. What was the difference between enlightenment culture and popular mass culture?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. What evidence did Daniel Defoe present for social mobility in eighteenth-century England?

2. What does Montesquieu say about the behavior of aristocratic women in Europe?

3. In what ways does Diderot criticize the Christian morality of the Western world?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. How did the ideas of the Enlightenment spread throughout the West?

2. What were the bases of the aristocracy's political power? How did it perpetuate itself in this period?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which of the following statements concerning the European nobility is most accurate?

   a. The nobility throughout Europe was an undifferentiated class.
   b. The nobility retained considerable influence and power.
   c. All who were noble were wealthy.
   d. The nobility had ceased to play a role in the cultural life.

2. The collection that attempted to summarize all acquired knowledge was the

   a. Almanach.
   b. Omnibus.
   c. Dictionaire.
   d. Encyclopedia.

3. In government, Montesquieu advocated

   a. enlightened despotism.
   b. separation of powers.
   c. pure democracy.
   d. atheism.

4. The architectural style preferred by the eighteenth-century aristocracy was

   a. renaissance.
   b. baroque.
   c. neoclassical.
   d. modernist.

5. In the eighteenth century, the European bourgeoisie

   a. was shrinking in size and economic importance.
   b. was made up of merchants, financiers, and other professionals.
   c. often lived in the countryside.
   d. played no political role.
6. Which of the following Enlightenment philosophers argued that criminal punishments should be used to rehabilitate the criminal?
   a. Voltaire
   b. Cesare Beccaria
   c. Denis Diderot
   d. Adam Smith

7. Giacomo Casanova became famous for
   a. writing the *Philosophical Dictionary*.
   b. seducing thousands of women.
   c. violent sexual encounters.
   d. Enlightenment reforms in Russia.

8. All the following are true of Jean-Jacques Rousseau EXCEPT
   a. he believed laws should be determined by the will of the majority.
   b. he had a negative view of civilization.
   c. he believed man was uncorrupted in the state of nature.
   d. he distrusted human reason.

9. Which of the following countries attempted to implement Enlightenment-inspired reforms?
   a. Spain and Portugal
   b. France and England
   c. Prussia and Austria
   d. Italy and Germany

10. Which of the following statements concerning popular culture is most accurate?
    a. The European masses were almost entirely illiterate and untouched by Enlightenment ideas.
    b. The masses began to hear the music of Mozart and Haydn.
    c. The masses were experiencing a period of increasing prosperity and rejected violence.
    d. The European masses fully accepted the ideas of the Enlightenment.
CHAPTER 18

The Age of the French Revolution, 1789-1815

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

Only July 12, 1789 the French journalist named Camille Desmoulins incited the people of Paris to invade the arsenals and arm themselves in fear that king Louis XVI was about the attack the city. Two days later, on July 14, the people of Paris attacked the fortress of the Bastille, murdered its governor and defenders as well as the city’s magistrates. This violent event was the beginning of fundamental political changes in France and Europe that are known as the French Revolution.

A. The First French Revolution

1. Introduction

The main characteristic of political revolutions is that they change the political system. The first phase of the French Revolution from 1789-1792 brought about the destruction of royal absolutism. The second phase from 1792-95 destroyed the monarchy. The French Revolution had several important causes. First was the relentless attack by the men of the Enlightenment that undermined the prestige of the government and led to demands for change. The second involved the conflicts between the crown and the nobility over constitutional issues. The third was the conflict between the nobility and the peasants which fueled demands for restrictions on the privileges of the nobility. The immediate cause was the bankruptcy of the French government which forced change.

2. The Beginning of the Revolution

In the 1780s the French government of King Louis XVI could no longer pay the enormous debts France had acquired in the wars it fought with England in the course of the eighteenth century. In 1787, the king called an Assembly of Notables made up of important people in order to gain support for a tax on land to be paid by all landowners. They refused to give their support and instead advised the king to call the Estates General (French legislator) which had not met since 1614. The king refused and attempted to gain support for the new taxes from the regional law courts called the Parlements. The judges of the Parlements refused. The worsening financial situation forced the king to call the Estates General. The Estates General was made up of three chambers representing the three social groups or estates in French Society: the nobility, the clergy and the commoners or Third Estate. In
the months before the Estates General convened the debate raged about how
the Estates General should vote. If they voted by chamber, the noble
dominated First and Second Estates would block any action of the chamber of
the third estate. If they voted by head, the representatives of the third estates
joined by reform elements from the other two could push reform as the
number of representatives for Third Estate equaled the combined number of
the other two estates. The question remained unresolved when the Estates
general convened on May 5, 1789. When the king said he favored the voting
by house, the Third Estate declared itself the national assembly and asked the
other two to join them. When shortly afterwards, the Third Estate was locked
out of its meeting hall, the members moved to a indoor tennis court and took
an oath not to disband until they had written a constitution for France. When
more nobles and clergyman joined the Third Estate, the king was forced to
accept the new situation. As the summer progressed, the social crisis deepened
because of increases in the price of bread. In June, King Louis XVI began
massing troops near Paris. When he dismissed the reform-minded Finance
Minister, Jacques Necker, people began to worry that the king was about to
move against the National Assembly. The people of Paris responded by
forming a National Guard and attacking the Bastille. In the meantime, a crisis
known as the “Great Fear” spread through the countryside as peasants began
attacking the homes of their noble landlords and burning the records.

3. The Creation of a New Political Order

In the period between August 1789 and September 1790, the National
Assembly reorganized French society. They abolished the privileges of the
nobles and clergy, the legal jurisdiction of nobleman, feudal dues, game laws,
and the privileges of provinces and towns. In its place, France was now
composed of equal citizens. On August 26, 1789 the Assembly issued the
Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizen. The Declaration was influenced
by the Enlightenment and proclaimed the rights to liberty, property, equality
before the law, freedom from oppression, and religious toleration to be natural
rights. The Assembly also reorganized the church by issuing the Civil
Constitution of the Clergy which made the church a department of state, made
the clergy government employees, and ordered that bishops be elected by the
laymen. The property of the church was seized. In 1791, the Assembly issued
a new constitution which made France a constitutional monarchy. It also
declared all citizens equal before the law, abolished titles of nobility, and
made marriage a civil contract.

4. Responses to the First French Revolution

While events in Paris were changing the French political structures, in the
countryside the people in villages and towns were rising up and overthrowing
the local leaders and replacing them with supporters of the revolution. At the
same time considerable opposition was also appearing. The clergy refused to
take an oath of allegiance to the nation, nobles began to organize opposition to
new regime, and conflicts erupted between Catholics and Protestants. In the
meantime rulers in other countries began to worry about the impact of French developments on their countries and took actions to curb dissent.

B. The French Republic, 1792-99

1. Introduction

After 1792, France experienced another revolution that replaced the monarchy with a republic.

2. The Establishment of the Republic, 1792

In the first years of the revolution, it appeared that the new French government would be a constitutional monarchy as support for a republic came only from the radical Jacobins who drew their support from Parisian lower classes called the sans-culottes. King Louis XVI was partly responsible for undermining the monarchy. He never accepted the changes brought by the revolution. In June of 1791 he lost all credibility when he attempted to flee the country. The final blow to the monarchy came from the pressure of war. Other European monarchs became increasingly distressed by events in France. Austria began to organize an alliance to restore the French monarchy. The French Legislative Assembly responded by declaring war on Austria. The war went badly for France and produced a mood of fear that enemies within were undermining the revolution. When on August 10, 1791 the radical republicans overthrew the Paris city government (called the commune) the Legislative Assembly suspended the king and ordered a convention elected to write a new constitution. The hysteria produced by the war defeats, led the Paris mob to attack the prisons and kill 1,200 prisoners whom they feared would give support to the invaders. A French victory at Valmy on September 22, 1791 saved the revolution. Two days latter, the newly elected convention abolished the monarchy.

3. The Jacobins and the Revolution

Several factions were struggling for power in France. Before the overthrow of the monarchy the main factions were the monarchist Feuillants and the republican Jacobins. In the convention the main factions were the moderate Girondins and the radical Montagnards, or “the Mountain”. The Mountain led by people like Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794) pushed for the centralization of power in Paris, while the Girondins favored federalism. In January 1793, the convention put the king on trial, convicted him of treason and he was executed by using the guillotine. The factional splits worsened with new defeats on the battlefield. The convention ordered a levée en masse or conscription of troops from the entire population which caused federalist revolts within the country. Robespierre saw internal opposition as a Gerondins plot and expelled them form the convention.
4. The Reign of Terror

In order to deal with the internal enemies, the convention entrusted executive power to a Committee of Public Safety led by Robespierre and established special courts to prosecute enemies. They implemented a terror campaign to crush opposition. Between October 1793 and June 1794 over 17,000 persons were executed and another 20,000 were killed without trial. Many of the victims were nobles and priests as well as people from the outlying regions of the country that favored federalism. Robespierre justified the Terror using ideas of the Enlightenment. The memory of terror has been as closely identified with the revolution as the slogan: “Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.”

5. The Directory, 1795-1799

In June of 1793, moderates in the convention overthrew Robespierre and abolished the Committee of Public Safety. They created a five men directory to govern the country, established a two-chamber parliament and limited the franchise to property holders. Soon opposition arose from the radical Jacobins and sans-culottes over the rising price of bread, but it was crushed. By the end of the decade the financial situation of France again worsened as the assignats or paper money issued based on the value of confiscated church lands became worthless. A new coup brought a new government called the Consulate to power. It was dominated by a young general named Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) who was named first Council. He had made a name for himself by winning victories in Italy against the Austrians.

II. Cultural Change in France During the Revolution

1. Introduction

The French revolution brought important changes to French culture.

2. The Transformation of Cultural Institutions

The cultural institutions of the old regime were either destroyed or radically changed. The confiscation of church property and abolition of religious orders had devastated the system of schools and universities run by the church. The government created a system of public primary and secondary or central schools based on free instructions by teachers paid by the state. Lacking sufficient funds to finance the schools, the new system reached fewer students that the old system. The old scientific and artistic academies were abolished and their work taken over by government committees. The Commission of Weights and Measures established the metric system as the new measuring standard. The Royal Library became the National Library and was given the book collections of the abolished monasteries and academies. The Commission of the Museums created the Louvre museum to house the objects and paintings confiscated from the homes of émigrés and the churches.
The revolutionary government also attempted to erase the memory of the old regime by having the tombs of the kings destroyed.

3. The Creation of a New Political Culture

To replace the culture of the Old Regime, the revolutionaries set up a new revolutionary culture that gloried the new regime and the ideal of liberty, equality and fraternity. The new political doctrine was popular sovereignty which claimed that the people were the highest political power in the state. The new culture adopted the dress styles of the *sans-culottes*. The new revolutionary culture also attempted to de-Christianize France. Churches were turned into temples of reason and Robespierre introduced the new cult of the supreme-being as a universal religion. The Calendar was reformed with dates starting from September 22, 1792 as the first day of the year I. The new months were made up of three ten-day weeks. The new culture was contested from the beginning and much of it was rejected.

4. Cultural Uniformity

The new French culture pushed standardization and equality as appropriate for a society of equal citizens. France was divided into 83 *départements* of approximate equal size and population. The new schools were given the same curriculum and books. The metric system became the new standardized measuring system.

III. The Napoleonic Era, 1799-1815

1. Introduction

The Consulate introduced a period of authoritarian rule as the republic gave way to a dictatorship.

2. Napoleon’s Rise to Power

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on the island of Corsica in 1769 to a family of the old lower nobility. He was sent to a French military school for his education. The Revolution provided the opportunity for his rise to prominence. During the terror he led armies against the federalists and royalists. He then achieved impressive victories against the Austrians in northern Italy. He was authoritarian by nature and always took of pragmatic approach to problems. After leading the coup in 1799, he became First Consul. In 1802 he became Consul for Life and in 1804 crowned himself emperor of the French.

3. Napoleon and the Revolution

Napoleon use the radical vocabulary of the revolution, presented himself as an ally of the common man and a supported or equality of opportunity. But as a ruler he was authoritarian. He held carefully orchestrated elections to
legitimize his political initiatives. He retained representative institutions but made them ineffective. He can best be viewed as an heir to the revolution in the sense that he continued to centralize the French state and continued to expansion of France and the spread of the Revolution to the rest of Europe.

4. Napoleon and the French State

Once in power Napoleon set out to strengthen the French state by creating an efficient, centralized bureaucracy and a uniform legal system. He also planned to settle the conflict between church and state that had erupted during the Revolution.

To settle the conflict between church and state Napoleon signed the Concordat of 1801 with Pope Pius VII (r. 1800-1823). The Pope gave up all claims to the property confiscated by the revolution, agree that the clergy would take an oath of allegiance to the state and agreed not to appoint bishops without prior approval of the French government. In exchange, Napoleon recognized Catholic Christianity as the religion of the majority of Frenchmen and agreed to pay the salaries of the clergy. When the French radicals called Ideologues objected even to the few concessions Napoleon had made to the Pope, he required that the clergy read government decrees from the pulpit and made the church a department of state.

To standardize the legal system Napoleon promulgated a series of new legal codes. The most important was the Civil Code or Code Napoleon published in 1806. In it he guaranteed the rights to private property, equality before the law and freedom of religion. He gave man control of the family by denying women the right to inherit, buy or sell property.

Napoleon also centralized the bureaucracy. All power rested in Paris where the government ministers oversaw a vast bureaucracy. In the departments a prefect appointed by the central government implemented orders from Paris, conscripted soldiers, collected taxes and supervised public works.

To reward good service, Napoleon created a new order of non-hereditary nobles called notables that gained their status because of talent.

5. Napoleon, The Empire, and Europe

Napoleon also created a massive European Empire. The defeat of Austria in 1802 gave him Italy and the southern Netherlands. Further victories in 1806-7 at Austerlitz and Jena allowed him to gain control of the German states which he reorganized as the confederation of the Rhine with a kingdom of Westphalia being given to his brother. In eastern Europe, he revived Poland as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. By 1807 he was the master of Europe, but at sea he had been defeated by the British at the Battle of Trafalgar. His attempt in 1808 to take control of Spain by making his brother Joseph Bonaparte king proved to be a blunder. Attempts to close the monasteries and abolish the Inquisition prompted the people to rebel and begin guerilla warfare against the French. In the meantime reaction to French rule led to the rise of nationalism in Germany and Italy.
6. The Downfall of Napoleon

In 1812 Napoleon began an invasion of Russia. As the Russian army retreated further inland, Napoleon’s supply lines became over extended. When he faced the Russians at the Battle of Borodine he won but suffered 77,000 casualties. When he reached Moscow, he found it burned and deserted. Facing the Russian winter he ordered retreat. The retreat was a disaster with 380,000 men lost to guerilla skirmishes, hunger, frozen to death and desertion. The changed in fortune prompted the other European power to form an alliance and defeat Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813. With the further defeats by the Austrians in Italy and the British in Spain, Napoleon abdicated in April of 1814. The French government was turned over to the king Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI. Louis XVIII restored the White Flag of the Bourbons and recognized Catholic Christianity as the state religion, but left most changes brought by the revolution to the French government unchanged. Despite Louis XVIII’s attempts at conciliation, Napoleon remained very popular. In March 1815 he escaped from exile on the island of Elba and most Frenchmen rallied for him. The European powers again allied against him and defeated him at the Battle of Waterloo. He was exiled to the Island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic and died there in 1821. Louis XVIII was restore the French throne and France was allowed to retain the borders of 1790.

B. The Legacy of the French Revolution

1. Introduction

The impact of the French Revolution was felt throughout the Western world. Almost 2,000,000 soldiers were killed in the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Empire.

The most important impact of the revolution was that the bourgeoisie replaced the nobility as the dominant political class. This claim is now challenged, but it is clear the men of property regardless of social background profited from the revolution. Women, regardless of rank, did not benefit much from the revolution and continued to be limited to the private sphere.

In economic terms the peasants benefited from the end of the last remnants of feudalism. But the chaos of the revolution delayed industrialization of France.

The major legacy of the revolution was in politics. The revolution promoted the doctrine that the people were the highest source of political authority in the state and led to the active participation of the citizens in politics. The revolution brought about an enormous growth of the power of government and gave it greater control over everyday life of its citizens. The revolution also contributed to the rise of two political ideologies: liberalism and nationalism.
**TIMELINE**

*Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event 1</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Napoleon proclaims himself emperor</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Louis XVI convenes an Assembly of Notables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Battle of Waterloo</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Napoleon overthrows Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>beginning of Reign of Terror</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Third Estate declares itself National Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td></td>
<td>1815</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS**

*The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.*

- ancien regime
- parlements
- départements
- Louis XVI
- Battle of Nations
- First Consul
- Oath of the Tennis Court
- Estates General
- Napoleonic Code
- Third Estate
- French Revolution
- Louvre
- Emmanuel Joseph Sieyes
- Old Regime
- Waterloo
- assignats
- Bastille
- levée en masse
- Convention
- National Assembly
- Marseillaise
- Constitution of 1791
- Montagnards
- federalists
- sans-culottes
- Maximilien Robespierre
- Directory
- Jacobins
- Girondists
- Napoleon Bonaparte
- Committee of Public Safety
- Cult of the Supreme Being
- Continental System
- Reign of Terror
- Jacques-Pierre Brissot
- Pius VII
- Concordat of 1801
- Ideologues
- Louis XVIII
- Constitutional Charter
- Civil Constitution of the Clergy
- Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

   Russia                      France
   Spain                       Portugal
   Paris                       Moscow
   England                     Grand Duchy of Warsaw
   Leipzig                     Austerlitz
   Waterloo                   Elba
   Jacobins                   universal male suffrage
   Girondins                   Montagnards
   federalists                Reign of Terror
   popular sovereignty        de-Christianization
   Ideologues                 Napoleonic Code
   Congress of Vienna
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What were the causes for the collapse of the French ancien regime?
2. What was the structure of Estates General in 1789?
3. What was the nature of the Constitution of 1791? Why did it fail to achieve permanence?
4. What were the major causes of the Reign of Terror? From which social classes did its victims come?
5. How did Napoleon Bonaparte seize control of the French Revolution? What sort of government did he establish?
6. What led to Napoleon’s downfall?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. How does the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen reflect the ideas of the Enlightenment?
2. What are the main reasons the people of France accepted Napoleon as Emperor?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. What were the causes of the "Reign of Terror"? How could such violence stem from the ideals of equality and freedom?
2. In what ways did French culture change as a result of the Revolution?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which of the following is NOT a cause of the French Revolution?
   a. satirical attacks on the prestige of the monarchy
   b. debts acquired in the wars with Great Britain including American Revolutionary War
   c. conflicts between the crown and nobility over constitutional issues
   d. the expansion of wealth of the peasant class

2. Prior to 1788, the Estates General of France last met in
   a. 1614.
   b. 1713.
   c. 1688.
   d. 1354.

3. Which of the following statements concerning the storming of the Bastille is MOST accurate?
   a. The successful storming of the royal castle resulted in the seizure of the royal family.
   b. The purpose of the attack was to seize grain to feed the impoverished masses of Paris.
   c. The purpose of the attack was to seize arms in order to prevent the royal army from suppressing the reform movement.
   d. The successful storming of the royal castle resulted in the seizure of the summoning of the Estates General.

4. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy
   a. produced a national political consensus in favor of the revolution.
   b. caused the pope to denounce the principles of the revolution.
   c. bound the Catholic Church more closely to the process of revolution.
   d. reduced the likelihood of aristocratic counter-revolution.

5. What caused the Constitution of 1791 to fail?
   a. the attempted flight of the royal family and the king’s abandonment of the revolution
   b. the Austrian and Prussian invasion of France
   c. the English defeat of the revolutionary army at Toulon
   d. the king’s dismissal of the National Assembly
6. The *sans-culottes* were
   a. disaffected nobles.
   b. the bourgeoisie.
   c. lower classes of Paris.
   d. rural peasants.

7. The more radical political faction in France in 1793 was the
   a. Girondins.
   b. Plain.
   c. nobility.
   d. Montagnards.

8. Which of the following was NOT an action of the radical government during the Reign of Terror?
   a. women sharing in political power
   b. almost forty thousand executions
   c. massive military mobilization
   d. de-Christianization of the state

9. Napoleon’s most enduring achievement was
   a. the Napoleonic codification of laws.
   b. the establishment of revolutionary democracies throughout Europe.
   c. the conquest of England.
   d. the Continental System.

10. What military campaign brought the final end to Napoleon in 1815?
    a. Austerlitz
    b. Jena
    c. Trafalgar
    d. Waterloo
CHAPTER 19

*The West and the World: Empire, Trade, and War, 1650-1850*

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

Olaudah Equiano published his autobiography in 1789. In it he gave an account of his capture in Africa and transport in a slave ship to the Caribbean where he was sold to a master. He described the brutal punishments, terror, insufferable heat and stench of the hulls, the degrading experience of purchase and branding and the cruelty of separation of family members. Equiano told his story as well as that of millions of others who shared the experience in the transatlantic slave trade. The slave trade was part of the experience of empire building by Europeans in the period from 1650-1850. The empires, commonly referred to as the metropolis, were desired as sources of raw materials and markets that would benefit the economy of the mother country.

A. European Empires in the Americas and Asia

1. Introduction

   European states of the early modern centuries became more integrated political units. They also sought to form empires, which included other territories in Europe as well as vast expanses of land in the Americas and Asia. In the Americas, Europeans with superior military technology were able to conquer the peoples. In Asia local peoples and empires possessed technology and organization similar to that of the Europeans. Therefore the Europeans limited themselves to commerce. The Spanish and Portuguese established vast overseas empires in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, Great Britain, France and the Dutch Republic partly displaced the Spanish and Portuguese as the new imperial powers.

2. The Rise of the British Empire

   The fastest growing European empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth century was the British. It established its first successful colony at Jamestown in Virginia in 1607. By 1700, it had acquired several more colonies in North America as well as several islands in the Caribbean and trade posts in Africa and Asia. In North America the Indian population was quickly pushed westward or died of diseases leaving the land available for English settlers. Several of the colonies in America were founded by people who sought a place to practice their religion without legal restrictions. Other colonies had a greater economic motive. In the Caribbean and in North America several colonies developed a highly profitable commercial economy based on slave
labor. Many English people came to America as indentured servants and gained their freedom later. In India the British presence was limited to a few members of the British East India Company who had established trade posts called factories on a few Indian seaports. From these trade posts the British effectively challenged Dutch and Portuguese control of the spice trade with Indonesia. In 1770, the British explorer Captain James Cook (1728-1779) also laid claim to Australia and New Zealand for the British.

3. The Scattered French Empire

French expansion into Indian and North America paralleled that of the British. They established colonies in the Caribbean, Canada, and the Mississippi Valley, and the French East India Company established trade posts in India. The French Colonists in the Caribbean established sugar plantations based on slave labor. A series of defeats in the eighteenth century reduced the French presence in Asia and the Americas. Their imperial efforts would be revived in the nineteenth century with occupation of North Africa.

4. The Commercial Empire of the Dutch.

The Dutch Republic acquired an overseas empire in the early seventeenth century and became the center of a global economy with colonies and trade posts in Africa, Asia and the Americas. They seized Portuguese trade posts in Asia and West Africa. The Dutch West India Company also seized Northern Brazil. When they were forced out of Brazil in 1654, they acquired two small islands in the Caribbean and a part of Surinam. From there, they carried on trade with the colonies of the other empires in the Americas. They also set up a colony in the Hudson River Valley named New Netherland. In 1664 the English took New Netherland and renamed it New York. In Asia the Dutch East India Company established trade posts in India and Indonesia that allowed them to trade throughout Asia. In the southern tip of Africa, the Dutch established a colony at the Cape of Good Hope. It was designed to provide support for ships on the Asia trade. Dutch farmers, called boers settled there and established agriculture colonies based on slave labor.

5. The Cast Spanish Empire

The Spanish controlled Mexico, Central America, several Caribbean Islands, half of South America, Florida, the area from California to Texas and in Asia, the Philippines. The Spanish crown held stronger control over its territories than the English did. The colonies were ruled by officials appointed by the crown. Colonial trade was funneled through the House of Trade in Seville and shipped through the Port of Cadiz. The Bourbon kings implemented reforms to increase the efficiency of the imperial bureaucracy and increase revenue collection. These Bourbon reforms created tensions with the American-born Spaniards, known as Creoles.
6. The Declining Portuguese Empire

The Portuguese had been the earliest European state to expand overseas, and it established colonies in Brazil and trade posts in Africa and Asia. In the seventeenth century the Portuguese empire began to contract as it lost territory to other Europeans. Brazil remained the most important Portuguese colony because of the wealth from the sugar plantations. The discoveries of gold and diamonds increased its wealth. Brazil remained the major importer of slaves in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Reforms implemented by the Marquis of Pombal increased crown control over Brazil and encouraged the growth of colonial trade.

7. The Russian Empire in the Pacific

The Russia empire expanded in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It acquired a large part of Poland and the Crimea during the reign of Catherine II (r. 1762-1796). It also expanded eastward across Siberia to the Pacific. The Russia-American Company was established in 1789 and built a series of trade posts along the Pacific from Alaska to Fort Ross in California.

B. Warfare in Europe, North American, and Asia

1. Introduction

The efforts to expand overseas and the conflicts over control of trade and colonies between the European powers expanded the war theatres to distant parts of the globe. As a result all European powers built large navies.

2. Mercantile Warfare

The theory that inspired the drive for empire was mercantilism, formulated by Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Mercantilism was a protectionist policy based on the idea that the wealth of a state required having colonies to provide it raw materials to avoid importing them from other countries. Colonies would also serve as market for domestic industry. The major motive for war in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was expansion and protection of trade. In the seventeenth century the English and Dutch fought several wars over Dutch access to English ports. There were wars over trade between England and Spain in the eighteenth century.

3. Anglo-French Military Rivalry

The major rivalry in the eighteenth century was between England and France. During the War of Spanish Succession, England opposed the proposed succession of the Spanish crown to the French candidate. By the Treaty of Utrecht, the Spanish crown was allowed to pass to the Bourbon Philip V with the condition that the Spanish and French Empires not be united. In the War of Austrian Succession, Britain entered the war as an ally of Austria to keep France from acquiring the Austrian Netherlands.
The colonial rivalries continued as part of the Seven Years’ War. In what amounted to a “diplomatic revolution” Bourbon France allied with Habsburg, Austria against Prussia and its ally England. In addition to fighting in Europe, France and England fought each other in America where the war was known as the French and Indian War. At war’s end France was forced to surrender all of Canada and the Mississippi Valley to the English as well as its trade posts in Asia.

The French and the English faced each other again in the American War of Independence. The French provided aid to the American colonists seeking independence and fought the English at sea in the Caribbean and in India. Another phase of the confrontation between France and England took place during the French Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars.

II. The Atlantic World

1. Introduction

The empire building of the European powers moved the center of the west from the European continent to the Atlantic Ocean.

2. The Atlantic Economy

The Atlantic economy was based on a commercial network between the ports of Europe, Africa and the Americas that exchanged goods and slaves. The colonies in the Americas were a source of agricultural products such as tobacco and coffee. Africa was the source for slaves and Europe for manufactured goods. This Atlantic economy was part of the larger global economy, which included trade with Asia.

3. The Atlantic Slave Trade

The slave trade was key to the Atlantic economy because it provided the labor for plantations. Slaves had the advantage of being easily disciplined and were forced to work longer hours in a difficult work environment. Slavery has been present throughout world history, but the Atlantic slave trade was unique in a number of respects. First, in terms of size, it involved the transportation of over 11 million people from Africa to the Americas. Only 4% of these slaves came to the British colonies in North America. Secondly, slaves were a commercial commodity whose trade involved African chiefs, slave traders and the planters in the Americas. The transporting of slaves across the Atlantic was known as “the middle passage.” It was a horribly degrading experience for slaves. Once in the Americas, the survival of the slaves depended on the local economy, climate and population trends. Slaves on sugar plantations died within a few years from overwork and mistreatment. In places where the ratio of black to white people was high, laws regulating slave life were very harsh. Until the late eighteenth century, most slave traders and owners saw no moral problem between their belief in liberty and the holding of slaves. In the early nineteenth century opposition to slavery began to grow and the transatlantic slave trade was slowly brought to an end. Slavery was
abolished in the Western Hemisphere in the course of the second half of the
nineteenth century.

4. Cultural Encounters in the Atlantic World

The presence of many people from different parts of Africa and Europe in
the Americas and their interaction with each other and with the native
population of the Americas produced very complex societies and cultures. The
dominant position of the European element in the societies of the Americas
fostered notions of white racial supremacy.

