

Chapter 13- European Society in the Age of the Renaissance

I. The evolution of the Italian Renaissance

A. Beginnings

1. The Renaissance was a period of commercial, financial, political, and cultural achievement in two phases, from 1050 to 1300 and from 1300 to about 1600.
2. The northern Italian cities led the commercial revival, especially Venice, Genoa, and Milan.
 - a. Venice had a huge merchant marine; improvements in shipbuilding enhanced trade.
 - b. These cities became the crossroads between northern Europe and the East.
3. The first artistic and literary flowerings of the Renaissance appeared in Florence.
 - a. Florentine mercantile families dominated European banking.
 - b. The wool industry was the major factor in the city's financial expansion and population increase.

B. Communes and republics

1. Northern Italian cities were communes--associations of free men seeking independence from the local lords.
 - a. The nobles, attracted by the opportunities in the cities, often settled there and married members of the mercantile class, forming an urban nobility.
 - b. The *popolo*, or middle class, was excluded from power.
 - c. *Popololed* republican governments failed, which led to the rule of despots (*signori*) or oligarchies.
 - d. In the fifteenth century, the princely courts of the rulers were centers of wealth and art.

C. The balance of power among the Italian citystates

1. Italy had no political unity; it was divided into citystates such as Milan, Venice, and Florence, the Papal States, and a kingdom of Naples in the south.
2. The political and economic competition among the citystates prevented centralization of power.
3. Shifting alliances among the citystates led to the creation of permanent ambassadors.
4. After 1494 a divided Italy became a European battleground.

II. Intellectual hallmarks of the Renaissance

A. Many, like the poet and humanist Petrarch, saw the fourteenth century as a new golden age and a revival of ancient Roman culture.

B. Individualism

1. Literature specifically concerned with the nature of individuality emerged.
2. Renaissance people believed in individual will and genius.

C. Humanism

1. Italians collected ancient manuscripts and monuments, and copied the ancient Roman lifestyle.
2. The study of the classics led to humanism, an emphasis on human beings.
 - a. Humanists sought to understand human nature through a study of pagan and classical authors *and* Christian thought.

- b. The humanist writer Pico della Mirandola believed that there were no limits to what human beings could accomplish.
 - 3. Ancient Latin style was considered superior to medieval Latin.
 - D. Secular spirit
 - 1. *Secularism* means a concern with materialism rather than religion.
 - 2. Unlike medieval people, Renaissance people were concerned with money and pleasure.
 - a. In *On Pleasure*, Lorenzo Valla defended the pleasure of the senses as the highest good.
 - b. In the *Decameron*, Boccaccio portrayed an acquisitive and worldly society.
 - 3. The church did little to combat secularism; in fact, many popes were Renaissance patrons and participants--and the church even gave up its opposition to usury.
- III. Art and the artist
 - A. The *quattrocento* (1400s) and the *cinquecento* (1500s) saw dazzling artistic achievements, led by Florence and Rome.
 - B. Art and power
 - 1. In the early Renaissance, powerful urban groups commissioned works of art, which remained overwhelmingly religious.
 - 2. In the later fifteenth century, individuals and oligarchs began to sponsor works of art as a means of selfglorification.
 - 3. Wealthy people began to spend less on warfare and more on art and architecture.
 - a. At first the bed chamber room was the most important, but later many other rooms were even more decorated.
 - b. The home's private chapel was the most elaborate and expensive.
 - 4. As the century advanced, art became more and more secular, and classical subjects became popular.
 - a. The style of art changed in the fifteenth century.
 - b. The individual portrait emerged as a distinct genre.
 - c. Painting and sculpture became more naturalistic and realistic, and the human body was glorified, as in the work of the sculptors Donatello and Michelangelo.
 - d. A new "international style" emphasized color, decorative detail, and curvilinear rhythms.
 - e. In painting, the use of perspective was pioneered by Brunelleschi and della Francesca.
 - C. The status of the artist
 - 1. The status of the artist improved during the Renaissance; most work was done by commission from a prince.
 - 2. The creative genius of the artist was recognized and rewarded.
 - 3. The Renaissance was largely an elitist movement; Renaissance culture did not directly affect the middle classes or the urban working class.
- IV. Social change during the Renaissance
 - A. Education and political thought
 - 1. Humanists were interested in education, particularly the training of rulers, and moral behavior.

- a. Vergerio wrote a treatise on education that stressed the teaching of history, ethics, and rhetoric (public speaking).
 - b. Castiglione's *The Courtier*, which was widely read, described the model Renaissance gentleman as a man of many talents, including intellectual and artistic skills.
 - c. Machiavelli's *The Prince* described how to acquire, maintain, and increase political power.
 - d. Machiavelli believed that the politician should manipulate people and use any means to gain power.
 - e. Machiavelli did not advocate amoral behavior but believed that political action cannot be governed by moral considerations.
- B. The printed word
1. The invention in 1455 of movable type by Gutenberg, Fust, and Schöffer made possible the printing of a wide variety of texts.
 2. Printing transformed the lives of Europeans by making propaganda possible, encouraging a wider common identity, and improving literacy.
- C. Clocks
1. By about 1320 some Europeans had learned how to quantify time by use of the mechanical "clock"--meaning "bells."
 2. Clocks were important for understanding and controlling urban-economic life.
- D. Women and work in Renaissance society
1. Most women married, were responsible for domestic affairs, and frequently worked outside the home.
 2. Women worked in ship building, textiles, agriculture, as well as midwives and servants.
 3. Compared to women in the previous age, the status of upperclass women declined during the Renaissance.
 4. . The Renaissance did not include women in the general improvement of educational opportunities. Women were expected to use their education solely to run a household.
- E. Culture and sexuality
1. With respect to sex and love, a double standard was applied as sex for women was restricted to marriage, while men could pursue sex outside of marriage.
 2. The rape of women by upperclass men was frequent and not considered a serious offense.
 3. Sex crimes occurred and were punished, but women appear to be victims in fewer cases than earlier.
 4. Homosexual practice appears to have been common, particularly based on relationship between men and boys.
 5. Some of this sexual activity seems to have evolved out of social-community needs of men.
 6. The frequency of anti-sodomy laws in the fifteenth century suggests that homosexuality was widespread, difficult to outlaw, and important in shaping masculine gender identity.
- F. Blacks and ethnicity in Renaissance society

1. Enslavement of Slavic peoples in eastern Europe was common--as Germans and others enslaved and/or sold Polish and Bohemian people.
 2. Italians brought many white slaves to Europe by way of the Mediterranean.
 3. Beginning in the fifteenth century, black slaves were brought into Europe in large numbers.
 4. Black slavery in Europe appears to have been less harsh than that in America.
 5. Some black rulers in Africa adopted a European lifestyle and participated in selling their black people into European slavery.
 6. Africans, in fact, were of different ethnic groups and thus biracial.
 7. Blacks as slaves and freemen filled a variety of positions, from laborers to dancers and actors and musicians.
 8. The European attitude toward blacks was ambivalent--blackness symbolized both evil and humility.
 9. In the Renaissance, blacks were displayed as signs of wealth.
- V. The Renaissance in the north began in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.
- A. It was more Christian than the Renaissance in Italy, and it stressed social reform based on Christian ideals.
 - B. Christian humanists sought to create a more perfect world by combining the best elements of classical and Christian cultures.
 1. Humanists like Lefèvre believed in the use of the Bible by common people.
 2. Thomas More, the author of *Utopia*, believed that society, not people, needed improving.
 - a. More was a Christian lawyer and minister of King Henry VIII.
 - b. His *Utopia* was a socialistic society based on common ownership and social equality.
 3. The Dutch monk Erasmus best represents Christian humanism in his emphasis on education as the key to a moral and intellectual improvement and inner Christianity.
 - C. The stories of the French humanist Rabelais were distinctly secular but still had a serious purpose.
 1. Like More, Rabelais believed that institutions molded individuals and that education was the key to moral life.
 2. His books on the adventures of Gargantua and Pantagruel were spoofs on French social life.
 - D. Northern art and architecture were more religious than in Italy and less influenced by classical themes and motifs.
 1. Van Eyck painted realistic works with attention to human personality.
 2. Bosch used religion and folk legends as themes.
 3. The city halls of northern Europe were grand architectural monuments.
- VI. Politics and the state in the Renaissance (ca. 1450-1521)
- A. Fifteenthcentury rulers began the process of order through centralization of power.
 1. The result was the rise of many powerful and ruthless rulers interested in the centralization of power and the elimination of disorder and violence.
 2. Many of them, such as Louis XI of France, Henry VII of England, and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, seemed to be acting according to Machiavelli's principles.

3. These monarchs invested kingship with a strong sense of royal authority and national purpose.
 4. The ideas of the new monarchs were not entirely original--some of them had their roots in the Middle Ages.
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- B. France after the Hundred Years' War
1. Charles VII ushered in an age of recovery and ended civil war.
 - a. He expelled the English, reorganized the royal council, strengthened royal finances, reformed the justice system, and remodeled the army.
 - b. He made the church subject to the state.
 2. Louis XI expanded the French state and laid the foundations of later French absolutism.
- C. England also suffered from disorder.
1. Feudal lords controlled the royal council and Parliament in the fifteenth century.
 2. Between 1455 and 1471, the houses of York and Lancaster fought a civil war called the Wars of the Roses that hurt trade, agriculture, and domestic industry.
 3. Edward IV and his followers began to restore royal power, avoided expensive war, and reduced their reliance on Parliament for funds.
 4. The English Parliament had become a power center for the aristocracy but was manipulated by Henry VII into becoming a tool of the king.
 5. Henry VII used the royal council and the court of Star Chamber to check aristocratic power.
 6. Henry VII and his successors won the support of the upper middle class promoting their interest in money, trade, and stability.
- D. Spain turned against its own cultural diversity
1. The *reconquista* was the centurieslong attempt to unite Spain and expel Muslims and Jews.
 2. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella was the last major step in the unification and Christianization of Spain.
 - a. Under their reign, however, Spain remained a loose confederation of separate states.
 - b. They used the *hermandades*, or local police forces, to administer royal justice.
 3. Ferdinand and Isabella restructured the royal council to curb aristocratic power.
 4. The church was also used to strengthen royal authority.
 5. Ferdinand and Isabella completed the *reconquista* in 1492, but many Jews remained because they aided royal power.
 - a. Jews were often financiers and professionals; many (called *conversos*) had converted but were still disliked and distrusted.
 - b. Needing a scapegoat during the Black Death, Spanish mobs killed many Jews.
 - c. Ferdinand and Isabella revived the Inquisition and used its cruel methods to unify Spain and expel the Jews.
 6. Spanish Christians rejected *conversos* on the basis of race--out of fear of *conversos* taking over public offices. Most Jews fled from Spain.

Chapter 14- Reform and Renewal in the Christian Church

- I. The condition of the church (ca. 1400-1517)
 - A. The declining prestige of the church
 1. The Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism damaged the church's prestige.
 2. Secular humanists satirized and denounced moral corruption within the church.
 - B. Signs of disorder in the early sixteenth century
 1. The parish clergy brought spiritual help to the people.
 2. Critics of the church wanted moral and administrative reform in three areas.
 - a. Clerical immorality (neglect of celibacy, drunkenness, gambling) created a scandal.
 - b. The lack of education of the clergy and low standards of ordination were condemned by Christian humanists.
 - c. The absenteeism, pluralism (holding of several benefices, or offices), and wealth of the greater clergy bore little resemblance to the Christian gospel.
 3. The prelates and popes of the period, often members of the nobility, lived in splendor and moral corruption.
 - C. Signs of vitality in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries
 1. Sixteenth-century Europe remained deeply religious, and calls for reform testify to the spiritual vitality of the church.
 2. New organizations were formed to educate and minister to the poor.
 - a. The Brethren of the Common Life in Holland lived simply and sought to make religion a personal, inner experience based on following the scriptures.
 - b. The *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis urged Christians to seek perfection in a simple way of life.
 3. Pope Julius II summoned an ecumenical council on reform in the church called the Lateran Council (1512-1527).
- II. Martin Luther and the birth of Protestantism
 - A. Luther's early years
 1. Luther was a German monk and professor of religion whose search for salvation led him to the letters of St. Paul.
 2. He concluded that faith was central to Christianity and the only means of salvation.
 - B. Luther's Ninetyfive Theses (October 1517)
 1. Luther's opposition to the sale of indulgences (remissions of penalties for sin) prompted his fight with Rome.
 2. His Ninetyfive Theses, or propositions on indulgences, raised many theological issues and initiated a long period of debate in Europe.
 - a. Luther rejected the idea that salvation could be achieved by good works, such as indulgences.
 - b. An *indulgence* was a release from the penalties to be paid for sin.
 - c. He also criticized papal wealth.
 3. Luther later denied the authority of the pope and was excommunicated and declared an outlaw by Charles V at Worms in 1521.
 4. Meanwhile, Ulrich Zwingli introduced the reformation in Switzerland.

- a. He believed in the supremacy of Scripture, and was opposed to indulgences, the Mass, monasticism, and clerical celibacy.

C. Protestant thought

1. The basic theological tenets of Protestantism were set forth in the Confession of Augsburg, in which Luther provided new answers to four basic theological issues.
 - a. He believed that salvation derived through faith alone, not faith and good works.
 - b. He stated that religious authority rests with the Bible, not the pope.
 - c. He believed that the church consists of the entire community of Christian believers.
 - d. And he believed that all work is sacred and everyone should serve God in his or her individual vocation.
 - e. In addition, he believed that every believer was his/her own priest.
 - f. Catholics believed in *transubstantiation*, Luther in *consubstantiation*, and Zwingli in the Sacrament as a *memorial* only.
2. Protestantism, therefore, was a reformulation of Christian beliefs and practices.

III. The social impact of Luther's beliefs

A. By 1521 Luther's religious ideas had a vast following among all social classes.

1. Luther's ideas were popular because of widespread resentment of clerical privileges and wealth.
2. Luther's ideas attracted many preachers, and they became Protestant leaders.
3. Peasants cited Luther's theology as part of their demands for social and economic reforms.
 - a. Peasant complaints about landlord seizure of village land and over crop failure led to revolts--which Luther initially supported.
 - b. In the end, Luther did not support the peasants' revolts; he believed in obedience to civil authority.
 - c. Widespread peasant revolts in 1525 were brutally crushed, but some land was returned to common use.
4. Luther's greatest weapon was his mastery of the language, and his words were spread by the advent of printing.
 - a. Zwingli and Calvin were greatly influenced by his writings.
 - b. The publication of Luther's German translation of the New Testament in 1523 democratized religion.
 - c. Catechisms and hymns enabled people, especially the young, to remember central points of doctrine.

B. Luther's impact on women

1. Luther gave dignity to domestic work, stressed the idea of marriage and the Christian home, ended confession, and encouraged education for girls.
2. Luther held enlightened views on sex and marriage, although he claimed that women should be no more than efficient wives.

IV. Germany and the Protestant Reformation

A. The Holy Roman Empire in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

1. The Golden Bull of 1356 gave each of the seven electors virtual sovereignty.
2. Localism and chronic disorder allowed the nobility to strengthen their territories and reduced the authority of the emperor.