5. The Transmission of Ideas

The Atlantic Ocean became a path for the transmission of many different
political and religious ideas. European political ideas of liberty, the rights of
man and republican government as the best form of government became part
of the political beliefs of the colonists in the Americas. Religious ideas from
Catholic and Calvinist theology also became part of the mental world of the
colonists. These theologies when combined with African religious beliefs
produced new religious ideas.

B. Encounters Between Europeans and Asians

1. Introduction

Between 1650 and 1850 European empires in Asia developed along a
pattern very different from that of the empires in the Americas. At first the
Europeans did not attempt to conquer territory and rule Asian peoples. When
eventually Europeans did attempt conquest, they discovered that conquering
Asian peoples was far more difficult because their military technology was
better than that of the peoples of the Americas.

2. Political Control of India

The Europeans first attempts to take over India came in the late eighteenth
century. The Europeans had established trade posts in India and competed
with each other to build alliances with the provincial governors (nawabs). In
1756 a conflict erupted in Calcutta because the local nawab was determined
not to be dominated by any European’s power. He attacked the British East
India Company’s Fort William and forced the company’s high officials to flee
while most of those Englishmen taken prisoners died in prison. The following
year the British under Robert Clive retook Calcutta with a force of British
troops and Indian sepoys. Within a few years the British East India Company
dominated the southern provinces of India and was introducing western
technology, culture, education and legal system. In 1857 resentment over
British dominance fueled a large rebellion against British rule. After its defeat,
the British government abolished the British East India Company and began
to rule India directly.
3. Changing European Attitudes toward Asian Cultures

Europeans had historically displayed a negative view of Middle Eastern culture, but not of Asian culture. Enlightenment writers praised Asian culture in contrast to the negative elements in Western culture. For example, Voltaire saw the Chinese empire as an enlightened monarchy, and in Britain there was more respect for Indian princes than the British East India Company bureaucrats who were known as nabobs. Asian arts were also praised by Europeans, who prized Chinese porcelain and silks and began to incorporate Chinese motifs called chinoiserie into decorating. By the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this positive attitude disappeared. Chinese philosophy and religion came to be viewed as irrational. Europeans also began to see themselves as racially superior and to refer to the Chinese as yellow.

C. The Crisis of Empire and the Atlantic Revolution

1. Introduction

Between 1780 and 1825 European empires in the Atlantic World experienced a crisis over their ability to maintain the loyalty of their colonists. The Europeans born in the Americas developed their own identity and pushed for independence.

2. The American Revolution, 1775-1783

The first Atlantic Revolution took place in the thirteen British colonies in North America. These colonies had developed their own political institutions and enjoyed a large measure of self-government. When the French and Indian War ended, the British government had to station troops on the frontier to maintain the peace and expected the colonists to pay a share of their defense. When the government attempted to collect revenue by passing the Stamp Act, opposition erupted throughout the colonies forcing the government to repeal it. The opposition was renewed by the imposition of taxes on tea in 1773. When several colonists threw the tea into the Boston harbor, the government closed the harbor. Within a year military conflict broke out in Massachusetts. On July 4, 1776 the American colonists declared independence. To justify their actions, the colonists drew on the ideas of John Locke and other enlightenment writers. After several years of war the British accepted American independence in the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

3. The Haitian Revolution, 1789-1804

The second successful Atlantic Revolution was in the French colony of Saint Domingue now known as Haiti. The planters or colons of Haiti had little desire for independence, as they feared that a revolution would undermine
their control of the slave population. In 1789 the free coloreds revolted under the leadership of Vicent Ogé because the planters refused to allow them representation in the local assemblies. In 1791, the revolt turned into a massive slave rebellion led by Toussaint L’Ouverture that destroyed the white population. Attempts to subdue Haiti by the British, Spanish and French failed. In 1804 France recognized the independence of Haiti. With the plantation system destroyed and unable to agree on a form of government, Haiti was plagued by civil wars for many years after independence.

4. The Irish Rebellion

The British had conquered Ireland in the seventeenth century and settled English and Scottish Protestants there. British exploitation of Ireland served to build some common interest between Catholic and Protestant residents of Ireland. In 1798 they rebelled against the British. The British put down the rebellion and abolished the political institutions of Ireland, fully uniting Ireland with the United Kingdom.

5. National Revolutions in Spanish America, 1810-1824

Another set of revolutions took place in Spanish America in reaction to the strong political and economic control imposed by the Bourbon reforms. Although Spanish Americans had developed an identity as Americans, they were reluctant to move toward independence because they feared the threat of a rebellion by the non-Spanish populations they dominated. The takeover of Spain by Napoleon required the colonists to reorganize political order in the colonies. When the Spanish monarchy was restored in 1814, the colonists quickly began to demand autonomy. When the crown refused, they revolted. One of the key figures leading the push to independence in South America was Simon Bolívar. Between 1815 and 1825 most of the Spanish colonies in the Americas gained independence. Spain only retained control of Cuba and Puerto Rico.
TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

Robert Clive retakes Calcutta
Slave revolt in Haiti
End of Seven Years War
Russia-America Company Established
Dutch settle Cape of Good Hope
James Cook explored east coast of Australia

1652
1757
1763
1770
1789
1791

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

Olaudah Equiano, metropolis, states
empires, factories, James Cook
French East India Company, boers, creoles
Charles III, Russia-American Company, Mercantilism
protectionism, First Anglo-Dutch War, Seven Years War
middle passage, nawabs, Robert Clive
sepoys, Siraj-ud-Daulah, nabobs
chinoiserie, colons, Vicent Ogé
Toussaint L’Ouverture, United Irishmen, Simon Bolivar
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

Cape of Good Hope
Calcutta
Mexico
Indonesia
Australia
Madras

Haiti
Portugal
Alaska
Pondicherry
Angola
Ireland
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. Who were the major empires in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Which empires declined in this period?

2. What role did the slave trade play in the Atlantic Economy? What was it like for the slaves crossing the Atlantic?

3. How did Europeans views of Asians change from the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century?

4. What were the major causes of the Revolts in Saint Domingue? Were these different from those of the Independence Movement in the English and Spanish Colonies?

5. Why were the colons of Saint Domingue and the Creoles of Spanish America reluctant to push for independence?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. According to Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, what was the impact of the slave trade on Africa?

2. How were the merchants described in the English comedy The Nabob?

3. How did Thomas Paine view the role of Britain in the colonies?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. How did the composition and organization of European empires change during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? What impact did this have on the development of the West?

2. How did cultural encounters between European and Asian peoples during this period change Western attitudes toward others?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. The earliest European empires in the Western Hemisphere were established by the
   a. Aztecs and Incas.
   b. Portuguese and Spanish.
   c. Dutch and Russians.
   d. English and French.

2. Which of the following was a French Trade post in India?
   a. Pondicherry.
   b. Jakarta.
   c. Calcutta.
   d. Ceuta.

3. The Dutch established a colony in North America called
   a. Jakarta.
   b. Guiana.
   c. Australia.
   d. New Netherland.

4. Which Spanish king brought Spanish America under more direct control of Spain?
   a. Charles III
   b. Philip II
   c. Charles I
   d. Catherine

5. The most important Portuguese colony in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was
   a. Angola.
   b. India.
   c. Brazil.
   d. Saint Domingue.
6. The English fought mercantile wars against all of the following European empires EXCEPT
   a. France.
   b. Dutch.
   c. Spanish.
   d. Portuguese.

7. All the following were important commodities of the Atlantic Economy EXCEPT
   a. tobacco.
   b. coffee.
   c. slaves.
   d. pepper.

8. What percentage of the slaves imported to the Americas went to the English colonies in North America?
   a. 4%
   b. 30%
   c. 38%
   d. 75%

9. Robert Clive restored British control to which of the following British outposts in India?
   a. Pondicherry
   b. Jakarta
   c. Calcutta
   d. Ceuta

10. The Haitian free coloreds revolted because of the
    a. passage of the Stamp Act and the Intolerable Acts.
    b. support from the Creoles and the Defenders.
    c. refusal of the Creoles to grant them representation in the assemblies.
    d. fall of the Spanish Monarchy.
CHAPTER 20

The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1850

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

Patience Kershaw was a seventeen-year old girl when she testified before a committee of the British Parliament about the working conditions in the mines. She had never been to school. Instead she worked in the mines. She worked twelve hours per day pulling coal carts. Patience Kershaw was a casualty of the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution transformed human life by changing methods of manufacturing, the way people made a living, and the products available to them.

A. The Nature of the Industrial Revolution

1. Introduction

The Industrial Revolution took place in England in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was made up of four sets of changes: first, the introduction of new technology; second, the use of new mineral sources of energy; third, a concentration of workers in factories; and fourth, new methods of transportation.

2. The New Industrial Technology

The Industrial Revolution introduced machines to textile manufacturing, iron smelting, and engineering industries. The most significant machines were steam engines and the machines used to make cloth.

Until the eighteenth century the manufacturing of cloth was done by hand. In 1767 James Hargreaves introduced the spinning jenny, which increased the amount of cotton yarn that could be spun. In 1769, Richard Arkwright introduced the water frame, which produced stronger warp yarn. A decade later in 1779, Samuel Crompton combined the jenny and the water frame into one machine called the mule. The mule could produce 300 times as much yarn as a person on a spinning wheel. Because the water frame and mule needed power, production of textiles began to be centralized in large mills near rivers. These machines produced more yarn than weavers could handle until 1787 when Edmund Cartwright invented the power loom. Because of these machines and improvements made to them, English weavers were working 200 times more cotton in 1850 than they had in 1780.

Another key invention of the industrial revolution was the steam engine. It was invented by James Watt in 1763 to pump water out of mines. Watt teamed up with Mathew Boulton to produce it and soon was in widespread use.
use. The steam engine was used to raise minerals from mines, provide heat for smelting iron ore and drive machines in textile mills.

3. Mineral Sources of Energy

Until the eighteenth century transportation of goods was powered by humans or animals. Organic sources of fuel were wood, charcoal or water power. Beginning in the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution began to rely on coal to produce the high temperatures needed to smelt iron. Eventually it also became a source of heat for the steam engine.

4. The Growth of Factories

One of the major developments of the industrial revolution was the large factory. In the Middle Ages manufacturing was done by skilled craftsmen. In the sixteenth century businessmen began employing families in the countryside to spin and weave. This was known as the domestic industry and all members of the family participated in the production. The businessman provided the materials and was responsible for the marketing. The introduction of machines in the late eighteenth century led to the development of the factory system. The large factory was more cost-effective because it allowed the concentration of machines and workers in one place. It also reduced transportation costs and allowed for greater quality control. The factory owner had greater control of the work force and enforced much stricter discipline. It also made possible what the Economist Adam Smith called the “division of labor” whereby each person was responsible for one stage of production allowing for great increase in total production. The workers needed no special skills to operate the machines.

5. New Methods of Transportation

As industry expanded so did the transportation network need to move raw materials and finished products. Thousands of miles of canals and all-weather roads were built in the eighteenth century. The main innovation in transportation of the nineteenth century was the railroad. The railroads were driven by coal burning, steam power locomotives and provided quick, cheap transportation to places inaccessible by water. The construction of railroads created a demand for iron and for large numbers of workers and became a large industry in its own right. Unlike manufacturing, railroad networks usually involved a combination of private and public investment.
B. Conditions Favoring Industrial Growth

1. Introduction

The presence in Britain of a large population, capital and people with scientific knowledge and entrepreneurial skills were among the social and economic factors that helped make the industrial revolution possible.

2. Population Growth

The Population of England doubled between 1680 and 1820. The population increased providing the large supply of cheap labor needed by the factories. It also provided an increase in demand for finished goods.

3. Agricultural Productivity

In the eighteenth century British agriculture experienced a revolution of its own. The process of enclosure allowed farmers and landlords to fence in their fields and control production. They introduced crop rotations that restored nutrients to the soil allowing for greater yield. They also began scientific breeding to improve the quality of their herds. The result was an increase in productivity with fewer agricultural workers. This allowed more people to leave the farms to work in the factories while supplying them with cheap food.

4. Capital Formation and Accumulation

The term capital refers both to money and to fixed capital (factories and machines). The investment capital needed for the industrial revolution came mostly from merchants engaged in domestic and foreign trade and from landowners who profited from their estates in Britain and plantations in the colonies. Banks also supplied large amounts of funds by offering loans at low interest.

5. Technological Knowledge and Entrepreneurship

England had been a leading center of the scientific revolution and consequently had plenty of people with the scientific knowledge to mechanize the industry. It also had a merchant capitalist class who organized the cottage industry. The combination of these two elements is exemplified by the partnership of James Watt and Matthew Boulton. Watt had the scientific knowledge and Boulton was a leading entrepreneur who was able to assemble the workers with the needed skills to mass produce Watt’s engine.
6. Demand from Consumers and Producers

In addition to the supply of capital, labor and knowledge, demand for goods also played an important role in fueling the industrial revolution. The demand for goods was created by advertising as well as by the increasing ability of the working class to buy goods as their purchasing power increased.

II. The Spread of Industrialization

1. Introduction

The Industrial Revolution spread to the rest of Europe and North America over the course of several decades after it developed in Britain.

2. Great Britain and the Continent

Part of the reason for the delay in the start of the industrial revolution in the rest of Europe was the political situation in individual countries. Germany for example was politically fragmented into over three dozen states, each with its own tariffs and taxes, which hindered the free passages of resources and goods across the country. Until the French revolution, local privileges in France also hindered the free economic passage. By contrast all of Britain was a single market. Another factor in delaying industrialization was protectionism. While it protected the local economy from competition, it also hindered the importation of necessary resources. Another factor in hindering industrialization was the aristocracy and middle class in continental Europe who drew their wealth from land. They lacked a capitalist spirit and were more cautious about investing in the new enterprises. Finally, parts of the continent lacked the availability of the needed natural resources.

3. Features of Continental Industrialization

After 1830, Belgium, France and Germany began to imitate the English industrialization process by introducing machinery into the production process, concentrating workers in factories and began building their transportation network. However, the industrialization process in the European continent differs from the British in a number of ways. First, the governments played a greater role providing capital as active partners in industrialization process. The government built roads and railroads and in some cases operated mines. Second, the banks were also major partners in financing industry. Third, the development of the railroad system helped begin industrialization. It helped stimulate other industries to meet its needs by the markets it created.
4. Industrialization in the United States

The Industrial Revolution began in the United States in the 1820s with the textile industry of the North East. It then continued with the development of heavy industry in the Pittsburgh and Cleveland regions. U.S. industrialization followed patterns borrowed from England and Europe. Most of the machinery was modeled on that of England. Like England we also had a vast supply of raw materials. The relatively short supply of labor helped avoid the awful conditions suffered by the English working class. After 1865, U.S. industry began to expand rapidly. The major American contribution to the industrial process was the assembly line.

5. Industrial Regionalism

The industrialization process was regional in character. Different regions of the various countries developed different branches of industry. For example, the French iron industry was centered in the eastern part of the country, while the textile industry developed in the northeast near the Belgian border. In Germany the iron industry was concentrated in the Ruhr valley. Some areas of the country remained engaged only in agriculture.

B. The Effects of Industrialization

1. Introduction

Industrialization affected every aspect of human life.

2. Population and Economic Growth

One of the most important changes was the continuous expansion of the population and the economy. Most observers in the eighteenth century did not believe that expansion of the population and the economy could be sustained indefinitely. Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) argued that population naturally grows faster than the food supply, and therefore malnutrition, famine and disease will correct the imbalance. Malthus’s cycle of expansion and contraction did not take place. The population had consistently expanded as the greater agricultural productivity permitted maintaining an adequate food supply. The industrial economy had been able to employ large numbers of workers. Despite economic swings, industrialized nations continued to experience an increase in the gross national product and per capita income.

3. Standards of Living

There has been much debate about the impact of industrialization on the working class. The optimists have pointed to the long-term effects of industrialization, which have helped avoid Malthus’s predictions such as the rise of individual income. Pessimists have emphasized the fact that improvements did not appear for several decades after the beginning of industrialization. Socialists like Frederich Engels and Karl Marx accused
industrial capitalists of robbing the workers of their just wages. They pointed to the early decades of industrialization when wages declined, and people were forced to live in the slums around the factories. They called on the workers to revolt and seize control of the means of production.

4. Women, Children, and Industry

During the early industrial revolution, large numbers of women and children were part of the work force. They were willing to accept lower wages and were more easily disciplined. The factory system changed family life. In the early years of the industrial revolution many families worked together in the factories and mines. As mothers found it impossible to care for their small children while working, they began to leave the factory. The result was that the female workforce came to be made up of young unmarried women. The industrial revolution did not improve the status of women. Their pay was too little to give them financial independence or prestige, and they frequently were under the control of the male workers as foremen.

5. Class and Class Consciousness

Writers began to describe industrial society as divided into three classes based on the type of property they owned. The aristocracy owned land. The bourgeoisie owned capital enterprises and gained their wealth from profits. The working class owned only their labor and received wages. The socialists, Marx and Engels used this model to build a theory of historical development based on the struggle between classes which were continuously in conflict over control of the means of production. On the other hand, David Ricardo used a similar model to show the key role played by the bourgeoisie in the economy. Regardless, there is great debate over the extent to which the people of the nineteenth century were conscious of their class status. Marxist historians argue that worker exploitation and conflicts between capital and labor over wages led to the formation of class identity. Other historians argue that workers were more conscious of their trade, ethnic or local identity than they were of their class identity. By the same token, factory owners also lacked a clear sense that they were part of a single class.

Overall, the working class was reluctant to use violence against their employers or to join working class organizations. There were a few exceptions such as the case of the English hand weavers led by Ned Ludd, which smashed the new textile machinery in 1812. The Luddites did not represent the majority. In Britain, the incident which began the process of forming a working-class consciousness was the Peterloo Massacre of 1819. It began as a meeting of 60,000 people calling for universal male suffrage and other political reforms. When volunteer cavalry of the city’s bourgeoisie attempted to disperse the crowd, a confrontation broke out which left 11 people dead and over 400 wounded. This confrontation did not lead to a working class revolution. The workers did organize as part of the Chartist movement in favor of political reform.
6. Industrial Landscape

The Industrial Revolution changed the landscape. Small towns grew into huge cities. In the countryside, bridges, viaducts, railroad lines and canals were built to improve transportation. The destruction of the natural beauty of the landscape triggered a nostalgic reaction that led to the Romantic Movement. Some of the new industrial architecture such as the new bridges were architectural marvels.

C. Industry, Trade, and Empire

1. Introduction

By the middle of the nineteenth century Britain produced 66% of the world’s coal, 50% of the cotton cloth and iron, and 40% of the hardware. In the search for raw materials and markets, the interests of industry, trade and empire worked closely together. In some places Britain established direct control while in others trading relationships were created that served the needs of trade and industry without direct possession.

2. East Asia: The Opium War, 1839-1842

For three centuries after the arrival of the Europeans, China maintained a tight control over trade with Europeans. In the 1830s conflict broke out between China and the British over the trade of opium, which was causing severe problems in Chinese society. When the Chinese authorities began seizing and destroying chests of opium, the English declared war. The British with their superior technology attacked and defeated China. In the aftermath, the Chinese were forced to open several ports to English merchants and allow the ports to be governed by British consuls who were not subject to Chinese law.

3. India: Annexation and Trade

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England gained control of India. Political control of India served British merchants’ interests. British merchants controlled the trade between India and the rest of Asia. India also became a market for English textile goods, which destroyed the Indian textile industry. India also became a major source of revenue for the English government.

4. Latin America: An Empire of Trade

In Latin America, England was an ardent supporter of the movements to gain independence from Spain and Portugal. Once independent, these countries became markets for British goods and capital. While these countries remained politically separate from Britain, they became economically dependent on the British in the same way India had become. Latin America’s village artisan
economies were destroyed and Latin America became a market for British finished goods.

**TIMELINE**

*Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event 1</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Watt’s steam engine invented</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>Hargreaves spinning jenny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Publication of the Wealth of Nations</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Howe’s sewing machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Opium war</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Arkwright’s water frame introduced</td>
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<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td></td>
<td>1846</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS**

*The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term/Person/Event</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Revolution</td>
<td>Thomas Newcomen, domestic system, Adam Smith, enclosure, James Watt, division of labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Boulton</td>
<td>Richard Arkwright, supply, jenny</td>
</tr>
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<td>Adam Smith</td>
<td>Karl Marx, David Ricardo, Peterloo Massacre, demand</td>
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<td>James Hargreaves</td>
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<td>Friedrich Engels</td>
<td>Karl Marx, Karl Marx, Luddites, Josiah Wedgwood</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Blake</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Thomas Malthus</td>
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<tr>
<td>slum</td>
<td>Karl Marx, Karl Marx, Luddites, Josiah Wedgwood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What were the changes in agricultural in the eighteenth century? How did they affect the industrial revolution?

2. What were the major technological innovations that brought about a revolution in textile production?

3. How did the steam engine affect mining and textile production?

4. What was the transport revolution? Why was it necessary?

5. What nations of continental Europe became industrialized? How did their Industrialization process differ from that Britain?

6. What were the social effects of industrialization on individual workers? What were the effects on women?

7. How did the interest of industry and trade support the interests of empire building?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. According to Adam Smith, how did the division of labor change the process of making pins? What was the effect of the division of labor?

2. According to Malthus, what were the negative and positive checks on population?

3. According to Engels, what were the problems created by the employment of women in the factories?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. What factors led to industrialization and what social and economic changes made industrialization possible?

2. How was Great Britain able to rise as the first industrialized nation?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. The inventor of the spinning jenny was
   a. Richard Arkwright.
   b. Thomas Malthus.
   c. David Ricardo.
   d. James Hargreaves.

2. The spinning mule
   a. made possible the production of stronger warp.
   b. could spin three hundred times more yarn than a spinning wheel.
   c. was used to pump water out of mines.
   d. made transporting goods easier.

3. The manufacturing system whereby the entrepreneur distributes raw materials among rural workers is called the
   a. factory system.
   b. guild system.
   c. workshop system.
   d. domestic system.

4. One of the major features of the agricultural revolution was the
   a. division of labor.
   b. domestic system.
   c. enclosure process.
   d. sugar plantations.

5. All the following conditions favored the Industrial Revolution EXCEPT
   a. population growth.
   b. agricultural revolution.
   c. accumulation of capital.
   d. chartist movement.
6. The Luddites
   a. were responsible for the development of new processes for producing ceramics.
   b. machine-breaking riots in the 1810s.
   c. introduced the first efficient steam engine for railroads.
   d. invented the power looms.

7. Continental European industrialization differed from the English Industrial Revolution in all of the following EXCEPT
   a. greater involvement of government.
   b. role of textile production.
   c. role played by bank.
   d. role of railroads in fueling industrial development.

8. Women in the industrial workforce experienced all the following EXCEPT
   a. long hours and low wages.
   b. strict discipline by factory owners.
   c. greater financial independence.
   d. subordination to male authority.

9. Most workers in the early industrial revolution identified themselves
   a. as members of an exploited working class struggling to control the means of production.
   b. primarily by trade and ethnic minority.
   c. as ready to organize and smash the machinery.
   d. as eagerly joining labor organizations to seek better pay.

10. The British established a dependent economic relationship without direct political dominance in
    a. India.
    b. Europe.
    c. The United States.
    d. Latin America.
CHAPTER 21

Ideological Conflict and National Unification, 1815-1871

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

In March 1871, the president of the French government ordered two detachments of troops to take control of the National Guard artillery in Paris. The Parisians, bitter over the government’s signing of the armistice with Prussia, surrounded the detachment commanders and executed them. The French government laid siege to the city to crush the radical municipal government of the Paris Commune. After a few weeks, French troops took the city by street by street fighting. The Government killed 25,000 Communards, while the Commune executed many hostages including the archbishop of Paris. The events of the Paris Commune exemplify the ideological conflicts in Europe in the period 1815-1871.

A. New Ideologies in the Early Nineteenth Century

1. Introduction

Four new ideologies influenced European politics in the nineteenth century. They were liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and nationalism.

2. Liberalism: The Protection of Individual Freedom

The ideology of liberalism in centered on the principle of political, social and economic freedom. Liberals believe in limiting the function of government to protect these same freedoms. The political agenda of the liberals consisted of four aims. First, liberals aimed to establish and protect civil liberties. Second, they worked for the extension of the right to vote to the middle class. They rejected giving the vote to people without property. Third, they promoted free trade. Liberals followed the ideas of Adam Smith who argued that government should allow the economic interests complete freedom of action (commonly called laissez-faire). For Smith the only function of government was to protect property and maintain public order. Although a few liberals advocated a republican form of government, most liberals wanted a limited monarchy. Liberalism drew most of its supporters from the urban middleclass professionals, merchants and manufacturers. Although liberal ideas can be found in the work of Locke, they had their roots in leading nineteenth century advocates, in utilitarian philosophers Jeremy Bentham and David Ricardo. They argued that social and economic policies should follow the principle of providing the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Ricardo opposed all government intervention to improve the conditions of the working class. His theory of the “iron law of wages”
argued that wages are determined by supply and demand and thus will always fall to subsistence level.

3. Conservatism: Preserving the Established Order

The reaction to the excesses of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution produced the ideology of conservatism. Its leading theorist was Edmund Burke. Burke viewed the social order as a partnership between past, present and future. He rejected the notion of equality or natural rights. He argued that rights were inherited from the past. Burke and other conservatives believed monarchy was the form of government most capable of protecting peoples’ rights. Conservatives differed from reactionaries, in that they accepted gradual change. The leading conservative governments of Europe in 1815 formed the Concert of Europe to maintain the peace settlement of 1815 and avoid another revolution.

4. Socialism

The reaction to the rise of industrial capitalism and liberalism and the justification of the awful conditions in which the working class found itself was socialism. Socialists advocated ownership of the means of production by the community. The earliest socialists were the so-called Utopian socialists such as Robert Owen. Owen turned his factory in New Lanark, Scotland into a model community where the workers were well housed and the children received education. The second generation of socialists included people like Louis Blanc who advocated using the power of the state to guarantee the workers’ wages. The most radical form of socialism was the communism ideology developed by Karl Marx. Frederich Engels and Karl Marx concluded that history advances through a process they called the dialectic. The idea had been borrowed from Friedrich Hegel who believed that history advances because of a class of ideas. Marx argued that historical change was the result of economic factors, so his theory was known as dialectical materialism. According to Marx, history had advanced to a new stage when the bourgeoisie took power from the aristocracy. A new stage of advancement would result from conflict between the bourgeoisie and the working class (proletariat). Communism calls for a workers’ revolution and complete economic equality.

5. Nationalism

Another new ideology was nationalism. Nationalism first appeared during the French Revolution. A nation refers to a large community of people who share a homeland and cultural identity. Nationalists argued that nationalities have a right to national serf-determination, and their main aim was to establish nation-states. Although nationalists spoke of the antiquity of their nation, most people who were identified in the nineteenth century with a particular land shared little cultural unity. For example, the French spoke many different dialects and the Swiss spoke several different languages. In addition establishing the ideal nation-state was almost impossible as patterns of settlement meant that a minority lived within the geographical borders of
another nation. Some states such as the United Kingdom and the Habsburg Empire were made up of many different peoples. One of the ironies of nationalism was that acquiring colonies and consequently control over other peoples strengthened nationalist sentiment among the people at home. In the early nineteenth century nationalism was identified with liberalism since both shared a belief in representative government. Later in the nineteenth century nationalism identified more with conservatism.

6. Culture and Ideology

The nineteenth-century ideologies were influenced by scientific rationalism and romanticism. Scientific rationalism had its origins in the Scientific Revolution. It is an effort to create a science of human nature. One form of scientific rationalism developed by Auguste Comte (1798-1857) is positivism. It believes that science is the highest form of knowledge and will inevitably lead to human progress. Comte argued that the highest stage of human development was the positive stage in which scientific or positive knowledge would allow people to discover the laws of human behavior and use them to improve society.

Romanticism rejected many of the ideas of the positivists. Romantics recognized the limits of human reason to comprehend reality and be objective. They also rejected the order and rationalism of the eighteenth-century artistic style called classicism. Much of their literature was set in the Middle Ages, a period which they associated with superstition. Romantic operas incorporated folk music and myths. The works of some romantic writers such as Sir Walter Scott were identified with conservatism, while others like Victor Hugo were identified with liberal ideas. Those of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) who emphasized the cultural traditions of Germany were identified with the nationalist cause.

B. Ideological Encounters in Europe, 1815-1848

1. Introduction

The confrontation of ideologies of the nineteenth century frequently led to violent political conflict. In the years after the Congress of Vienna, conservatives led by Austrian Chancellor Metternich were determined to suppress any signs of revolution.

2. Liberal and Nationalist Revolts, 1820-1825

A series of revolts in Europe in the early 1820s revealed the influence of liberalism and nationalism. After the fall of Napoleon, King Ferdinand VII returned to power in Spain. He refused to accept the liberal constitution written by the Spanish cortes (parliament) in 1812. In 1820 a group of military officers seized power and forced the king to restore the Constitution of 1812. Then, an army of the Holy Alliance invaded Spain. Liberalism regained power in 1833 when Ferdinand died and his daughter Isabel II became Queen. In Portugal a revolt in 1820 established a liberal regime and
forced King John VI to return to Portugal from Brazil. The liberal forces lost influence after the king’s return. His successor, Maria II (r. 1826-1853) restored the liberals to power.

Nationalism had its earliest success in Greece. In 1821 the Greeks revolted against the Ottoman Empire. The Greeks’ attack received support from liberals and conservatives alike. Western Europeans identified the Greeks with the foundation of western civilization while Russia identified with Greek Orthodox Christian heritage. In 1833 the Turks were forced to accept Greek independence.

The liberal revolt in Russia in December of 1825 failed. A group of army officers who had served in France led a revolt against Tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825-1855). The Decembrists, as the rebels became known, were suppressed. They failed to influence any change in the regime of Nicholas I.

3. Liberal and Nationalism, 1830

A second group of liberal and nationalist revolts erupted in the early 1830s. The most important revolution took place in France. The ultra-conservative King Louis X took steps to undermine even the mild concessions made by his predecessor, Louis XVIII. When Louis X dissolved the Chamber of Deputies and restricted the franchise, violence erupted in the streets of Paris. Louis V abdicated, and the liberals placed Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orleans, on the throne. Louis-Philippe served the interests of the liberal bourgeoisie by extending the franchise slightly and declaring that Roman Catholicism was no longer the state religion.

The liberal revolution in France triggered a nationalist revolution in Belgium. Belgians resented the control of the Netherlands. When they heard of the revolution in Paris, they too took to the streets to demand autonomy. When the Dutch government refused, Britain called a conference of European powers to resolve the situation. The conference recognized Belgium independence.

The revolution in France also triggered a revolution in the kingdom of Poland. In 1815 Poland had been made a separate kingdom under the Russia tsar, Alexander I (r. 1815-1825). In 1830 the Poles revolted against Russian control. The members of the Polish government refused to rally the peasants behind the cause of Polish nationalism for fear that they would rebel against their landlords. Consequently, the Polish revolt was easily crushed by the Russians.

4. Liberal Reform in Britain, 1815-1848

The situation in Britain was different from that off the continent as the British had long enjoyed many rights that other Europeans were still fighting for. British liberals demanded a series of reforms to the British political system. They demanded several reforms: parliamentary reform, expansion of the franchise, repeal of restricts denying Catholics and Protestant non-conformists the right to serve in Parliament, free trade, repeal of the agricultural protectionist legislation called the *Corn Law of 1815*. The *Great Reform Bill of 1832* expanded the franchise to include the urban middleclass.
In 1828 Parliament granted emancipation to the non-conformists and in 1830 to the Catholics. Repeal of the Corn Law took longer as the landed interests held considerable power in Parliament. The start of the Great Famine in Ireland (1845-1848) finally pushed the British Parliament to repeal the Corn Law. A push for more democratization of the political system was undertaken by the Chartist Movement in the 1830s and 1840s, but it failed to produce results.

5. The Revolutions of 1848

A third set of liberal and nationalist revolutions exploded in 1848. They were fueled by the bad harvests of 1846 and 1847 and the economic recession of 1847.

The first revolution in 1848 took place in Paris. The economic decline led the workers to start demonstrations calling for the right to vote and government assistance. When the troops of Louis-Philippe killed several demonstrators, barricades went up in the streets. Louis-Philippe abdicated. The provisional government implemented universal manhood suffrage and established national workshops to provide work for the unemployed. When in June of 1848, the newly elected conservative-dominated National Assembly closed the workshops, riots exploded again. This time they were crushed. In December 1848, Napoleon’s nephew, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-1873) was elected President. He had support from conservatives, liberals and moderate republicans. In 1851 he proclaimed himself Emperor as Napoleon III.

News of the revolution in France triggered revolutions in the German states, Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. German revolutionaries wanted both liberal constitutional reforms and national unification. The explosion of revolutions forced the German princes to grant the constitutional changes. In Austria, the conservative minister Clements von Metternich was dismissed and a constitutional assembly summoned. In Bohemia, Czech nationalists called for autonomy. In Hungary, nationalists led by Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894) pushed for liberal reforms and autonomy. A Pan-Slav Congress was held in Prague and called for unity of the Slavs within the empire. In the meantime an assembly of German representatives was meeting at Frankfurt and writing a constitution for a united Germany. By the middle of 1849 the conservative forces were regaining the upper hand in central Europe. In Germany, Austria voted against the plan for unification and the King of Prussia refused to accept the crown of a unified Germany. With the failure of its agenda the Frankfurt Parliament disbanded. The revolutions in Austria, Bohemia and Hungary were crushed by the Austrian army.

Italy also experienced a series of revolutions. In the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, King Ferdinand II was forced to grant a constitution. In northern Italy, the Austrian troops were driven off. Italian nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini had founded several secret organizations to promote Italian unification. He hoped to create a unified liberal Italian republic. However, it was King Charles Albert of Piedmont who assumed leadership of the Italian nationalist cause. He failed to defeat the Austrian army, ending temporarily the drive for Italian unification.
Liberals and nationalists were defeated in the revolutions of 1848-49. By 1850 conservatives were once again firmly in control.

C. National Unification in Europe and America, 1848-1871

1. Introduction

Prior to 1848 nationalism had only been successful in Greece and Belgium. Nationalist efforts in 1848 had failed to unify the states of Germany and Italy.

2. Italian Unification: Building a Fragile Nation-State

Italian unification faced several problems: first, the opposition of Austria which controlled northern Italy; second, the strong tradition of local autonomy; third, the presence of the church states in central Italy which if attacked might prompt other powers to intervene on behalf of the papacy; and fourth, the question of who would provide leadership. After the failure of 1848, Piedmont-Sardinia remained the strongest Italian state. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Camillio di Cavour (1810-1861) Piedmont-Sardinia began to modernize along liberal political lines. Cavour favored unification under the leadership of the Piedmontese monarchy. The antithesis to this vision was Mazzini, who favored unification under a democratic republic. In 1859 an alliance of France and Piedmont defeated Austria and forced it to give up Lombari. In 1860 Piedmont was allowed to annex the other northern Italian states.

In the meantime, a force of volunteers known as the red shirts led by Guiseppe Giribaldi attacked the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and took Naples. Shortly afterward the Two Sicilies and most of the Papal States joined Piedmont. In 1866, Austria gave up Venetia to Italy and in 1870 Italy annexed the rest of the Papal States, creating a unified Italian state. Unity remained fragile. Northern Italy was economically much more developed than southern Italy. The underdevelopment of the south led to the rise of banditry in the southern mainland and the Mafia in Italy.

3. German Unification: Conservative Nation-Building

In 1848 German efforts at national unification had failed. The leadership for German unification in the 1860s came from the conservative chancellor of Prussia, Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898). He was primarily interested in strengthening Prussia, but was willing to embrace the nationalist cause to achieve his primary goal. In 1866, Prussia defeated Austria and forced the Habsburgs out of German politics. In the aftermath, Bismarck unified the northern German states in the North German Confederation with the King of Prussia as its president and Bismarck as its chancellor. In 1870-71 the Germans defeated France in the Franco-Prussian War, which began when Napoleon III of France objected to a Prussian effort to place a member of its royal family on the Spanish throne. In the aftermath of the French defeat, the...
German Empire proclaimed the King of Prussia as its emperor. Although the empire officially remained a federation of states, power was centralized in the hands of the chancellor. The empire won the support of the middleclass by supporting free trade policies.

4. Unification in the United States: Creating a Nation of Nations

   The United States engaged in a long process of unification after it won independence from Britain. The Constitution of 1787 tried to preserve a balance between state and federal government. The primary source of division was created by the addition of new territories, resulting from the military’s victory against Mexico and against the Native Americans. When 11 southern states left the union over the issue of preserving slavery, the U.S. fought a bitter civil war to preserve the union. With the defeat of the south, slavery was abolished and the union was preserved.

5. Nationalism in Eastern Europe: Preserving Multinational Empires

   Nationalism remained a major challenge to the Austrian empire, which was made up of many ethnic groups. In 1867, the Ausgleich or Compromise created the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. In each of the two states the largest ethnic group -- Germans in Austria, Magyar in Hungary -- was allowed to dominate its state at the expense of the other ethnic groups. Unity was preserved in the person of the ruler, who was Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. The ideology of nationalism continued to threaten the Habsburg Empire.

II. Ideology, Empire, and the Balance of Power

1. Introduction

   The rise of nationalism and process of national unification disrupted the balance of power as governments began to engage in imperial expansion.

2. Britain, the United States, and the *Monroe Doctrine* of 1823

   In North America, the United States became fearful that the conservative powers of Europe might intervene to restore the Spanish Empire. The U.S. allied itself with Britain in supporting Latin American independence. In 1823, U.S. President Monroe issued the *Monroe Doctrine*, which declared that the U.S. viewed any attempt to colonize in America as a hostile act. The doctrine was enforced by the British navy.

3. Russia, The Ottoman Empire, and the Crimean War, 1853-1856

   Another challenge to the Balance of Power was Russian expansionism into the Balkans. Russia claimed the right to intervene in the Ottoman Empire to protect fellow Slavs and Orthodox Christians. When Russia occupied the Ottoman provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Ottoman Empire and its allies, Britain and France, declared war on Russia. Despite suffering enormous
casualties, Britain and France defeated Russia. Defeat forced Russia to begin internal reforms including emancipation of the serfs.

4. The German Empire and the Paris Commune, 1870-1871

Another challenge to the Balance of Power came from Prussia’s drive to unify Germany. Prussia defeated Austria and France and became a major military power. The defeat of France ended the imperial regime of Napoleon III, but Paris only surrendered after a long siege. In January 1871 Adolph Thiers was appointed head of the provisional government. He hoped to restore the monarchy. The provisional government asserted its control over France and crushed the Paris Commune. The crushing of the Commune marked the defeat of French socialism and radicalism. The regime that emerged in France was the conservative nationalism known as the Third Republic.
### III. TIMELINE

*Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event 1</th>
<th>Event 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Kingdom of Italy proclaimed</td>
<td>Greek Independence Revolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>End of Crimean War</td>
<td>Belgium Independence Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>German empire proclaimed</td>
<td>Decembrist Revolt in Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

*The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crimean War</td>
<td></td>
<td>Louis-Philippe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camillo Benso di Cavour</td>
<td></td>
<td>Giuseppe Garibaldi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Shirts</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paris Commune</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napoleon III</td>
<td></td>
<td>Karl Marx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberalism</td>
<td></td>
<td>laissez-faire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Utilitarians</td>
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<td>conservatism</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Joseph de Maistre</td>
<td>Edmund Burke</td>
<td>Concert of Europe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Blanc</td>
<td>Robert Owen</td>
<td>proletariat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nationalism</td>
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<td>nation-state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-determination</td>
<td>patriotism</td>
<td>romanticism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand VII</td>
<td>Decembrists</td>
<td>Clements von Metternich</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lajos Kossuth</td>
<td>Giuseppe Mazzini</td>
<td>Adolphe Thiers</td>
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<td>dialect</td>
<td>communism</td>
<td>dialectical materialism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>national self-determination</td>
<td>Mafia</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

   boundary of the Kingdom of Italy
   boundary of the German Empire
   boundary of the Austro-Hungarian Empire
   Greece
   Belgium
   France
   Germany
   Austria-Hungary
   Italy
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. Compare and contrast the unifications of Germany and Italy. Consider the leaders of unification, the methods used, the role of warfare, and the role of France.

2. Compare and contrast the Revolts of 1820-21 and 1830.

3. Discuss the differences between Conservatism and Liberalism.

4. How did Karl Marx’s theory of historical advancement differ from that of Hegel? What course of action did Marx suggest to the working class?

5. How did the success of the nationalist movements affect international relations?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. What course of action did Marx advocate for the working class to establish control of the means of production?

2. In what ways did the Lord Mayor of Dublin see the British government contributing to the famine in Ireland?

3. What measures did the Carlsbad Decrees enforce against liberals and nationalists?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. What were the main platforms of the four political ideologies addressed in the chapter? Do we use these terms and ideologies in the same ways today?

2. Is there an inherent conflict between scientific rationalism and the romantic arts movement? If so, how did the conflict manifest itself?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which of the following politicians does NOT belong in the group of national state builders?
   a. Louis Napoleon  
   b. Camillo Benso di Cavour  
   c. Klemens von Metternich  
   d. Otto von Bismarck

2. Bismarck completed the unification of Germany by launching a war against which of the following nations?
   a. Italy  
   b. Spain  
   c. France  
   d. Russia

3. After Napoleon III’s surrender in 1870,
   a. Rome accepted German rule.  
   b. a separate government was established in the southern city of Vichy.  
   c. his son succeeded him as Louis Philippe.  
   d. Paris fought on and eventually formed a commune.

4. Which of the following was a liberal reform in England?
   a. passage of the Great Reform Bill  
   b. establishing national workshops  
   c. emancipation of the serfs  
   d. introduction of the secret ballot

5. The reform implemented by Tsar Alexander II after the defeat in the Crimean War was the
   a. creation of a democratic national legislature.  
   b. abolition of serfdom.  
   c. passage of a national workshops act.  
   d. introduction of the secret ballot.
6. The secular philosophy propounded by Auguste Comte was
   a. liberalism.
   b. Romanticism.
   c. conservatism.
   d. positivism.

7. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 introduced all the following reforms EXCEPT
   a. a dual monarchy.
   b. parliaments in both Austria and Hungary.
   c. shared equal power among all the nationalities.
   d. allowed schooling in all the local languages.

8. The leading Utilitarians were
   a. Karl Marx and Louis Blanc.
   b. David Ricardo and Jeremy Bentham.
   c. Edmund Burke and Joseph de Maistre.
   d. Auguste Comte and Sir Walter Scott.

9. Liberals advocated
   a. democratically sharing power and wealth with all classes.
   b. rejecting religion and romanticism.
   c. extension of the franchise to the middleclass and free trade.
   d. government regulation and returning to divine right monarchy.

10. The mechanism established to preserve order in Europe after 1815 was
    a. the Monroe Doctrine.
    b. national self-determination.
    c. positivism.
    d. the Concert of Europe.
CHAPTER 22

The Coming of Mass Politics: Industrialization, Emancipation, and Instability, 1870-1914

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

In the Spring of 1881, Sofiia Perovskaia was executed for her role in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. Perovskaia was a member of the revolutionary movement People’s Will, which had hoped to undermine the Russian monarchy by murdering the tsar. Despite the assassination of the tsar, the regime did not collapse.

A. Economic Transformation

1. Introduction

Europe’s political life in the period 1870-1914 was transformed by several economic developments. Among these economic developments was the economic depression of 1873, the industrialization of new regions, new patterns of production and rapid urbanization.

2. Economic Depression

The Great Depression in Trade and Agriculture lasted from 1873-1890s in Europe. Despite continual rise in production and investment, interest rates, prices and profits fell. The Depression was caused by the appearance of steamships and the expansion of the railroad network, which reduced the costs of transporting foodstuffs from other parts of the world. The agricultural sector was the hardest hit. Business was also hit hard by as much as a 50% decline in prices for finished goods while labor costs remained high.

3. Industrial Expansion

The start of the economic depression was closely linked to expansion of industrialization to new regions. While in 1870 many people in the periphery of Europe continued to live barely touched by industrialization, by 1914 their isolation was disappearing because of the expansion of the railroad network. For example, in the 1890s Russia underwent rapid industrialization under the leadership of Sergei Witte. His greatest achievement was doubling the size of the railroad network. By 1914, Russia was the fourth industrial power in the world. It supplied 50% of the oil used in the world.
4. The Second Industrial Revolution

The 1870s also witnessed the introduction of new techniques and technologies which historians label the “Second Industrial Revolution.” New innovations in steel production ensured that inexpensive, high quality steel was widely available to expand the railroad networks. In construction, the introduction of steel, cement, plate glass and the mechanical crane permitted the building of the first skyscrapers. The development of electric power and the light bulb created a new energy-producing industry to provide power to shops and homes.

A number of new features distinguish the second industrial revolution from the first. In the Second Industrial Revolution, the state played a greater role in developing and operating the railroad networks, and providing financial assistance and tariff protection to industry. Another innovation was the much larger business organizations. The new technique of vertical integration allowed owners to buy up the companies that produced the raw materials and those who distributed the finished products. Another business method was horizontal integration, which linked up companies in the same industry to control prices. The result was huge multinational companies. Another new change was the introduction of the department store, which began replacing the small retailer as the distributor of goods.

5. On the Move: Emigration and Urbanization

As the great depression hit agricultural regions hard, it increased immigration from the village to the industrialized city. In the 1890s, most of the immigrants came from the surrounding countryside and eventually returned to the village. By 1910, large percentages of immigrants were coming from the industrially underdeveloped regions of Europe to the more developed ones, and many were leaving Europe altogether heading to North and South America.

6. Growing Social Unrest

The rapid economic changes brought by the depression and urbanization increased social tensions. As business owners attempted to protect their profits by cutting labor costs, the workers became increasingly hostile. Also the new lower middleclass found it harder to maintain their class status and became very hostile toward the working class. The dramatic increase in population through immigration also increased social and ethnic tensions.

B. Defining the Political Nation

1. Introduction

The hostile encounters between rival social groups changed the nature of European politics. The period saw the introduction of mass politics as men from outside the upper and middleclass sought to participate in the political process.
2. Making Nations

After the 1870s most European government concluded that they needed to create a sense of national identity to overcome regional, social and political divisions. One of the key institutions in creating this new identity was the school system. Schools taught the children to read and write in the national language and taught history lessons that increased the sense of national superiority. Schools also ensured that the children participated in nationalistic rituals. Many of these rituals were based on newly invented traditions that celebrated the greatness of the country.

3. Russia: Revolution and Reaction

In Russia the tsarist regime continued to be absolutist and failed to develop a national identity to build a sense of loyalty to it. In the late nineteenth century, Russia underwent rapid industrialization, and social tensions increased as the growing middleclass began to demand some participation in the political process. The government responded to their demands with repression. Since Russia lacked a large urban working class, it did not fit the model of Karl Marx. Russian revolutionaries called Populists developed their own brand of socialism, based on the peasantry. They went into the countryside to educate the peasants and attempted to undermine the regime by assassinating its leaders. In both methods, they failed to achieve their goals since the peasants did not rally to them; nor did the regime crumble when its leaders were killed. In the factories the workers endured terrible conditions. In 1905 a group of workers attempted to present a reform petition to the tsar, but instead were fired upon by the troops. The massacre resulted in a revolution, which forced Tsar Nicholas II to introduce limited representative government. By 1910, the tsar had recovered from the Revolution of 1905 and refused to carry out many of the promised reforms.

4. Germany: Identifying the Enemy

Germany as one of the new states in Europe made an effort to shape the national identity. Germany was a politically authoritarian state. Although all males had the right to vote for the lower house (Reichstag) of parliament, real power remained in the hands of the chancellor who served at the pleasure of the emperor. The drive to construct a German identity was undertaken, by attacking a perceived enemy. In the early 1870s, Bismarck initiated a cultural struggle (Kulturkuprf) against the Roman Catholic Church, which was seen as the enemy of the German state because it competed with the state for the loyalty of German Catholics. To oppose the government attack, German Catholics organized the Center Party, which won 25% of the seats in Parliament. By 1878 Bismarck perceived that the battle against the church had been lost. Bismarck found a new enemy in the German Socialist Party (SPD), which he banned in 1878. In the course of the 1880s, Bismarck enacted social welfare legislation such as sickness benefits, accident insurance and old age pensions. Despite the legislation and the attacks, the SPD continued to grow. In 1890 Bismarck was dismissed from office and anti-Socialist legislation was
allowed to lapse. Emperor William II proceeded to create a sense of national identity through aggressive militarism and imperial expansion.

5. Italy: the Illusion of Transformation

The creation of a national identity in Italy was slowed because of the presence of the papacy and poverty. When Italy took the Papal States, the pope became a prisoner in the Vatican, refused to recognize the Italian state and prohibited Catholics from participating in Italian politics. Although most Catholics ignored the prohibition, the lack of recognition undermined the legitimacy of the state. An even greater problem was the high levels of poverty. The agricultural crisis produced social unrest. In parliament no party could gain a majority, so a system of coalition government called \textit{transformismo} was developed whereby enemies were transformed into allies through bribery. An attempt by Prime Minister Crispi to unify Italy through militarism failed when Italy was defeated by Ethiopia in 1896. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Premier Giolitti legalized trade unions and introduced social welfare legislation in an attempt to decrease the threat of revolution. When it failed, he turned to expansionism, annexing Libya in 1912.

6. France

Although France had been unified for centuries, the Third Republic lacked legitimacy because it was born of defeat. The revolutions of the nineteenth century made a unified political consensus impossible as each faction had a different vision of the type of France it wanted. The split became most visible in the Dreyfus Affair. Captain Dreyfus was convicted of treason based on hearsay evidence. For over a decade political battles were fought on the issue of Captain Dreyfus’s guilt. The Pro-Dreyfusards supported a vision of a secular, egalitarian France. The Anti-Dreyfusards favored a traditional, Catholic identity for France. In 1906 Dreyfus was declared not guilty. Soon after the Radical party seized the offensive, putting the army under civilian control and prohibiting the Catholic religious orders from teaching in schools. The Radical party drew its support from the lower middle class and so failed to establish social welfare programs to benefit the working class.

7. Britain

In Britain, the ruling classes faced the demands of the working class for political participation. Beginning in the 1880s the Conservative party legalized unions and increased government inspections of factories. Between 1906-1912, the Liberal Party introduced social welfare measures to help the working class. Both parties failed to deal with the problem of Ireland. The Irish remained poor peasants, but had a strong sense of political and religious repression at the hands of the British. The Fenian Movement in the 1860s began to agitate for political independence. The Liberal party’s proposals to introduce limited autonomy, called Home Rule, were defeated by the opposition of the Protestants in Ulster (Northern Ireland).
II. Broadening the Political Nation

1. Introduction

   At the end of the nineteenth century many European states gave the working class the right to vote. Mass suffrage did not always mean radical political change.

2. The Politics of the Working Class

   The period that extended the vote to the working class saw an increase in class conflict and an expansion of the socialist parties. The economic crisis and industrial expansion created large working class communities in the cities. At the same time the new technologies such as the electric tram allowed the middle classes to move to the suburbs. The result was that the classes became increasingly separated and hostile. The growing hostility led to the growth of the socialist parties. Marxist theories and the responses of the owners to the depression assured workers that they were engaged in a struggle against their boss. The workers turned to the socialist parties in large numbers. The German SPD became the largest socialist party in Europe numbering 2.5 million members by 1913. The introduction of social welfare legislation produced a debate with the socialist parties. On the one hand were those who favored revolutionary action and on the other the socialist revisionists who advocated working within the existing political system to bring benefits to the working class. Although the revisionist position was condemned by the party congresses, the Socialist’s parliamentary leadership focused its efforts in making the political system more responsive to the needs of the working class.

   Many workers at the end of the nineteenth century turned to radical trade unions that unionized industrial workers and not just the skilled as earlier unions had done. The radical trade unions used large-scale strike and violence. Frequently, governments responded to their activities with violence. Another movement that attracted workers was the syndicalist movement. It sought to overturn the existing social and political order by using general strikes and violent revolutionary means. The syndicalist movement was influenced by the Anarchist movement based on the ideas of Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876). The Anarchist movement sought to destroy the entire state.

3. Nationalist Mass Politics

   The rise of the socialist parties and the radical labor movement fostered fear in the middle and upper classes. In response, right wing movements emerged that used nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism to attract the lower classes. Nationalism was a major force in the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire. The dominant German and Magyar nationalism ignited conflicts over language. Germans and Magyars pushed the use of their respective languages
at the expense of the languages of the minority ethnic groups. The struggle over language produced great resentment among the ethnic groups.

Anti-Semitism also played a major role in nationalist politics. Nationalists saw race as determining who belonged in the state. The nationalistic climate caused Jewishness to be seen as a race, and consequently Jews came to be seen as outsiders. The Jews had been emancipated in the early nineteenth century and began to move into the new economic areas, professions and regions. In Germany, Jews owned almost all of the department stores. Politicians quickly realized that anti-Semitism was a powerful weapon in attracting popular support. In Vienna, where the Jewish population increased rapidly, Karl Lueger was able to use anti-Semitism and promises of social reform to unite workers, middle classes and conservatives in a coalition that elected him mayor.

As a reaction to the growing anti-Semitism, Jews under the leadership of Theodor Herzl developed their own brand of nationalism called Zionism. The movement called for establishing a Jewish state in Palestine

Race limited the emancipation of the lower classes in United States. The end of the Civil War brought emancipation, citizenship and voting rights to the black population. After the end of reconstruction in 1877, Southern legislators passed Black codes and used intimidation to keep Blacks from voting. At the same time Jim Crow laws enforced racial segregation.

B. Outside the Political Nation? The Experience of Women

1. Introduction

The extension of voting rights to the working classes led middle- and upper-class women to also demand voting rights. The Feminist movement also demanded a radical change in the role of women, demanding that they be allowed to enter the public sphere. The feminist movement remained mostly middleclass, as the working class women remained preoccupied with the struggle for survival.

2. Changes in the Position of Middle-Class Women

The role of middle-class women became more public in the late nineteenth century. Middle-class women began to raise smaller families and acquire a public role as consumers whom the new department stores sought to entice. Unmarried middle-class women gained new opportunities such as jobs as telephone operators and typists as a result of the second industrial revolution. They assumed government roles in the areas of social reform.

3. Women and the Law

Law codes in the early nineteenth century had made the wife and children dependent on the husband. In the second half of the nineteenth century the feminist movement sought to improve the legal position of women. In the 1880s, English women won the right to own property and control their income.
4. Finding a Place: Employment and Education

The Feminist movement also worked to improve the education of women. The push to educate women struggled against the popular notion that women’s brains were too delicate to withstand the strain of an intellectual education. France introduced state-funded secondary education for girls in the 1880s. But only a few women were allowed to enter French Universities. In 1906, Marie Curie became the first woman to hold a university faculty position in France. Women were allowed to enter German universities in 1901. In the U.S., women accounted for one-third of university students in the 1880s.

5. No More Angels

The campaign to win women’s rights and expand opportunities helped women move into the public sphere. However, ending the double standard of sexual conduct proved much harder. Attempts to eradicate the double standard took several forms. One attack on the double standard was to attack legislation regulating prostitution. By 1914 regulations on prostitution had been abolished in most western countries. Another attack on the double standard was to push for legislation attacking the problem of heavy male drinking. In the U.S. prohibition was enforced from 1919 to 1933.

6. The Fight for Women’s Suffrage

The slow progress in attaining change in the social and moral position of women convinced feminists that they needed the right to vote. In Britain, the National Society for Women’s Suffrage was founded in 1867. Before 1914 only Finland and Norway gave women the right to vote. The dramatic changes caused by World War I brought the right to vote for women in Russia, the U.S., Germany and Austria. French and Italian women had to wait until after World War II. Several obstacles made progress slow. In Eastern Europe, economically underdeveloped meant that the middle class base of feminism was too small. In Catholic countries, the possibility of religious vocation as nuns allowed women opportunities for intellectual satisfaction, which made the feminist agenda less appealing. In contrast to these examples stood England, which had a large middleclass and as a result developed the strongest women’s suffrage movement in Europe. However, the slow results led English feminists to begin using radical tactics. Suffragettes interrupted political meetings, chained themselves to the steps of parliament, broke windows, and burned churches. Once in jail they engaged in hunger strikes.
III. TIMELINE

*Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.*

- **1871**
  - Italian defeat in Ethiopia
  - Third Republic established in France
  - beginning of Dreyfus trial

- **1873**
  - End of Kulturkampf
  - Great Depression in Trade and Agriculture begins

- **1878**
  - Formation of Suffragette Movement

- **1894**

- **1896**

- **1903**

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

*The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.*

- **anarchism**
  - Mikhail Bakunin

- **Marie Curie**
  - feminists

- **anti-Semitism**
  - Emmeline Pankhurst

- **Gustave Eiffel**
  - Zionism

- **horizontal integration**
  - Alexander II

- **transformismo**
  - Fenian Rising

- **anarchism**
  - socialist revisionism

- **feminist movement**
  - Karl Lueger

- **Magyarization**
  - George Sorel

- **Second Industrial Revolution**
  - socialist revisionism

Kulturkampf

Dreyfus Affair

Theodor Herzl

vertical integration

Russo-Japanese War

Giovanni Giolitti

syndicalism

Jim Crow

Great Depression in Trade and Agriculture

suffragettes
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

   Austria-Hungary  Italy  German Empire
   Ireland          Russia      Netherlands
**MAKING CONNECTIONS**

*The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.*

1. How did the Great Depression in Trade and Agriculture change Europe?

2. What was the relationship between nationalism and mass politics? In what ways did mass politics affect Britain, Germany, Austria, and France?