- B. The rise of the Habsburg dynasty
 1. The Habsburgs gave unity to much of Europe, especially with the marriage of Maximilian I of Austria and Mary of Burgundy in 1477.
 2. Charles V, their grandson, inherited much of Europe and was committed to the idea of its religious and political unity.
- C. The political impact of Luther's beliefs
 1. The Protestant Reformation stirred nationalistic feelings in Germany against the wealthy Italian papacy.
 2. Luther's appeal to patriotism earned him the support of the princes, who used religion as a means of gaining more political independence and preventing the flow of German money to Rome.
 3. The Protestant movement proved to be a political disaster for Germany.
 - a. The dynastic Habsburg-Valois wars advanced the cause of Protestantism and promoted the political fragmentation of Germany.
 - b. By the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, Charles recognized Lutheranism as a legal religion and each prince was permitted to determine the religion of his territory.
- V. The growth of the Protestant Reformation
 - A. By 1555 much of northern Europe had broken with the Roman Catholic Church, but Protestantism was fragmented.
 - B. Calvinism
 1. Calvin believed that God selects certain people to do his work and that he was selected to reform the church.
 2. Under John Calvin, Geneva became "a city that was a church" (a theocracy), in which the state was subordinate to the church.
 3. Calvin's central ideas, expressed in *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, were his belief in the omnipotence of God, the insignificance of humanity, and predestination.
 4. Austere living and intolerance of dissenters characterized Calvin's Geneva.
 - a. The Genevan Consistory monitored the private morals of citizens.
 - b. Michael Servetus was burned at the stake for denying the Christian dogma of the Trinity and rejecting child baptism.
 - c. Calvinists did not view women much differently than Catholics: women were to be obedient to their husbands--and unmarried women were upsetting the natural order.
 5. The city of Geneva was the model for international Protestantism, and Calvinism, with its emphasis on the work ethic, became the most dynamic and influential form of Protestantism.
 - C. The Anabaptists
 1. This Protestant sect believed in adult baptism, revelation, religious tolerance, pacifism, and the separation of church and state.
 2. Their beliefs and practices were too radical for the times, and they were bitterly persecuted.
 - a. Later, the Quakers, the Baptists, and the Congregationalists would trace their origins to the Anabaptists.
 - D. The English Reformation

1. The Lollards, although driven underground in the fifteenth century, survived and stressed the idea of a direct relationship between the individual and God.
 2. The English humanist William Tyndale began printing an English translation of the New Testament in 1525.
 3. The wealth and corruption of the clergy, as exemplified by Thomas Wolsey, stirred much resentment.
 4. Henry VIII desired a divorce from his queen, Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, so he could marry Anne Boleyn.
 5. Pope Clement VII (who did not wish to admit papal error) refused to annul Henry's marriage to Catherine.
 6. Archbishop Cranmer, however, engineered the divorce.
 7. The result was the nationalization of the English church and a break with Rome as Henry used Parliament to legalize the Reformation.
 - a. Henry needed money, so he dissolved the monasteries and confiscated their lands, but this did not lead to more equal land distribution.
 - b. Some traditional Catholic practices, such as confession and the doctrine of transubstantiation, were maintained.
 - c. Nationalization of the church led to changes in governmental administration, resulting in greater efficiency and economy.
 8. Under Edward VI, Henry's heir, England shifted closer to Protestantism.
 9. Mary Tudor attempted to bring Catholicism back to England.
 10. Under Elizabeth I, a religious settlement requiring outward conformity to the Church of England was made.
- E. The establishment of the Church of Scotland
1. Scotland was an extreme case of clerical abuse and corruption.
 2. John Knox brought Calvinism to Scotland from Geneva.
 3. The Presbyterian church became the national church of Scotland.
- F. Protestantism in Ireland
1. The English ruling class in Ireland adopted the new faith.
 2. Most of the Irish people defiantly remained Catholic.
- G. Lutheranism in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark
1. In Sweden, Norway, and Denmark the monarchy led the religious reformation.
 2. The result was Lutheran state churches.

VI. The Catholic and the CounterReformations

- A. There were two types of reform within the Catholic church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
1. The Catholic Reformation sought to stimulate a new religious fervor.
 2. The CounterReformation started in the 1540s as a reaction to Protestantism and progressed simultaneously with the Catholic Reformation.
- B. The slowness of institutional reform
1. Too often the popes were preoccupied with politics or sensual pleasures.
 2. Popes resisted calls for the formation of a general council because it would limit their authority.
- C. The Council of Trent
1. Pope Paul III called the Council of Trent (1545-1563).
 - a. An attempt to reconcile with the Protestants failed.

- b. International politics hindered the theological debates.
 - 2. Nonetheless, the principle of papal authority was maintained, considerable reform was undertaken, and the spiritual renewal of the church was begun.
 - a. Tridentine decrees forbade the sale of indulgences and outlawed pluralism and simony.
 - b. Attempts were made to curb clerical immorality and to encourage education.
 - c. Great emphasis was placed on preaching.
 - D. New religious orders
 - 1. The Ursuline order of nuns gained enormous prestige for the education of women.
 - a. The Ursulines sought to reChristianize society by training future wives and mothers.
 - b. The Ursulines spread to France and North America.
 - 2. The Society of Jesus played a strong international role in resisting Protestantism.
 - a. Obedience was the foundation of the Jesuit tradition.
 - b. With their schools, political influence, and missionary work, they brought many people into the Catholic fold.
 - E. The Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office
 - 1. This group, established by Pope Paul III in 1542, carried out the Roman Inquisition as a way to combat heresy.
 - 2. It had the power to arrest, imprison, and execute, but its influence was confined to papal territories.
- VII. The reformations: revolution or continuity?
 - A. Recent scholarship argues that the reformations constituted both continuity and radical discontinuity.
 - 1. Protestantism rejected the status quo in that it rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic papacy. Now there were many Christian churches--*Protestantism meant fragmentation* and, to some, "modernity."
 - 2. Others, mainly students of the Catholic church, interpret the reformations in terms of continuity, as the church itself was engaged in reform prior to and after Luther's actions.

Chapter 15- The Age of Religious Wars and European Expansion

- I. Politics, religion, and war
 - A. The SpanishFrench wars ended in 1559 with a Spanish victory, leading to a variety of European wars centering on religious and national issues.
 - 1. These wars used bigger armies and gunpowder, and led to the need for administrative reorganization.
 - 2. Religious passions conditioned the mind-sets of all elements of society.
 - 3. Governments had to use various propaganda devices, including the printing press, to arouse public opinion.
 - 4. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) ended religious wars but also ended the idea of a unified Christian society.

- B. The origins of difficulties in France (1515-1559)
 - 1. By 1500, France was recovering from plague and disorder, and the nobility began to lose power.
 - 2. The French kings, such as Francis I and Henry II, continued the policies of centralization and were great patrons of Renaissance art but spent more money than they raised.
 - 3. The wars between France and Emperor Charles V--the Habsburg-Valois wars--were also costly.
 - 4. To raise money, Francis sold public offices and signed the Concordat of Bologna (1516), in which he recognized the supremacy of the papacy in return for the right to appoint French bishops.
 - a. This settlement established Catholicism as the state religion in France.
 - b. It also perpetuated corruption within the French church.
 - c. The corruption made Calvinism attractive to Christians eager for reform: some clergy and members of the middle and artisan classes.
- C. Religious riots and civil war in France (1559-1589)
 - 1. The French nobility, many of them Calvinist, attempted to regain power over a series of weak monarchs.
 - a. While Henry III was involved with his male favorites, his mother, Catherine de Medici, dominated French policy.
 - 2. Frequent religious riots symbolized the struggle for power in the upper classes and serious religious concerns among the lower classes.
 - 3. The Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre of Calvinists in 1572 led to the War of the Three Henrys, a damaging conflict for secular power.
 - 4. King Henry IV's Edict of Nantes (1598) saved France from further civil war by allowing Protestants to worship.
- D. The Netherlands under Charles V
 - 1. The Low Countries were part of the Habsburg empire and enjoyed commercial success and relative autonomy.
 - 2. In 1556 Charles V abdicated and divided his empire between his brother, Ferdinand, and his son, King Philip of Spain.
- E. The revolt of the Netherlands (1556-1587)
 - 1. Calvinism took deep root among the merchants and financiers.
 - 2. Regent Margaret attempted to destroy Protestantism by establishing the Inquisition in the Netherlands.
 - 3. She also raised taxes, causing those who opposed the repression of Calvinism to unite with those who opposed the taxes.
 - 4. Popular support for Protestantism led to the destruction of many Catholic churches.
 - 5. The duke of Alva and his Spanish troops were sent by Philip II to crush the disturbances in the Low Countries.
 - 6. Alva's brutal actions only inflamed the religious war, which raged from 1568 to 1578.
 - 7. The Low Countries were finally split into the Spanish Netherlands in the south, under the control of the Spanish Habsburgs, and the independent United Provinces of the Netherlands in the north.

- a. The north was Protestant and ruled by the commercial aristocracy.
 - b. The south was Catholic and ruled by the landed nobility.
 - 8. Elizabeth I of England supported the northern, or Protestant, cause as a safeguard against Spain attacking England.
 - a. The wars in the Low Countries had badly hurt the English economy.
 - b. The murder of Dutch leader William the Silent and the Spanish invasion of the Netherlands convinced Elizabeth to enter the war on the Protestant side.
- F. Philip II and the Spanish Armada
 - 1. Philip II of Spain lived at a monastery called the Escorial; here he had a palace but he spent much time in prayer.
 - 2. Philip II sought pleasure in his youth but in older age sought prayer--but he did not believe that the state should dictate morals.
 - a. As was common in his time, he did not believe in religious toleration.
 - b. He failed to crush the Protestant cause because he was preoccupied with the administration of his huge empire.
 - 3. Phillip II supported Mary Queen of Scotland's plot to kill Elizabeth of England, so he planned an invasion of England.
 - a. He wanted to keep England in the Catholic fold.
 - b. He believed he would never conquer the Dutch unless he defeated England first.
 - 4. His plan was hurt by his ill health and fear of Turkish attack.
 - 5. The destruction of the Spanish Armada of 1588 did not end of the war, but it prevented Philip from unifying western Europe.
 - 6. In 1609, Philip III agreed to a truce, recognizing the independence of the United Provinces.
- G. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)
 - 1. Protestant Bohemian revolt over religious freedom led to war in Germany.
 - 2. The Bohemian phase (1618-1625) was characterized by civil war in Bohemia between the Catholic League and the Protestant Union.
 - a. The Bohemians fought for religious liberty and independence from Habsburg rule.
 - b. Ferdinand II wiped out Protestantism in Bohemia.
 - 3. The Danish phase of the war (1625-1629) led to further Catholic victory.
 - 4. The Swedish phase of the war (1630-1635) ended the Habsburg plan to unite Germany.
 - 5. The French phase (1635-1648) ended with a destroyed Germany and an independent Netherlands.
 - a. The Peace of Westphalia recognized the independent authority of the German princes.
 - b. The treaties allowed France to intervene at will in German affairs.
 - c. They also denied the pope the right to participate in German religious affairs.
- H. Germany after the Thirty Years' War
 - 1. The war was economically disastrous for Germany.

2. The war led to agricultural depression in Germany, and a return to serfdom for many peasants.
- II. Discovery, reconnaissance, and expansion (1450-1650)
- A. The "Age of Discovery" from 1450 to 1650 ushered in a new age of world history based on European mastery of ocean travel, increased migration, and economic, political, and cultural expansion.
 - B. Overseas exploration and conquest
 1. The outward expansion of Europe began with the Viking voyages, and then the Crusades, but the presence of the Ottoman Turks in the East frightened the Europeans and forced their attention westward.
 2. Political centralization in Spain, France, and England prepared the way for expansion.
 3. The Portuguese, under the leadership of Prince Henry the Navigator, pushed south from North Africa.
 - a. By 1500 Portugal controlled the flow of gold to Europe.
 - b. Diaz, da Gama, and Cabral established trading routes to India.
 - c. The Portuguese gained control of the Indian trade by overpowering Muslim forts in India.
 - C. Technological stimuli to exploration
 1. The development of the cannon aided European expansion.
 2. New sailing and navigational developments, such as the caravel ship, the magnetic compass, and the astrolabe, also aided the expansion.
 - D. The explorers' motives
 1. The desire to Christianize the Muslims and pagan peoples played a central role in European expansion.
 2. Limited economic and political opportunity for upperclass men in Spain led to emigration.
 3. Government encouragement was also important.
 4. Renaissance curiosity caused people to seek out new worlds.
 5. Spices were another important incentive.
 6. The economic motive--the quest for material profit--was the basic reason for European exploration and expansion.
 - E. The problem of Christopher Columbus
 1. Until recently most historians agreed with Morison that Columbus was a great hero who carried Christian civilization to the new world.
 2. Now historians note that he enslaved and killed Indians and that he did not discover a new continent; others claim that he destroyed an earthly paradise.
 3. In reality, Columbus was a deeply religious man; he saw a link between the expulsion of the Moors and his task as Christian missionary.
 - a. But his principal object was to find a direct route to Asia.
 - b. When it was clear that he had not found great new spice markets, he turned to setting up a government in the islands.
 - c. Thus he paved the way for Spanish imperial administration.
- III. Later explorers
- A. The people of Columbus's era believed that he had discovered a "New World."

1. Spanish exploitation in the Caribbean led to the destruction of the Indian population.
 - a. The population of Hispaniola declined from 100,000 to 300; Indians and black Africans were imported to continue the mining.
 2. In 1519 Magellan sailed southwest across the Atlantic for Charles V of Spain; he claimed the "Western Isles" for Spain, and proved the earth was round and larger than Columbus had estimated.
 3. Cortez conquered the Aztec Empire and founded Mexico City as the capital of New Spain.
 4. Pizarro crushed the Inca empire in Peru and opened the Potosí mines, which became the richest silver mines in the New World.
 5. The Low Countries, particularly the cities of Antwerp and Amsterdam, had been since medieval times the center of European trade.
 - a. The Dutch East India Company became the major organ of Dutch imperialism.
 - b. The Dutch West India Company gained control of much of the African and American trade.
 6. France and England made sporadic efforts at exploration and settlement.
- B. The economic effects of Spain's discoveries in the New World
1. Enormous amounts of American gold and silver poured into Spain in the sixteenth century.
 2. It is probable that population growth and not the flood of American bullion caused inflation in Spain.
 3. European inflation hurt the poor the most.
- C. Colonial administration
1. The Spanish monarch divided his new world into four viceroyalties, each with a viceroy and *audiencia*, or board of judges, that served as an advisory council and judicial body.
 2. The *intendants* were royal officials responsible directly to the monarch.
 3. The Spanish acted on the mercantilist principle that the colonies existed for the financial benefit of the mother country.
 - a. The Crown claimed the *quinto*, one-fifth of all precious metals mined in South America.
 - b. The development of native industries was discouraged.
 4. Portuguese administration in Brazil was similar to Spain's.
 - a. The crown of Portugal and Spain became one in 1580, and Spanish administrative forms were introduced.
 - b. Portugal's mercantilist policies constrained Brazil's growth--but black slave labor led to much cultivation of coffee, cotton, and sugar.
 - c. One unique feature of colonial Brazil was the thorough mixture of the races.

IV. Changing attitudes

- A. The wars of religion had bred confusion, uncertainty, and insecurity; it was an age in which sexism, racism, and skepticism began to take on modern forms.
- B. The status of women declined.