3. Define Zionism. What were its aims? How did it advance during the nineteenth century?

4. What was syndicalism? What were its goals?

5. What was anarchism? What were its aims?

6. What were the goals of the Feminist Movement? What gains were made during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century?

**DOCUMENT QUESTIONS**

*The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.*

1. What were the major differences between the home village and America according to Goodstein?

2. What were the elements of the socialist agenda as expressed in the song by Ernst Klaar?

3. According to the suffragette pamphlet, why should women be given the right to vote?

**PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER**

1. How did the ruling classes of the Western European powers respond to the new threats and opportunities provided by mass political participation?

2. Why did so many peoples turn to Anti-Semitism in Europe during the late nineteenth century?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. During the Great Depression in Trade and Agriculture all of the following economic trends were present EXCEPT
   a. decline in prices and profits.
   b. landowners and laborers found it difficult to remain on the land.
   c. rise in production and introduction of new technologies.
   d. decline in the levels of investment and production.

2. During the period 1871-1914, Europe witnessed tremendous growth in
   a. agricultural development and the agricultural prices.
   b. industrial profits and workers salaries.
   c. cultural and economic isolation.
   d. heavy industry and urbanization of European populations.

3. Which of the following was NOT a characteristic of the Second Industrial Revolution?
   a. introduction of the department stores
   b. the organizing of multinational corporations
   c. complete government absence from economic life
   d. introduction of cheaper steel and electromagnetic generator

4. Schools were a key element in creating a national identity because
   a. they taught proper hygiene and manners.
   b. they used local dialects in instruction.
   c. they kept children out of the industrial labor force.
   d. they taught the national language and history.

5. What year did Bismarck introduce old-age pensions and disability insurance in Germany?
   a. 1884
   b. 1889
   c. 1848
   d. 1883
6. The Dreyfus affairs illustrated
   a. the need for social legislation in France.
   b. the greater efficiency of democracy in France.
   c. the failure of the French to achieve a consensus on a national identity.
   d. the innate tendency of the French government toward militarism.

7. Which group opposed Irish Home Rule?
   a. the Fenian Movement
   b. the Ulster Protestants
   c. the Liberal party
   d. the Anarchists

8. The founder of Zionism in its political form was
   a. Theodor Herzl.
   b. Karl Lueger.
   c. Clara Zetkin.
   d. August Babel.

9. Anarchists called for
   a. gradual evolution to gain benefits for the working class.
   b. unionization of industrial workers and general strikes.
   c. direct violent action to destroy the state.
   d. proletarian revolution.

10. Which of the following people was a British suffragette?
    a. Emmeline Pankhurst
    b. Marie Curie
    c. Clara Zetkin
    d. Seline Cooper
Chapter 23

*The West and the World: Cultural Crisis and the New Imperialism, 1870-1914*

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

In the Fall of 1898 British troops invaded the Sudan. The British Camel Corps faced the 40,000-men-strong Sudanese army (the dervishes). The British were equipped with repeating rifles and Maxim guns. At the five-hour long Battle of Omdurman, the British lost 40 men and the Sudanese dervishes lost 11,000. The battle marked the beginning of the age of new imperialism in which the Western World came to dominate Africa and Asia.

A. Scientific Transformations

1. Introduction

In the last third of the nineteenth century, new scientific discoveries made people more aware of the relationship between the human body and nature and help improved people’s health. However, many scientific discoveries produced cultural anxiety as they challenged established principles of Western Culture.

2. Medicine and Microbes

The scientific discoveries in the second half of the nineteenth century changed the practice of medicine. Before the nineteenth century doctors did not know about bacteria and viruses and had assumed that disease was the result of bad blood. Therefore they relied on bloodletting as the most common cure. Beginning in the 1860s, scientists began to develop germ theory, tracking the transmission of diseases and developing ways to control their spread. The French Chemist Louis Pasteur discovered that bacteria were the source of contagion in epidemic diseases. He then developed vaccines for several diseases. He also developed pasteurization to purify milk. Robert Koch isolated the tuberculosis bacillus and the cholera bacteria. The result was a 60% drop in the number of people who died from infectious diseases. The development of antiseptic and anesthetics improved the survival rate for operations. These medical advances convinced Europeans that they could conquer nature through science.

3. The Revolution in Physics

Between 1880 and 1910 a series of discoveries in physics challenged how humans viewed the universe. The discovery of X-ray changed the assumption about the solidity of matter. Marie Curie discovered radium, which emitted
subatomic particles. Max Planck theorized that heated bodies radiate energy. Finally, Albert Einstein introduced the theory of relativity. He argued that time and space shift in relation to the position of the observer. Therefore the universe is four-dimensional: height, width, depth, and time. Einstein’s theory produced a revolution in perspective. These discoveries presented a vision of the universe, in which what you see is the product of subjective perception.

4. Social Thought: The Revolt Against Positivism

Positivists believed that applying scientific methods to the study of human affairs would guarantee progress. The scientific discoveries and the new disciplines of psychology, sociology and anthropology began to emphasize the role of non-rational forces in human behavior. Gustave LeBon studied the collective psychology of the crowd to show that individuals responded more to emotion than to rational arguments. Max Weber studied the role of bureaucracies in modern life and concluded that bureaucratization could crush human ideals and initiatives. Sigmund Freud explored the role of the subconscious in shaping the individual. Freudian psychology convinced many people that the irrational unconscious was in control.

5. The Triumph of Evolutionary Theory

Discoveries in biology led to the development of evolutionary theories that provided a basis to justify the social and economic superiority of Europeans. The key figure was Charles Darwin. He combined his observations of different species of plant and animal life on isolated islands with the theory of Thomas Malthus that species produce more offspring than can survive and concluded that life is a struggle for survival. Individual species which are better adapted to the environment survive and pass on their traits. For Darwin the universe was not ordered by God into a harmonious system, but rather a place of brutal struggle for survival. Many Christians were appalled by the implications of Darwin’s ideas.

6. Social Darwinism and Racial Hierarchies

Darwin’s scientific theories of biological relationships were applied to society by Herbert Spencer who argued that human society reflected the same trends as plant and animal life. The theory of social Darwinism applied the idea of individual competition and survival of the fittest to the social hierarchy and races. Spencer concluded that the lower classes and the non-white races had lost in the struggle for survival. The theory also placed women in a lower position to men on the evolutionary scale. Jean Baptiste Lamarck’s theory that acquired characteristics were inherited produced great distress by implying that progress was not inevitable and therefore regression was possible. This theory led some people to argue that the conditions of the urban working class were producing characteristics of physical weakness, sexual promiscuity and criminality in the lower classes that were being passed to the next generation.
B. Cultural Crisis and the Birth of Modernism

1. Introduction

The *fin-de-siècle* cultural crisis was characterized by a fear of evolutionary regression and a sense of degeneration and decline. At the same time the sense that the old answers were no longer sufficient produced the modernist movement, which celebrated the release from the constraints of middleclass culture.

2. The Fin-de-Siècle

The sense of degeneration resulting from the increasing urban social problems was reflected in the literature of the fin-de-siècle. Emile Zola chronicled in his novels the decline of a family through alcoholism and sexual promiscuity. The novel, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, showed the primitive irrational beast lurking beneath the civilized exterior. Friedrich Nietzsche viewed people as enfeebled by social constraint, Christianity and rationalism to the point that they had been deprived of the emotional and instinctive aspects of human nature. He proclaimed to the world that God was dead and therefore there were no more restraints on human behavior. His ideas became popular in Germany and Austria in the 1890s and early 1900s.

3. Tightening Gender Boundaries

The fear of degeneration increased the efforts to define appropriate male and female behavior. Antifeminists argued that women who choose public activity produced physically and morally degenerate children. Homosexuals were singled out not just for immoral behavior, but also as abnormal and dangerous and a threat to the liberal notion of aggressive, independent, self-reliant men. As homosexual subcultures became more common in the urban cities, the legal codes made homosexual acts illegal. At the same time the new science of sexuality made important discoveries about the sexual physiology of humans including the process of human reproduction. The German scientist, Richard von Krafft-Ebing labeled homosexuality a pathology. The concern over appropriate sexual boundaries also appeared in the arts, where the female was depicted as dangerous.

4. Modernism

Several artistic, literary and intellectual trends of the early twentieth century are collectively referred to as *modernism*. These movements centered on the notion of rejecting established authority. Modernists rejected the notion that art should be an instrument of moral uplift, and instead argued it should be a value in itself. Modernists also emphasized the sense of discontinuity with the past in modern society. New musical styles such as ragtime and the works of Igor Stravinsky and Arnold Schoenberg used unexpected rhythms and rapid tempo changes. In art, painters such as Pablo Picasso juxtaposed different perspectives in the style they called Cubists. The Expressionist painters argued that art should express the artist’s interior vision. Wassily
Kandinsky produced the first abstract paintings in Western art. Most middle-class people rejected these new forms of art.

5. Popular Religion and Secularization

Religious beliefs and practices remained a powerful force in the late nineteenth century. Sunday worship remained a central part of people’s lives. People continued to connect revolution and anarchy with unbelief. In Europe popular Catholicism emphasized devotion to the Virgin Mary and the shrines dedicated to the Virgin Mary, such as Lourdes, attracted hundreds of thousands of pilgrims. Several factors contributed to the preservation of popular religiosity. First, new immigrants looked to the local church to provide them with a sense of spiritual and social support. Second, several nationalist movements identified their national identity with Roman Catholicism. Last, Christianity was interwoven with imperialism in the Missionary activities. Christianity in late nineteenth century Europe was challenged from several sources. Among these were intellectual challenges derived from the scientific discoveries. Sociologists such as Emile Durkheim lumped Christianity with forms of primitive religion. Another challenge came from the increasingly anticlerical political currents. A more significant challenge came from the rise of spectator entertainment that competed with religion for time and served to cement community identity through elaborate rituals.

C. New Imperialism

1. Introduction

After 1870 Europe entered an era of imperialist expansion. The conquest of other peoples was justified as Social Darwinism.

2. Understanding the New Imperialism

Part of the reason for the new expansion of Europe was to protect acquisitions from the previous phase of imperial expansion in the eighteenth century. Britain for example, annexed Burma and Kashmir to protect its hold on India. A second reason for the new expansionism was economic. The technologies of the Second Industrial Revolution depended on raw materials that were available only in Asia, Africa or South America. Third, the need for new markets in the face of the Great Depression of 1873 pushed expansionism. Fourth, after the end of the Depression in the 1890s, the development of new railroad lines outside of Europe became a major investment opportunity. Fourth, political pressure in the age of mass politics also contributed to imperialist expansion. Last, the drive for colonies by the new nations of Germany and Italy led to competition among European nations to acquire new colonies.

The new imperialism was not just a policy of the elite, it also had great support among the lower classes. The key to this culture of imperialism was the sense of superiority of white Europeans. For some people, this sense of
superiority was tied to the Christian religion, and they saw Christianizing the conquered peoples as key to their imperial mission. Others saw their imperial ideas in more secular terms. Following Social Darwinian thinking, some Europeans spoke of their biologically ordained imperial destiny. They saw their imperial mission as a duty to bring the benefits of civilization to the natives. Others such as Rudyard Kipling saw it as a “white man’s burden.” Some Europeans rejected the imperialist mission. For example, J. A. Hobson argued that imperialism benefited only the rich capitalists and distracted people from problems at home.

3. The Scramble for Africa

The first wave of new imperialism was known as the “Scramble for Africa.” In 1875 Europeans held 11% of Africa; by 1905 they held 90% of Africa. For centuries Europeans had traded with Africa for gold and slaves, but had not attempted to conquer it. Until the late nineteenth century, Africa was known as “the white men’s grave” because of European lack of resistance to such diseases as malaria and sleeping sickness. In the 1830s Europeans began to explore the interior of Africa and discovered it was abundant in agricultural and nature resources. This change in their knowledge of Africa coincided with several changes that made Africa vulnerable to conquest. First, the suppression of the slave trade severely weakened West African states. Second, the development of the steamship made it possible for Europeans to navigate the shallow rivers of Africa. Third, in the 1850s Europeans discovered that quinine helped fight malaria. Last, new weapons such as the repeating rifle gave them technological superiority over the Africans.

After 1870 Europeans began to carve up Africa in the belief that these colonies would ensure economic prosperity. The claims of King Leopold of Belgium to the Congo raised controversy in Europe. The Berlin Conference in 1884 agreed to Leopold’s claims and established the terms for others to make their claims based on the principle of effective occupation. Leopold ruled the Congo Free State as his own private plantation. Leopold deprived villages of grazing and hunting grounds and forced the men to deliver large quotas of rubber. To ensure delivery, their families and failure was punished by severe mutilation. In 1910 international outcry against the abuses forced the Belgium government to take control of the Congo. Another example of abuses was German Southwest Africa. When the Herero tribe rebelled, every member was forced into the desert to die of thirst.

Africans frequently resisted European encroachment. But, only Ethiopia was successful with their defeat of the Italians at the Battle of Adowa in 1896. While African leaders were able to obtain modern weaponry, they did not adopt new tactics to take advantage of their new technology. Even leaders like Samori Ture of West Africa who had acquired modern weapons and adopted new tactics were eventually overwhelmed by the weight of French imperialism.
4. Asian Encounters

Unlike Africa, many Asian states were already part of the European economic network by 1870. The Dutch controlled most of the Indonesian archipelago, while the British controlled India. Several facts accelerated the pace of imperialism in Asia. The need for coal stations for the merchant and naval fleets made the Pacific islands of strategic importance to the U.S. and European powers. The decline of China produced a scramble effect as each power attempted to protect trade routes to China. This led the French to acquire Indochina.

The U.S. by the middle of the nineteenth century was also fully engaged in imperial expansion. In 1846 it took northern Mexico and from the 1860s-1890s it deprived the Native Americans of their lands. In 1853, the U.S. became an imperial power in Asia when Commodore Perry forced the Japanese to open their ports to American ships. Afterward the U.S. was involved in imperialist ventures in China. In 1898, the U.S. defeated Spain and acquired the Philippines, Guam, Cuba and Puerto Rico. It also annexed Hawaii.

The Russians had since the seventeenth century been expanding eastward across Siberia. The Russians treated the Siberian peoples brutally, trading them as slave. Russian immigrants introduced European diseases that decimated the local populations and Russian demands for furs depleted the animal herds. By the 1860s, Russia was pushing against the Chinese border and into Central Asia.

Japan had remained closed to the west until 1853. This isolation angered Americans who wanted to use its ports to supply their ships. The opening of Japan undermined the military government of the Shogun. After a civil war, the emperor was restored to power. Japan began modernizing along western lines. It developed a modern political system and began industrializing. It entered the imperial race by defeating China in 1895 and Russia in 1905. In the process it acquired Korea and Taiwan. Japan was just as brutal as any western power in dealing with conquered peoples.

China proved less successful than Japan in dealing with Western pressure. After its defeat in 1842, China was subjected to the treaty port system, which exempted foreign nationals from being subject to Chinese laws. The defeat in the Sino-Japanese War severely weakened the Chinese government and began a drive by the Western powers to create spheres of influence in China. In 1899 the Europeans and the U.S. agreed to follow the American “open door” policy. Opposition to Western dominance produced the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. The West sent a joint military force to crush the rebellion and China was required to pay a large indemnity.

Imperialist expansion also included the takeover of Australia. Britain had originally used Australia as a dumping ground for criminals. But the expansion of the wool industry attracted large numbers of settlers to Australia. Prior to the arrival of the English, the native peoples had followed a nomadic way of life. In the 1820s British missions were established to assimilate the Aborigines. Aboriginal children were removed from their parents and educated according to British ways, then were placed as apprentices and domestic servants at age 15. At the end of the nineteenth century the new
policy of “protection” made the Aborigines wards of the state. In 1901 Australia became a self-governing commonwealth under white rule. The Aborigines were only given citizenship in 1967. The Australians also severely restricted Chinese immigration.

5. A Glimpse of Things to Come: The Boer War

At the end of the nineteenth century, the British found themselves involved in a bloody war that challenged the vision and self-confidence of the imperialists. The Boer War was the culmination of a century of conflict between the British and the Dutch settlers in South Africa. The British in the Cape Colony became fearful that the Boers would work with the Germans in Southwest Africa to limit British expansion. When gold and diamonds were discovered in the Boer Republic of Transvaal, British investors pressed the government to put the Boer republics under British rule. When war broke out in 1899, the Boers proved to be skilled fighters. They made effective use of guerilla warfare tactics. By 1901 the war had stalemated. The British then began burning Boer farms to the ground and confining Boer women, children and servants to concentration camps. Disease decimated the Boers and Blacks in the camps. The Boers were defeated in 1902. In 1910 the British granted self-rule to South Africa, and the Boers as the dominant white group created a society based on segregation.

The military and humanitarian reputation of the British was tarnished by their actions in the Boer Wars. The opposition to the war at home showed that support for imperialism could erode quickly. The Boer War was an ominous opening for the twentieth century during which the use of concentration camps for civilians became common.
II. TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

Italy defeated by Ethiopia
Japan opened by Commodore Perry
Darwin Publishes *The Origins of Species*

end of the Boer War
US defeats Spain and takes the Philippines
Berlin Conference establishes ground rules for colonialism

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1853</th>
<th>1959</th>
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<td>1885</td>
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<td>1898</td>
<td>1902</td>
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TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

Louis Pasteur  
Max Weber  
Social Darwinism  
modernism  
Expressionism  
anticlerialism  
scramble for Africa  
Congo Free State  
J. A. Hobson  
Sino-Japanese War  
spheres of influence  
Commodore Perry  
new imperialism  

Albert Einstein  
Charles Darwin  
Herbert Spencer  
Emile Zola  
Cubism  
Rudyard Kipling  
Battle of Omdurman  
Berlin Conference of 1884  
eextraterritoriality  
treaty ports  
Russo-Japanese War  
Tokutomi Soho  

Sigmund Freud  
Darwinian theory of evolution  
fin-de-siècle  
Friedrich Nietzsche  
Igor Stravinsky  
Samori Ture  
repeating rifle  
Leopold II  
white man’s burden  
Boer War  
Battle of Adowa  
Australian Aborigines
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

   Ethiopia  France  Japan
   China     West Africa  Belgium
   Transvaal  Guam  England
   Philippines  Australia

2. Mark the colonial possessions of the following countries:

   Great Britain, France, Germany, and Belgium
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. How did new scientific discoveries of the late nineteenth century lead to improvements in peoples’ health?

2. How did new scientific discoveries of the late nineteenth century lead to greater pessimism about human progress?

3. What were the motives for imperialism? How did Darwinism contribute to the new imperialism?

4. In what way was the “new imperialism” an outgrowth of the Second Industrial Revolution? How did new medical advances make the new imperialism possible?

5. How did the “scramble for Africa” begin?

6. What forms of imperialism were imposed on China? What non-European nation was involved in Asian imperialism?

7. How did African peoples react to the European imperialist takeover of their homelands? How effective were they? How did Japan react to western encroachment?

8. What was the cause of the Boer War? What was its outcome?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. How did Darwin’s Descent of Man affirm white prejudices about other races?

2. How does Otto Weininger’s Sex and Character reflect prejudices of the time regarding the gender roles?

3. What fears does Tachibana Mituomi reveal in his dream? Were these fears justified by events in other parts of the world?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. Define fin-de-siecle and discuss what factors led many Europeans in this period to believe they were living in a time of cultural crisis.

2. What factors kept religion as a vital force in the decades after the 1870s—an age of scientific discovery?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which of the following statements about “new imperialism” is NOT accurate?
   a. The new imperialism was partly made possible by the inventions of the Second Industrial Revolution.
   b. Industrial powers dominated the non-industrial world.
   c. None of the European nations that had held colonies prior to 1870 participated.
   d. The new imperialism was influenced by the ideas of Social Darwinism.

2. Which of the following people developed a method for purifying milk?
   a. Louis Pasteur
   b. Robert Koch
   c. Marie Curie
   d. Albert Einstein

3. Which of the following statements concerning the motivations for imperialism is NOT accurate?
   a. Competition for markets in the depression that began in 1873 pushed the drive to acquire colonies.
   b. Some colonies were important due to proximity to other colonies, important sea lanes, or as fueling stations.
   c. European statesmen used imperialism as a means of appealing for new voters.
   d. Newly formed nations had no interest in imperialism.

4. The theory put forward by Charles Darwin to account for the development of the natural world was
   a. relativity.
   b. heliocentrism.
   c. evolution.
   d. positivism.

5. Which of the following statements is NOT accurate about modernism?
   a. Modernism rejected the idea of art as a moral instrument.
   b. Modernism rejected established authority.
   c. Modernists rejected human emotion.
   d. Modernists rejected the belief in the power of human reason.
6. What African nation most successfully resisted European imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century?
   a. Ethiopia
   b. Zimbabwe
   c. Libya
   d. South Africa

7. The new ideas of LeBon, Weber and Freud led many people to think
   a. you could produce a totally rational human being.
   b. emotions had no influence in human behavior.
   c. the irrational was in control.
   d. positively about the future.

8. Which of the following contributed to the outbreak of the Boer War?
   a. the takeover Transvaal and Orange Free State by Germany
   b. the fear of French intervention in the Boer republics
   c. the discovery of large gold deposits
   d. the Italian defeat in Ethiopia

9. What British colonial possession was the starting point for British expansion in Asia?
   a. South Africa
   b. India
   c. Egypt
   d. Singapore

10. Which of the following statements best summarizes J. A. Hobson’s critique of European imperialism?
    a. Capitalism leads inevitably to imperialism.
    b. White men had a burden or responsibility to bring the benefits of civilization to the non-white peoples.
    c. Europeans had a biological mandate to conquer the rest of the World.
    d. Europeans must bring Christianity to the non-western world.
Chapter 24

The First World War

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

On the morning of July 1, 1916 the British soldiers in northern France began the first attack of the Battle of the Somme. By the end of the day 20,000 British soldiers were dead and 40,000 were wounded. By the time the battle ended on November 18, 1916, 420,000 British soldiers and 200,000 French soldiers were dead or wounded. On the German side there were 450,000 casualties. At the battle of Verdun, the French and Germans suffered 750,000 casualties and at the Battle of Gallipoli, the Australian and New Zealand forces experienced a casualty rate of 65%. Between 1914 and 1918, 37 million men were casualties --killed, wounded and missing--in the battles of World War I. These massive numbers were the product of the Industrial Revolution, which provided the killing instruments of the machine gun, artillery and poison gas.

A. The Origins of the First World War

1. Introduction

The trigger that started World War I was the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, on June 28, 1914 by a Serbian terrorist. A month later Austria declared war on Serbia and in a week Europe was engulfed in a world war. On one side was the central powers made up of Austria-Hungary and Germany joined by Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire. On the Serbian side was Russia, France and Great Britain joined by Greece, Romania, Italy and Portugal. Several developments over the course of the preceding four decades contributed to the break of a general war in 1914.

2. Nationalism in Eastern Europe: Austria-Hungary and the Problem of Serbia

One of the main causes of World War I was nationalism in Eastern Europe. In Western Europe national identities coincided with existing political borders. In Eastern Europe nationalism was defined by ethnic, linguistic and religious identities that did not coincide with political citizenship. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire over 27 million citizens did not identify themselves as either Austrian or Hungarian. Rather, for the Czechs, Slovenians or Serbs in the Habsburg Empire, nationalism required the break-up of the empire. Consequently, for the survival of the Habsburg Empire, it was required to dampen the nationalistic aspirations of its component peoples. Therefore, the Habsburg officials viewed the nationalistic aspirations of Serbia to create a greater Serbia encompassing all of the south Slavs as a threat to the existence
of the Habsburg empire. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand provided the Habsburg Empire the opportunity to crush the Serbian threat once and for all. On July 23, Austria issued an ultimatum to Serbia demanding that it give Austria control of the country. When Serbia accepted all but one of the provisions, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia.

3. International Competition and the Alliance System

The war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary turned into a European wide war largely because of the alliance systems established in the previous decades. The unification of Germany in 1871 created an economic and military power in the center of Europe. Until 1890, the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck worked to ensure that Germany would avoid the threat of war on two fronts. In 1879 Germany established the Dual Alliance with Austria-Hungary, which became the Triple Alliance when Italy joined in 1882. Bismarck also signed the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia whereby both agreed to remain neutral when either was at war. These alliances kept France without allies. After Bismarck left office in 1890, Kaiser Wilhelm II allowed the Reinsurance Treaty to lapse. This made possible a Franco-Russian Alliance in 1894 resulting in the threat of a two-front war. Wilhelm also began pushing German claims for a share of the colonies in Asia and Africa. In 1898, Germany began constructing a navy, which Britain saw as a threat to its security. The German threat led Britain to give up its tradition of “splendid isolation” and began making economic, imperial and military agreements with France and Russia. These agreements made possible the formation of the Triple Entente among France, Russia and Britain. These agreements did not require Britain to join the war. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe was divided into two opposing camps. When the threat of war appeared, Germany gave Austria full support (commonly known as a blank check). Although Austria and Germany recognized the possibility that Russia, which saw itself as the protector of the Slavs, would give its support to Serbia, neither believed that Russia was strong enough to risk war.

4. Mobilization Plans and the Industrialized Military

Part of the reason for the start of World War I was the gap that had developed between diplomacy and the needs of a military in the age of industrialization. Quickly the initiative slipped from the hands of the diplomats and into those of the generals. In the preceding decade military planning had fully incorporated the railroad as a tool of mobilization. By using the railroads troops could be mobilized and put in place very quickly. Once a nation mobilized, the momentum toward war was dictated by the needs of the military plans. In the case of Germany, the Schlieffen Plan was devised to meet the needs of a war on two fronts. It required fast mobilization against France and an attack through Belgium in order to defeat France and then turn around to face the Russian forces in the east. Russia was expected to mobilize slowly because of its underdevelopment. When the Russian government ordered mobilization, Germany declared war. Germany
proceeded to invade Belgium and attack France. The invasion of Belgium brought Britain into the war as the guarantor of Belgium neutrality.

5. The Will to War

Another key factor in the road to war was the pressure of public opinion. The popular press had involved the masses in foreign affairs by presenting foreign affairs news as a drama of good vs. bad. In large cities pro-war crowds made up of the middleclass gathered in support of war. Only a minority in the working class districts held demonstrations against the war. In every country, socialist parties which had been committed against war now voted for war credits. For those who feared racial degeneration, war was seen as a chance to reassert male virility. For political leaders facing aggressive unions and socialist movements, war was seen as unifying the population. Most people expected the war to be short and that the soldiers would be home by Christmas.

B. The Experience of War

1. Introduction

The French expected a German attack through Alsace and Lorraine and sent their best troops into these provinces. The officers rode into battle wearing their red and blue parade dress with gloves and plumed hats. All this color made them easy targets for German machine guns, which promptly mowed them down. Their broken remains shattered the expectations and began a war that would be fought on several fronts in Europe and around the globe.

2. The Western Front: Stalemate in the Trenches

Following a modified version of the Schleifen Plan, the German troops advanced into France and seemed poised to take Paris by the first week of September. French and British forces stopped the German advance at the Battle of the Marne, saving Paris, but were unable to push the Germans out of France. For the next four years Germans faced the British and French troops along miles of trenches stretching from the Swiss border to the Belgium coast. The experience of the trenches was summed up by one historian as the “troglodyte war” where both sides found themselves confined to underground dwellings. For four years men stood in a muddy ditch 3-4 feet wide and 7-8 feet deep reinforced by sandbags and barbed wire. The trenches zigzagged at sharp angles to limit the range of fire, which also ensured that everywhere a soldier looked he saw mud. Between the lines was no-man’s land pocketed by deep craters from the shelling and littered with the decomposing corpses of the dead. In 1915 a new deadly weapon, poison gas was introduced, which blinded, blistered skin and caused death by asphyxiation. During 1915 an average of 300 British men became casualties every day. Throughout the war, the offense remained the main strategy on both sides. Each offensive began with a massive artillery bombardment followed by the advancement of men
against the no-man’s land to enemy lines only to be mowed down by the 
enemy’s machine guns. The casualties mounted and neither side gained any 
ground.