1. Literature on women and marriage called for a subservient wife, whose household was her first priority, and a protective, firmruling, and loyal husband.
 - a. Catholic marriages could not be dissolved, while Protestants held that divorce and remarriage were possible.
 - b. Women did not lose their identity or meaningful work, but their subordinate status did not change.
 - c. Elizabeth Hardwick's success in real estate illustrates that some women became rich and powerful.
 2. Prostitution was common, and brothels were licensed.
 3. Protestant reformers believed that convents were antifeminist and that women would find freedom in marriage and sex.
 4. With the closing of convents, marriage became virtually the only occupation for upperclass Protestant women.
- C. A great European witch hunt lasted for a century
1. A "witch" was defined as a person who worked for the devil and could mysteriously injure other people or animals.
 2. Extreme religious thought and inability to explain everyday misfortunes led to a rise in the belief in the evil power of witches.
 3. The thousands of people executed as witches represent society's drift toward social and intellectual conformity.
 4. Witchhunting reflects widespread misogyny and a misunderstanding of women.
- D. European slavery and the origins of American racism
1. Black slavery originated with the end of white slavery (1453) and the widespread need for labor, particularly in the new sugarproducing settlements.
 2. Beginning in 1518 Africans were brought to America to replace Indian slavery; this was promoted by the missionary las Casas, who wished to protect Indians.
 3. African kings and dealers sold black slaves to European merchants; the first slaves were brought to Brazil.
 4. Settlers brought to the Americas the racial attitudes they had absorbed in Europe from Christianity and Islam, which by and large depicted blacks as primitive and inferior.
- V. Literature and art
- A. Religious war and overseas expansion is mirrored in an explosion of intellectual and artistic activity.
- B. The origins of modern skepticism is found in the essays of Montaigne.
1. Skeptics doubt whether definitive knowledge is ever attainable.
 2. Montaigne is the best representative of early modern skepticism and a forerunner of modern attitudes.
 - a. In the *Essays* he advocated openmindedness, tolerance, and rejection of dogmatism.
 - b. He rejected the claim that one culture may be superior to another, and he inaugurated an era of doubt.
- C. Elizabethan and Jacobean literature
1. Shakespeare's understanding of human psychology was rooted in his appreciation of classical culture, individualism, and humanism.
 - a. His "history plays" were very popular.

- b. His tragedies--*Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*--explore human problems such as ambition, sin, and revenge.
 - 2. The *Authorized Bible* of King James I (*King James Bible*) is a masterpiece of English vernacular writing.
- D. Baroque art and music
 - 1. In the late sixteenth century, the papacy and the Jesuits encouraged the growth of an emotional, exuberant art intended to appeal to the senses and kindle the faith of ordinary churchgoers.
 - 2. The baroque style took definite shape in Italy after 1600 and developed with exceptional vigor in Catholic countries.
 - a. Rubens developed a sensuous, colorful style of painting characterized by animated figures and monumental size.
 - b. In music, the baroque style reached its culmination with Bach.

Chapter 16- Absolutism and Constitutionalism in Western Europe (ca 1589-1715)

- I. Absolutism
 - A. Absolutism defined
 - 1. In the absolutist state, sovereignty resided in kings--not the nobility or the parliament--who considered themselves responsible to God alone.
 - 2. Absolute kings created new state bureaucracies and standing armies, regulated all the institutions of government, and secured the cooperation of the nobility.
 - a. Some historians deny that absolutism was a stage of development that followed feudalism, but, instead, was "administrative monarchy."
 - 3. The absolutist state foreshadowed the modern totalitarian state but lacked its total control over all aspects of its citizens' lives.
 - B. The foundations of French absolutism: Henry IV, Sully, and Richelieu
 - 1. Henry IV cared for his people, lowered taxes, achieved peace, and curtailed the power of the nobility.
 - 2. His minister, Sully, brought about financial stability and economic growth.
 - 3. Cardinal Richelieu, the ruler of France under King Louis XIII, broke the power of the French nobility.
 - a. His policy was total subordination of all groups and institutions to the French monarchy.
 - b. He changed the royal council, leveled castles, and crushed aristocratic conspiracies.
 - c. He established an efficient administrative system using *intendants*, who further weakened the local nobility.
 - d. They delivered royal orders, recruited men for the army, collected taxes, and more.
 - 4. Through the Edict of Nantes, Henry IV and given religious freedom to Protestants (Huguenots) in 150 towns, but Louis XIII decided otherwise.
 - a. He defeated the city of La Rochelle in 1628 and re-instituted the Catholic mass.

- b. Richelieu and the French kings faced many urban protests over high taxes and food shortages.
 - c. Local authorities usually let local riots "burn themselves out."
- 5. Under Richelieu, France sought to break Habsburg power.
 - a. He supported the struggle of the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, against the Habsburgs.
 - b. He acquired land and influence in Germany.
- 6. Richelieu supported the new French Academy, which created a dictionary to standardize the French language.
- 7. The French government's ability to tax was severely limited by local rights and the taxexempt status of much of the nobility and the middle class.
- 8. Mazarin continued Richelieu's centralizing policies, but these policies gave rise to a period of civil wars known as the Fronde.
 - a. *Fronde* meant anyone who opposed the policies of the government.
 - b. Many people of the aristocracy and the middle classes opposed government centralization and new taxes; rebellion was widespread.
 - c. The conflicts hurt the economy and convinced the new king, Louis XIV, that civil war was destructive of social order and that absolute monarchy was the only alternative to anarchy.

II. The absolute monarchy of Louis XIV

- A. Louis XIV, the "Sun King," was a devout Catholic who believed that God had established kings as his rulers on earth.
- B. He feared the nobility and was successful in collaboration with them to enhance both aristocratic prestige and royal power.
- C. He made the court at Versailles a fixed institution and used it as a means of preserving royal power and as the center of French absolutism.
 - 1. The architecture and art of Versailles were a means of carrying out state policy--a way to overawe his subjects and foreign powers.
 - 2. The French language and culture became the international style.
 - 3. The court at Versailles was a device to undermine the power of the aristocracy by separating power from status.
 - 4. A centralized state, administered by a professional class taken from the bourgeoisie, was formed.
- D. Financial and economic management under Louis XIV's minister, Colbert
 - 1. Louis's wars were expensive, but the tax farmers took much of the taxes while the nobility paid no taxes at all.
 - 2. Mercantilism is a collection of governmental policies for the regulation of economic activities by and for the state.
 - 3. Louis XIV's finance minister, Colbert, tried to achieve a favorable balance of trade and make France selfsufficient so the flow of gold to other countries would be halted.
 - a. Colbert encouraged French industry, enacted high foreign tariffs, and created a strong merchant marine.
 - b. He hoped to make Canada part of a French empire.

- c. Though France's industries grew and the commercial classes prospered, its agricultural economy suffered under the burdens of heavy taxation, population decline, and poor harvests.
 - E. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes
 - 1. In 1685, Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes--then destroyed Protestant churches and schools; many Protestants fled the country.
 - 2. Why? Because Louis XIV hated division within France--and because most people supported this policy.
 - F. French classicism in art and literature
 - 1. French classicism imitated and resembled the arts of the ancients and the Renaissance.
 - 2. Poussin best illustrates classical idealism in painting.
 - 3. Louis XIV was a patron of the composers Lully, Couperin, and Charpentier.
 - 4. The comedies of Molière and the tragedies of Racine best illustrate the classicism in French theater.
- III. Louis XIV's wars
 - A. Louis kept France at war for 33 of the 54 years of his personal rule; the Marquis de Louvois created a professional army for Louis.
 - 1. The French army under Louis XIV was modern because the state, rather than the nobles, employed the soldiers.
 - a. Louis himself took personal command of the army.
 - b. Martinet created a rigid but effective system of training.
 - B. Louis continued Richelieu's expansionist policy.
 - 1. In 1667, he invaded Flanders and gained twelve towns.
 - 2. By the treaty of Nijmegen (1678) he gained some Flemish towns and all of FrancheComté.
 - 3. Strasbourg was taken in 1681 and Lorraine in 1684, but the limits of his expansion had been met.
 - 4. Louis fought the new Dutch king of England, William III, and the League of Augsburg in a war.
 - a. The Banks of Amsterdam and England financed his enemies.
 - b. Louis's heavy taxes fell on the peasants, who revolted.
 - 5. This led to the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), which was over the issue of the succession to the Spanish throne: Louis claimed Spain but was opposed by the Dutch, English, Austrians, and Prussians.
 - a. The war was also an attempt to preserve the balance of power in Europe and to check France's commercial power overseas.
 - b. A Grand Alliance of the English, Dutch, Austrians, and Prussians was formed in 1701 to fight the French.
 - c. Eugene of Savoy and Churchill of England led the alliance to victory over Louis.
 - d. The war was concluded by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, which forbade the union of France and Spain.
 - e. The war ended French expansionism and left France on the brink of bankruptcy, with widespread misery and revolts.
- IV. The decline of absolutist Spain in the seventeenth century

- A. Spain had developed an absolutist monarchy but by the 1590s it was in decline.
 - 1. Fiscal disorder, political incompetence, the lack of a strong middle class, population decline, intellectual isolation, and psychological malaise contributed to its decline.
 - 2. The Dutch and English began to cut into Spain's trade monopolies.
 - 3. Spain's supply of silver began to decline, leading to de-evaluation and bankruptcy.
 - a. Spain had only a tiny middle class--which had to face many obstacles to their businesses.
 - b. Aristocrats were extravagant and their high rents drove the peasants from the land.
 - 4. Spanish kings lacked force of character and could not deal with all these problems.
 - B. Philip IV's minister Olivares mistakenly thought that revival of war with the Dutch would solve Spain's problems; war with France followed--all bringing disaster for Spain.
 - C. The Treaty of the Pyrenees of 1659, which ended the FrenchSpanish wars, marked the end of Spain as a great power.
 - 1. Too much of Spain's past had been built on slavery and gold and silver.
 - 2. Cervantes's novel *Don Quixote* characterizes the impractical dreams of Spain.
- V. Constitutionalism evolved in England and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century
- A. Constitutionalism defined
 - 1. It is the limitation of the state by law; under constitutionalism, the state must be governed according to law, not royal decree.
 - a. It refers to a balance between the power of the government and the rights of the subjects.
 - b. A constitution may be written or unwritten, but the government must respect it.
 - c. Constitutional governments may be either republics or monarchies.
 - 2. Constitutional government is not the same as full democracy because not all of the people have the right to participate.
 - B. The decline of royal absolutism in England (1603-1649)
 - 1. The Stuart kings of England lacked the political wisdom of Elizabeth I.
 - 2. James I was devoted to the ideal of rule by divine right.
 - 3. His absolutism ran counter to English belief.
 - 4. The House of Commons wanted a greater say in the government of the state.
 - a. James I had squandered much money on his friends.
 - b. A new class of ambitious and rich country gentry and businessmen had emerged in the Commons.
 - c. Bitter squabbles erupted between King and the Commons--the Commons wanted political power equal to its economic strength.
 - d. Charles I ruled without Parliament from 1629-1640.
 - C. Religious issues made relations between King and Commons even worse.
 - 1. Many English people, called Puritans, were attracted by the values of hard work, thrift, and selfdenial implied by Calvinism.
 - 2. The Puritans, who were dissatisfied with the Church of England, saw James I as an enemy.
 - 3. Charles I and his archbishop, Laud, appeared to be proCatholic.

- D. The English Civil War (1642-1649)
 - 1. Members of Parliament believed that taxation without consent was despotism, hence they attempted to limit royal power.
 - 2. A revolt in Scotland over the religious issue forced him to call a new Parliament into session to finance an army.
 - a. The Commons passed an act compelling the king to summon Parliament every three years.
 - b. It also impeached Archbishop Laud and abolished the House of Lords.
 - c. Religious differences in Ireland led to a revolt there, but Parliament would not trust Charles with an army.
 - 3. Charles initiated military action against Parliament.
 - a. The civil war (1642-1649) revolved around the issue of whether sovereignty should reside in the king or in Parliament.
 - b. The problem was not resolved, but Charles was beheaded in 1649.
- E. Puritanical absolutism in England: Cromwell and the Protectorate
 - 1. With the execution of Charles I, kingship was abolished in 1649 and a commonwealth proclaimed.
 - a. A commonwealth is a government without a king whose power rests in Parliament and a council of state.
 - b. In fact, the army controlled the government; it wrote a constitution called the Instrument of Government, which gave power to Cromwell.
 - 2. Oliver Cromwell, leader of the "New Model Army" that defeated the royalists, came from the gentry class that dominated the House of Commons.
 - 3. Cromwell's Protectorate became a military dictatorship, absolutist and puritanical.
 - a. Cromwell allowed religious toleration for all, except Catholics, and savagely crushed the revolt in Ireland.
 - b. He censored the press and closed the theaters.
 - c. He regulated the economy according to mercantilist principles.
 - d. The mercantilist navigation act that required English goods to be transported on English ships was a boon to the economy but led to a commercial war with the Dutch.
- F. The restoration of the English monarchy
 - 1. The restoration of the Stuart kings in 1660 failed to solve the problems of religion and the relationship between King and Parliament.
 - a. The Test Act of 1673 stipulated that only Church of England members could vote, hold office, preach, teach, attend the universities, or assemble, but these restrictions could not be enforced.
 - b. Charles II appointed a council of five men (the "Cabal") to serve as both his major advisers and as members of Parliament.
 - c. The Cabal was the forerunner of the cabinet system, and it helped create good relations with the Parliament.
 - 2. Charles's pro-French policies led to a Catholic scare.
 - 3. Catholic James II violated the Test Act by giving government and university jobs to Catholics.
 - 4. Fear of a Catholic monarchy led to the expulsion of James II and the Glorious Revolution.

- G. The triumph of England's Parliament: constitutional monarchy and cabinet government
 - 1. The "Glorious Revolution" expelled James II, installed William and Mary on the throne, and ended the divineright monarchy.
 - a. It was "glorious" in that there was no bloodshed.
 - b. It established the principal that power was divided between king and Parliament.
 - 2. The Bill of Rights of 1689 established the principal that law was made in Parliament, that Parliament had to meet at least every three years, that elections were to be free of Crown interference, and the judiciary was to be independent of the Crown.
 - a. The political philosophy behind this revolution was John Locke's claim that the people invented government to protect life, liberty, and property.
 - b. Locke also claimed that there are natural, or universal, rights.
 - 3. In the cabinet system, which developed in the eighteenth century, both legislative and executive power are held by the leading ministers, who form the government.
- H. The Dutch republic in the seventeenth century
 - 1. The Dutch republic (the United Provinces of the Netherlands) won its independence from Spain--as confirmed by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.
 - a. Dutch achievements in science, art, and literature were exceptional--a "golden age."
 - 2. Power in the republic resided in the local Estates.
 - a. The republic was a confederation: a weak union of strong provinces.
 - b. The republic was based on values of thrift, frugality, and religious toleration, including that for Jews.
 - c. Religious toleration fostered economic growth.
 - 3. The fishing industry was the cornerstone of the Dutch economy--stimulating shipbuilding, a huge merchant marine, and other industries.
 - 4. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602; it cut heavily into Portuguese trading in East Asia.
 - a. The Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621, traded extensively in Latin America and Africa.
 - b. Wages were high for all and most people ate well.
 - 5. War with France and England in the 1670s hurt the United Provinces.

Chapter 17- Absolutism in Eastern Europe to 1740

- I. Lords and peasants in eastern Europe
 - A. Overall, between 1400 and 1650 the princes and landed nobility of eastern Europe rolled back the gains made earlier by the peasantry; serfdom was reimposed.
 - B. The medieval background (1400-1650)
 - 1. Personal and economic freedom for peasants increased between 1050 and 1300.
 - a. Serfdom nearly disappeared.
 - b. Peasants bargained freely with their landlords and moved about as they pleased.

2. After 1300, powerful lords in eastern Europe revived serfdom to combat their economic problems.
 - a. Laws that restricted the peasants' right of free movement were passed.
 - b. Lords took more and more of the peasants' land and imposed heavier labor obligations.

C. The consolidation of serfdom

1. The reestablishment of hereditary serfdom took place in Poland, Prussia, and Russia between 1500 and 1650.
2. The consolidation of serfdom was accompanied by the growth of estate agriculture.
 - a. Lords seized peasant land for their own estates.
 - b. They then demanded unpaid serf labor on those estates.
3. Political reasons for changes in serfdom in eastern Europe were the most important.
 - a. Serfdom increased because of political, not economic, reasons.
 - b. Weak monarchs could not resist the demands of the powerful noble landlords.
 - c. The absence of the western concept of sovereignty meant that the king did not think in terms of protecting the people of the nation.
 - d. Overall, the peasants had less political power in eastern Europe and less solidarity.
 - e. The landlords systematically undermined the medieval privileges of the towns.
 1. The lords sold directly to foreign capitalists instead of to local merchants.
 2. Eastern towns lost their medieval right of refuge.
 3. Western Europeans began to regard eastern Europe as culturally and morally inferior.