3. The War in Eastern Europe

The war in Eastern Europe was one of movement as Russian troops made 
surprising advances into Germany and Austria and were then chased deep into 
Russian territory. In 1914, the Russians mobilized faster than expected and 
advanced into eastern Germany and Austria. At the Battle of Tannenberg, the 
Germans under the command of Generals Hindenberg and Ludendorff 
stopped the Russians, advanced and then pushed them back deep into Russian 
territory. For the next two years the pattern of Russian advance and retreat 
continued revealing the inability of the Russian government and economy to 
supply its troops. Defeated and demoralized the Russian soldiers started 
deserting in mass. As the pressure mounted on the Russian economy it 
became unable to feed the cities. In March of 1917 dissatisfaction turned into 
revolution and the tsar was forced to abdicate. In November a small group of 
socialist revolutionaries called the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional 
government. The Bolsheviks withdrew from the war and in March of 1918 
signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk surrendering Russia’s western territories to 
Germany. Because of the large numbers of troops needed to hold these 
territories, Germany did not benefit as much as she had expected.

While war raged in western and eastern Europe, the Balkan fronts were almost 
forgotten. For the Balkans, World War I was the third war in three years. The 
previous two had been fought, the first to push the Ottoman Empire out of the 
Balkans and the second over the border settlements. In the first year of the war 
Austria-Hungary fought Serbia with little success. When in 1915 the Ottoman 
Empire and Bulgaria joined Austria-Hungary on a joint invasion, Serbia was 
defeated and occupied. The brutal occupation cost the lives of 25% of the 
Serbian citizens. Romania joined the allies in 1916 and was quickly crushed 
by the troops of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

4. The World At War

Because of the imperialist expansion of the late nineteenth century, the 
war became a world war. The British colonies and dependencies supplied 40% 
of British troops. The French colonies in Africa and Indochina supplied 
650,000 men. The German colonies in the Far East were quickly occupied by 
troops from Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Portugal joined the war to 
expand its holdings in Africa. Because of British needs to protect its access to 
India, the Middle East became an important battleground. The British gained 
the aid of the Arabs with promises of postwar independence made by T. E. 
Lawrence. Arab Nationalists pushed the Ottoman forces out of the Arabian 
Peninsula and the British captured the Sinai Peninsula and Jerusalem by 1917.
5. The End of the War

Despite the Ottoman losses in the Middle East, Germany remained in a winning position at the beginning of 1918. Germany had made huge gains in Eastern Europe, Russia had dropped out of the war and was undergoing a revolution, while Romania and Serbia were occupied. At sea, the British Navy had blockaded Germany and its allies, and the consequent food shortages were causing riots in Germany. Desperate for a quick win, Germany renewed submarine warfare. After the Germans had sunk the Lusitania in May of 1915, they had restricted use of submarine attacks because of U.S. protest. In 1917, Germany concluded that U.S. intervention would not make a difference. Outraged by American deaths at sea, the U.S. declared war in April of 1917. Although American troops did not arrive in France until 1918, American entrance into the war provided a psychological boost. In March of 1918, the Germans broke through the lines in surprise attacks not prepared by days of artillery barrages and reached within 50 miles of Paris. The Allies reinforced with American troops followed suit with similar tactics and began pushing the Germans back. The armies of the Ottoman and Austrian Empires and Bulgaria collapsed in October, and Germany signed an armistice on November 11, 1918.

6. The Home Front

Four years of war transformed the societies involved. The term “home front” was coined to highlight the role played by the civilians in the war effort. The war required that economy be mobilized in order to supply the machine guns, poison gas, canned food and uniforms needed by the troops. The failure of the industry of Austria-Hungary and Russia to meet these needs undermined their troops’ morale. At first the governments did not realize the role played by industry and labor. By 1915 governments on both sides began assuming power to requisition supplies, limit profits, and dictate wages. In Germany the policy was called war socialism. German industry worked with the military to supply the war effort and the Auxiliary Service Law of 1916 drafted all men age 17-60 for war work. One of the major expansions of government power was the controlling of ideas by the use of propaganda. In 1915 France and Britain introduced coalition governments that included the socialist parties. The governments acted in favor of the basic needs of the workers and the labor unions made a no-strike pledge. Despite these pledges the number of strikes did increase in 1916 and 1917. In Germany the government remained in the hands of the conservative aristocracy. The military and big industry seized control of the economy. While the industrialists make enormous profits, the workers were ground down by food shortages and inflation.

Civilian unrest reached a dangerous level by 1917. The war was taken to the civilians by the introduction of submarine and aerial warfare. In 1915 the Germans began attacking British cities by using zeppelins. In 1917 both the Germans and the British began using airplanes to attack each other’s cities. By the end of the war 7,300 people had been casualties in the air attacks. War on civilians also took the form of mass deportation and slaughter of Armenians in
the Ottoman Empire. In the Balkans, hundreds of thousands of people starved to death under occupation.

7. A Modernist War

On both the home and military front men and women experienced a new reality that confirmed perceptions of the world presented by the modernist artists before the war. Artists abandoned the notion that art carried no message and began to use the canvas to convey the horrors of war. The war itself seemed at times to embody the characteristics of a modernist painting. Like the modernist painters the soldiers learned to mistrust the power of human reason. The mechanical nature of the war turned soldiers into interchangeable parts in the war machine.

C. War and Revolution

1. Introduction

Total war tore apart the social and political fabric of Europe and gave the opportunity to socialist and nationalist revolutionaries to attempt to create a new Europe.

2. The World Turned Upside Down

The war caused great change in class and gender relationships. The war needs enhanced the position of the working class. In the battlefield the war had a leveling effect. Men from all classes found themselves side by side in the trenches and in battle. On the home front inflation eroded the savings of the middle class and left them desperate to maintain their economic position. For the working class, government brought higher wages and benefits. The result was hostility between the working class pushing for a bigger share of the economic pie and the middle class trying to preserve their share. One of the most important changes of the war was in the role of women. With the men at the front women were employed in the munitions factories and as ambulance drivers at the front. The war smashed many of the boundaries that had confined women. In a rather ironic turn of events the man who had gone to war to be heroes were rendered immobile in the trenches while women were transporting wounded and ferrying supplies. These gains for women were reversed with the end of the war.

3. The Russian Revolution

In Russia, Tsar Nicholas II assumed command of the army at the front. Nicholas left political affairs in the hands of empress Alexandra and her spiritual advisor Griporii Rasputin, which quickly destabilized the Russian government. In March of 1917 the Tsarist regime was overthrown. Two centers of power emerged in its place. One was the provisional government led by Liberal elements from the Russian Duma. The second was the Soviets or councils of workers and soldiers. With the return of the Russian socialists
from exile, they assumed leading roles in the Soviets. The Russian people demanded land, bread and peace. The Provisional government could not satisfy these demands. With German armies deep in Russian territory, peace seemed impossible. The Provisional government was committed to liberal principles of respect for property, so it could only offer a gradual redistribution of royal and monastic lands. Consequently the provisional government grew unpopular and weaker; the soldiers deserted in mass and the peasants began taking over the lands they wanted.

In November of 1917 a second revolution led by the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government. The Bolsheviks were led by Vladimir Lenin. He argued that a group of professional revolutionaries could bring about a working-class revolution in Russia. The Bolsheviks proclaimed a policy of land partition without compensation to the estates’ owners. In March of 1918 they signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which brought peace by giving Germany the western territories of Russia. For the next two years the Bolsheviks fought a brutal civil war to hold on to power.

4. The Spreading Revolution

The Victory of the Bolsheviks inspired other socialist revolutions in Europe. There were strikes in support of the Bolsheviks in France and Britain. There was a short-lived communist takeover in Vienna, Austria. A communist government led by Bela Kun ruled in Hungary during the Spring of 1919. In Germany, the refusal of U.S. President Wilson to negotiate peace with the Kaiser’s government brought a revolution from above that gave power to the socialist party (SPD). Simultaneously a revolution from below led by the Spartacists attempted to follow the Russian example. When the Kaiser abdicated on November 9, the SPD leaders proclaimed Germany a parliamentary democracy and Spartacist leader Karl Liebknecht proclaimed Germany a revolutionary communist state. Over the course of the winter of 1919, the communists were defeated in Germany.

5. Nationalist Revolutions

The collapse of the eastern European and Ottoman Empires made nationalist revolutions possible. The Habsburg Empire had been plagued by ethnic divisions for several decades. During the war groups of Slavic soldiers defected to the Russian side. With the defeat at the hands of the allied armies, the empire disintegrated. Nationalist politicians declared Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia independent states while the South Slavs joined Serbia in forming Yugoslavia.

In the Middle East, the English fostered Arab nationalism with the promise of post-war independence. At the same time the British promised in the Balfour declaration support for a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration was seen by the Palestinian Arabs as a betrayal.

The war also stimulated nationalist aspirations in the European Empires. The war blockades eroded the economic connections between the empire and the European nations. The war also undermined the sense of superiority of Europeans by raising the question of who was the barbarian? In the British
white Dominions of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, the war helped solidify national identities as the performance of their troops in the war effort was a source of national pride. The war also bolstered nationalist movements in India and Egypt. The war led native leaders to raise the question of what right did leaders in a far away government have to involve their people in a war? In India Mohandas Gandhi turned Indian nationalism into a mass movement and introduced a new form of revolution by nonviolent protest and civil disobedience.

6. Wilson’s Revolution

As the representatives of the powers gathered in Paris to write the peace treaties ending the war, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson offered a vision for the future based on national self-determination and open peace covenants. The new world order was to be organized around a League of Nations to oversee implementation of the treaties and resolve disputes.

7. The Failure of the Peace Settlement

The five peace treaties ended the war: Treaty of Versailles with Germany, Treaty of St. Germain with Austria, Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria and the Treaty of Sèveres with Turkey. The Allies tried to implement a peace based on self-determination in Eastern Europe, a democratic Germany and the League of Nations. The treaties contributed to the undermining of the international political and economic stability in the postwar years.

In the case of Germany, Wilson’s vision of a democratic Germany clashed with French Premier Clemenceau’s experience of two German invasions. Premier Lloyd George of England agreed with the French but feared a harsh peace would feed German resentment. Germany perceived the Versailles Treaty as unjustly punitive. Germany lost 13% of its territory and all of its colonies. It also lost 10% of its population. The Rhineland was demilitarized and the Saar region ceded to France for 15 years. The treaty also declared that Germany had caused the war and imposed 132 billion marks in reparation payments to the allies.

In Eastern Europe, self-determination failed. The old empires were replaced by new nation-states. Poland and Czechoslovakia became independent and Romania, Greece, Italy and Serbia expanded. Austria, Hungary and Turkey shrunk. Because of the settlement patterns, 30 million people remained as minorities in the eastern European states. Nine million Germans lived outside of Germany. Only 70% of the Hungarians lived in Hungary. One-third of the population of Czechoslovakia was neither Czech nor Slovak. Self-determination rather than satisfying nationalist ambitions produced an uneasy mixture of ethnic groups. For example, Macedonians remained partitioned among three states and carried out a terrorist campaign in the Balkans for the next two decades.

The keystone of Wilson’s vision was the League of Nations. It proved a failure because three of the major powers (Germany, the Soviet Union and the U.S.) were not members of it. Germany and the Soviet Union were excluded and the U.S. refused to join. In addition, the League had no military power to
enforce its decisions. More importantly the will to make the league work was lacking. European leaders used the League of Nations to pursue their more traditional foreign policy of enforcing the provisions of the Versailles Treaty on Germany.
TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event 1</th>
<th>Event 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Italy joins the War</td>
<td>assassination of Archduke Ferdinand</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Treaty of Versailles signed</td>
<td>English offensive at the Somme</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Russia signs Treaty of Brest-Litovsk</td>
<td>Bolsheviks seize control of Russian government</td>
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<td>1915</td>
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<td>1916</td>
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<td>1917</td>
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<td>1918</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
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</table>

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Schlieffen Plan</td>
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<td>Triple Entente</td>
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<td>Triple Alliance</td>
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<td>Archduke Franz Ferdinand</td>
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<td>Central Powers</td>
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<td>trench warfare</td>
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<td>poison gas</td>
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<td>unrestricted submarine warfare</td>
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<td>battle of Tannenberg</td>
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<td>Lloyd George</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallipoli</td>
<td></td>
<td>the Somme</td>
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<td>total war</td>
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<td>no-man’s land</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paul von Hindenburg</td>
<td></td>
<td>Erich von Ludendorff</td>
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<td>Balfour Declaration</td>
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<td>Lusitania</td>
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<td>Zimmermann telegram</td>
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<td>T. E. Lawrence</td>
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<td>Home Front</td>
<td></td>
<td>war socialism</td>
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<td>George Clemenceau</td>
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<td>Nicholas II</td>
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<td>Grigori Rasputin</td>
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<td>Bela Kun</td>
<td></td>
<td>Woodrow Wilson</td>
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<td>Mohandes Ganghi</td>
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<td>soviets</td>
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<td>Vladimir Lenin</td>
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<td>Treaty of Brest-Litovsk</td>
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<td>Treaty of Sèveres</td>
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<td>existentialism</td>
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MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

   the western front  the eastern Front
   the Allies           the Central Powers
   Rhineland

2. Identify all those nations created as a result of the treaties ending World War I.
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. How did the system of alliances at the beginning of the twentieth century actually contribute to the outbreak of World War I?

2. How did industrialization contribute to the failure of peace? How did military planning assist in the failure of peace?

3. How did the war affect gender roles?

4. Define “total war.” How did governments organize to handle the concept of total war? How did the “home front” form part of the “total war”?

5. What caused the United States to enter World War I? What impact did the entry of the United States have on the outcome of the war?

6. What were the terms of the Treaty of Versailles? Why did the peace treaties fail to bring about a stable world order?

7. What led to the tsar’s abdication? What centers of authority existed in the absence of authoritarian tsarist rule? Why did the provisional government fail?

DOCUMENT QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. What examples of national unity did Felix Klein see after the start of the war in August of 1914?

2. How does the vision of Rupert Brooke at the start of the war contrast with the reality of war expressed by Wilfred Owen?

3. How does Marc Bloch’s views of his men change in the course of the war?

4. According to Maria Botchkareva, how did the soldiers on the Russian front react to the news of the revolution?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. How did industrial change make WWI unlike previous wars?

2. Discuss the "will to war" that European diplomats faced at the outbreak of WWI. Did industrialization influence the role of the diplomat?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. All of the following contributed to the outbreak of World War I in 1914 EXCEPT
   a. needs of Military Planners.
   b. the Alliance Systems.
   c. the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.
   d. U.S. demand that Germany end submarine warfare.

2. The German plan intended to bring World War I to a swift conclusion was
   a. the Schlieffen Plan.
   b. Plan XVII.
   c. the Maginot Plan.
   d. the Ludendorff offensive.

3. Which of the following best describes the military activity on the Russian or eastern front?
   a. The tsarist forces fought with enthusiasm and tenacity against the Germans.
   b. Russian soldiers were well supplied and provided with state-of-the-art weapons.
   c. After initial success the Russian armies were pushed back by the German advance.
   d. The eastern front was immobile for most of the war with the soldiers spending most of their time in trenches.

4. Which of the following best describes military activity in the Western Front during World War I?
   a. The soldiers spent most of the time in the trenches with periodic attempts to break through no-man’s land.
   b. War in the western front was characterized by constant advance of the troops.
   c. The troops spent most of their time in air battles.
   d. It followed strict military plans calling for defensive action.

5. Which of the following was NOT true of the home front?
   a. War was brought directly to civilians by occupation and aerial bombardment.
   b. The blockades failed to prevent the adequate supplying of food for the civilian population.
   c. Women played an important role as workers in the munitions industry.
   d. Civil liberties were curtailed and dissenters were prosecuted.
6. In what ways did the war alter gender role?

a. The men were engaged in fighting at the front.
b. Women suffered most casualties.
c. Middleclass women were confined to the private sphere.
d. Women became highly mobile as factory workers and ambulance drivers.

7. Which of the following nations took over German colonies in the Pacific?

a. France
b. Austria-Hungary
c. Soviet Russia
d. Japan

8. V. I. Lenin was

a. the leader of the Russian government at the beginning of World War I.
b. committed to the principle that a cadre of professional revolutionaries could lead a working class revolution.
c. committed to continuation of Russian participation in World War I.
d. committed to gradual distribution of monastic and royal lands to the peasants.

9. Which of the following was NOT part of Wilson’s post war peace proposals?

a. Make Germany pay for the war.
b. Open diplomacy and freedom of trade
c. National self-determination
d. the League of Nations

10. Which of the following states did not benefit from the peace treaties signed in 1919?

a. Poland
b. Serbia
c. Czechoslovakia
d. Germany
Chapter 25

*The Reconstruction, Reaction, and Continuing Revolution: The 1920s and 1930s*

**CHAPTER OUTLINE**

I. Introduction

   On September 14, 1927 Isadora Duncan was killed when her long scarf became entangled in the wheel of her car and strangled her. Isadora was a symbol of the new women of the 1920s known for her free-flowing clothing and new style ballet which symbolized her determination to free women physically and artistically. The car, likewise, was a symbol of modernity which brought people the promise of greater mobility and freedom.

II. Cultural Despair and Desire

   A. Introduction

   To many Europeans, World War I seemed to have irreparably destroyed European culture and society. Although modernist painters and musicians had been introducing their fragmented canvas and dissonant choruses before World War I, now they did not seem disturbing or alien.

   B. The Waste Land

   European culture after the war focused on the death tolls of the war and concluded that the end result of reason and science was mass destruction. This emphasis on death was reflected on the war memorials that were built in France and England. Rather than remembering the victims, they moralized the dead soldiers. The sense of loss and despair also appeared in poetry, religion, and philosophy. The poetry of T. S. Eliot and others expressed a sense of loss and despair. The same despair was at the core of existentialist philosophy. Jean-Paul Sartre argued that the key to existence is that man is condemned to be free in a universe devoid of meaning. Theologians gave up the 19th century practice of emphasizing the harmony of religion and science. Instead Christian existentialist theologians like the Lutheran Rudolf Bultmann looked at the Gospels as based on folk tales. For Bultmann, it was through the Christian myths which we find spiritual truth and the way out of anxiety by submission to God.

   C. Building Something Better

   Another trend in European culture of the 1920s was near-utopianism. This trend focused on the transforming power of new technology. In Germany the *Bauhaus* architectural school sought to remove the barriers between art and craft to make daily living more efficient and beautiful. In Soviet Russia industrial motifs became central to art. For example, Shostakovich’s *Second Symphony* began with a factory whistle.
Celebration of movement and speed was another important motif of 1920s culture. The car became a middle class necessity and the airplane began to link European cities.

III. Out of the Trenches: Reconstructing National and Gender Politics in the 1920s

A. Introduction

World War I redrew the map of Europe, raised social expectations and turned gender roles upside down. Nevertheless there was great continuity between the pre-war and post-war periods.

B. The Reconstruction of Russia: From Tsar to Commissar

In the Soviet Union there were important continuities between the old tsarist regime and the new communist regime. The Bolshevik state, like its’ tsarist predecessor, was characterized by authoritarian rule, centralization, large bureaucracy, elite living conditions, and violent coercion. This continuity is partly explained by the environment in which Communist Russia was born. In 1919 the Bolsheviks faced local opposition (known as the white forces) supported by international troops in a bitter civil war. At the same time, the Bolsheviks faced attempts by non-Russian ethnic groups to get rid of Russian rule. In the savagery of the civil wars entire villages were destroyed and their populations were either killed or sent to prison camps. In the course of the civil war, the Russian economy collapsed. The cities ran out of food and fuel and people fled to the countryside. To feed the cities the Bolsheviks implemented the policy of “war communism” whereby food was requisitioned from the peasants. When the peasants resisted they were brutally suppressed. To defeat their enemies and impose order, the Bolsheviks turned to terror. The Cheka (Bolshevik secret police) executed 200,000 people. Another source of Communist authoritarianism was ideological. Marx had expected the workers’ revolution to happen in an industrialized state, but Russia was a peasant society. Lenin changed Marxist theory to meet the Russian situation. He argued that an elite of professional revolutionaries could bring about the workers’ revolution. Ideological debate that challenged Lenin’s thesis could not be permitted, so in 1921 the Tenth Communist Party Congress imposed a ban on political factions. Because the peasant masses could not be trusted, decisions were put in the hands of the party bureaucracy. The result was that tsarist rule was replaced by rule of the party commissar. War Communism produced famine and economic failure. To revive the economy the government introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP). The NEP gave the peasants an incentive to produce by allowing them to sell their produce for profit. Small private businesses and farms were allowed to exist. The government remained in control of heavy industry.

C. The Reconstruction of National Politics in Eastern and Central Europe

Woodrow Wilson’s vision of a new international order based on democratic politics stood as an alternative to Bolshevik one-party rule. Democracy, however, did not last long in the new states of eastern Europe. The new small independent nations of eastern Europe were plagued by serious problems. The idea of self-determination did not work in practice as it was impossible to establish ethnically homogenous states. Consequently ethnic struggles continued to plague inter-war politics. Another problem
was economic underdevelopment. In eastern Europe, 60-80% of the population worked on the land. There was too little industry and few cities to attract the excess rural population. The combination of economic pressure and ethnic conflicts undermined democracy across eastern Europe. By the early 1930s, right wing regimes had displaced democracy in almost every country of eastern Europe. The exception was Czechoslovakia.

D. The Weakness of the Weimar Republic

The post-war changes in Germany masked important continuities. The kaiser’s empire was replaced by the Weimar Republic with a democratically elected parliamentary government. However, to survive the struggle with the communist spartacists, the SPD leaders made an alliance with the old bureaucracy, the military, and the Free Corps (volunteer paramilitary units made up of demobilized soldiers). The Communists were crushed, but had SPD had lost the chance to remove the bureaucrats and the military officers whose loyalty remained with the kaiser. The disaffected corpsmen joined in several coup attempts against the Weimar Republic including the Kapp Putsch led by Wolfgang Kapp and the Beer Hall Putsch led by Adolf Hitler. Although both failed, the antidemocratic forces remained strong and were able to feed off the resentment created by the severity of the Versailles Treaty.

The shaky foundations of Germany democracy were further tarnished by hyperinflation. In 1922 the German government halted reparations payments. The French responded by occupying the Ruhr Valley and seizing coal as payment. The German coal miners responded by refusing to work. The German government continued to pay their salaries and raised the funds by printing money. As a result the exchange rate of the German mark plummeted and the currency become worthless. In 1924, the French accepted defeat and pulled out of the Ruhr. The hyperinflation wiped out the savings of the middle class. The savings of years of work could not buy a loaf of bread. In 1924 the Dawes Plan stabilized the German economy, but the damage had been done. For Germans democracy meant disorder, revolution, and poverty. Many Germans longed for the stability of kaiser’s empire.

E. Reconstruction of Gender

World War I had brought great upheaval to gender roles. The 1920s was a decade of profound change for women. The middle-class women had stepped out of the confines of the family and was now working, living, and traveling on her won. She also had gained the right to vote in many countries. For working-class women one of the major changes was the limiting of family size.

Despite the perceptions of change, there was also a strong reaction against the gender upheaval. The drop in the family size provoked fear about population decline. Governments began introducing social welfare benefits to promote having more children. Several countries outlawed abortion. National leaders influence by eugenics wanted to improve the health of mothers to ensure the health of babies. Much of the rhetoric about determining who was fit to produce children included racial and class factors. Despite calls for women to remain at home, many women continued to work. They were bared from management positions and paid less then men.
In Bolshevik Russia, the early years saw important changes for women. The Bolshevik regime declared women equal to men, allowed civil marriages, legalized divorce, abolished the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children, as well as introduced communal daycare centers, laundry facilities, and dining rooms. By the early 1920s the revolutionary policies began to be reversed. Abortion was outlawed, the communal dining halls were closed as were half of the communal daycare centers.

IV. The Rise of the Radical Right

A. Introduction

The fascist revolution introduced to Europe the politics of the Radical Right. While fascism and Nazism dismissed the equality of Socialism, they were not conservative movements. Rather they sought to mobilize the masses around programs of violent nationalism. In the post-war despair of fascism offered an alternative to existing ideologies.

B. The Fascist Alternative

Fascism originated with Benito Mussolini during the debate over the entrance of Italy into World War I. Many Italians believed that violence would strengthen Italian society. Mussolini left the Socialist Party when it refused to support the war. When the war ended he created fascism as a new political form that embodied the camaraderie of the trenches and the exhilaration of violence. Mussolini believed that fascism, with a strong leader and violence, would crush social and economic barriers and make the people powerful. The fascist movement was organized in 1919 among war veterans who were willing to throw aside the standards of conventional politics. Over the next three years, the fascists helped the landowners and middle-class crush strikes and land seizures. By 1922, the fascists had become a powerful political force. King Victor Emmanuel III named Mussolini Prime Minister. For the next four years, Mussolini used violence to eliminate his opponents. He also appeased Italian Catholics by signing the Lateran Pact with the Pope ending fifty years of hostility and recognizing the Catholic Church as the state religion. As an economic foundation, he introduced corporatism to replaced capitalist and class competition with committees of owners, workers, and the state. In practice, workers’ rights disappeared. Mussolini also gave the ordinary people the illusion of power by giving them opportunity to participate in national social activities. Allegiance to the Mussolini was reinforced through a cult of the person of the leader (the Duce).

C. The Great Depression and the Spread of Fascism After 1929

As the Great Depression spread through Europe, fascist movements appeared in almost every country. The depression began with the New York’s stock market crash in 1929. The U.S. had become the financial center of the world during World War I. After the war, U.S. loans make it possible for Germany to pay reparations to France and England which in turn allowed them to pay their U.S. loans. With the crash, American investors stopped making loans to Germany, which started a domino affect bringing the other economies down. The Great Depression increased the appeal of fascist movements. For example in Romania, the fascist Iron Guard challenged the rule of King
Carol II (r. 1930-1940). Carol was forced to adopt the language and style of the fascists. In 1938, he abolished all political parties and destroyed the leadership of the Iron Guard.

D. The Nazi Revolution

The German version of fascism is called Nazism. Nazism was founded by Adolf Hitler. Hitler was born in Austria and spent his youth in Vienna. During World War I he fought in the German army. After the war, he settled in Munich and helped establish the Nazi Party. The party rejected socialism as well as democracy. He believed that all of history was a struggle between the racially pure Aryans and the Jewish race. To the defeated and demoralized Germans he offered the vision of Germany destined to become a powerful empire in central Europe by defeating Judeo-Communism. In 1923 Hitler failed to gain power in the Beer Hall Putsch. The party remained small until the Great Depression. With six million unemployed, the Nazi and Communist parties gained a large following. By 1932, the Nazi Party was the largest party in the parliament. In January of 1933, President Hidenburg appointed Hitler Chancellor of Germany. When a deranged Dutch transient set fire to the parliament, Hitler arrested his political opponents. At the end of March 1933, the parliament passed the Enabling Act giving Hitler legislative power without consulting parliament. The Nazi system was designed to put power in Hitler’s hands, by creating a mass of competing bureaucracies that always had to appeal to Hitler for resolution of the issues. The Nazi Finance Minister Hjalmar Schacht was able to engineer an economic recovery by deficit spending. By 1938 Germany had reached full employment. Hitler ignored the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty and began rearming Germany. Germans quickly came to see Hitler as a national savior. Hitler’s power was reinforced by a cult of the leader—the Führer created partly through the use of radio and film to allow the people see and hear their Führer. Hitler used persecution and terror to deal with his enemies. More severe measures were used to deal with the biologically inferior. The Gypsies, mentally-ill, and physically handicapped were sterilized. The Jews were beat, dismissed from the bureaucracy, their shops boycotted, and their homes attacked.

E. Women and the Radical Right

As part of restoring order to society, the fascist and Nazi movements also wanted to restore order to gender relations. Economic incentives were introduced to encourage women to remain at home. Also, opportunities for women were limited. The Nazi regime dismissed women from the civil service and women physicians could only work in their husbands’ practices. Birth control was made illegal.

V. The Polarization of Politics in the 1930s

A. Introduction

Fascism provided one alternative to the inability of the democracies to deal with the Great Depression. Communism provided another alternative.
A. The Soviet Union Under Stalin: Revolution Reconstructed, Terror Extended

Lenin died in 1924. Over the course of the next four years, the colorless figure of Joseph Stalin emerged as the new leader. As General Secretary, Stalin controlled the party promotion system and was able to build up a large cadre of supporters who owed their positions to him. During the same years an ideological struggle over the NEP and the need to industrialize the country was taking place at the highest levels of the party. On one side was Leon Trotsky who wanted to generate the capital needed for industrialization by high taxes and confiscation of crops. On the other was Nikolai Bukharin who wanted to encourage the peasants to make profits and invest in industry. Stalin supported Bukharin until Trotsky was expelled from the party, then he pushed Bukharin out of the party and abandoned the NEP from 1928-1934 a revolution from above was imposed on the country. The party forced collectivization of the land. When the peasants resisted, 5-7 million peasants were killed and 10 million deported. While collectivization was underway in the countryside, industrialization was taking place in the cities. Following “Five-Year Plans”, 80% of investment went into heavy industry, so consumer goods remained scarce. Much of the labor was provided by peasants, political opponents, religious dissidents, and ethnic minorities deported to prison labor camps. The Stalin revolution from above built an industrial society, but failed to make the Soviet agricultural sector prosperous. In the second half of the 1930s, Stalin completed the consolidation of his power. In 1934 the 17th Party Congress celebrated the successes of industrialization and collectivization. Most of the delegates would in the course of the next few years be arrested and shot. The Great Purges began with the assassination of Leningrad Party Chief, Sergei Kirov. Stalin used the assassination to remove and execute his political opponents. The purge swept through the Communist party, government bureaucracy and the military eliminating thousands of people. Some were subject to show trials where they admitted to charges of conspiracy and sabotage. When the Purge ended in 1939, Stalin’s hold on the Soviet Union was complete. A cult of Stalin identified him with the nation. Stalin revived the emphasis on Russian nationalism at the expense of the ethnic minorities. He also promoted the family by outlawing abortion and making divorce difficult.

B. The Search for Middle Ground

The apparent economic success of communism in Russia and Nazism and fascism in Germany and Italy, left the democracies in search of a third way to meet the challenges of the Depression. They found their alternative in social democracy and in the economic ideas of John Maynard Keynes. Keynes argued that during a depression, government must engage in deficit spending to stimulate economic growth. In the democracies government began to assume responsibility for ensuring a decent standard of living by regulating the economy and introducing social welfare measures. In the U.S., President Roosevelt’s New Deal introduced agricultural subsidies, public works projects, and social security. In Sweden the Social Democratic Party took office in 1932 and was able to revive the economy by 1937 following the ideas of Keynes. Although other western European governments were more reluctant to follow Keynes, they did begin to actively intervene in the economy. In France the Popular Front coalition government increased workers’ benefits and nationalized critical industries.
C. The Spanish Civil War

In Spain the struggle between the political ideologies turned into a civil war when right wing army officers revolted against the left wing popular front government. The Soviet Union supported the left wing popular front forces, while Germany and Italy supported the right wing army officers. The democracies remained neutral. The right wing forces led by Francisco Franco were victorious in March of 1939.

VI. European Empires in the Interwar Era

A. Introduction

France and England expanded their empires as a result of World War I. The war also produced new forces that accelerated the formation of nationalist movements to challenge the hold of the empires over the colonies.

B. The Expansion of Empire

At the end of the war, the British and French divided up the German colonies and the Middle East among themselves using the mechanism of League of Nations Mandates whereby these territories were recognized as states but deemed not ready to be independent. The British Empire was modified in 1931 when the Statute of Westminster created the British Commonwealth by granting the parliaments of the white controlled dominions equality with the British parliament. During the interwar decades each of the colonial powers promoted economic development in their colonies.

C. The Erosion of Empire

The interwar years saw the development of powerful challenges to the empires. After two years of guerilla warfare by the IRA, the British offered independence to Ireland in 1921. The economic demands of the war led to the development of the colonial economies and the migration of workers to the cities. These unsettling changes led the native peoples to equate Western social and political style with imperialist oppression. The depression led to disastrous drop in prices of colonial raw materials and products, cuts in services, and unemployment. The consequence was the spread of mass nationalism among the native peoples.

D. The Question of Westernization: The Cases of Turkey and India

In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Pasha led the revolt against attempts to partition Turkey among the victors of World War I. In the 1920s he introduced a program of modernization and westernization. He outlawed polygamy, gave women equal rights, replaced the Arabic script with the Latin alphabet, and ordered Turks to wear western clothes and to take surnames. He changed his name to Kemal Ataturk. He did not introduce democracy.

In India, Mohandas Gandhi promoted Indian nationalism by appealing to Indian customs and religious identity. He refused to equate “Indian” with “Hindu” and tried to incorporate the Muslims into the Indian community. He also pushed for the rights of the “untouchables.” The British dealt with Ghandi by sometimes negotiating and at other times imprisoning him. The British governments passed a series of measures granting
partial self-government to India, but Ghandi and the Indian National Congress continued to push for full independence.

The Soviet Union also challenged the empires by presenting imperialism as the outcome of capitalist and declaring itself the defender of oppressed people. In China, the Guomindang led by Chaing Kai-Shek reformed the army and increased his hold over China with the aid of Soviet advisors.

E. The Power of the Primitive

After World War I some Europeans questioned the superiority of European Civilization. Oswald Spengler argued that European Civilization was on the path of decline. Developments in psychology also questioned the idea of Western Superiority. Sigmund Freud argued that human nature is fundamentally aggressive. Carl Jung stressed the link between the primitive and the modern in mankind. Leopold Senghor and the Négritude movement condemned European culture as weak and corrupt and called on blacks to create a separate culture.
TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

- Mussolini becomes Prime Minister of Italy
- Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany
- Spanish Civil War begins
- Stalin becomes uncontested leader of the party
- Social Democratic Party takes office in Sweden
- Lenin introduces New Economic Policy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Mussolini becomes Prime Minister of Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Spanish Civil War begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Stalin becomes uncontested leader of the party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Social Democratic Party takes office in Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Lenin introduces New Economic Policy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

- fascism
- existentialism
- Jean-Paul Sartre
- Benito Mussolini
- League of Nations
- Nikolai Bukharin
- Adolf Hitler
- Ruhr
- Great Depression
- Mein Kampf
- Leon Trotsky
- Joseph Stalin
- Lateran Treaty
- NEP (New Economic Policy)
- First Five-Year Plan
- Beer Hall Putsch
- collectivization
- Great Purge
- corporatism
- Nazism
- Leni Riefenstahl
- collectivization
- Weimar Republic
- hyperinflation
- Leon Blum
- John Maynard Keynes
- Leni Riefenstahl
- British Commonwealth
- Spanish Civil War
- Popular Front in France
- Sigmund Freud
- Kemal Ataturk
- General Francisco Franco
- social democracy
- Carl Jung
- Chaing Kai-Shek
- Négritude
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.
   
   Identify the fascist states of Europe.
   Identify the countries with Popular Front governments.
   Identify the countries with Social Democratic governments.
   Identify the countries with Communist governments.
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. How did World War I affect post-war culture? What is existentialism?

2. What were the causes of the economic crisis in Europe? What were the affects of the Great Depression in Germany?

3. What were the problems leading to political instability in eastern Europe after World War I?

4. How did Benito Mussolini achieve power? How did he gain and preserve popular support?

5. What were the major failings of the German leaders after World War I? Why did the Weimar Republic fail?

6. How did Adolf Hitler achieve power? What sort of state did Hitler establish? How did he use modern technology to enhance his ties to the masses?

7. What was the New Economic Policy? What was it designed to achieve? How did Trotsky and Bukharin differ in their attitude toward industrialization?

8. How did Stalin achieve power? How did Stalin change the economy of the Soviet Union? How did Stalin use the Great Purges? What was the position of women within the Soviet social and economic system under Stalin?

9. How did the governments of France, Britain, and Sweden deal with the affects of the Great Depression?

10. How did the great depression affect the ability of European empires to control their colonies?

DOCUMENTS QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.


2. How does the “cult of the leader” take on a religious dimension?

3. What were the key elements of Ghandi’s defense?
PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. How did the interaction between Europe and the world outside change after WWI?

2. How did the roles and lives of women change in the period between the wars?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which of the following was NOT an impact of World War I on European culture?
   a. emphasis by theologians of the harmony of religion and science
   b. rise of existentialism with its belief that the universe is devoid of meaning
   c. rise of neo-utopian belief in the transforming power of technology
   d. rise of the conclusion that the end product of human reason and science is mass destruction

2. Which of the following was NOT a factor in the political destabilization of the new nations of east central Europe?
   a. ethnic diversity within the new boundaries
   b. little economic development
   c. development of local fascist movements
   d. France’s attempts to restore the pre-World War I borders

3. The French invasion of the Ruhr resulted in
   a. hyperinflation and the wiping out of middle-class savings.
   b. turning the Ruhr over to France in lieu of German reparation payments.
   c. strengthening of the Weimar Republic.
   d. defeat of the old bureaucrats and military men.

4. Who of the following was NOT involved in the power struggle over the New Economy Policy after Lenin died?
   a. Leon Trotsky
   b. Nikolai Bukharin
   c. Joseph Stalin
   d. Nikita Khrushchev

5. Which of the following statements about Stalin’s Five-Year Plans is most accurate?
   a. They resulted in a freer marketplace for Soviet products.
   b. Their goal was to squeeze profits out of the agricultural sector in order to fund industrialization.
   c. They handed direction of the Soviet economy over to the peasants.
   d. They deferred the process of collectivization to a later period.
6. Which of the following statements concerning fascism is NOT accurate?

   a. Fascism appealed to war veterans and tried to recreate the camaraderie of the front.
   b. Fascism was nationalist and the use of force was central to its appeal.
   c. Fascists supported liberal political institutions and values.
   d. Fascists condemned socialists.

7. In the Lateran Treaty, Mussolini

   a. absorbed the papal estates into the state of Italy.
   b. forced the papacy to recognize Adolf Hitler’s fascist government in Germany.
   c. recognized the Catholic Church as the state religion and healed the divide that had existed for fifty years.
   d. withdrew the Catholic Church’s monopoly over education and the Italian marriage laws.

8. Hitler became chancellor of Germany

   a. as a result of the Beer Hall Putsch.
   b. by conducting a military overthrow of the Weimar Republic.
   c. as a result of the Kapp Putsch.
   d. when the president of the Republic appointed him chancellor.

9. John Maynard Keynes advocated

   a. government deficit spending to promote economic growth.
   b. increase in colonies to make the country self-sufficient.
   c. tightening of credit and balance budgets.
   d. collectivization of agriculture and rapid industrialization.

10. All of the following was a result of the depression in the colonies EXCEPT?

    a. reduced expenditures and cuts in services
    b. spread of mass nationalism and weakening the hold of the imperial powers
    c. expansion of investment in the colonies and growing prosperity
    d. decline in prices of raw materials and colonial products
Chapter 26

World War II and Its Aftermath, 1931-1949

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

On June 22, 1940 French delegates signed an armistice accepting the defeat of France by Nazi Germany. After a six-week war, Germany dominated the European continent. To celebrate his victories, Hitler called for the rebuilding of German cities in grandiose style. Five years later, Hitler was defeated and Germany lay in ruins. From the rubble was emerging a new Europe divided into two opposing camps: western Europe dominated by the U.S. and eastern Europe dominated by the Soviet Union.

II. The Coming of War

A. Introduction

Twenty years after the end of World War I, Europe and the world were again engulfed in total war. The main cause was Hitler’s desire for a German empire in eastern Europe.

B. An Uneasy Peace

The origins of the Second World War are tied to the settlements of the First World War. The treaties signed in 1919 created a fragile peace for several reasons. First, redrawing the map of Europe created as many territorial resentments as it settled. Germans resented the loss of territory to Poland, and Hungary resented the loss of territory to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. Second, the League of Nations was too weak to be the basis of the new international order. This was partly because it lacked the power to enforce its decisions and partly because several of the major powers were not members. Lastly, the settlements failed to satisfy several of the victors. Italy and Japan did not feel they had been adequately compensated for their participation in the war. Also, Japan saw the 1921 Washington Conference’s guarantee of China’s territorial integrity as a threat to Japan.

C. The 1930s: Prelude to World War II

The Great Depression increased international instability. First, the various countries used tariff barriers to protect their economies. Second, several leaders saw territorial expansion as a solution to their economic problems. In 1931, the Japanese seized Manchuria and in 1937 invaded China. In 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia. In each case the League of Nations did little against the invaders. In 1933 Hitler withdrew from the League of Nations and began re-arming in violation of the restrictions imposed by the
Versailles Treaty. In 1936 Hitler signed an alliance with Italy (Rome-Berlin Axis). Hitler violated the Versailles Treaty in 1936 by sending troops into the Rhineland in 1938, by joining (Anschluss) Germany and Austria. In each case France and England did not act against Germany. By September of 1938, Europe was on the brink of war because Hitler demanded the German inhabited Sudentenland of Czechoslovakia. France and the Soviet Union pledged to protect Czechoslovakia. War was averted by British Prime Minister Chamberlain’s negotiation of the Munich Agreement giving Hitler the Sudentenland. Peace lasted only one year. On August 23, Hitler and Stalin agreed to the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact keeping the Soviet Union neutral in exchange for half of Poland and the Baltic States. On September 1, 1939 Germany invaded Poland. The British and French declared war against Germany.

D. Evaluating Appeasement

Since World War II there has been much debate on the issue of appeasing vs. stopping Hitler. Appeasement was not a policy of cowardice, but rather a reaction to the loss of human life in World War I. The Great Depression had left the western power weakened. Many people felt that anything to avoid another horrendous war was worth the price. As a businessman, Chamberlain felt that through negotiation the “best price” could be found to avoid war. Also, many people felt that a strong Germany could neutralize the threat of communist Russia.

III. Europe at War, 1939-1941

A. Introduction

Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. By the autumn of 1941, almost the entire continent was either allied or occupied by Nazi Germany.

B. A New Kind of Warfare

The German military successes were the result of the technology of modern offensive warfare that avoided the stalemate of trench fighting. Germany invaded Poland using a new offensive strategy commonly known as blitzkrieg warfare. It used aerial bombardment to destroy the enemy defenses and tanks to push through the enemy lines. Poland surrendered within ten days. Western Europe experienced the blitzkrieg in the Spring of 1940 when the German army invaded Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands and France. British and French forces were quickly trapped at Dunkirk. The British navy and civilian boats were only able to rescue them because the Royal Airforce held off the German Luftwaffe. On June 14, the German troops entered Paris and the French parliament turned power over to Marshal Philippe Pétain who set up a French government at Vichy and formerly surrendered to the Germans on June 22, 1940. In England the discredited Chamberlain was replaced by Winston Churchill as the head of a coalition government. Churchill refused to negotiate with Hitler. On July 10, Germans bombers began the Battle of Britain to destroy the RAF in preparation for a cross-channel invasion. Fortunately for the British, they had begun building up the RAF and the aerial defenses in 1935 and were capable of withstanding the German attacks. In September of 1940, Hitler postponed the invasion of Britain indefinitely.
C. The Invasion of the Soviet Union

Hitler’s plan for a German empire in Europe involved the destruction of the Soviet Union. In July of 1940, he ordered the military to plan for an invasion of the Soviet Union in April of 1941. The invasion was delayed, because Mussolini’s invasion of Greece and attack on the English colonies in North Africa failed. The Balkans were the major supplier for Germany’s oil and other materials needed for the war effort. Fearing that Mussolini’s failure would leave the Balkans vulnerable to British attack, Hitler invaded Yugoslavia and Greece in April 1941 and send German troops to North Africa.

The invasion of Russia took place on June 22, 1941. The German army smashed through the Russian defenses and by October was within eighty miles of Moscow. The Soviet Union was caught unprepared because Stalin refused to believe that Hitler would break the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact or to believe the intelligence warnings of the attack. Also helpful to the Germans was that the peoples of the western territories had suffered greatly under Stalin and welcomed the Germans. Several factors halted the German advance. First, the Germans had a difficult time supplying their over-stretched lines. Second, the Russian winter made the road impassable and the subzero temperatures killed men and froze machines. Third, German ravaging of the occupied zones stiffened resistance against the Germans. Despite the early losses, the Soviet war effort was saved because they were able to dismantle much of its industrial plants and ship them to Siberia where they were re-assembled and began out-producing Germany by 1943.

IV. The World at War, 1941-1945

A. Introduction

In December 1941, Japan attacked the United States and the European colonies in southeast Asia turning the war into a global conflict.

B. The Globalization of the War

World War II involved people outside of Europe from the beginning. Italy tried to expand in North Africa. Britain relied on materials and manpower from the colonies and dominions. Although the U.S. was officially neutral until December of 1941, it had been supplying goods to the British since March under the Lend-Lease Act. On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and over the next few days attacked the American, British, and Dutch colonies in southeast Asia. On December 11, 1941, Germany also declared war on the U.S.

C. From Allied Defeat to Allied Victory

Until the second half of 1942, the allies remained on the defensive against Germany and Japan. The turning point on the Pacific came at the Battle of Midway on June 4, 1942 where the U.S. destroyed four Japanese carriers and the Japanese First Air Fleet. In Europe the turning point was at the Battle of Stalingrad (August 1942-January 1943). In their drive to take control of Caucasus oil fields, Hitler decided to attack Stalingrad which controlled the main waterway for transporting oil and food to the rest of the Soviet Union. The German and Soviet forces fought each other house by house, but by November the Russians had surrounded the Germans. Hitler refused to allow the
General Von Paulus to surrender. By the time von Paulus surrendered, his army had been decimated. The Germans never recovered from the defeat. Now the allies went on the offensive. The RAF brought the war to German cities. In North Africa, the Germans under General Rommel defeated the British at the Battle of El Alamein in October 1942, but a joint landing of British and American troops in French North Africa was able to defeat the Rommel’s forces in the Spring of 1943. In July 1943 the allies invaded Italy. Although Mussolini was overthrown, the Germans took control of Italy and the allied campaign got bogged down until 1944.

Meanwhile, the Russians pushed the Germans to the Polish border by the Spring of 1944. On June 6, 1944 the English and American forces began the invasion of France. By March of 1945, the Russians were approaching Berlin and the Anglo-American forces were at the Rhine. On May 2, Berlin surrendered to the Russians. Two days earlier Hitler had committed suicide. Germany formerly surrendered to the allies on May 7, 1945. In the Pacific, the Americans pushed the Japanese back island by island. The closer the Japanese homeland, the stiffer the resistance encountered by the Americans. Both sides suffered tens of thousands of casualties. At Okinawa 110,000 Japanese soldiers were killed and 50,000 Americans were killed or wounded along with an unknown number of Okinawans. By July 1945, the U.S. had blockaded Japan. Japan only surrendered after the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

V. The Home Fronts

A. Introduction

While the war raged, European society was transformed to meet the needs of total war.

B. The Other Wars

During World War II the home front was not safe from the violence of war. Both allied and Nazi bombers targeted civilian populations. In occupied Europe, the willingness of Nazis to use brutal force against civilians, and the presence of German concentration camps served as a deterrent against civilians’ involvement in resistance activities. For example, when Czech agents murdered SS official Reinhard Heydrich, the Germans massacred the entire population of Lidice. Nevertheless resistance movements made up of men and women disrupted transportation systems and delivered information to the allies. In France, once General DeGaule established the Free French provisional government, the French began more active participation in the resistance. In Yugoslavia, the struggle to free the country turned into a political and ethnic civil war. In Croatia, the fascist regime engaged in a savage campaign of ethnic homogenization against, Serbs, Muslims, and Jews. In other parts of Yugoslavia the royalist Chetnik resistance fought the Germans, engaged in slaughter of Muslims and Jews, and fought the communist Partisan Resistance led by Tito. In 1944, the Partisans joined the Soviet army in freeing Yugoslavia and assumed control of the country.

For many Europeans, war was brought home by the bombing raids against cities undertaken by both sides. In May 1942, the British destroyed Cologne and in July 1943 Hamburg. In occupied Europe, Nazi racial ideology determined the treatment of POWs and civilians. The Slavs were deemed by the Germans as racially inferior. In the Soviet Union and Poland, the political, economic and intellectual elite were executed and the
ordinary people endured hard labor and starvation. Of 2.5 million Russia POW’s captured by the Germans in 1941, 2 million died of disease and starvation by the Spring of 1942. In western Europe, the population was considered of “Germanic stock” and most POWs survived the war. Because of the need for German men at the front and the unwillingness of Hitler to mobilize women for the war effort, the Germans imported workers from eastern Europe to provide the needed labor for industry. These laborers had no rights and were starved and overworked. Their presence allowed the regime to avoid unpopular measures and cushion Germans from the impact of the war almost until the end.

C. Women’s Work

The obliteration of the distinction between home front and front lines meant the women participated in the war to an unprecedented degree. British women were fully mobilized for the war effort and worked in both war industries and in civilian defense. In the Soviet Union, women made up 80% of the agricultural labor and 50% of the industrial labor. By 1944, there were 246,000 Soviet women as soldiers in the front lines. In Germany the use of foreign labor took the place of the mobilization of women. In the last year of the war, German women were mobilized for the labor force. The U.S. never fully mobilized its economy. The distinction between soldier and civilian was maintained. In the U.S. 70% of adult women remained outside of the labor force. U.S. cities also did not experience bombardment.

D. What Are We Fighting For?

All nations involved used propaganda campaigns to maintain the morale of their populations. The arts, entertainers, and mass media were recruited for morale building. The movie industry played an important role creating myths of national unity. Part of the propaganda involved the planning for reconstruction of a new Europe. In England the Beveridge Report called for the government to ensure public welfare and social justice. Churchill’s failure to consider these suggestions brought the Labor Party in June 1945. After the war the Beveridge Report became the basis for social welfare program across Europe. The radical reorientation of Europe to social democracy was caused by several factors. First, Europeans demanded that their war suffering be worthwhile. Second, the war discredited the political right and the Great Depression discredited the liberal-free market ideal. Third, the role of Communists and Socialists in the resistance enhanced their respectability. The end result was that Europeans concluded that they should use the power of the state to improve the lives of their citizens.

VI. A Dubious Peace, 1945-1949

A. Introduction

At the end of the war, much of Europe was a rubble heap. Post-war purges and deportations continued after 1945.
B. Devastation, Death, and Continuing War

By the end of the war, an estimated 55 million had been killed. Soviet deaths alone were estimated at 25 million. The death toll continued as the victors inflicted vengeance on the defeated. Over 11 million Germans were deported from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Poland was given part of eastern Germany and expelled the Germans living there. At least 2 million Germans died in the forced deportation. In the Soviet Union millions of people were deported to Siberia for collaboration with the Germans.

C. Imperial Encounters

World War II also sparked violent revolt in the colonies as the imperial powers tried to regain control. Japanese take over in Indonesia, Indochina, and Burma pushed the colonial elites out of power. In Indonesia the nationalist resistance movement succeeded in forcing the Dutch out in 1949. In Indochina, Ho Chi Minh fought for thirty years against the French and American attempts to gain control of the region. In Burma the nationalists fought against both the Japanese and the British. After the war, the British government of Clement Attlee relinquished India, Burma, and Palestine. In Palestine ethnic conflict continued to devastate the region through several Arab-Israeli wars. In India, the Muslim nationalists refused to be part of a Hindu dominated state. Partition of India between Muslim and Hindu states led to mass slaughter.

D. From Hot to Cold War

The major conflict of the post-war years was the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Stalin’s chief post-war concern was to secure the Soviet Union’s western boundary by establishing friendly regime in eastern Europe. U.S. President Roosevelt favored establishing democracies based on liberal free market principles. The question of post-war Europe included the issue of German repartitions and Polish boundaries. Disagreements over these questions were papered over at the Teheran and Yalta Conferences. Hoping to avoid a new depression, American and European economists drew up the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944. It established the U.S. dollar as the world reserve currency and created the IMF and the World Bank to maintain currency stability and promote economic development. By the Yalta Conference, the Soviet army occupied eastern Europe and Yugoslavia was ruled by the communist partisans. Since the American and British leaders were unwilling to engage in armed conflict with the Soviet Union, they agreed to setting up of pro-Soviet regimes in Eastern Europe. They also agreed to have Germany pay reparations to the Soviet Union.

After the war, the U.S. reduced its military presence in Europe and the Soviet Union cut the size of its army. The issue of Germany led to the collapse of the war-time alliances. The British and Americans decided to give priority to German economic recovery. They joined their zones into a single economic unit and stopped reparations payment to the Soviet Union. In 1949 the American, English, and French zones were merged to create the Federal Republic of Germany. The Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic. In 1947 the United States began the policy of containment to resist communist expansion with the introduction of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. The Truman Doctrine promised to provide aid the countries resisting subjugation. The Marshall Plan provided aid for the economic recovery of Europe. The Soviet Union
and Eastern Europe refused to participate in the Marshall Plan. In 1949 the U.S. and nine West European nations formed NATO as a military alliance to block Soviet expansion. In 1949, the Soviet Union tested its first nuclear bomb and in 1955 the Soviet Union and the east European countries formed the Warsaw Pact. Europe was once again divided between hostile military blocks, now armed with nuclear weapons.

In eastern Europe the Cold War brought a tightening of Soviet control. In Yugoslavia Tito resisted Stalin’s effort to dictate policy. By 1948, Stalin had lost control of Yugoslavia. In order to avoid the rise of Tito imitators, Stalin purged the eastern European leadership. Prominent leaders were arrested, tortured and forced to confess to sabotage and espionage. Anyone who had contact with “the West” or international organizations was a suspect and was arrested.
TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

Munich Conference held Germany attacks Poland, initiates World War II
United States forms NATO Allied forces land in Normandy
Japan attacks Pearl Harbor Italy invades Ethiopia

1935
1938
1939
1941
1944
1949

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

appeasement Neville Chamberlain Munich Agreement
blitzkrieg Rome-Berlin Axis Non-Aggression Pact of 1939
Vichy Regime Battle of Britain Winston Churchill
Pearl Harbor Stalingrad Charles de Gaulle
Lend-Lease Act Battle of Midway Chetniks
Partisans Josip Broz (Tito) Hiroshima
Dimitri Shostakovich Teheran Conference Yalta Conference
Cold War Nagasaki Warsaw Pact
atom bomb NATO Potsdam Conference
Harry Truman Ernest Bevin Bretton Woods Agreement
Clement Atlee Truman Doctrine Marshall Plan
social democracy Big Three containment
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map:

Norway  Belgium
Denmark  Italy
France  Sudentenland
Greece  Yugoslavia
Stalingrad  El Alamein
Vichy  Paris
Berlin  Poland
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What was the policy of appeasement? Why was it popular?
2. What aggressive steps did Italy, Germany, and Japan take prior to 1939?
3. What new style of warfare did Hitler use that allowed his forces to sweep across Europe so swiftly?
4. In what ways was the Home Front involved in the war? What role did women play in the economic mobilization of Germany and the allied countries?
5. How did the German’s treat the conquered populations? What role did resistance movements play in the occupied countries of Europe?
6. How did Hitler’s policies of racial ideas affect the treatment of civilians and POWs in eastern and western Europe?
7. What were the major turning points of the war in Europe, North Africa, and Asia?
8. What were the divisive issues at conferences held by the leaders of the Allied powers? Why did the Soviet Union determine that its security required control of eastern Europe?
9. What steps were taken by the U.S. and the Soviet Union to divide Europe into two armed camps?

DOCUMENTS QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. Discuss the human horror of facing aerial bombardment. How does it compare with the experience of tank combat?
2. How does Zhdanov view the division of Europe into two camps? How does Zhdanov view differ from that of Churchill?

PUTTING TOGETHER LARGER CONCEPTS

1. Discuss the expectations concerning war in the 1920s and 1930s. How did these attitudes lead to war in both Europe and Asia?
2. How and why did the end of World War II lead so quickly to the beginning of the Cold War?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. The League of Nations was unable to serve as a basis for a stable international order because
   a. it had never been intended as a source of post-war stability.
   b. it was boycotted by France and England.
   c. it did not include several of the major powers and lacked a military force to enforce its policies.
   d. it was dominated by the Soviet Union and the United States.

2. What was the policy adopted by France and England in the face of Hitler’s violations of the Versailles Treaty?
   a. detente
   b. rapprochement
   c. appeasement
   d. utilitarianism

3. Italian expansionism was primarily directed against
   a. Austria and Germany.
   c. the Soviet Union and Poland.
   d. the Balkans and North Africa.

4. The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact
   a. gave the Sudentenland to Germany.
   b. divided Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union.
   c. allowed Italy to take Ethiopia and Greece.
   d. divided Germany into two separate states.

5. Which of the following statements is NOT accurate about blitzkrieg warfare?
   a. Blitzkrieg avoided the stalemate of trench warfare.
   b. Blitzkrieg combined aerial bombardment with fast moving motorized divisions.
   c. Blitzkrieg failed to be an effect offensive strategy.
   d. Blitzkrieg allowed the Germans to quickly defeat Poland and France.
6. Prior to Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt provided help to the British under the
   b. Appeasement policy.
   c. Lend-Lease Act.
   d. the Munich Accord.