II. The rise of Austria and Prussia

A. Austria and the Ottoman Turks

1. After the Thirty Years' War, the Austrian Habsburgs turned inward and eastward to unify their holdings.
 - a. The Habsburgs replaced the Bohemian Czech (Protestant) nobility with their own warriors.
 - b. Serfdom increased, Protestantism was wiped out, and absolutism was achieved.
 - c. Ferdinand III created a standing army, centralized the government in Austria, and turned toward Hungary for land.
2. This eastward turn led Austria to become absorbed in a war against the Turks over Hungary and Transylvania.
3. Under Suleiman the Magnificent the Ottoman-Turks built the most powerful empire in the world, which included part of central Europe.
 - a. The Turkish sultan was the absolute head of the state.
 - b. There was little private property, and a bureaucracy staffed by slaves.
4. The Ottoman attack on Austria in 1683 was turned back, and the Habsburgs conquered all of Hungary and Transylvania by 1699.

- a. The defeat of the Ottomans had support from Protestant nobles in Hungary and Louis XIV of France.
 - 5. The Habsburg possessions consisted of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, which were joined in a fragile union.
 - a. The Pragmatic Sanction (1713) stated that the possessions should never be divided.
 - b. The Hungarian nobility thwarted the full development of Habsburg absolutism, and Charles VI had to restore many of their traditional privileges after the rebellion led by Rákóczy in 1703.
 - B. Prussia in the seventeenth century
 - 1. The Hohenzollern family ruled the electorate of Brandenburg but had little real power.
 - 2. The Thirty Years' War weakened the representative assemblies of the realm and allowed the Hohenzollerns to consolidate their absolutist rule.
 - 3. Frederick William (the Great Elector) used military force and taxation to unify his Rhine holdings, Prussia, and Brandenburg into a strong state.
 - a. The traditional parliaments, or Estates, which were controlled by the Junkers (the nobles and the landowners), were weakened.
 - b. War strengthened the elector, as did the Junkers' unwillingness to join with the towns to block absolutism.
 - C. The consolidation of Prussian absolutism
 - 1. Frederick William I encouraged Prussian militarism and created the best army in Europe plus an efficient bureaucracy.
 - 2. The Junker class became the military elite and Prussia a militarist state.
- III. The development of Russia
- A. Between the midthirteenth century and 1700 Russia and the West became strikingly different; after 1700 Russia's development was closer to that of the West.
 - B. The Mongol yoke and the rise of Moscow
 - 1. The Mongols conquered the Kievan state in the thirteenth century and unified it under their harsh rule.
 - 2. The Mongols used Russian aristocrats as their servants and tax collectors.
 - a. The princes of Moscow served the Mongols well and became the hereditary great princes.
 - b. Ivan I served the Mongols while using his wealth and power to strengthen the principality of Moscow.
 - c. Ivan III acquired territory around Moscow--including the rich republic of Novgorod.
 - d. Ivan III stopped acknowledging the Mongol khan as the supreme ruler and assumed the headship of Orthodox Christianity.
 - C. Tsar and people to 1689
 - 1. By 1505, the prince of Moscow--the tsar--had emerged as the single hereditary ruler of the eastern Slavs.
 - 2. The tsars and the boyars struggled over who would rule the state; the tsars won and created a new "service nobility," who held the tsar's land on the condition that they serve in his army.

3. Ivan the Terrible was an autocratic tsar who expanded Muscovy and further reduced the power of the boyars.
 - a. He murdered leading boyars and confiscated their estates.
 - b. Many peasants fled his rule to the newly conquered territories, forming outlaw armies called Cossacks.
 - c. Businessmen and artisans were bound to their towns and jobs; the middle class did not develop.
 4. The Time of Troubles (1598-1613) was a period characterized by internal struggles and invasions.
 - a. There was no heir, and relatives of the tsar fought against each other.
 - b. Swedish and Polish armies invaded.
 - c. Cossack bands, led by Ivan Bolotnikov, slaughtered many nobles and officials.
 5. Michael Romanov was elected tsar by the nobles in 1613, and he reestablished tsarist autocracy.
 6. The Romanovs brought about the total enserfment of the people, while the military obligations on the nobility were relaxed considerably.
 7. A split in the church over religious reforms led to mass protests by the peasants, and the church became dependent on the state for its authority.
- D. The reforms of Peter the Great
1. Peter faced a Russian army based on cavalry and not the sort of professional armies being formed in Europe.
 2. He conquered Azov, then went on a long tour of inspection of western Europe.
 - a. He went to war against the absolutist king of Sweden (Charles XII)-- eventually winning the Great Northern War.
 - b. He reformed the army and forced the nobility to serve in his bureaucracy.
 - c. His new (mainly peasant) army numbered 200,000 plus another 100,000 special troops.
 - d. He created schools to train technicians for his army.
 3. Army and government became more efficient and powerful as an interlocking militarycivilian bureaucracy was created and staffed by talented people.
 4. Russian peasant life under Peter became more harsh.
 - a. People replaced land as the primary unit of taxation.
 - b. Serfs were arbitrarily assigned to work in the factories and mines.
 5. Modest territorial expansion took place under Peter, and Russia became a European Great Power.
 - a. Russia defeated Sweden in 1709 at Poltava to gain control of the Baltic Sea.
 - b. Peter borrowed many Western ideas.

IV. Absolutism and baroque architecture

A. Palaces and power

1. Baroque culture and art grew out of an effort by the Catholic church to attract followers.
2. Architecture played an important role in politics because it was used by kings to enhance their image and awe their subjects.
3. The royal palace was the favorite architectural expression of absolutist power.

4. The dominant artistic style of the age of absolutism was baroque--a dramatic and emotional style.
- B. Royal cities and urban planning
 1. Karlsruhe is a good example of how cities were rebuilt along orderly lines, and with great avenues and imposing public buildings.
 2. The new avenues brought speed to the city--as elegant carriages raced down the new broad and straight streets.
- C. The growth of St. Petersburg
 1. The new St. Petersburg is an excellent example of the tie among architecture, politics, and urban development.
 - a. Peter the Great wanted to create a modern, baroque city from which to rule Russia.
 - b. The city became a showplace for the tsar paid for by the Russian nobility and built by peasants.
 2. During the eighteenth century, St. Petersburg became one of the world's largest and most influential cities.
 3. The new city was Western and baroque in its layout and design.
 - a. It had broad, straight avenues.
 - b. Houses were built in a uniform line.
 - c. There were parks, canals, and streetlights.
 - d. Each social group was to live in a specific section.
 4. All social groups, especially the peasants, bore heavy burdens to construct the city.
 5. Tsarina Elizabeth and the architect Rastrelli crowned the city with great palaces.

Chapter 18- Toward a New World-view

- I. The scientific revolution
 - A. The scientific revolution of the seventeenth century was the major cause of the change in worldview and one of the key developments in the evolution of Western society.
 1. Only the West developed modern science; historians disagree as to how important to its rise were the nonscientific economic, religious, and social factors.
 - B. Scientific thought in the early 1500s
 1. European ideas about the universe were based on Aristotelian medieval ideas.
 - a. Central to this view was the belief in a motionless earth fixed at the center of the universe.
 - b. Around the earth moved ten crystal spheres, and beyond the spheres was heaven.
 2. Aristotle's scheme suited Christianity because it positioned human beings at the center of the universe and established a home for God.
 3. Science in this period was primarily a branch of theology.
 - C. The Copernican hypothesis
 1. Copernicus, a Polish clergyman and astronomer, claimed that the earth revolved around the sun and that the sun was the center of the universe.

2. This heliocentric theory was a departure from medieval thought and created doubts about traditional Christianity.

D. From Brahe to Galileo

1. Brahe set the stage for the modern study of astronomy by building an observatory and collecting data.
2. His assistant, Kepler, formulated three laws of planetary motion that proved the precise relationships among planets in a suncentered universe.
3. Galileo discovered the laws of motion using the experimental method--the cornerstone of modern science.
 - a. He also applied the experimental method to astronomy, using the newly invented telescope.
 - b. Galileo was tried by the Inquisition for heresy in 1633 and forced to recant his views.

E. Newton's synthesis

1. In his famous book, *Principia* (1687), Newton integrated the astronomy of Copernicus and Kepler with the physics of Galileo.
 - a. He formulated a set of mathematical laws to explain motion and mechanics.
 - b. The key feature in his synthesis was the law of universal gravitation.
2. Henceforth, the universe could be explained through mathematics.

F. Causes of the scientific revolution

1. The scientific revolution was the product of individual genius--such as Newton building on the works of Copernicus and others.
2. Also, medieval universities provided the framework for the new science.
3. The Renaissance stimulated science by rediscovering ancient mathematics and supporting scientific investigations.
4. The navigational problems of sea voyages generated scientific research and new instruments.
5. Better ways of obtaining knowledge about the world improved scientific methods.
 - a. Bacon advocated empirical, experimental research.
 - b. Descartes stressed mathematics and deductive reasoning.
 - c. The modern scientific method is based on a synthesis of Bacon's inductive experimentalism and Descartes's deductive mathematical rationalism.
6. After about 1630 (the CounterReformation), the Catholic church discouraged science while Protestantism tended to be "proscience."

G. Some consequences of the scientific revolution

1. A scientific community emerged whose primary goal was the expansion of knowledge.
2. A modern scientific method arose that was both theoretical and experimental and refused to base its conclusions on tradition and established sources.
3. Because the link between pure science and applied technology was weak, the scientific revolution had little effect on daily life before the nineteenth century.

II. The Enlightenment

- A. The Enlightenment was an intellectual and cultural movement that tied together certain key ideas and was the link between the scientific revolution and a new worldview; these ideas were:

1. Natural science and reason can explain all aspects of life.
 2. The scientific method can explain the laws of human society.
 3. Progress--the creation of better societies and better people--is possible.
- B. The emergence of the Enlightenment
1. Many writers made scientific thought understandable to a large nonscientific audience.
 - a. Fontenelle stressed the idea of progress.
 - b. He was also cynical about organized religion and absolute religious truth.
 2. Skeptics such as Bayle concluded that nothing can be known beyond all doubt and stressed openmindedness.
 3. The growth of world travel led Europeans to look at truth and morality in relative, not absolute, terms.
 4. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke insisted that all ideas are derived from experience--the human mind at birth is like a blank tablet (*tabula rasa*).
- C. The philosophes and the public
1. The philosophes brought Enlightenment ideas to the ignorant people and brought the Enlightenment to its highest stage of development in France.
 - a. The French language was the international language of the educated classes of Europe, and France was Europe's wealthiest state.
 - b. Intellectual freedom was possible in France, in contrast to eastern Europe.
 - c. The philosophes were committed to bringing new thinking to the public, but not necessarily the masses.
 - d. In their plays, histories, novels, dictionaries, and encyclopedias, they used satire and double meanings to spread their messages to the public.
 2. Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers was extremely influential.
 3. Voltaire challenged traditional Catholic theology and exhibited a characteristic philosophe belief in a distant God who let human affairs take their own course.
 - a. He opposed legal injustice and unequal treatment before the law.
 - b. He was influenced by his longtime companion, Madame du Chatelet, who was a scientist but who was discriminated against because of her sex.
 - c. He was skeptical of social and economic equality; he hated religious intolerance.
 4. Diderot and d'Alembert edited the *Encyclopedia*, which examined all of human knowledge and attempted to teach people how to think critically and rationally.
 5. The later Enlightenment writers built rigid and dogmatic systems.
 - a. D'Holbach argued that humans were completely controlled by outside forces.
 - b. Hume argued that the mind is nothing but a bundle of impressions that originate in sense experiences.
 - c. Rousseau attacked rationalism and civilization; he claimed that children must develop naturally and spontaneously, and in *The Social Contract* argued that the general will of the people is sacred and absolute.
- D. Urban culture and public opinion
1. The cultural transformation brought on by the Enlightenment was related to a growth in the market for books.

- a. Most of the new buyers of books came from the middle classes, the clergy, and the aristocracy; a tenfold increase in books resulted.
 - b. Publishing in the fields of art and science grew the most; a majority of the new books came from publishers outside of France, largely the Netherlands and Switzerland.
 - c. Underground literature in pornography was of concern to the state because much of it centered on aristocratic immorality.
 - d. All of this resulted in a new emphasis on individual and private reading (a "reading revolution"); some, like Kant, argued that freedom of the press would bring an enlightened age.
2. Enlightenment ideas--including new ideas about women's rights--were spread in the salons of upperclass women.
 - a. The salons were often presided over by women.
 - b. Madame Geoffrin's salon was famous; she was the unofficial godmother of the *Encyclopedia*.
 - c. These salons seemed to have functioned as informal "schools" for women.

III. The enlightenment and absolutism

- A. Many philosophes believed that "enlightened" reform would come by way of "enlightened" monarchs.
 1. The philosophes believed that a benevolent absolutism offered the best chance for improving society.
 2. The rulers seemed to seek the philosophes' advice.
 3. The philosophes distrusted the masses and believed that change had to come from above.

IV. Absolutism in central and eastern Europe

- A. The most influential of the newstyle monarchs were in Prussia, Russia, and Austria.
- B. Frederick the Great of Prussia
 1. Frederick II used the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) to expand Prussia into a great power by seizing Silesia.
 2. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) saw an attempt by Maria Theresa, with the help of France and Russia, to regain Silesia, but it failed.
 3. Frederick allowed religious freedom and promoted education, legal reform, and economic growth but allowed the Junker nobility to keep the middle-class from power in government.
 - a. Frederick allowed the repression of Prussian Jews--who were confined to overcrowded ghettos.
- C. Catherine the Great of Russia
 1. Catherine II imported Western culture to Russia, supported the philosophes, and began a program of domestic reform.
 2. The Pugachev uprising in 1773 led her to reverse the trend toward reform of serfdom and give nobles absolute control of their serfs.
 3. She engaged in a policy of territorial expansion and, with Prussia and Austria, carved up Poland.
- D. The Austrian Habsburgs

1. Maria Theresa of Austria introduced reforms that limited church power, revised the tax system and the bureaucracy, and reduced the power of the lords over the serfs.
 2. Her successor, Joseph II, was a dedicated reformer who abolished serfdom, taxed all equally, and granted religious freedom.
 3. Because of opposition from both the nobles and the peasants, Joseph's reforms were shortlived.
- E. Absolutism in France
1. Some philosophes, such as Voltaire, believed that the monarchy was the best system, while some of the aristocracy sought to limit the king's power.
 2. Favored by the duke of Orléans, who governed as a regent until 1723, the French nobility regained much of the power it had lost under Louis XIV.
 - a. The Parlement of Paris won two decisive victories against taxation.
 - b. It then asserted that the king could not levy taxes without its consent.
 3. Under Louis XV the French minister Maupeou began the restoration of royal absolutism by abolishing the Parlement of Paris.
 4. Louis XVI reinstated the old Parlement and the country drifted toward renewed financial and political crises.
- F. The overall influence of the Enlightenment
1. In France, the rise of judicial and aristocratic opposition combined with liberalism put absolutism on the defensive.
 2. In eastern Europe, the results of enlightened absolutism were modest and absolutism remained strong.
 3. By combining state building with the culture and critical thinking of the Enlightenment, absolute monarchs succeeded in expanding the role of the state in the life of society.