7. What event caused the United States to enter World War II?
   a. the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor
   b. the German assault on Stalingrad
   c. the Italian invasion of Ethiopia
   d. Britain’s appeal for help in the Battle of Britain

8. Which of the following countries did not mobilize women for the war effort until the last year of the war?
   a. Yugoslavia
   b. the United States
   c. Germany
   d. Soviet Union

9. The economic agreement that reorganized the post-war global economy was the
   a. Munich Accord.
   c. Yalta Conference.
   d. Bretton Woods Agreement.

10. Which of the following was NOT an American initiative to contain Soviet Expansion after World War II?
    a. Marshall Plan
    b. Warsaw Pact
    c. Truman Doctrine
    d. NATO
The end of World War II shocked the war-torn world with evidence of mass death brought by the Holocaust and the dropping of the atomic bombs. In the last weeks of the war in Europe, allied soldiers began opening the concentration camps at Mauthausen in Austria, Begren-Belsen in Germany and in other parts of occupied Europe. The extermination of six million Jews and five million Poles, Russians, Gypsies homosexuals and political opponents of the Nazi regime had taken place in these camps. A few weeks later, the war in Asia was ended with the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki causing the deaths of tens of thousands of people within seconds.

II. Toward the Final Solution: From Emigration to Extermination

A. Introduction

The origin of the Holocaust is a complicated question. While anti-Semitism was a key component of Hitler’s worldview, it does not by itself explain the Holocaust. Nor for that matter was the Holocaust a product of a detailed plan. It seems to have evolved as a response to total war.

B. Anti-Semitism: The Necessary Precondition

Anti-Semitism cannot by itself explain the Holocaust. Modern anti-Semitism evolved in the nineteenth century largely in response to the rise of the Jews to economic prominence. Those who were victims of the rise of modern industrial and commercial economy such as small shopkeepers and artisans displaced by the modern department store and factory looked for someone to blame. Religious anti-Semitism had credited Jews with many evils in the past and Jews continued to be regarded with suspicion in the modern world because of their race. So, the Jews were a convenient scapegoat for modern problems. Suspicion of the Jews was aggravated by the Bolshevik take-over of Russia. Because many Socialist and Communist leaders were Jewish, people came to equate Jews with communism. Because of the pre-existing currents of anti-Semitism, Hitler found willing allies in his war against the Jews.

C. Intensified Persecution of the Jews in Germany, 1938-39

Although Hitler had talked in his speeches and writings about exterminating the Jews, he did not have specific plans for action when he came to power. Once in power,
the Nazi regime implemented laws and policies to persecute Jews, Gypsies, and the handicapped. These groups were viewed as posing a threat to German racial superiority. With German success in the Anschluss and at the Munich Conference, Hitler concluded he could pursue his anti-Semitic policies without fear of retribution. In 1938, Hitler introduced laws baring Jews from commercial activities and requiring the registration of Jewish property. On November 9, 1938 the assassination of a German official in Paris by a Jewish student, produced an explosion of anti-Jewish violence in Germany, known as Kristallnacht. Although by 1938 only 350,000 Jews remained in Germany after Kristallnacht another 150,000 left, the Nazi regime had not succeeded in emptying Germany of Jews. The annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland had added another 300,000 Jews and the start of World War II brought 2,000,000 Polish Jews under German control. For the Nazi regime forcing Jews to emigrate no longer seemed a workable solution to the “Jewish Problem.”

D. The German Drive Eastward and the Radicalization of the Final Solution

The war brought about the radicalization of the Jewish policy. The Nazi vision for Germany demanded German expansion into eastern Europe to create space for the superior race. The Slavic peoples were defined as biologically inferior and were to serve as a slave labor force. The Jews were to be eliminated. The Poles, in the areas of Poland directly annexed by Germany, were deported. The rest of occupied-Poland became the General Government of Poland. The Nazis proceeded to close Polish universities and cultural institutions and kill the intellectuals and professionals. The SS raided the countryside looking for blonde blue-eyed Polish children and kidnapping tens of thousands and subjecting them to pseudoscientific tests to determine their racial type. Those that fit the Aryan racial type were adopted by German couples. The Polish Jews were expelled from their homes and confined to ghettos where they were soon joined by the Jews from Austria and Czechoslovakia. By the time of the invasion of Russia, 30,000 ghetto Jews had either been murdered or died from starvation or disease. The invasion of the Soviet Union led to the adoption of the “final solution” policy to murder the Jews whom Hitler saw as the chief “carriers” of communism.

E. The War against the Jews

At first, the war against the Jews were undertaken by special SS squads called Einsatzgruppen with the aid of the local populations. In the first months after the invasion of the Soviet Union, tens of thousands of Jews were rounded up, marched into the woods, stripped of their clothes, lined up along ditches, and then shot and covered with a layer of dirt. Einsatzgruppen killed between 1.5 to 2 million Jews this way.

F. The Evolution of the Death Camps

On January 20, 1942 a group of German officials met at Wannsee and formulated a systematic plan to destroy the Jews. The plan evolved by combining the experience of the 1939 euthanasia campaign, deportations, and ghettoization implemented against Poles and Jews and the existing concentration camp system. The first concentration camps were set up in 1933 to intern enemies of the regime, communists, and Gypsies. Once war began, the camps’ network was dramatically expanded. The camps became
part of the German economy with major German firms such as Bayer, BMW, and I.G. Farben chemicals establishing factories in the camps.

Auschwitz illustrates the evolution of the death camp system. It originally was a concentration camp for Polish and Soviet POWs. It became a huge industrial complex with barracks for 70,000 slave laborers from throughout occupied Europe. Given the hard labor and inadequate food, prisoners survived an average of four months. It was there that in the Fall of 1941, the Germans discovered that Zyklon-B pesticide was effective in killing Soviet POWs. In December 1942 the Gypsies were deported to Auschwitz. In the middle of 1942, a death camp was added to the complex and trainloads of Jews began arriving. The strongest 20% were selected for hard labor and the other 80% went immediately to the gas chamber. By the time the Germans abandoned Auschwitz in November 1944, at least one million people had been gassed at Auschwitz and cremated in its five crematorias.

The Holocaust claimed six million Jews, between 200-600,000 Gypsies, and 10,000 homosexuals. The Holocaust also killed three million Polish Christians.

III. Responding to the Holocaust

A. Introduction

The Nazi regime was aided in exterminating millions of people in the Holocaust by other perpetrators, accomplices, bystanders and even at times by the victims.

B. Jewish Resistance

A major question since the Holocaust has been why the Jews did not resist. Jewish leaders have been harshly criticized for cooperating with Nazi authorities. But, in most cases they were playing for time, as open resistance meant certain death. In some cases, such as the Warsaw Ghetto and the camps, there were violent uprisings. But they were mercilessly crushed. Many Jews participated in guerilla groups in occupied Poland. The majority of Jews relied on means of resistance that challenged the Nazis by affirming Jewish human identity. In some ghettos Jews organized schools, libraries, and artistic performances that fundamentally challenged Nazi myths about the Jews.

C. The Widening Circle of Responsibility

The role of ordinary Germans is a complicated and controversial topic. Many Germans were directly involved and many more participated in the machinery needed to implement the Holocaust. Mechanizing and dividing up the labor of killing the Nazis made it easier for individuals to avoid a sense of personal responsibility. In Eastern Europe, the Einsatzgruppen relied on local people to round-up the Jews. Western Europe relied on local officials who participated in registering and rounding-up the Jews. On the other hand in Italy, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgarian local noncompliance and obstructionism undercut Jewish deportation. A share of the responsibility also encompasses the churches. While individual laymen and clergy showed great heroism in resisting the Nazis, the churches did not formerly launch an attack on Nazi policies. For example, Lutheran theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer participated in a failed coup against Hitler, but the Lutheran church under Hitler appointee, Ludwig Muller, took no public stance against anti-Jewish policies. The record of the Roman Catholic Church is
ambiguous. When the Nazis violated the 1933 Treaty of Concordat signed between the Vatican and Nazi Germany, it elicited a condemnation of Nazism by Pope Pius XI in 1938. His successor, Pope Pius XII followed a policy of careful neutrality, though he used his Christmas 1942 address to condemn Nazi actions without explicitly mentioning Hitler or the Jews.

D. The Allied Response

The allied government had access to accurate information about the Holocaust and it quickly become available through the media to the ordinary citizens. But, most officials and ordinary people could not comprehend the scale of the atrocities. In December 1942, the allied government issued a declaration condemning the Nazi regime for exterminating the Jews, but took no military action to stop it. Many historians have credited anti-Semitism in British and American society for this failure. Others have argued that the only feasible military option was winning the war as quickly as possible.

E. After Auschwitz: Remembering the Holocaust

At the end of the war, the allies held Nuremberg trials to judge prominent German military, political, and industrial leaders for crimes against humanity. After the war, the Holocaust tended to recede from memory. One of the results of the Holocaust was the establishment of the State of Israel as a Jewish homeland. In May 1948, the British left Palestine without transferring authority to either Jews or Arabs. The Jewish leaders immediately proclaimed Israel independent. After months of war against the surrounding Arabs, an uneasy peace was achieved by dividing Palestine among Israel, Egypt, and Jordan. About 750,000 Palestinians became stateless refugees. The Western world again began to grapple with the Holocaust in the early 1960s with the trial of Adolf Eichmann who had overseen “Jewish Affairs” for the Nazi regime. He was tried by Israel and executed. For many writers and artists, the Holocaust became closely associated with the question of collective guilt. In the 1980s a heated newspaper debate (Historikerstreit) took place among German historians about the place of the Holocaust. Many conservative historians argued that while the Holocaust was an enormous crime, it was not unique in human history.

The historical record of twentieth century mass slaughter included several million people that were victims of the Stalin regime. Over 30 million perished in Mao’s China and 20% of Cambodia died under the Khmer Rouge regime. Also, over 600,000 Armenians were massacred by the Ottoman Turks during World War I and 487,000 Serbs died in Croatia during World War II. These events, however, do not approach the systematic slaughter of the Jews. The Nazi regime addressed the slaughter of the Jews as an engineering problem and used the techniques and technologies of modern industrial society for barbaric ends. In essence they constructed a machine of death with slave labor and tattooed identification numbers as a form of “bar coding.”

IV. The Race for the Atom Bomb

A. Introduction

World War II in Asia ended with the drop of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. During the war, scientific theory and military technology had come together to produce a new weapon of mass death. The world entered the age of the atomic bomb.
B. Splitting the Atom

In the early twentieth century Newton’s theory of the universe as a precise and predictable machine was replaced by Einstein’s theory of relativity where space, time, matter and energy were interchangeable. The new understanding of the cosmos changed the study of physics. At the same time, World War I taught military experts that new military technology depended as much on science as on soldiers. States began to pour funds into scientific research. Einstein’s theory of matter as frozen energy had great implications for the future. If this energy could be released, it would create a terrific explosion. In 1938 two Berlin Scientists Otton Hahn and Fritz Strassman broke open the uranium atom. The potential of the Hahn-Strassman discovery was realized by the Hungarian-Jewish scientist Leo Szilard who had recently immigrated to the U.S. from Germany.

C. The Threat of the German Bomb

After Hitler came to power, Jewish scientists were dismissed from their posts and many immigrated to Britain and the U.S. In 1939 Szilard met with Einstein and convinced him to approach President Roosevelt to warn him about the possibility that the Germans were building an atomic bomb. Little was done in response to the warning until the Summer of 1941 when the British and U.S. government agreed to pool their resources for the Manhattan Project.

D. The Best and the Brightest: The Manhattan Project

The Manhattan Project was the most expensive weapons research project up until that time. It involved 120,000 individuals in nineteen states. The Manhattan Project recruited the best and brightest scientists. Its scientific director was Berkeley physics professor Robert Oppenheimer. The major breakthrough came in December 1942, when Enrico Fermi produced a nuclear reaction. On July 16, 1945 the first atomic explosions were detonated in the New Mexico desert.

E. The Decision to Drop the Bomb

By the time the first atom bomb was tested in New Mexico, Germany had surrendered. By August 1945 Japan was suffering the affects of naval blockade and nightly bombardment. Although the war was clearly lost and some members of the Japanese government wanted to negotiate peace, many Japanese military leaders were determined to fight to the end. Given these circumstances the decision to drop the bomb was controversial from the beginning. President Truman’s decision involved four factors. First, it was estimated that an invasion of Japan would result in high casualties and the bomb would bring a quick end and save American lives. Second, although the Japanese had approached the Soviet Union to offer Japanese surrender on the condition that the emperor be allowed to remain on the throne, the demand for Japan’s unconditional surrender was popular with the American people. Third, Truman hoped the use of the bomb would show the Soviet Union the immense power of America and increase American power at the bargaining table. Last, after years of war in which civilian centers had been routinely subjected to mass bombardment such action was no longer considered an unacceptable atrocity.
V. The Dawn of the Nuclear Age

A. Introduction

On August 6, 1945 the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. It signaled the end
of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War.

B. “The Greatest Thing in History”

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima caused greater damage than its creators
had predicted. Temperature at the site of the explosion reached 5,400 degrees
Fahrenheit. By the end of 1945, 140,000 people had died as a result of dropping the
bomb and another 60,000 died in the next five years. Seventy thousand buildings were
destroyed. Although government propaganda portrayed Hiroshima as an army base, it
was an industrial center. The second bomb was dropped at Nagasaki on August 8, 1945.
It killed 70,000 people and another 70,000 died over the next five years. On August 10,
the emperor met with the military leaders and insisted that the time had come to
surrender. On August 15, peace was announced.

C. Cold War Concerns and the Nuclear Arms Race

The scientists who created the atom bomb had concerns that it might cause an
arms race. They attempt to persuade the political leaders to develop transnational
institutions to control the world’s nuclear weapons. For Churchill, Roosevelt, and
Truman the new weapons not only served to win the war, but also were used as a post-
war diplomatic tool. Truman received news of the successful test in the New Mexico
desert at the Potsdam Conference in late July of 1945. He immediately informed the
Russians and used the new American position to push his ideas. The Russians responded
to the new American position by accelerating their nuclear program. They tested their
first atomic bomb in August 1949. In 1952 the U.S. tested the first hydrogen bomb that
was thousand times more powerful the bombs used on Japan. The Soviet Union
detonated their own hydrogen bomb in 1953. Afterwards the arms race concentrated on
delivery mechanisms. By the mid-1960s both sides had replaced manned bombers with
missiles and submarines. The nuclear arms race had important consequences for the
post-war world. While other nations did acquire their own nuclear bombs, none had the
enormous arsenals of the two superpowers. Members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact
relied on the respective superpowers for their nuclear defense. Since the only possibility
of winning a nuclear war was surprise attack, the society on both sides adopted to the
constant threat that destruction might rain from the sky at any moments. Civilians on
both sides practiced drills in case of nuclear attack.

D. Learning to Live with the Bomb

The nuclear age presented a cultural challenge. While most people could not
grasp the science behind the weapons, they could grasp the implications of their use. The
possibility of nuclear wars created great apprehension. There were also those who
speculated about the benefits of a nuclear age that would bring cheap energy, cures of
diseases, and plentiful harvests. By the 1960s neither the devastation nor the benefits had
materialized, but there was a growing cultural anxiety. This anxiety was articulated by novels such as Nevil Shute’s *On the Beach* which was about an Australian community waiting inevitable death brought by clouds of radiation that had already destroyed the rest of the world. The nuclear testing brought the world a nuclear vocabulary with words such as *fall out* to describe radioactive particles that formed pinkish clouds and fell to earth after a nuclear test. By the late 1950s, a nuclear protest movement was appearing in the western world. The nuclear age anxiety permeated the arts. In 1964, the movie *Fail-Safe* dramatized the failure of fail-safe weapons-control devices resulting in the nuclear destruction New York and Moscow. A second movie *Dr. Strangelove or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* was a comedy that caught the anxiety about nuclear war sparked by a combination of human error and technology.
TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event 1</th>
<th>Event 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Wannsee Conference held</td>
<td>U.S. tests hydrogen bomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Krisstallnacht</td>
<td>Israel declares independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>atomic bombs dropped on Japan</td>
<td>Soviet Union tests its first atomic bomb</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
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<td>1948</td>
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<td>1949</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

Holocaust | atom bomb | Cold War | atom bomb
Final Solution | Winston Churchill | Hiroshima | Final Solution
Warsaw ghetto | Zyklon B | Potsdam Conference | Warsaw ghetto
Auschwitz | Nagasaki | Adolf Eichmann | Auschwitz
Kristallnacht | Jewish Problem | Euthanasia Campaign | Kristallnacht
Nuremberg trials | Historikerstreit | Otto Hahn | Nuremberg trials
Leo Szilard | Enrico Fermi | nuclear arms race | Leo Szilard
fallout | Nevil Shute | Krzysztof Penderecki | fallout
Fail Safe | Dr. Strangelove | Harry Truman | Fail Safe
Einsatzgruppen | Manhattan Project | | Einsatzgruppen

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MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

   Auschwitz  
   Chelmo  
   Treblinka  
   Warsaw
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. At whom were Hitler’s policies of racial purity directed?

2. What was the “Final Solution”? How was it an extension of the Euthanasia campaign and concentration camp system?

3. Why did the Allies not take steps to halt the destruction of Europe’s Jews? Why did the Jews not resist?

4. What factors influenced the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

5. What scientific developments and political concerns led to the development of the atom bomb?

6. What were the immediate human and political affects of dropping the atomic bombs?

7. How did dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan affect international relations?

DOCUMENTS QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. How did the Einsatzgruppen led by Karl Jager go about the liquidation the Lithuanian Jews?

2. In what ways did the Nazis make the Jewish leaders accomplices in their liquidation of their own people?

3. In the aftermath of the nuclear bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, how did American generals question the human affects of those attacks?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. Discuss why the Nazis devised a plan to exterminate every Jew in Europe. What factors motivated this decision?

2. Who do you think bears responsibility for the Holocaust and why? How did the victorious nations compensate the West's Jews?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which of the following statements concerning Nazi racial policies is MOST accurate?
   a. The Nazis only targeted Jews in their quest for racial purity.
   b. The Nazis concentrated their discrimination against lesbian women.
   c. Hitler’s policies for the extermination of the Jews were already in place before 1938.
   d. Mass racial extermination actually began with the conquest of Poland.

2. The euthanasia campaign undertaken in the late 1930s was designed to
   a. clear Germany of Gypsies.
   b. prepare medical personnel for the concentration camps.
   c. cleanse Germany of the mentally and physically handicapped.
   d. bring about a “final solution” to the “Jewish Problem.”

3. The original inhabitants of Auschwitz were
   a. Jews and Gypsies.
   b. French and Dutch POWs.
   c. Polish and Soviet POWs.
   d. Communists.

4. Violent uprisings by Jews against the Germans took place in
   b. Kiev.
   c. Prague.
   d. Warsaw.

5. Which of the following statements concerning the Holocaust is MOST accurate?
   a. Much of the blame for the Holocaust rests with the Jews themselves, who failed to resist the Germans.
   b. Most countries softened the effects of the Holocaust by admitting Jewish refugees throughout the war.
   c. Although their existence was never publicly announced, the concentration camps were known to many Germans and the Allies during the war.
   d. The United States actively bombed the concentration camps to bring the mass executions to a halt.
6. High German military and Nazi Party officials were tried for crimes against humanity
   a. at the Nuremberg Trials in 1945-46.
   b. in Jerusalem in 1961.
   c. at the Great Purge Trials.
   d. in the Historikerstreit.

7. Which of the following scientists wrote to President Roosevelt warning him of German work on the Atomic Bomb?
   a. Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassmann
   b. Albert Einstein and Leo Szilard
   c. Otto Frisch and Rudolf Peierls
   d. Robert Oppenheimer and Enrico Fermi

8. Which of the following scientists was the first to produce a nuclear chain reaction?
   a. Otto Hahn
   b. Albert Einstein
   c. Leo Szilard
   d. Enrico Fermi

9. Which of the following was NOT a consideration in dropping the atomic bomb?
   a. saving American lives during an invasion of Japan
   b. strategic benefit in international politics
   c. domestic pressure for Japan’s unconditional surrender
   d. fear of radiation fallout

10. Which of the following works did NOT represent an expression of anxiety about the fear of nuclear war?
    a. *Fail Safe*
    b. *Dr. Strangelove*
    c. *On the Beach*
    d. *Historikerstreit*
Chapter 28

Redefining the West After World War II

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

On August 13, 1961 East German workers built a barbed-wire fence dividing East and West Berlin. In some cases the dividing line ran right through apartment buildings. For several weeks the windows of these buildings provided a view between East and West Berlin though which people tried to escape the communist world. Like the people jumping through these windows to the west, Europeans found themselves caught between the influence of the United States and the Soviet Union in the decades of the Cold War.

II. The Cold War, the West and the World

A. Introduction

In the 1950s the possibility of a Third World War fought with nuclear weapons loomed over Europe.


In 1949–50 western fears of communist expansionism were heightened by the communist victory in China and the North Korean invasion of South Korea. The Korean War globalized the Cold War. North Korea was supplied by Soviet arms and Chinese communist soldiers. South Korea was assisted by a UN-sponsored force made up mostly of American troops. After three years of fighting, the war had stalemated. The existence of nuclear weapons on both sides imposed restraint since neither Stalin was willing to send the Red Army against U.S. nuclear power nor was Truman willing to start a nuclear confrontation. Fearful that the Korean War was the first step in Soviet aggression, Europeans leaders pushed for the transformation of NATO into a coordinated fighting force.

C. Bridges and Brinkmanship: The Cold War, 1953-1963

The decade after the death of Stalin Cold War politics oscillated between periods of bridge building and periods of brinkmanship. In 1953 the Eisenhower administration committed the U.S. to roll back communism and threatened nuclear retaliation against communist aggression. For his part, Khrushchev convinced allies and foes of the Soviet nuclear superiority. The realization by Eisenhower and Khrushchev that the hydrogen bomb made total war unwinnable led to a summit in 1955 and visits by Khrushchev to
England (1956) and the U.S. (1958) and a Soviet suspension of nuclear testing. This bridge building between east and west was interrupted in 1956 by the Soviet invasion of Hungary and in 1960 by the downing of a U.S. spy plane over Soviet territory. This last incident initiated a period of brinkmanship that would characterize the early 1960s. Both sides increased military spending. Most people expected the city of Berlin to be the starting point for a nuclear war. Since the end of World War II the city had been divided into an eastern occupation zone controlled by the Soviet Union and East Germany and a western occupation zone controlled by the U.S. and its allies. East Germans regularly crossed into the western sector to escape communist control. In 1961 the Soviet Union and East Germany decided to stop the crossing and build the Berlin Wall around the western zone. While western governments increased defense spending and civil defense preparedness, war did not break out. The next danger point was the Cuba Missile Crisis in October 1962. In 1959 Fidel Castro had liberated Cuba from the U.S. backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. Over the next two years, Castro drew closer to the Soviet Union which offered Cuba substantial economic and military aid. In 1962, U.S. spy planes found evidence that the Soviet Union was building nuclear bases in Cuba. The U.S. had nuclear bases in the Soviet border country of Turkey. Over a week of crisis, secret diplomatic negotiations reached a compromise between the two superpowers. The Soviet Union withdrew its missiles from Cuba and the U.S. guaranteed that it would not invade Cuba and removed its missiles from Turkey. The Cuban Missile Crisis marked a turning point in Cold War politics. Both superpowers agreed to an above ground Nuclear Test Band Treaty and a communications “hotline” to encourage personal consultation in future crisis.

D. Breaking the Blocks: The Cold War After the Crisis

The decade after the Cuban Missile Crisis was a period of bridge building. During the crisis European political leaders on both sides of the Iron Curtain found themselves powerless. The crisis accelerated efforts by the West European leaders to open diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet Union and its satellites. After 1969, the new West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt, initiated a new Ostpolitik with the east. In 1972 East and West Germany recognized each other. Brandt resolved the Berlin crisis, by recognizing that East Berlin would remain part of East Germany and the East German government guaranteed West Germans to have access to West Berlin. Growing economic problems in both superpowers led them to embrace détente as an effort to stabilize superpower relations. With both powers holding enough weapons to destroy the world several times, they agreed in 1972 to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks freezing the weapons at the current balance. The same period witnessed the division of the Communist world. China and the Soviet Union were at odds over Mao’s industrialization programs. In 1960 Khrushchev suspended economic aid to China. In 1963 China refused to sign the Test-Band Treaty and exploded its own nuclear bomb in 1964. By the end of the 1960s China and the Soviet Union faced each other across an armed border. In 1971 the U.S. took advantage of these Sin-Soviet hostilities to improve relations with China. U.S. President Richard Nixon lifted travel and trade restrictions with China and announced that he would visit China.
III. Imperial Encounters: Decolonization in a Cold War Context

A. Introduction

In the 1950s and 1960s the Soviet Union and the United States used economic and military aid and covert action to draw the newly independent states into their camp.

B. The End of Empire

World War II strengthened the nationalist movements in the colonies while eroding the economic and military resources needed by the European governments to hold their colonies. The European empires were not committed to decolonization and hoped to use their colonies to enhance their power in the new international order. The British empire opted for power sharing agreements and cracking down on nationalists rather than granting immediate independence. The result was that in the end nationalist leaders went from prison to become heads of government. France also resisted decolonization. In 1954 the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu in North Vietnam, but continued to resist the nationalist movement in Algeria. The Algerian War divided France and nearly plunged the country into civil war. Algeria became independent in 1962. Decolonization of Algeria resulted in the return of the white population to France along with 80,000 Algerians who had been tied to the French presence. Decolonization influenced the American Civil Rights Movement whose leaders could compare their struggle for rights with the struggle for colonial independence in Africa.

C. Imperialist Legacy

After decolonization the legacy of imperialism lingered on. In Rhodesia and South Africa the white settlers remained in control. In 1948 the Afrikaner National Party came to power in South Africa an imposed policies of apartheid which denied black South Africans basic civil rights. The economic legacy of imperialism is known as neo-colonialism. Although the Europeans’ imperial powers left, the economies of the former colonies continued to be involved in a dependent relationship with the West. The former colonies continued to produce raw materials for export, while they became dependent on the importation of manufactured goods. Democratic forms of government failed to take root in the former colonies. Within a few years military governments came to power in most former colonies.

D. Cold War Empires

Both superpowers played a role in the conflicts that broke out in the former colonies. The Soviet Union and the United States used military and economic aid and covert action to foster friendly governments in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In the Middle East the U.S. replaced France and England as the regional power broker, forcing both former colonial powers to back down in their attempt to keep control of the Suez Canal. In Vietnam the U.S. intervened directly in the war between the communist north and the anti-communist south. By 1966, 429,000 American soldiers were fighting in Vietnam. Many of the new nations tried to remain outside the orbit of either superpower. They came to be collectively known as the Third World. In 1955 the first conference of
non-aligned nations was held in Indonesia. None of these non-aligned nations was able to hold much power.

IV. After Stalin: The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the 1950s and 1960s

A. Introduction

Because of the Cold War division, Eastern and Western Europe followed separate courses. Both lived under the threat of nuclear war.

B. The Soviet Union: From Stalinization to Stagnation

Stalin died in 1953. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev, was determined to set communism on a new course. In a “Secret Speech” at the Communist Party’s Twentieth Party Congress in February 1963, he denounced Stalin’s crimes. The de-Stalinization campaign brought greater openness to communist countries. The governments allowed greater freedom of speech and publication. Dissent and debate reappeared. Four and a half million prisoners were released from the slave labor camps (Gulag). Political and cultural repression continued and in 1959 there were still at least a million prisoners in the Gulag. Religious persecution worsened under Khrushchev. De-Stalinization failed to resolve the economic weaknesses of the Soviet Union. Projects to increase agricultural production through greater mechanization, use of chemical fertilizers, and irrigation produced environment disasters. Khrushchev’s reforms unsettled many high-ranking officials and, as a result, in 1964 Khrushchev was forced out of office. His successor, Leonid Brezhnev, brought stability. He retained Khrushchev’s policies of free higher education, improving living standards, and greater availability of consumer goods. Growth in industrial production and labor productivity declined in the 1960s and stagnated in the 1970s. Brezhnev returned to rigid censorship and repression of dissents. However, dissents continued to make their voices heard by reviving the practice of self-publishing (samizdat) and circulating copies made by hand or duplicated on typewriters. Nationalism among non-Russians continued as a source of discontent inflamed by the immigration of Russians to areas inhabited by non-Russians.