Chapter 19- The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century

- I. Agriculture and the land
- A. By 1700 in most regions of Europe most people faced frequent famine and an agricultural system not much changed since the days of ancient Greece.
 - B. The openfield system
 1. The openfield system, developed during the Middle Ages, divided the land into a few large fields, which were then cut up into long, narrow strips.
 2. The fields were farmed jointly by the community, but a large portion of the arable land was always left fallow.
 3. Common lands were set aside for community use.
 4. The labor and tax system throughout Europe was unjust, but eastern European peasants suffered the most.
 - a. There were few limitations on the amount of forced labor the lord could require.
 - b. Serfs could be sold.

5. By the eighteenth century most peasants in western Europe were free from serfdom, and many owned some land.
- C. The agricultural revolution
1. It was not possible for the peasants to increase their landholdings by taking land from the rich landowners.
 2. The use of idle fallow land by crop rotation increased cultivation, which meant more food.
 - a. The secret was in alternating grain crops with nitrogenstoring crops, such as peas and beans, root crops, and grasses.
 - b. This meant more fodder for animals, which meant more meat for the people and more manure for fertilizer.
 - c. These improvements necessitated ending the openfield system by "enclosing" the fields.
 3. Enclosure of the open fields also meant the disappearance of common land which hurt the small landholders and village poor.
 - a. Many peasants and some noble landowners opposed these changes.
 - b. The enclosure process was slow, and enclosed and open fields existed side by side for a long time.
 - c. Only in the Low Countries and England was enclosure widespread.
- D. The leadership of the Low Countries and England
1. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Low Countries led in intensive farming.
 - a. This Dutch lead was due largely to the need to feed a growing population.
 - b. The growth of the urban population provided good markets for the produce.
 2. Dutch engineers such as Vermuyden helped England drain its marshes to create more arable land.
 - a. Townsend was one of the pioneers of English agricultural improvement.
 - b. Tull advocated the use of horses for plowing and drilling equipment for sowing seeds.
- E. The cost of enclosure
1. Some historians argue that the English landowners were more efficient than continental owners, and that enclosures were fair.
 2. Others argue that the enclosure acts forced small peasants and landless cottagers off the land.
 3. In reality, the enclosure and the exclusion of cottagers and laborers had begun as early as the sixteenth century.
 - a. It was the independent peasant farmers who could not compete, and thus began to disappear.
 - b. The tenant farmers, who rented land from the big landlords, benefited from enclosure.
 - c. By 1815 a tiny minority of English and Scottish landlords held most of the land--which they rented to tenants, who hired laborers.
 4. The enclosure movement marked the rise of marketoriented estate agriculture and the emergence of a landless rural proletariat.
- II. The beginning of the population explosion

- A. The limitations on population growth
 1. The traditional checks on growth were famine, disease, and war.
 2. These checks kept Europe's population growth rate fairly low.
 - B. The new pattern of population growth in the eighteenth century
 1. Population growth resulted from fewer deaths, partly owing to the disappearance of the plague.
 - a. Stricter quarantine measures helped eliminate the plague.
 - b. The elimination of the black rat by the brown rat was a key reason for the disappearance of the disease.
 2. Advances in medicine, such as inoculation against smallpox, did little to reduce the death rate in Europe.
 3. Improvements in sanitation promoted better public health.
 4. An increase in the food supply meant fewer famines and epidemics, especially as transportation improved.
 5. The growing population often led to overpopulation and increased rural poverty.
- III. The growth of cottage industry
- A. Rural poverty and population growth led to peasants undertaking manufacturing at home.
 1. By the eighteenth century this cottage industry challenged the monopoly of the urban craft industry.
 - B. The puttingout system
 1. The puttingout system was based on rural workers producing cloth in their homes for merchantcapitalists, who supplied the raw materials and paid for the finished goods.
 2. This capitalist system reduced the problem of rural unemployment and provided cheap goods.
 3. England led the way in the conversion from urban to rural textile production.
 - C. The textile industry in England as an example of the puttingout system
 1. The English textile industry was a family industry: the women would spin and the men would weave.
 - a. This took place in their tiny cottage.
 - b. Each cottage had a loom--e.g., Kay's new "flying shuttle" loom.
 2. A major problem was that there were not enough spinners to make yarn for the weaver.
 3. Strained relations often existed between workers and capitalist employers.
 4. The capitalist found it difficult to control the worker.
- IV. Building the Atlantic economy in the eighteenth century
- A. Great Britain (formed in 1707) by a union of England and Scotland, took the lead in a great expansion in world trade.
 - B. Mercantilism and colonial wars
 1. Mercantilism is a system of economic regulations aimed at increasing the power of the state, particularly by creating a favorable balance of trade.
 2. English mercantilism was further characterized by the use of government regulations to serve the interests of private individuals.
 3. The Navigation Acts were a form of economic warfare.
 - a. They required that most goods exported to England be carried on British ships.

- b. These acts gave England a virtual trade monopoly with its colonies.
 - 4. The French quest for power in Europe and North America led to international wars.
 - a. The loss of the War of the Spanish Succession forced France to cede parts of Canada to Britain.
 - b. Maria Theresa of Austria sought to crush Prussia--this led to the Seven Years' War.
 - c. New France under Montcalm was finally defeated by British forces at Quebec in 1759.
 - d. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) was the decisive struggle in the French-British competition for colonial empire; France ended up losing its North American possessions.
- C. Land and labor in British America
 - 1. Colonies helped relieve European poverty and surplus population as settlers eagerly took up farming on the virtually free land.
 - a. The availability of land made labor expensive in the colonies.
 - b. Cheap land and scarce labor were critical factors in the growth of slavery.
 - 2. The Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch introduced slavery into the Americas in the sixteenth century.
 - a. The Dutch transported thousands of Africans to Brazil and the Caribbean to work on sugar plantations.
 - b. British adoption of slavery in North America created a new class of rich plantation owners.
 - 3. The English mercantilist system benefited American colonists.
 - a. They exported food to the West Indies to feed the slaves and sugar and tobacco to Britain.
 - b. The American shipping industry grew.
 - 4. The population of the North American colonies grew very quickly during the eighteenth century, and the standards of living were fairly high.
- D. The growth of foreign trade
 - 1. Trade with the English colonists compensated for a decline in British trade on the Continent.
 - 2. The colonies also encouraged industrial growth in Britain.
- E. The Atlantic slave trade
 - 1. The forced migration of millions of Africans was a key element in European economic expansion.
 - 2. Before 1700 slaves were largely captives taken in battles between Africans or were Africans who committed crimes.
 - a. African slaves were seldom sold in Europe; runaways merged into London's population.
 - b. In Britain, slave status was limited by law in 1772; the slave trade was abolished in 1808.
- F. Revival in colonial Latin America
 - 1. Spain's political revitalization was matched by economic improvement in its colonies.
 - a. Philip V brought new leadership; Spain acquired Louisiana in 1763.

- b. Silver mining recovered in Mexico and Peru.
 - c. Trade grew, though industry remained weak.
 - 2. In much of Latin America, Creole landowners dominated the economy and the Indian population by means of debt peonage.
 - 3. Compared to North America, racial mixing was more frequent in Spanish America.
- G. Adam Smith and economic liberalism
 - 1. Despite mercantilism's contribution to imperial growth, a reaction to it set in.
 - 2. The Scottish professor Adam Smith founded modern economics through his general idea of freedom of enterprise in foreign trade.
 - a. He claimed that mercantilism stifled economic growth.
 - b. He advocated free competition; he believed that pursuit of selfinterest would lead to harmony and progress, for workers as well as employers.

Chapter 20- The Changing Life of the People

- I. Marriage and the family
 - A. Extended and nuclear families
 - 1. The nuclear family, not the extended family, was most common in preindustrial western and central Europe.
 - a. This conclusion is based on new studies of "parish registers."
 - 2. Early marriage was not common prior to 1750, and many women (perhaps as much as half) never married at all.
 - a. In a typical English village, women and men married at twentyseven.
 - 3. Marriage was commonly delayed because of poverty and/or local law and tradition.
 - B. Work away from home
 - 1. Many boys left home to work as craftsmen or laborers.
 - 2. Girls left to work as servants--where they often were physically and sexually mistreated.
 - C. Premarital sex and community controls
 - 1. Illegitimate children were not common in preindustrial society; premarital sex was common, but marriage usually followed.
 - a. The traditional (openfield) village system was a check upon both illegitimacy and early marriage.
 - b. Public action against domestic disputes and marital scandals was frequent--often taking the form of degrading public rituals.
 - 2. Birth control methods were primitive and undependable.
 - a. Coitus interruptus was the most common form of birth control.
 - D. New patterns of marriage and illegitimacy
 - 1. Between about 1750 and 1850 the number of illegitimate births soared--in some places from 2 to 25 percent of all births.
 - a. Fewer young women were abstaining from premarital intercourse and fewer young men were marrying the women they got pregnant.

2. One cause for this was that the growth of cottage industry (and later, the factory) resulted in people marrying earlier and for love.
3. Another cause was that more young villagers were moving to towns and cities where they were no longer subject to village controls.
 - a. Low wages, inequality, and changing economic and social conditions made it difficult for women to acquire a marriage based on romance.

II. Children and Education

- A. Childhood was dangerous because of adult indifference, neglect, and even abuse.
- B. Child care and nursing
 1. Infant mortality was very high.
 2. Breast-feeding of children was common among poor women.
 - a. Breast-fed infants were more likely to survive than the infant who was fed artificial foods.
 3. Middle and upperclass women hired wet nurses.
 4. The occupation of wetnursing was often exploitative of lowerclass women.
- C. Foundlings and infanticide
 1. "Killing nurses" and infanticide were forms of population control.
 2. Abortions were illegal and dangerous.
 3. Foundling hospitals were established but could not care for all the abandoned babies.
 - a. Some had as many as 25,000 children.
 - b. In reality, many were simply a form of legalized infanticide.
- D. Attitudes toward children
 1. Attitudes toward children were different from those of today, partly because of the frequency of death.
 - a. Parents and doctors were generally indifferent to children.
 - b. Children were often neglected or treated brutally.
 2. The Enlightenment brought about more humane treatment of children.
 - a. Critics like Rousseau (see Listening to the Past) called for more love and understanding of children.
 - b. The practice of swaddling was discouraged.
- E. Schools and popular literature
 1. Formal education outside the home became more important for the upper classes in the sixteenth century.
 - a. But education for common people did not begin until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
 2. Both Catholic and Protestant reformers encouraged popular education.
 - a. Protestant Prussia led the way in universal education.
 - b. Education was important in Presbyterian Scotland and elsewhere.
 3. Literacy increased, especially in France and Scotland, between 1700 and 1800.
 - a. The Bible was still the favorite book, but new pamphlets called chapbooks became popular.
 - b. Another form was popular literature, such as fairy tales, romances, and fictionalized history.
 - c. Some popular literature dealt with practical arts; most new literature did not challenge the political and social system.

III. Food and medical practice

- A. The life span of Europeans increased from twentyfive years to thirtyfive years between 1700 and 1800, partly because diet improved and plagues disappeared.
- B. Diet and nutrition had deteriorated by 1700
 - 1. The diet of ordinary people depended on grain.
 - a. Peasants and poor people ate mainly grains and vegetables.
 - 2. Most people believed in the "just price," whereby fair prices would be upheld by the government if needed.
 - a. This view eventually clashed with the view of a freemarket economy; food riots were often the result.
 - 3. Vegetables were important in the diet of the poor; milk and meat were rarely eaten.
 - a. Only in Britain and the Low Countries did people eat more meat.
 - 4. Rich people ate quite differently from the poor.
 - a. Their diet was rich in meat and wine.
 - b. They spurned fruits and vegetables.
- C. The impact of diet on health
 - 1. There were nutritional advantages and disadvantages to the diet of the poor.
 - a. Their breads were very nutritious; the basic breadandvegetables diet was adequate.
 - b. The key dietary problem was getting enough green vegetables and milk.
 - 2. The rich often ate too much rich food.
- D. New foods, such as the potato, and new methods of farming brought on new patterns of food consumption.
 - 1. The potato substantially improved the diet of the poor.
 - a. For some poor people, particularly in Ireland, the potato replaced grain as the primary food in the eighteenth century.
 - b. Elsewhere in Europe, the potato took hold more slowly, but became a staple by the end of the century.
 - 2. There was a growth in market gardening and an improvement in food variety in the eighteenth century.
 - 3. There was some improvement in knowledge about diet, and Galen's influence declined.
 - 4. Greater affluence caused many to turn to less nutritious food such as white bread and sugar.
- E. The medical practitioners
 - 1. The Enlightenment led to research and experimentation in medicine and a rise in the number of practitioners.
 - a. The demonic view of disease was common.
 - b. Women were increasingly excluded from the medical professions.
 - c. Faith healers were used to exorcise the demons.
 - 2. Apothecaries (pharmacists) sold drugs that were often harmful to their patients; some drugs worked but too much reliance was placed on purging the bowels.
 - 3. Physicians frequently bled or purged people to death.
 - 4. Surgeons made progress in treating wounds but they often operated without anesthetics and in the midst of dirt.

5. Midwives were medical practitioners who treated various female needs--such as delivery of babies.
 - a. For economic reasons, male surgeons discredited women midwives.
 - F. Hospitals and medical experiments
 1. Patients were crowded together, often several to a bed.
 2. There was no fresh air or hygiene.
 3. Hospital reform, partly due to Diderot's writings, began in the late eighteenth century.
 4. Mental illness was misunderstood and treated inhumanely.
 5. Some attempts at reform occurred in the late eighteenth century.
 - G. Medical experimentation intensified after 1750.
 1. Some medical experimentation was creative quackery.
 2. The conquest of smallpox was the greatest medical triumph of the eighteenth century; 80 percent of the population was stricken at some point in life.
 - a. Montague's and Jenner's work on inoculation was the beginning of a significant decline in smallpox.
 - b. Jenner's work laid the foundation for the science of immunology in the nineteenth century.
- IV. Religion and popular culture
- A. The institutional church
 1. Despite the critical spirit of the Enlightenment, the local parish church remained important in daily life, and the priest or pastor was the link between the people and the church hierarchy.
 2. The Protestant belief in individualism in religion was tempered by increased state control over the church and religious life.
 3. Catholic monarchs also increased state control over the church, making it less subject to papal influence.
 - a. Spain took control of ecclesiastical appointments and the Inquisition and, with France, pressured Rome to dissolve the Jesuits.
 - b. In Austria, Maria Theresa and Joseph II greatly reduced the size and influence of the monasteries and convents.
 - B. Protestant revival
 1. The complacency of earlier Protestantism ended with the advent of "Pietism," which stressed religious enthusiasm, popular education, and individual religious development.
 2. In England, Wesley was troubled by religious corruption, decline, and uncertainty.
 - a. His Methodist movement rejected the Calvinist idea of predestination and stressed salvation through faith.
 - b. Wesley's ministry brought on a religious awakening, particularly among the lower classes.
 - C. Catholic piety
 1. In Catholic countries the old religious culture of ritual and superstition remained popular.
 2. Catholic clergy reluctantly allowed traditional religion to survive.
 - D. Leisure and religion

1. Carnival time saw a combination of religious celebration and popular recreation, often giving common people a chance to release their frustrations and aggressions.
2. Common culture was oral, and participation tended to be by way of the group, not the individual activity.
3. In the eighteenth century leisure tended to become more commercialized, including profit-oriented spectator sports.
 - a. Blood sports, such as bullbaiting, were popular.
4. The educated elites and the clergy led an attack on popular entertainment--hence a wedge was driven between common people and the educated public.