C. Diversity and Dissent in Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe various states developed along different parts despite the uniformity imposed by Soviet style communist regimes. In Poland protests in 1956 brought back to power Wladislaw Gomulka who had been purged in 1951. He abandoned collectivization, but kept Poland in the Warsaw Pact. The de-Stalinization reforms in Hungary under Imre Nagy slowed down collectivization and industrialization. When Hungary attempted to leave the Warsaw Pact, however, Soviet troops invaded and crushed all resistance. Nagy’s successor, Janos Kadar, who had been purged by Stalin, allowed greater economic freedom and initiative then other Eastern European countries. Romania experienced one-person dictatorships under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Nicolae Ceausescu. Except in Romania, the standard of living improved, there was greater availability of consumer goods, and educational opportunities increased.

D. Prague 1968: The Destruction of Socialism with a Human Face
During the 1960s reform efforts emerged within the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. In 1968 these efforts merged with popular protest to produce a revolution within the Party that brought to power Alexander Dubcek. He began to expand basic freedoms and decentralize the economy. The result was the “Prague Spring”. Dubcek assured Brezhnev that he would not attempt to leave the Warsaw Pact. As Czech reform ideas began to produce calls for reform in surrounding countries, including the Soviet Union, the members of the other members of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia and crushed the Prague Spring. Brezhnev proclaimed the Brezhnev Doctrine stipulating the Red Army would be used to stomp out revolution in any eastern European country.

V. The West: Integration and Affluence

A. Introduction

Cold War concerns helped shape postwar society in Western Europe. Material prosperity returned to western European economy.

B. The Triumph of Political Consensus

In Western Europe and the U.S., the Cold War constricted political debate. In the U.S. charges by Senator Joseph McCarthy about communist infiltration of the State Department, the entertainment industry, and the universities produced mass–hysteria. The Communist Party was outlawed in West Germany in 1956. In France and Italy, the Communist Party drew 20-30% of the vote, but remained out of power. The Cold War put pressure on Social Democrats to abandoned Marxist ideology. At the same time, the discrediting of the extreme right by World War II, led the Christian Democratic Parties to abandon authoritarianism. The result was that the Social Democratic Party and Christian Democratic Party agreed on the viability of parliamentary democracy and the need to use the power of government to improve the lives of the people. Post-war governments guaranteed adequate income and medical care to its citizens.

C. Economic Integration: The Common Market

The idea of a European union first appeared during World War II as people looked for ways to ensure peace. After the war, two events occurred that pushed the idea of greater European unity. First was the common opposition to Stalin. Second, was the Marshal Plan that required recipients to develop transnational institutions to oversee the distribution of American aid. Both Socialists and Christian Democrats promoted the idea of European economic unity. In 1952, France, Germany and the Benelux countries (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg) created the Coal and Steel Community joining together their coal and steel industries. Their success led them to form the European Economic Community in 1957 creating a Common Market. The rapid expansion of trade among the members produced a flourishing economy. By contrast, Britain stayed out to preserve its preferential ties to the former colonies and struggled to compete.
D. The Age of Affluence

After years of depression and war-time rationing, the political consensus and economic expansion gave Europeans economic security which led to a spending spree. Many people were now able to buy homes and furnish them with the latest appliances.

VI. Culture and Society in the Age of Expansion

A. Introduction

The new affluence brought Europeans new possibilities as well as fear that materialism could restrict opportunities. Several cultural currents responded to the need to make sense of the new materialism.

B. Cultural Encounters: Americanization and Immigration

One of the most important cultural trends of postwar Europe was the Americanization of European culture. The U.S. dominated scientific research. It also dominated popular culture. The film and television industry was dominated by American films and programs. American music took over the airwaves. Many Europeans were troubled by the Americanization of European culture. However, adoption of American culture also meant transforming it. For example, the Beatles adopted American rock and roll and mixed it with their own styles to transform popular music in Europe and America. A second cultural trend was the growing presence of peoples in the periphery of southern Europe and the former colonies in European industrialized countries. They provided the labor for the most dangerous and dirtiest jobs. At first they had come as single men who returned to their native countries. By the 1960s, they were coming as families. Their presence complicated domestic politics and raised troublesome questions about national and ethnic identity.

C. The Second Sex?

In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex* as a critique of gender division of society. Changes in the postwar years reinforced domesticity. In the postwar years women began marrying younger as well as having fewer children. Religious cultures of the 1950s, in particular the devolution to Mary, reinforced the maternal identity of women. The maternal image of women was reinforced also by the popular culture in the television programming which portrayed women as staying at home and presiding over an array of new machines that made her life easier. Also, the threatening destruction of a nuclear war made families more important. However, over the two postwar decades, the new prosperity also pushed women into higher education and the labor force. In part the expanding list of household necessities required women to work to pay for them. Women’s salary remained substantially lower than men’s.

D. High Culture in the Age of Consumption

Postwar culture continued many of the trends of the prewar years. Existentialist concerns about man living in a world without meaning requiring him to create his own meaning prevailed through the 1950s in the literature and the arts. The 1960s brought a post-modernist retreat from dealing with the horrors of World War II and the concerns of
the Cold War. In its place appeared a concern with the effects of consumer abundance. This was shown in pop art which reflected the material rather than the spiritual. In the social thought the existentialist concerns about creating meaning were replaced by structuralism. The leading figure in the new movement was Claude Levi-Strauss. He argued that the myths of all cultures had the same "deep structures" and repeated patterns that give order to culture. Structuralists were interested in the web or structure that dictates how people understand the world.

E. Science and Religion in an Age of Mass Consumption

In science, the development of penicillin, new vaccines, and organ transplants made a long healthy life appear more possible. The Cold War inspired space race put a man in the moon in 1968 freeing man for the first time from the physical confines of the earth. In religion, the first decade and a half after the war saw an increase in participation in religious life. The 1960s saw a reversal and dramatic decline in religious activities. For the Catholic Church, the Second Vatican Council called by Pope John XIII introduced important changes in religious practice including the use of vernacular languages in the worship services. Vatican II reaffirmed traditional church doctrines on clerical celibacy. Following the council, Pope Paul VI reaffirmed church teaching on contraception in *Humanae Vitae*.

F. 1968 and the End of the Post War Era

The year 1968 saw challenges to established norms in both eastern and western Europe. In the 1960s "New Left" thinkers began warning about the expansion of the state that threaten the individuality of the ordinary citizen. In eastern Europe the Prague Spring challenged Soviet domination. In western Europe, the U.S. and around the world students protestors influenced by New Left thinkers demanded the right for ordinary people to participate in the structures that determined their lives. The protestors moved beyond universities and began challenging the Cold War. They drew inspiration from Third World revolutionaries such as Ernesto Che Guevara and Frantz Fanon. The student protestors focused on economic and political issues such as environmentalism and feminism. After the protests subsided in the early 1970s, some groups became frustrated over the failure to bring about change and turned to terrorism.
TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cuban Missile Crisis</td>
<td>Second Vatican Council Convened</td>
<td>Khrushchev begins De-Sterilization</td>
<td>EEC Formed</td>
<td>The Second Sex published</td>
<td>Prague Spring</td>
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</table>

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

Marshall Plan | Wladislaw Gomulka | brinkmanship
Common Market | Nikita Khrushchev | Brezhnev Doctrine
Konrad Adenaur | Imre Nagy | Berlin Wall
Charles de Gaulle | Simone de Beauvoir | Leonid Brezhnev
détente | samizdat | de-stalinization
Willy Brandt | Ostpolitic | apartheid
Third World | John XXIII | European Economic Community
pop art | structuralism | Humanae Vitae
neo-colonialism | Alexander Dubcek | Claude Levi-Strauss
Prague Spring | Christian Democratic parties | existentialism
Vatican II | New Left |
MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map:

   The 6 countries that were the original members of the EEC in 1957
   Hungary
   Czechoslovakia
   Poland
   Romania
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What place did eastern and western European have in the Cold War? How was the Cold War globalized?

2. How did Social Democrats and Christian Democrats change their positions after the war? What social programs did they implement to improve the quality of life?

3. What was Ostpolitik? How did it relate to the position of European countries in the Cold War?

4. What was détente? How was it related changes in the two superpowers?

5. What was neo-colonialism?

6. How did de-Stalinization affect eastern Europe and Russia?

7. How did American culture impact European culture after World War II? How did the growing affluence change European behavior?

DOCUMENTS QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. According to Frantz Fanon, how did colonizing capitalist behave toward the colonized peoples?

2. How does the standard of living enjoyed by the character Arthur and his family compare with their life before the war?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. Discuss de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union giving your own views on what plans might have worked better.

2. What changes were made within the Roman Catholic Church during the years of the Cold War? What impact did these have on society?
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Which of the following events globalize the Cold War in the early 1950s?
   
   a. Hungarian Revolution  
   b. Korean War  
   c. Prague Spring  
   d. Cuban Missile Crisis

2. The first nuclear test-ban treaty was signed in
   
   a. 1956.  
   b. 1962.  
   c. 1963.  
   d. 1968.

3. Which of the following is an example of brinkmanship during the Cold War?
   
   a. Dien Bien Phu  
   b. Ostpolitik  
   c. Détente  
   d. Cuban Missile Crisis

4. In the Brezhnev Doctrine, the Soviet Union
   
   a. accepted the nuclear dominance of the United States and promised to lessen nuclear tension.  
   b. promised to permit political deviation from Communism in nations of the Warsaw Pact.  
   c. promised to use the Red Army to stomp out in Communist countries of Eastern Europe.  
   d. offered to end the Cold War.

5. Which of the following leaders led Czechoslovakia during the Prague Spring take place?
   
   a. Wladislaw Gomulka  
   b. Alexander Dubcek  
   c. Imre Nagy  
   d. Willy Brandt
6. Which of the following was NOT a factor in the political success of the Christian Democratic Parties?
   
   a. abandoning Marxism.
   b. strong anticommunist position.
   c. abandoning of authoritarianism.
   d. They were based on religion rather than class.

7. Which of the following best describes the welfare state?
   
   a. states in which the entire population required government assistance
   b. states with social programs intended to provide security from the challenges of health and unemployment
   c. states that guaranteed equality to everyone, regardless of sex or age
   d. states that insisted on free-market economics and generally left social programs up to local communities

8. Which of the following promoted economic unity by joining the economy of six European countries into a Free Trade zone?
   
   a. Marshall Plan
   b. The Warsaw Pact
   c. European Economic Community
   d. The Eastern Bloc

9. Which of the following Pope sought to modernize the Catholic Church by convening the Second Vatican Council?
   
   a. Pius XI
   b. Pius XII
   c. John XXIII
   d. Paul IV

10. Which of the following was NOT a feature of postwar Europe culture?
   
   a. Americanization of popular culture
   b. a concern with the structures that define the world
   c. mass consumption
   d. emphasis on thrift and saving
Chapter 29

The Contemporary Era, 1973 to the Present

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction

On the evening of November 9, 1989 a crowd of East Germans began streaming through the Berlin Wall. In the previous twenty-eight years over 200 people had been shot trying to cross it. A few days later, people began dismantling the wall. The sudden opening of the wall signaled the collapse of communist regimes in eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War.

II. A New and Uncertain Era: The 1970s and 1980s

A. Introduction

In the 1970s the United States and Europe entered a period of economic crisis and political tensions.

B. Economic Crisis and Its Consequences in the West

Before the 1970s inflation and unemployment seemed mutually exclusive, but the 1970s saw an unprecedented combination of high unemployment and high inflation commonly labeled *stagflation*. There were several causes of the economic crisis. First, American support for Israel in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war provoked the OPEC oil producers to retaliate by cutting oil supplies and increasing prices. Further price increases came in 1979 with the revolution in Iran. Secondly, the decisions by U.S. President Richard Nixon to allow the dollar to “float” allowed the market fixed currency exchange rates. This decision undermined the Bretton Woods agreements and produced serious banking crises around the world. Third, the older industrial economies of the U.S. and Europe struggled to compete with the emerging economies of Asia and the Third World. The result of the economic crisis was an increase in social tensions as workers struggled to maintain their share of the economic pie. The struggle heightened racial tensions as the unemployed began to wrongly blame the immigrant labor for unemployment. The result was violence against immigrants and the rise of anti-immigrant political parties such as the Front National led by Jean-Marie Le Pen in France. The presence of large immigrant communities in cities began to influence working-class culture.

The economic crisis challenged the postwar political assumption that the government should own key industries and take responsibility for full employment and provide welfare services. New answers appeared under the label of New Conservatives such as Ronald Reagan, Helmut Kohl, and Margaret Thatcher. They rejected the emphasis on social improvement of the community. In its place, they emphasized the individual competing in a world governed by market forces. They falsely linked the economic crisis to the increase in spending on social services. They implemented
privatization of public owned industries and cut social services. Thatcher and Reagan’s attempts to control inflation by imposing high interest rates caused a recession with double-digit employment rates. In the 1980s the falling of oil prices and Reagan’s military spending spree allowed western economies to begin growing, but unemployment rates remained above 5 percent. The social democratic parties in power were forced by the economic crisis to also cut social spending and reverse nationalization programs.

C. From Détente to Renewed Cold War, 1975-1985

The détente policies of the early 1970s were reversed in the late 1970s and Cold War tensions returned. Détente’s triumph came in 1975 when the U.S., Canada, and European nations signed the Helsinki Accords recognizing the existing borders and promising to safeguard human rights. Soon Soviet dissidents like Andrei Sakharov were publicizing human rights abuse in the Soviet Union. Human rights issues weakened U.S.-Soviet relations. Détente was undermined by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The invasion was an attempt to help the local communist government against Islamic fundamentalists. Immediately President Jimmy Carter cut economic and cultural links with the Soviet Union and increased military spending. The New Conservatives in the early 1980s increased the Cold War tensions by increasing the arms build up and deciding to deploy nuclear weapons in Europeans countries.

D. New Challenges and New Identities in the West

The economic crisis and the renewal of the Cold War also increased the activism of the feminist and radical environmental movements. Female activists, frustrated by the failures of the 1960s, increasingly challenged female stereotypes by seeking to change legal codes and demanding equal pay. Media-savvy environmental organizations like Greenpeace challenged the structure of the industrial economies and protested nuclear power. In the 1980s environmental concern led to the rise of Green Parties throughout Europe.

E. Crisis of Legitimacy in the East

Eastern Europe was shaken by the changes in the global economy after 1973. Although the Soviet Union continued to have record breaking production figures it experienced less prosperity. The overly centralized economic planning emphasized fulfillment of quotas without regard to quality or marketability. It did not keep pace with global economic change. As the world economy shifted to produce microchips and fiber optics, the Soviet Union continued to emphasize steel and iron ore. The end result was that Soviet industry became outdated. The Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe experienced severe economic crisis. During the 1970s Eastern European countries borrowed heavily from western banks to improve the availability of consumer goods. The loans did not solve the economic problems at home. Even though living standards were higher in Eastern Europe than the Soviet Union, eastern Europeans were painfully aware that their living standards were far below those of the west. In the early 1980s as the economic crisis worsened, governments restricted the flow of consumer goods and imposed higher prices. The result was growing discontent. In Poland the discontent turned revolutionary with the rise of the Solidarity movement in 1980. Solidarity not
only demanded economic improvements, but also the right to form independent trade unions and basic freedoms. Fearful of Soviet intervention, the Polish government declared martial law in December 1981. However, Solidarity survived and continued to be active in the underground. The economic crisis continued, food shortages became common, and unemployment rates increased. Although no other country in eastern Europe experienced a protest movement as strong as Solidarity, the gap between the authorities and the people widened. Punk music became a form of cultural protest against the system. Another current of dissatisfaction was the rise of environmental movements in eastern Europe. By the 1980s, decades of industrialization and economic production without regard for the environment had produced an environmental catastrophe in many parts of Eastern Europe and Russia.

III. Revolution in the East

A. Introduction

Between 1989-1991 revolution spread through Eastern Europe and Russia bringing to an end decades of communist rule.

B. Gorbachev and Radical Reform

In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He hoped to reform the Soviet system and reverse its economic decline. Once in power he introduced the policy of glasnost or openness to abandon the deception and apathy that characterized the Soviet system. In April 1986, the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident became the test of the new glasnost. After early attempts to deny the accident, Gorbachev insisted on the disclosure of accurate information. Another policy introduced by Gorbachev was perestroika or the restructuring of the Soviet system. In the May 1989 Soviet voters were allowed a choice of candidates.

C. The New International Order

Gorbachev concluded that the Soviet Union could not afford the arms race of the Cold War. Between 1987-1991, he signed a series of agreements limiting and reducing nuclear and conventional forces. He also pulled Soviet troops out of Afghanistan and informed eastern European leaders that the Red Army would not be used to crush rebellions in their countries. In 1988 he declared in a UN speech that eastern Europe was free to choose its own path. Immediately Hungary and Poland began to get rid of the communist system. In the early 1980s Hungary had introduced market reforms, now it legalized non-communist parties. In Poland negotiations with Solidarity led to free elections in 1989. In East Germany the Berlin Wall fell in November of 1989 and the Christian Democrats took power in March of 1990. In Czechoslovakia a revolution toppled the Communist regime and dissident playwright, Vaclav Havel became president. In Bulgaria a part of reform-minded communists replaced the government of Todor Zhivkov. Only in Romania did the communist dictator use its troops to retain power. Nikolai Ceausescu was overthrown and executed.

D. From Success to Failure: The Disintegration of the Soviet Union
By 1990 Gorbachev had ended the Cold War and brought about change in eastern Europe with little bloodshed, but he had not succeeded in bringing prosperity to the Soviet Union. Food and other goods remained scarce and productivity had fallen. He was facing severe opposition from hard-line communists opposed to his reforms and from liberal reforms that felt his policies were not going far enough. In August 1991, the hard-liners attempt to overthrow him. Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin led the resistance that defeated the coup. By the end of 1991 the rising tide of nationalism among the ethnic groups undermined the Soviet Union and the country broke apart. On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev resigned as president of a country that no longer existed.

E. The Return of History: Russian and Eastern Europe at the End of the Twentieth Century

The term “end of history” was used to describe the end of the ideological struggles. In the 1990s “history” returned when nationalism replaced the capitalist-communist struggle. In Russia, President Yeltsin applied shock therapy to the economy but it continued to get worse. In 1998 Russia went bankrupt. While managers of state industries became rich when these industries were privatized, the majority of Russians experienced poverty. In many of the former Soviet Republics, the end of Soviet subsidies undermined their economy. Russia and several of the other Soviet Republics experienced civil wars. In Russia, the Chechnyans demanded independence. Presidents Yeltsin and Putin kept Chechnya in the Russian federation but only by fighting bloody wars.

In eastern Europe the return to freedom brought change to a capitalist economy. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic countries experienced economic hardship but the transition was fairly rapid. In Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania economic instability continued. In the mid-1990s ex-communists were returning to power in the so-called “velvet revolutions” but continued the liberal economic reforms in a more gradual form. Nationalism also became a problem again. In 1993, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist and was replaced by the separate states of Slovakia and the Czech Republic. In Romania discrimination against Hungarians and Gypsies brought back memories of the interwar period. In Germany, Chancellor Kohl brought about the political unification of the two Germanies in 1990. Unification produced economic troubles. The former east Germans experienced economic dislocations as their factories were closed. They also experienced culture shock when they encountered the more conventional gender roles and concepts of sexual morality of western Germany.

F. The Breakup of Yugoslavia

The collapse of communism had horrific results in Yugoslavia. The country was a federation of six ethnic groups with a long history of bloody clashes. The communist guerilla leader Tito had used federalism to prevent any one group from dominating the others and communism as a way of unifying ideology. Tito died in 1980. The same year riots exploded in Kosovo between Serbs and Albanians. During the 1980s Yugoslavia experienced economic problems. As the 1989 revolutions swept through eastern Europe, ethnic nationalism surfaced in Yugoslavia. Slodoban Milosevic used an aggressive Serbian nationalism and the Yugoslav army to retain Serb dominance. When Croatia declared independence in 1991, civil war erupted. It spread to Bosnia in 1992. All sides used ethnic cleansing to enforce their claims to territory, although the Serbs initiated the
practice and used it most extensively. The results were horrific as villages were attacked. Women were sent to camps where they endured regular rape. In 1994, NATO intervened and bombarded Serbian positions. The Dayton Accords in 1995 established a two-part state in Bosnia made up the Serb republic and the Muslim-Croat federation. When another wave of fighting and ethnic cleansing erupted in Kosovo, NATO again intervened. After NATO bombardment of Serbia, Russian and NATO troops moved into Kosovo. In 2001 Milosevic was placed on trial for genocide.

IV. Rethinking the West

A. Introduction

At the start of the 1990s the feeling of triumph resulting from the collapse of the Soviet Union characterized western culture. Soon new enemies made their appearance that required the redefinition of Western identity.

B. Old and New Enemies

By the mid-1990s U.S. president Bill Clinton was identifying terrorism as the new enemy of the West. Terrorism grew out of nineteenth century anarchism. Unable to achieve their goals through the normal political process, they proceeded to destabilize the societies through acts of terror. Some groups disillusioned with the results of 1968, turned to terror in the 1970s. In Spain, the Basque separatist group ETA and in Northern Ireland the IRA used terror in their struggle to gain independence. In the Middle East, the failure to implement the UN resolution promising a Palestinian state led to the formation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). The occupation of all Palestinian territory by Israel in 1967 led the PLO to turn to terrorism. The conflict in Israel, U.S. support for unpopular governments in the Middle East, and fear of western culture, fueled anti-western sentiment. In the west, the OPEC oil crisis fueled anti-Muslim sentiment. During the 1990s hostility increased as a result of the First Gulf War in 1991. The war freed Kuwait from the Iraqi invaders. After the war American forces remained in bases in Saudi Arabia. Their presence offended Muslims and fueled the anti-American sentiment that led to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on New York City’s World Trade Center and the Pentagon. After the attack the U.S. president declared a “war on terrorism.” Shortly afterwards the U.S. attacked Afghanistan where the Taliban controlled government supported the 9/11 mastermind Osama Bin Laden. Although Afghanistan fell within weeks, terrorism continued. In March 2003 the U.S. and British forces attacked Iraq even though no direct link existed between its government and Osama Bin Laden. Iraqi refusal to permit UN inspections of its weapons factories convinced a few U.S. government officials that Iraq had the capability to launch a terrorist strike against western targets. Iraq fell after a three-week war. U.S. action was condemned by other Arab governments and most of the world as an imperialist intrusion.

C. The European World

Although American status as a super power was confirmed by events after September 11, 2001, changes in Europe limited its hegemony. During the 1970s and 1980s, European nations worked toward greater unity. The Common Market was
enlarged by the addition of Britain, Denmark and Ireland (1973), Greece (1981) Spain and Portugal (1986) and Austria, Finland, and Sweden (1990s). In 1979 the first European Parliament was elected. By the 1980s the EC was the largest market in the world and the strongest economic competitor to the U.S. The Single European Act in 1985 and Maastricht Agreement of 1991 replaced the EC with the European Union. In 1990s EU passport replaced the national passports. In 2003 a single currency, the euro, replaced the national currencies. The process of unification had been controversial. The end of the cold war raised the question of admitting new members from eastern Europe. Rigorous economic qualifications were imposed as part of the admission process. Small producers were hurt by the stream of regulations resulting in the process of integration. In 2003 the EU parliament added Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta to the European Union.

D. Culture and Society in the Postmodern Era

After the end of the Cold War, intellectual and artistic trends known as post-modernism challenged Western values. Postmodernism refers to a rejection of Western culture or more precisely challenged the notion that Western science and rationality represented a single, universally applicable standard. Postmodernism made its first appearance in architecture which embraced an eclectic style rooted in time and place rather than universal in form. In art, postmodernism condemned the distinction between “high” and popular art. In literature it rejected the notion of a fixed or single truth. In essence, postmodernism is an attempt to question any center of authority or interpretation.

Postmodernism coincided with the rise of the post-industrial society. The industrial age was defined by production. The post-industrial age is more interested in information and marketing, than in manufacturing things. The home computer has given people access to unprecedented amounts of information which governments find impossible to control. Similarly, developments in medical technologies have provided many new opportunities but have also raised important ethical questions.

Postmodernism has also had profound impact on religious life. In Europe no more than 5% of the population attends religious services regularly. In the U.S. the rate of attendance of religious services is 25-30%. Religious faith has become a private concern which rejects the centers of authority. Pope John Paul II experienced unprecedented popularity, but despite his uncompromising stand on the church teaching on sexual morality, he was unable to bring into line his rebellious flock in Europe and the U.S. who rejected church teaching on birth control.

E. The Global Challenge

Economic and environmental developments raised important challenges about western society. The emergence of new technologies forced firms to be more flexible in rapidly changing markets by relying on outsourcing and subcontracting. These changes have left the worker vulnerable as his job and can suddenly be taken to a third world country. Another challenge is the growing divide between North and South which coincides with the divide between rich and poor. Another challenge has been environmental. The burning of fossil fuels and the cutting of the rain forests has resulted in rising temperatures. The U.S. has refused to implement Kyoto agreements to cut “greenhouse” gas emissions. The U.S. actions in regards to the environment and the 2003 Gulf War
have raised concerns about the U.S. as a superpower out of control.
### TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Soviet Union dissolved</td>
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<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Berlin wall open</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>Single European Act</td>
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<td>1999</td>
<td>Second Iraq War</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>NATO began attacks on Serbian positions in Kosovo</td>
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### TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one.

<table>
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MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter.

1. Locate the following places on the map.

Identify all of the states created in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union.
Identify new states in eastern Europe created out of the former Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.
MAKING CONNECTIONS

The following questions are intended to emphasize important ideas within the chapter.

1. What were the causes of the economic crisis of the 1970s? How did the economic crisis affect western world? Consider economics, politics and race relations.

2. How did the New Conservatives change the political culture?

3. What reforms did Mikhail Gorbachev implement in his attempt to reform the Soviet Union? Consider political and economic reforms.

4. What was Solidarity? How did the development of Solidarity challenge the communism in Poland?

5. How did the nationalities problem contribute to the downfall of the Soviet Union? What was the effect of nationalism in eastern Europe?

6. What were the stages in the creation of a unified European Union?

7. How did postmodernism challenge Western Culture?

8. How has the problem of terrorism affected the western world since the early 1970s?

DOCUMENTS QUESTIONS

The following questions test your ability to interpret the primary source documents in the textbook.

1. According to Bill Buford’s essay what issues did racist parties use to recruit new members?

2. In what ways did Sonja Karadzic view the Serbs engaged in the ethnic slaughter in Bosnia as part of Western Culture?

3. What does David Landes think the issues are that are causing a divide between North and South? How is environmental deterioration part of the gap between north and south?

PUTTING LARGER CONCEPTS TOGETHER

1. How have the roles and lives of women changed in the West from the 1970s to today?

2. Trace the breakup of the former country of Yugoslavia and explain what happened as the Soviet threat was removed forever.
SELF-TEST OF FACTUAL INFORMATION

1. Within the Eastern European nations, non-violent revolution occurred in all of the following EXCEPT
   a. Hungary.
   b. Czechoslovakia.
   c. Romania.
   d. East Germany.

2. In 1994 Russia committed itself to war against which secessionist region?
   a. Chechnya
   b. Serbia
   c. Estonia
   d. Kazakhstan

3. Which of the following was NOT a policy implemented by Gorbachev?
   a. Glasnost
   b. perestroika
   c. ethnic cleansing
   d. ending the arms race

4. Which of the following was NOT a New Conservatives policy
   a. high interest rates to bring inflation under control
   b. increased military spending
   c. increased spending on social services
   d. privatization of national industries

5. Andrei Sakharov
   a. led the Soviet department charged with the economic rehabilitation of eastern Europe.
   b. exposed Soviet violation of human rights in the 1970s.
   c. wrote The Gulag Archipelago.
   d. led the coup that toppled Gorbachev from power in 1990.
6. In what year did the Soviet Union officially cease to exist?
   a. 1979  
   b. 1983  
   c. 1989  
   d. 1991

7. The European Community process for unification of Western Europe included all the following EXCEPT
   a. a European Parliament.  
   b. a common currency.  
   c. a common European defense system.  
   d. the absolute exclusion of Eastern European nations from the Community.

8. The man who replaced Mikhail Gorbachev as the most powerful politician in Russia after 1990 was
   a. Konstantin Valeritin.  
   b. Nikita Khrushchev.  
   c. Sergei Putin.  
   d. Boris Yeltsin.

9. Which of the following leaders was associated with ethnic cleansing?
   a. Osama Bin Laden  
   b. Haclav Havel  
   c. Slodoban Milosevic  
   d. Boris Yeltsin

10. The presence of American troops in which of the following countries was considered as offence against Islam by Islamic Fundamentalists before September 11, 2001?
    a. Iraq  
    b. Afghanistan  
    c. Saudi Arabia  
    d. Kuwait
## Answers to Chapter Self-Tests of Factual Information

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