Chapter 21- The Revolution in Politics, 1775-1815

- I. Liberty and equality
 - A. In the eighteenth century, liberty meant human rights and freedoms and the sovereignty of the people.
 1. Liberals demanded that citizens' rights had no limits except those that assure rights to others.
 2. Revolutionary liberals believed that the people were sovereign.
 - B. Equality meant equal rights and equality of opportunity.
 1. But most liberals did not extend such rights to women.
 2. "Equality" pertained to equality of opportunity and legal equality, not economic equality.
 - C. The roots of classical liberalism
 1. The Classical Greek and the Judeo-Christian traditions liberalism.
 2. Liberalism's modern roots are found in the Enlightenment's concern for human dignity, human happiness on earth, faith in science, personal freedom and legal equality.
 3. These were best expressed by Locke and Montesquieu.
 - D. The attraction of liberalism
 1. Liberalism was attractive to the prosperous, well-educated elites.
 2. It lacked popular support because common people were more interested in economic issues and the protection of traditional practices and institutions.
- II. The American Revolution (1775-1789)
 - A. Some argue that the American Revolution was not a revolution at all but merely a war for independence.
 - B. The origins of the Revolution
 1. The British wanted the Americans to pay their share of imperial expenses.
 - a. Americans paid very low taxes.
 - b. Parliament passed the Stamp Act (1765) to raise revenue.
 - c. Vigorous protest from the colonies forced its repeal (1766).
 2. Although no less represented than Englishmen themselves, many Americans believed they had the right to make their own laws.
 - a. Americans have long exercised a great deal of independence.

- b. Their greater political equality was matched by greater social and economic equality--there was no hereditary noble or serf class.
 - 3. The issue of taxation and representation ultimately led to the outbreak of fighting.
 - C. The independence movement was encouraged by several factors.
 - 1. The British refused to compromise, thus losing the support of many colonists.
 - 2. The radical ideas of Thomas Paine, expressed in the bestselling *Common Sense*, greatly influenced public opinion in favor of independence.
 - 3. The Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson and passed by the Second Continental Congress (1776), further increased the desire of the colonists for independence.
 - 4. Although many Americans remained loyal to Britain, the independence movement had widebased support from all sections of society.
 - 5. European aid, especially from the French government and from French volunteers, contributed greatly to the American victory in 1783.
 - D. Framing the Constitution and the Bill of Rights
 - 1. The federal, or central, government was given important powers--the right to tax, the means to enforce its laws, and the regulation of trade--but the states had important powers too.
 - 2. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government were designed to balance one another.
 - 3. The AntiFederalists feared that the central government had too much power; to placate them, the Federalists wrote the Bill of Rights, which spells out the rights of the individual.
 - a. Liberty did not, however, necessarily mean democracy.
 - b. Equality meant equality before the law, not equality of political participation or economic wellbeing.
 - E. The American Revolution impact on Europe.
 - 1. It reinforced the Enlightenment idea that a better world was possible. Europeans watched the new country with fascination.
- III. The French Revolution (1789-1791)
 - A. The influence of the American Revolution
 - 1. Many French soldiers, such as Lafayette, served in America and were impressed by the ideals of the Revolution.
 - 2. The American Revolution influenced the French Revolution, but the latter was more violent and more influential; it opened the era of modern politics.
 - B. The breakdown of the old order
 - 1. By the 1780s, the government was nearly bankrupt.
 - 2. The French banking system could not cope with the fiscal problems, leaving the monarchy with no choice but to increase taxes.
 - C. Legal orders and social realities: the three estates
 - 1. The first estate, the clergy, had many privileges and much wealth, and it levied an oppressive tax (the tithe) on landowners.
 - 2. The second estate, the nobility, also had great privileges, wealth, and power, and it taxed the peasantry for its own profit.
 - 3. The third estate, the commoners, was a mixture of a few rich members of the middle class, urban workers, and the mass of peasants.

- D. Revisionist historians challenge the traditional interpretation of the origins of the French Revolution.
 - 1. They argue that the bourgeoisie was not locked in conflict with the nobility, that both groups were highly fragmented.
 - a. The nobility remained fluid and relatively open.
 - b. Key sections of the nobility were liberal.
 - c. The nobility and the bourgeoisie were not economic rivals.
 - 2. Nevertheless, the old interpretation, that a new social order was challenging the old, is still convincing and valid.
- E. The formation of the National Assembly of 1789
 - 1. Louis XVI's plan to tax landed property was opposed by the Assembly of Notables and the Parlement of Paris.
 - 2. Louis then gave in and called for a meeting of the Estates General, the representative body of the three estates.
 - a. Twothirds of the delegates from the clergy were parish priests.
 - b. A majority of the noble representatives were conservative, but fully a third were liberals committed to major change.
 - c. The third estate representatives were largely lawyers and government officials.
 - d. The third estate wanted the three estates to meet together to ensure the passage of fundamental reforms.
 - e. According to Sieyès in *What Is the Third Estate?*, the third estate constituted the true strength of the French nation.
 - 3. The dispute over voting in the Estates General led the third estate to break away and form the National Assembly, which pledged, in the Oath of the Tennis Court, not to disband until they had written a new constitution.
 - 4. Louis tried to reassert his monarchical authority and assembled an army.
- F. The revolt of the poor and the oppressed
 - 1. Rising bread prices in 1788-1789 stirred the people to action.
 - 2. Fearing attack by the king's army, angry Parisians stormed the Bastille on July 14, 1789.
 - a. The people took the Bastille, and the king was forced to recall his troops.
 - b. This uprising of the masses saved the National Assembly.
 - c. All across France peasants began to rise up against their lords.
 - d. The Great Fear seized the countryside.
 - 3. The peasant revolt forced the National Assembly to abolish feudal obligations.
- G. A limited monarchy established by the bourgeoisie
 - 1. The National Assembly's Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) proclaimed the rights of all citizens and guaranteed equality before the law and a representative government.
 - 2. Meanwhile, the poor women of Paris marched on Versailles and forced the royal family and the government to move to Paris.
 - 3. The National Assembly established a constitutional monarchy and passed major reforms.
 - a. The nobility was abolished as a separate legal order.
 - b. All lawmaking power was placed in the hands of the National Assembly.

- c. The jumble of provinces was replaced by 83 departments.
- d. The metric system was introduced.
- e. Economic freedom was promoted.
- 4. The National Assembly granted religious freedom to Jews and Protestants, nationalized the property of the church, and abolished the monasteries.
- 5. This attack on the church turned many people against the Revolution.

IV. World war and republican France (1791-1799)

A. Foreign reactions and the beginning of war

- 1. Outside France, liberals and radicals hoped that the revolution would lead to a reordering of society everywhere, but conservatives such as Burke (in *Reflections on the Revolution in France*) predicted it would lead to chaos and tyranny.
- 2. Wollstonecraft challenged Burke (in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*), arguing that it was time for women to demand equal rights.
- 3. Fear among European kings and nobility that the revolution would spread resulted in the Declaration of Pillnitz (1791), which threatened the invasion of France by Austria and Prussia.
- 4. In retaliation, the patriotic French deputies, most of them Jacobins, declared war on Austria in 1792.
 - a. But France was soon retreating before the armies of the First Coalition.
 - b. A war of patriotic fervor swept France.
- 5. In August of 1792 a revolutionary crowd attacked the royal place and the Legislative Assembly imprisoned the king.

B. The "second revolution" and rapid radicalization in France

- 1. The National Convention proclaimed France a republic in 1792.
- 2. However, the convention was split between the Girondists and the Mountain, led by Robespierre and Danton.
- 3. Louis XVI was tried and convicted of treason by the National Convention and guillotined in early 1793.
- 4. French armies continued the "war against tyranny" by declaring war on nearly all of Europe.
- 5. In Paris, the struggle between the Girondists and the Mountain for political power led to the political rise of the laboring poor.
- 6. The sansculottes--the laboring poor--allied with the Mountain and helped Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety gain power.

C. Total war and the Terror

- 1. Robespierre established a planned economy to wage total war and aid the poor.
 - a. The government fixed prices on key products and instituted rationing.
 - b. Workshops were nationalized to produce goods for the war effort, and raw materials were requisitioned.
- 2. Under Robespierre, the Reign of Terror was instituted to eliminate opposition to the Revolution, and some 40,000 people were jailed or executed.
 - a. Robespierre cooperated with the san-culottes in bringing about a state-controlled economy--particularly fixing the price of bread.
 - b. An "emergency socialism" system of production and manufacture arose.
 - c. They drew on the expulsive power of patriotic support of nation and the war effort.

3. The war became a national mission against evil within and outside of France, and not a class war.
 - a. Ideas of common tradition and democracy combined with the danger of foreign and internal foes to encourage nationalism.
 - b. A huge army of patriots was led by young generals who relied on mass attack to overwhelm the enemy.
- D. The Thermidorian reaction and the Directory (1794-1799)
1. Fear of the Reign of Terror led to the execution of its leader, Robespierre.
 2. The period of the Thermidorian reaction following Robespierre's death was marked by a return to bourgeois liberalism.
 - a. Economic controls were abolished; the poor lost their fervor for revolution.
 - b. Riots by the poor were put down and rural women brought back the Catholic church and worship.
 - c. The middle class wrote another constitution to protect their power; the Directory, a five-man executive body, was established.
 3. A military dictatorship, under Bonaparte, was established in order to prevent a return to peace and monarchy.
- V. The Napoleonic era (1799-1815)
- A. Napoleon's rule of France
1. Napoleon appealed to many, like Abbé Sieyès, who looked for a strong military leader to end the country's upheaval.
 2. Napoleon was named first consul of the republic in 1799.
 3. He maintained order and worked out important compromises.
 - a. His Civil Code of 1804 granted the middle class equality under the law and safeguarded their right to own property.
 - b. He confirmed the gains of the peasants.
 - c. He centralized the government, strengthened the bureaucracy, and granted amnesty to nobles.
 - d. He signed the Concordat of 1801, which guaranteed freedom of worship for Catholics.
 4. Napoleon brought order and stability to France but betrayed the ideals of the Revolution by violating the rights of free speech and press and free elections.
 - a. Women had no political rights; they lost many gains they had made, and the Napoleonic Code reestablished the power of the male in the family.
 - b. There were harsh penalties for political offenses.
- B. Napoleon's wars and foreign policy
1. He defeated Austria (1801) and made peace with Britain (1802), the two remaining members of the Second Coalition.
 2. Another war (against the Third Coalition--Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Britain) resulted in British naval dominance at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805).
 3. Napoleon used the fear of a conspiracy to return the Bourbons to power to get himself proclaimed emperor in 1804.
 4. The Third Coalition collapsed at Austerlitz (1805), and Napoleon reorganized the German states into the Confederation of the Rhine.
 5. In 1806, Napoleon defeated the Prussians at Jena and Auerstädt.

- a. In the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Prussia lost half its population, while Russia accepted Napoleon's reorganization of western and central Europe.
 - b. Russia also joined with France in a blockade against British goods.
 - 6. Napoleon's Grand Empire in Europe meant French control of continental Europe.
 - a. Napoleon introduced many French laws, abolishing feudal dues and serfdom in the process.
 - b. However, he also levied heavy taxes.
 - c. French rule sparked patriotic upheavals and nationalism in other countries.
 - 7. The beginning of the end for Napoleon came with the Spanish revolt (1808) and the British blockade.
 - 8. The French invasion of Russia in 1812 was a disaster for Napoleon--over 500,000 died or were taken prisoner.
 - 9. Napoleon was defeated by the Fourth Coalition (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain) and abdicated his throne in 1814, only to be defeated again at Waterloo in 1815.
 - 10. The Bourbon dynasty was restored in France under Louis XVIII.
- VI. Summary
 - A. The French revolution left a range of political options and alternative visions of the future--including liberalism, assertive nationalism, radical democratic republicanism, embryonic socialism, and selfconscious conservatism.

Chapter 22- The Revolution in Energy and Industry

- I. The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain
 - A. Great Britain (England, Scotland, Wales) was the pioneer in industrialization--which was largely unplanned and with no precedent.
 - B. The eighteenthcentury origins of the Industrial Revolution
 - 1. A colonial empire, the expanding Atlantic trade, and a strong and tariff-free home market created new demands for English manufactured goods.
 - 2. Cheap food also increased this demand because people could now spend more on clothing, toys, and so on.
 - 3. Available capital, stable government, economic freedom, and mobile labor in England encouraged growth.
 - 4. The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain in the 1780s and on the Continent after 1815.
 - C. The first factories
 - 1. Growing demand for textiles led to the creation of the world's first large factories.
 - a. The putting-out system could not keep up with demand.
 - b. Hargreaves's spinning jenny and Arkwright's water frame speeded up the spinning process.
 - c. Cotton spinning was gradually concentrated in factories.
 - 2. Cotton goods became cheaper and more widely available.
 - 3. The wages of weavers rose rapidly, and many agricultural workers became handloom weavers.

4. Working conditions in the early factories were worse than those for people spinning and weaving at home; factories were viewed as poorhouses.
 5. Abandoned children became a prime source of labor in the early factories.
 - a. These "apprenticed" workers commonly worked 13-14 hours per day.
 - b. This exploitation led to reform and humanitarian attitudes toward children.
 6. By 1831, the cotton textile industry had grown to 22 percent of the country's entire industrial production.
- D. The problem of energy
1. The search for a solution to the energy problem was a major cause of industrialization.
 2. From prehistoric to medieval times the major energy sources were plants and animals, and human beings and animals did most of the work.
 3. Energy from the land was limited.
 - a. By the eighteenth century, Britain's major source of fuel, wood, was nearly gone.
 - b. Wood was crucial as a source of heat and as a source of charcoal for the production of iron.
 - c. A new source of power and energy was needed, so people turned to coal.
- E. The steam engine breakthrough
1. Before about 1700, coal was used for heat but not to produce mechanical energy or to run machinery.
 - a. The coal that one miner extracted in one day could be converted into enough energy to create about 27 days' worth of similar energy for other production.
 2. Early steam engines, such as those of Savery (1698) and Newcomen (1705), were inefficient but revolutionary converters of coal into energy.
 3. In the 1760s, in Scotland, James Watt increased the efficiency of the steam engine and began to produce them.
 4. Steam power was used in many industries, and it encouraged other breakthroughs.
 - a. It enabled the textile industry to expand.
 - b. The iron industry was transformed as steam power made coke available.
 - c. Cort's puddling furnace led to increased production of pig iron.
- F. The coming of the railroads
1. Stephenson's steampowered *Rocket* was Europe's first locomotive--running on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, the first important railroad (1830).
 2. The railroad boom (1830-1850) meant lower transportation costs, larger markets, and cheaper goods.
 3. Railroad building took workers from their rural life and made them more inclined to become urban dwellers.
 4. The railroad changed the outlook and values of the entire society.
- G. Industry and population
1. The 1851 Great Exposition, held in the Crystal Palace, reflected the growth of industry and population in Britain and confirmed that Britain was the "workshop of the world."
 2. GNP grew by 400 percent and population boomed, but average consumption grew by only 75 percent.

- a. Malthus argued that the population would always exceed the food supply.
- b. Ricardo said that wages would always be low.
- c. However, Malthus and Ricardo were proved wrong in the long run.

II. Industrialization in continental Europe

- A. Outside of Britain, industrialization proceeded gradually, with uneven jerks and national and regional variations.
- B. National variations
 - 1. Statistics show that between 1750 and 1830, Britain industrialized more rapidly than other countries--moving twice as fast, for example, as France in 1830.
 - 2. Belgium followed Britain's lead, with France showing gradual growth.
 - 3. By 1913, Germany and the United States were closing in on Britain; the rest of Europe (along with Japan) grew, while some Asian states (India, China) lost ground.
- C. The challenge of industrialization
 - 1. Revolutions and wars on the Continent retarded economic growth after 1789.
 - 2. Continental countries found it difficult to compete with Britain after 1815 because it was so economically and technologically advanced.
 - 3. However, continental countries had three advantages.
 - a. Most continental countries had a rich tradition of putting out enterprise, merchant capitalists, and urban artisans.
 - b. Britain had done the developmental pathbreaking, so other countries could simply copy the British way of doing things.
 - c. The power of strong central governments could be used to promote industry.
- D. Agents of industrialization in continental Europe
 - 1. Cockerill, in Belgium, was one of many Englishmen who brought British industrial secrets to other parts of Europe.
 - 2. In Germany, Harkort's failed attempt to industrialize Germany illustrates the difficulty of duplicating the British achievements.
 - 3. Governments aided industrialists by erecting tariffs, building roads and canals, and financing railroads.
 - 4. Many thinkers and writers, such as List in Germany, believed that industrialization would advance the welfare of the nation.
 - a. List supported the idea of a tariff-free zone in Germany, the Zollverein (1834).
 - b. Henceforth, goods could move among the German member states without tariffs, but goods from other nations were subject to a tariff.
 - 5. Banks played a more important role in industrialization on the Continent than in Britain.
 - a. Industrial banks, such as the Cr dit Mobilier, became important in France and Germany in the 1850s.
 - b. These industrial banks mobilized the savings of thousands of small investors and invested them in transportation and industry.

III. Capital and labor in the age of the Industrial Revolution

- A. The new class of factory owners

1. As the careers of Watt and Harkort illustrate, capitalist owners were locked into a highly competitive system.
 2. The early industrialists came from a variety of backgrounds.
 - a. Some came from merchant families, while others came from artisan backgrounds.
 - b. Quakers and Scots were important in Britain, while Protestants and Jews were important in France.
 3. As factories grew larger, opportunities declined.
 - a. Wives and daughters of successful businessmen were shut out of business activity and were expected to concentrate on feminine and domestic activities.
- B. The new factory workers
1. Many observers claimed that the Industrial Revolution brought misery to the workers.
 - a. The romantic poets Blake and Wordsworth protested the life of the workers and the pollution of the land and water.
 - b. The Luddites smashed the new machines they believed were putting them out of work.
 - c. Engels wrote a blistering attack on the middle classes, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844).
 2. Others, such as Ure and Chadwick, claimed that life was improving for the working class.
 3. The statistics with regard to purchasing power of the worker (real wages) show that there was little or no improvement between 1780 and 1820.
 - a. Between 1792 and 1815, living conditions actually declined as food prices rose faster than wages.
 - b. Only after 1840 did a substantial improvement in real wages occur. Even in this era of improving purchasing power, hours of labor increased and unemployment was present.
 4. Diet probably improved, as did the supply of clothing, but housing did not.
- C. Conditions of work: were workers exploited?
1. Working in the factory meant more discipline and less personal freedom--the factory whistle replaced the more relaxed pace of cottage work.
 2. The refusal of cottage workers to work in factories led to child labor.
 - a. The use of pauper children was forbidden in 1802.
 - b. Urban factories attracted whole families, as did coal mining, and tended to preserve kinship ties.
 - c. Children and parents worked long hours.
 3. Parliament acted to limit child labor.
 - a. Robert Owen, a successful manufacturer in Scotland, proposed limiting the hours of labor and child labor.
 - b. The Factory Act of 1833 limited child labor and the number of hours children could work in textile factories.
 - c. Factory owners were required to establish elementary schools for the children of their employees.

4. Subcontracting led to a close relationship between the subcontractor and his work crew, many of whom were friends and relations.
 - a. Subcontracting helped maintain kinship ties.
- D. The sexual division of labor
1. A new pattern of "separate spheres" emerged.
 - a. The man emerged as the family's primary wage earner, while the woman found only limited job opportunities.
 - b. Married women were much less likely to work outside the house after the first child arrived.
 - c. Women were confined to lowpaying, deadend jobs.
 2. The reasons for this reorganization of paid work along gender lines are debated.
 - a. One argument centers on the idea of a deeply ingrained "patriarchal tradition," which grew out of the preindustrial craft unions.
 - b. Others claim that factory discipline conflicted with strong incentives on the part of mothers to concentrate on child care.
 - c. This theory centers on the claim that women saw division of labor as the best strategy for family survival in the industrializing society.
 - d. Others argue that sexual division of labor was part of an effort to control the sexuality of workingclass youth.
 - e. Conditions in the coal industry illustrated these points.
- E. The early labor movement
1. Many kinds of employment changed slowly; farm and domestic labor continued to be most common, and smallscale handicraft production remained unchanged in many trades.
 2. Working-class solidarity and class consciousness developed--particularly in the north of England--and many employers adopted the feeling that unions were a form of restriction on industrial growth.
 - a. The Combination Act of 1799 outlawed unions and strikes.
 - b. An 1813-1814 law ended wage regulations and allowed the labor market to be flooded with women and children.
 3. Workers continued to organize and strike, and the Combination Acts were repealed in 1824.
 4. Owen and others tried to create a national union of workers (the GNCTU), and then after 1851 the craft unions (called "new model unions") won benefits for their members.
 5. Chartism was a workers' political movement that sought universal male suffrage, shorter work hours, and cheap bread.

Chapter 23- Ideologies and Upheavals, 1815-1850

- I. The peace settlement
 - A. By 1814, the conservative monarchs had defeated French armies and checked the spread of the French Revolution--but many questions remained unanswered..
 - B. The European balance of power

1. The victors (mainly the alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain) restored the French boundaries of 1792 and the Bourbon dynasty.
 2. They made other changes in the boundaries of Europe, establishing Prussia as a "sentinel" against France, and created a new kingdom out of Belgium and Holland.
 3. It was believed that the concept of the balance of power--an international equilibrium of political and military forces--would preserve peace in Europe.
 4. But the demands of the victors, especially the Prussians and the Russians, for compensation threatened the balance.
 - a. The Russian demands for Poland and the Prussian wish for Saxony led to conflict among the powers.
 - b. Castlereagh, Metternich, and Talleyrand forced Russia and Prussia into a compromise whereby Russia got part of Poland and Prussia received two-fifths of Saxony.
- C. Intervention and repression
1. Under Metternich, Austria, Prussia, and Russia led a crusade against liberalism.
 - a. They formed a Holy Alliance to check future liberal and revolutionary activity.
 - b. When liberals succeeded in Spain and in the Two Sicilies, these powers intervened to restore conservatism.
 - c. But Latin American republics broke from Spain.
 - d. Metternich's policies also dominated the German Confederation--through which the Carlsbad Decrees were issued in 1819.
 - e. These decrees repressed subversive ideas and organizations in the 38 German states.
- D. Metternich and conservatism
1. Metternich represented the view that the best state blended monarchy, bureaucracy, and aristocracy.
 2. He hated liberalism, which he claimed stirred up the lower classes and caused war and bloodshed.
 - a. Liberalism also stirred up national aspirations in central Europe, which could lead to war and the breakup of the Austrian Empire.
 - b. The empire, which was dominated by the minority Germans, contained many ethnic groups, including Hungarians and Czechs, which was a potential source of weakness and dissatisfaction.
- II. Radical ideas and early socialism
- A. After 1815 new radical ideas emerged--all of which rejected the old conservatism and sought alternative ideologies.
- B. Liberalism
1. Liberalism demanded representative government, equality before the law, and individual freedoms such as freedom of speech and assembly.
 2. Early-nineteenth-century liberalism opposed government intervention in social and economic affairs.
 3. Economic liberalism was known as laissez-faire--the principle that the economy should be left unregulated.

- a. Adam Smith was critical of mercantilism and argued that a free economy would bring wealth for all, including workers.
 - b. British businessmen often used the principle of laissez-faire in self-serving ways,
 - 4. After 1815, political liberalism became increasingly a middle-class doctrine, used to exclude the lower classes from government and business.
 - a. Some "radicals" went beyond liberalism to call for democracy--that is, universal voting rights.
- C. Nationalism
 - 1. Nationalism was a second radical idea in the years after 1815.
 - a. It advocated the ideal of "cultural unity."
 - b. Nationalists sought to turn cultural unity into political reality, so that the territory of each people coincides with its state boundaries.
 - c. The new urban-industrial society needed better communication (such as language and cultural unity) between individuals and groups.
 - d. "Nations" are recent creations--the product of a new nationalist ideology centering on ceremonies and parades and other traditions.
 - e. A common belief in "the people" linked nationalism with democracy, liberalism, and republicanism.
 - 2. Nationalists believed that every nation had the right to exist in freedom.
 - 3. However, nationalism generated "we" and "they" ideas of national superiority and national mission.
- D. French utopian socialism
 - 1. Socialism began in France with the goal of overthrowing individualism with cooperation and a sense of community.
 - 2. French socialists proposed a system of greater economic equality planned by the government.
 - a. They believed the rich and poor should be more nearly equal economically.
 - b. They believed that private property should be abolished.
 - 3. Saint-Simon and Fourier proposed planned socialist communities.
 - a. Saint-Simon was a moralist who believed that a planned society would bring about improved conditions for the poor.
 - b. Fourier proposed new planned towns; he also criticized middle-class family life and sexual-marriage customs.
 - 4. Blanc believed that the state should set up government-backed workshops and factories to guarantee employment.
 - 5. The anarchist Proudhon claimed that property was profit that was stolen from the worker, and that the worker was the source of all wealth.
 - 6. Socialists supported skilled workers in their hatred of laissez-faire laws and their quest for collective action and state intervention on their behalf.
- E. The birth of Marxian socialism
 - 1. The *Communist Manifesto* (1848), by Marx and Engels, is the key work of socialism.
 - a. Marx saw all of previous history in terms of an economic class struggle.

- b. The industrial society was characterized, according to Marx, by the exploitation of the proletariat (workers) by the bourgeoisie (middle class).
- 2. He predicted that the future would bring a violent revolution by workers to overthrow the capitalists.
- 3. Marx argued that profits were really wages stolen from the workers.
- 4. His theory of historical evolution came from Hegel.
 - a. Hegel believed that each age is characterized by a dominant set of ideas, which produces opposing ideas and eventually a synthesis.
 - b. Marx retained Hegel's view of history as a dialectic process of change but made economic relationships between classes the driving force.

III. The romantic movement

- A. The romantic movement was partly a revolt against classicism and the Enlightenment.
 - 1. Romantics rejected the classical emphasis on order and rationality.
- B. Romanticism's tenets
 - 1. Romanticism was characterized by a belief in emotional exuberance, imagination, and spontaneity.
 - 2. Romantics stressed individualism, led bohemian lives, and rejected materialism.
 - 3. Romantics used nature as a source of inspiration, and they emphasized the study of history.
 - a. History was seen as the key to an organic, dynamic universe.
 - b. Reading and writing history was viewed as the way to understand national destiny.
- C. Romanticism in literature
 - 1. Romantic literature first developed fully in Britain, as exemplified by the poets Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Byron, Shelley, and Keats.
 - a. Wordsworth was influenced by the ideas of Rousseau and the spirit of the early French Revolution.
 - b. Wordsworth and Coleridge rejected classical rules of poetry; Wordsworth's work points to the power of nature to elevate and instruct.
 - c. One of the best examples of his romantic credo is his poem "Daffodils."
 - d. The Scottish novelist and poet Walter Scott romanticized history through a series of historical novels.
 - 2. Classicism remained strong in France under Napoleon, but in 1813 Germaine de Staël urged the French to turn away from classicism to romanticism.
 - 3. In France, Victor Hugo emphasized strange settings and human emotions--such as those in his *Hunchback of Notre Dame*.
 - 4. Romantics such as the Frenchwoman George Sand rebelled against social conventions.
 - 5. In central Europe, romanticism reinforced nationalism.
- D. Romanticism in art and music
 - 1. Delacroix, Turner, and Constable were three of the greatest romantic painters.
 - 2. Romantic composers rejected well-defined structure in their efforts to find maximum range and emotional intensity.
 - a. Liszt was the greatest pianist of his age.
 - b. Beethoven was the first master of romantic music.

IV. Reforms and revolutions

- A. National liberation in Greece
 - 1. Greek nationalists led by Ypsilanti in 1821 fought for freedom from Turkey.
 - 2. The Great Powers supported the Ottoman Empire, but Britain, France, and Russia supported Greek nationalism, and Greece became independent in 1830.
- B. Liberal reform in Great Britain
 - 1. The British aristocracy, which controlled the Tory party, feared liberalism and worked to repress it.
 - 2. The Corn Law (1815), which protected the English landowners by prohibiting the importation of foreign grain unless the domestic price rose above a certain level, is an example of aristocratic class power and selfishness.
 - a. The change in the Corn Laws led to protests by urban laborers, supported by radical intellectuals.
 - b. Parliament responded by passing the Six Acts (1819), which eliminated all mass meetings.
 - 3. The growth of the middle class and its desire for reform led to the Reform Bill of 1832, which increased the number of voters significantly.
 - a. The House of Commons emerged as the major legislative body.
 - b. The new industrial areas of the country gained representation in Commons.
 - c. Many "rotten boroughs" were eliminated.
 - 4. The Chartist demand for universal male suffrage failed, but the Anti-Corn Law League succeeded in getting the Corn Laws repealed in 1846 and free trade established.
 - 5. By 1846, Tory and Whig parties were interested in reform and passed the Ten Hours Act (1847) that limited the factory workday for women and young people to ten hours.
- C. Ireland and the Great Famine
 - 1. Most people in Ireland were Irish Catholic peasants who rented land from a small number of lazy and greedy English Protestant landlords.
 - 2. These peasants lived in shocking poverty--and under tremendous population growth.
 - 3. Population growth was due to potato cultivation, early marriage, and high rents.
 - 4. From 1820 on the potato crop was often diseased and starvation resulted.
 - 5. Relief efforts were inadequate; landlords insisted on rents and the government continued to collect taxes--all of which led to massive evictions.
 - 6. Millions died or left Ireland; anti-British feelings followed--as did Irish nationalism.
- D. The revolution of 1830 in France
 - 1. Louis XVIII's Constitutional Charter of 1814, although undemocratic, protected the people against a return to royal absolutism and aristocratic privilege.
 - 2. Charles X, Louis's successor, tried to re-establish the old order and repudiated the Constitutional Charter in 1830.
 - 3. The reaction was an immediate insurrection that brought the expulsion of Charles X.
 - 4. The new king, Louis Philippe, accepted the Constitutional Charter but did little more than protect the rich upper middle class.

V. The revolutions of 1848

A. A democratic republic in France

1. The refusal of King Louis Philippe and his chief minister, Guizot, to bring about electoral reform sparked a revolt in Paris in 1848.
2. The revolt led to the establishment of a provisional republic that granted universal male suffrage and other reforms.
3. The revolutionary coalition couldn't agree on a common program, as the moderate, liberal republicans split with the radical socialist republicans.
 - a. Many artisans hated cutthroat capitalism and wanted strong craft unions.
4. National workshops were a compromise between the socialists' demands for work for all and the moderates' determination to provide only temporary relief for the massive unemployment.
5. The fear of socialism led to a clash of classes.
 - a. The workers invaded the Constituent Assembly and tried to proclaim a new revolutionary government.
 - b. The Assembly dissolved the workshops in Paris.
6. The closing down of the workshops led to a violent uprising (the June Days).
7. Class war led to the election of a strongman, Louis Napoleon, as president in 1848.

B. The Austrian Empire in 1848

1. The revolution in France resulted in popular upheaval throughout central Europe, but in the end conservative reaction won.
2. Hungarian nationalism resulted in revolution against the Austrian overlords.
 - a. Under Kossuth, the Hungarians demanded national autonomy, civil liberties, and universal suffrage.
 - b. Emperor Ferdinand I promised reforms and a liberal constitution.
 - c. Serfdom was abolished.
3. Conflict among the different nationalities (Hungarians against Croats, Serbs, and Rumanians; Czechs against Germans), encouraged by the monarchy, weakened the revolution.
4. The alliance of the working and middle classes soon collapsed.
5. The conservative aristocrats crushed the revolution.
6. Francis Joseph was crowned emperor in 1848.
7. The Russian army helped defeat the Hungarians.

C. Prussia and the Frankfurt Assembly

1. Middle-class Prussians wanted to create a unified, liberal Germany.
2. Inspired by events in France, the working-class people of Prussia demanded and received a liberal constitution from Frederick William IV.
3. Further worker demands for suffrage and socialist reforms caused fear among the aristocracy.
4. The Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848 was a middle-class liberal body that began writing a constitution for a unified Germany.
5. War with Denmark over the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein ended with a rejection of the Frankfurt Assembly by the newly elected Frederick William and the failure of German liberalism.

Chapter 24- Life in the Emerging Urban Society

- I. Taming the city
 - A. Industry and the growth of cities
 1. Deplorable urban conditions of congestion, filth, and disease existed long before the Industrial Revolution.
 2. The Industrial Revolution and population growth made urban reform necessary.
 - a. In Britain, the percentage of population living in cities of 20,000 or more jumped from 17 percent in 1801 to 54 percent in 1891.
 - b. Housing was crowded and poor, and living conditions unhealthy.
 - c. Many people lived in sewerage and excrement.
 3. What was responsible for the awful conditions?
 - a. A lack of transportation, which necessitated the crowding, and the slowness of government enforcement of sanitary codes contributed to the problem.
 - b. The legacy of rural housing also contributed to the problem.
 - B. Public health and the bacterial revolution
 1. The reformer Chadwick was influenced by Bentham's ideas of the greatest good for the greatest number.
 - a. He believed that cleaning the city would curtail disease.
 - b. He proposed the installation of running water and sewers.
 2. New sanitation methods and public health laws were adopted all over Europe from the 1840s on.
 - C. The bacterial revolution
 1. The prevailing theory of disease (the miasmatic theory) was that it was caused by bad odors.
 2. Pasteur's theory that germs caused disease was a major breakthrough, and its application meant disease could be controlled through vaccines.
 3. Based on the work of Koch and others, the organisms responsible for many diseases were identified and effective vaccines developed.
 4. Lister developed the concept of sterilization of wounds.
 5. Mortality rates began to decline rapidly in European countries.
 - D. Urban planning and public transportation
 1. Better urban planning contributed to improved living conditions.
 2. After 1850, Paris was transformed by the urban planning of Haussmann and became a model city.
 - a. Broad, straight, treelined boulevards cut through the center of the city.
 - b. Parks were created throughout the city.
 - c. Sewers were improved and aqueducts built.
 3. Zoning expropriation laws were a major tool of the new urbanism.
 4. Electric streetcars revolutionized urban life and enabled the cities to expand.
- II. Rich and poor and those in between
 - A. Social structure

1. Between about 1850 and 1906, the standard of living for the average person improved substantially.
 2. But differences in wealth continued to be enormous; society remained stratified in a number of classes.
- B. The middle classes
1. The upper middle class was composed of successful business families who were attracted to the aristocratic lifestyle.
 2. The middle middleclass group contained merchants, lawyers, and doctors--people who were well off but not wealthy.
 3. Next came the lower middle class: shopkeepers, small businessmen, and whitecollar workers.
 4. Experts, such as engineers, chemists, accountants, and managers, were also considered members of the middle class, as were those in public and private management.
 5. Teachers, dentists, and nurses rose up the ladder to become middle class.
- C. Middle-class culture united these sub-classes
1. The middleclass lifestyle included large meals, dinner parties, servants, an interest in fashionable dressing, and good education.
 2. Their code of expected behavior stressed hard work, selfdiscipline, religion, and restraint from vices.
- D. The working classes
1. The vast majority of people (4 out of 5) belonged to the working class, yet the class had varying lifestyles and little unity.
 2. The most highly skilled workers constituted a fluid "labor aristocracy."
 - a. They developed a lifestyle of stern morality.
 - b. They considered themselves the leaders of the working class.
 - c. They had strong political and philosophical beliefs.
 3. Next came the semiskilled and unskilled urban workers.
 - a. Many workers in the crafts and factory work were part of the semiskilled.
 - b. Domestic servants, mostly female, were a large unskilled subgroup.
 - c. Women employed in the "sweated industries" were another large group.
 4. Drinking was a favorite leisure activity of the working class.
 - a. Drunkenness often resulted in fights and misery
 - b. But the "drinking problem" declined in the late 19th century; Cafes and pubs became respectable, even for women.
 - c. Pubs became centers for working class politics
 - d. other pastimes included sports and music halls.
 5. In Europe, church attendance by the working class declined, while in the United States churches thrived as a way to assert ethnic identity.
 - a. By the latenineteenthcentury European urban working classes became less religious and more secular.
 - b. This was partly because of lack of churches, but also because the church was seen as an institution that upheld the power and position of the ruling elites.
 - c. Religious organizations linked with an ethnic group (e.g., Irish and Jewish), and not the state, tended to thrive.

III. The changing family

A. Premarital sex and marriage

1. "Romantic love" had triumphed over economic considerations in the working class by 1850.
2. Economic considerations remained important to the middle class.
3. Both premarital sex and illegitimacy increased.
4. After 1850, illegitimacy decreased, indicating the growing morality and stability of the working class.

B. Prostitution

1. Men commonly turned to prostitutes because marriages were so often made later in life, especially in the middle and upper classes.
2. Brutal sexist behavior was a part of life.

C. Kinship ties

1. Marriage and family ties were often strong.
2. Kinship networks were an important source of mutual support and welfare.

D. Gender roles and family life

1. The preindustrial pattern of women working outside the home disappeared, except for workingclass women.
2. Women became fulltime mothers and homemakers, not wage earners.
3. Women were excluded from good jobs; the law placed women in an inferior position.
 - a. A wife in England had no legal identity and no right to own property.
 - b. In France, the Napoleonic Code gave women few legal rights.
4. Women struggled for rights.
 - a. Middleclass feminists campaigned for equal legal rights, equal education, access to the professions, and work for women.
 - b. These women scored some victories, but still in Germany in 1900 women were kept out of universities and the professions.
 - c. Socialist women called for the liberation of workingclass women through revolution.
5. Meanwhile, women's control and influence in the home increased.
 - a. The wife usually determined how the family's money was spent and made all the major domestic decisions.
 - b. Running the household was complicated and demanding, and many women sacrificed for the welfare and comfort of their husbands.
6. The home increased in emotional importance in all social classes; it symbolized shelter from the harsh working world.
7. Strong emotional bonds between mothers and children and between wives and husbands developed.

E. Child rearing

1. The indifference of mothers toward their children came to an end--as mothers developed deep emotional ties with their children.
 - a. There was more breastfeeding and less swaddling and abandonment of babies; fathers were urged to help in child rearing.
2. The birthrate declined, so each child became more important and could receive more advantages.

- a. The main reason for the reduction in family size was the parents' desire to improve the family's economic and social position.
 - b. Children were no longer seen as an economic asset.
- 3. Many children were too controlled by parents, however, and suffered the effects of excessive parental concern.
 - a. Prevailing theories encouraged many parents to think that their own emotional characteristics were passed to their children; thus, they were responsible for any abnormality in the child.
 - b. Parents were obsessed with the child's sexual behavior--particularly the possibility of masturbation.
 - c. Relations between fathers and children were often tense; fathers tended to be very demanding.
- 4. In studying family dynamics, Freud developed his theory of the Oedipal complex: that a son competes with his father for his mother's love.
- 5. Workingclass youths had more avenues of escape from family tensions than middleclass youths.

IV. Science and thought

- A. Scientific knowledge expanded rapidly--resulting in new products.
- B. The triumph of science
 - 1. Theoretical discoveries resulted increasingly in practical benefits, as in thermodynamics, chemistry, and electricity.
 - 2. Scientific achievements strengthened faith in progress and gave science unrivaled prestige.
- C. Social science and evolution
 - 1. Many thinkers, such as Comte, tried to study society scientifically--using data collected by the government--and find general social laws.
 - a. Comte argued that the third and final stage of knowledge is that of science, or what he called the "positivist method."
 - b. Positivism would allow social scientists to develop a disciplined and harmonic society ruled by science and experts.
 - 2. Theories of dynamic development and evolution fascinated the nineteenth century.
 - a. Building on the ideas of Lyell and Lamarck, Charles Darwin theorized that all life had evolved gradually from a common origin through an unending "struggle for survival" that led to the survival of the fittest by natural selection.
 - b. Social Darwinists, such as Herbert Spencer, applied Darwin's ideas to human affairs.
- D. Realism in literature
 - 1. Realism, which stressed that heredity and environment determined human behavior, replaced romanticism as the dominant literary trend from the 1840s through the 1890s.
 - 2. Realist writers, led by Zola, gloried in everyday life, taboo subjects, and the urban working class.
 - 3. The realists were strict determinists and believed that human actions were caused by unalterable natural laws.

4. Balzac and Flaubert, along with Zola, were the leading French realists.
5. Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot) and Hardy in Britain, Tolstoy in Russia, and Dreiser in America were also great realists.

Chapter 25- The Age of Nationalism, 1850-1914

I. Napoleon III in France

- A. While early nationalism was liberal and democratic in goals, Napoleon III in France used it for authoritarian purposes.
- B. The Second Republic and Louis Napoleon
 1. The reasons for Napoleon's election include middleclass and peasant fears of socialism and a disgust with class politics.
 2. Many people wanted a strong national leader who would serve all the people and help them economically.
 - a. Louis Napoleon wrote popular pamphlets on this subject.
 - b. He was elected president of France in 1848.
 3. Louis Napoleon believed the state had an obligation to provide jobs and stimulate the economy and to represent both rich and poor.
 4. He believed that parliaments and political parties simply represented middle-class interest groups, not the people.
 5. Napoleon cooperated with the conservative National Assembly, but it refused to change the constitution so he could run for another term.
 6. Therefore, he seized power in a *coup d'état* in 1851 and dismissed the Assembly; these actions were approved by the voters.
- C. Napoleon III's Second Empire
 1. Napoleon III's greatest success was improving the economy of France.
 - a. His government encouraged new investment banks and massive railroad construction.
 - b. The government also sponsored an ambitious program of public works, including the rebuilding of Paris.
 - c. He granted workers the right to form unions and to strike.
 2. His political system allowed only limited opposition.
 - a. He restricted the Assembly and tied reform to support of his candidates.
 - b. In the 1860s, he allowed the Assembly greater power and gave the opposition more freedom.

II. Nation building in Italy and Germany

- A. Napoleon's success demonstrated that the urban classes would rally to a strong and conservative national state.
- B. Italy to 1850: a battleground for great powers
 1. Italy prior to 1860 was divided; much of it was under the control of Austria and the pope.
 2. Between 1815 and 1848, the goal of national unity began to appeal to Italians.
 3. Sardinia was the logical leader in the nationalist movement.
 4. Pope Pius IX opposed nationalism and other modern ideas.

- C. Cavour and Garibaldi in Italy
 - 1. Count Cavour, the liberal minister of Sardinia, built Sardinia into a liberal and economically sound state.
 - a. He was a moderate nationalist who sought unity only for the northern and perhaps central areas of Italy.
 - b. He worked in the 1850s to consolidate Sardinia as a liberal state capable of leading northern Italy.
 - 2. Cavour used France to engineer a war with Austria to further his plans for unification.
 - 3. Central Italy joined with Sardinia in 1860 to form a united northern Italian state under Cavour.
 - 4. Garibaldi "liberated" southern Italy and Sicily, and Italy was further unified.
 - a. Garibaldi was a romantic revolutionary fighter with a private army called the "Red Shirts."
 - b. He introduced educational and social reforms in the south and took the property of the Jesuits.
 - c. Cavour got the south to join Sardinia to form the Kingdom of Italy, a parliamentary monarchy.
 - 5. This new kingdom expanded to include Rome and Venice in 1870.
 - a. However, there were strong class divisions and only a few men had the vote.
 - b. There was also a strong cultural-economic gap between the northern and southern areas.
- D. Germany before Bismarck
 - 1. In the aftermath of 1848, the German states were locked in a political stalemate.
 - 2. The Zollverein became a crucial factor in the AustroPrussian rivalry.
 - 3. William I of Prussia wanted to double the size of the army, but he was opposed by the parliament, which rejected the military budget in 1862.
- E. Bismarck and the Austro-Prussian War, 1866.
 - 1. Bismarck was a Junker politician whose goal was to secure power for himself and Prussia.
 - 2. He became the chief minister of Prussia in 1862.
 - a. He was opposed to middle-class parliamentary opposition, and argued that "blood and iron" would be the way to solve Germany's questions.
 - b. Prussian voters opposed him by sending large liberal majorities to the parliament.
 - c. Prussia's attempted annexation of SchleswigHolstein led first to an alliance with Austria in a war against Denmark (1864) and then to a war with Austria in 1866.
 - d. He skillfully neutralized Russia and France.
 - e. The German Confederation was dissolved and a new North German Confederation, led by Prussia, formed.
 - f. Austria withdrew from German affairs.
 - g. As a result, Bismarck's goal of Prussian expansion was being realized.
- F. The taming of Parliament

1. Bismarck believed the liberal middle class could be led to prefer national unity to liberal institutions.
 2. He created a constitution for North Germany that allowed for some local controls but with the king in control of the army and foreign affairs.
 - a. Members of the lower house were elected by universal male suffrage.
 - b. Ultimate power was in the hands of the king of Prussia and his army.
 3. Bismarck outmaneuvered the liberals in the parliament, and the middle class ended up supporting monarchical authority.
- G. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871)
1. Bismarck used a patriotic war against France to bring southern Germany into the union.
 - a. Louis Napoleon was captured and France was forced to accept harsh peace terms.
 - b. William I was declared emperor of Germany--in the palace of Versailles.
 2. As a result of military success, semiauthoritarian nationalism in Germany won out over liberalism.

III. Nation building in the United States

- A. The United States experienced both separatist nationalism and bloody nation building.
1. The purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803 opened another enormous area for settlement.
 - a. In the North, white settlers extended the pattern of familyfarm agriculture and began the process of industrialization.
 - b. In the South, industry and cities did not develop, and slaveowning plantation farmers dominated the economy and society.
 2. The growth of a slavebased cotton economy meant great profits and encouraged the defense of slavery in the South.
 3. New territory in 1848 led to a national debate over slavery and a "house divided" by conflicting values.
 4. Lincoln's election led to Southern agitation for independence--as eleven states left the union.
 5. The long Civil War (1861-1865) was the bloodiest conflict in American history.
 6. The Northern victory was due to superior resources, to the disillusionment of ordinary whites in the South.
 7. In the North, many people prospered during the war years.
 - a. Powerful business corporations emerged, supported by the Republican party.
 - b. The Homestead Act (1862) and the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) reinforced the concept of free labor.
 - c. A new American nationalism, based on the concept of "manifest destiny," emerged from the war.
 8. With Northern victory, Congress guaranteed the freedom of blacks but did not institute land reform, so blacks continued as poor sharecroppers.

IV. The modernization of Russia

- A. Russia's rulers saw nationalism as a potential danger to the Empire but realized that Russia's survival depended upon adoption of "modernization."
- B. The "Great Reforms"

1. The open-field system of agriculture still existed, and serfdom was still the basic social institution of nineteenth-century Russia.
 - a. Serfs were virtually slaves who could be sold with or without land.
 - b. The lord could force serfs into long military service, and severe punishment and sexual exploitation were common.
 2. The Crimean War (1853-1856) speeded up the modernization of Russia.
 - a. Russia's defeat showed how badly the country had fallen behind the industrializing West.
 - b. The war also created the need for reforms because its hardships led to the threat of peasant uprisings.
 3. Serfdom was abolished in 1861, collective ownership of the land established, and other reforms undertaken.
 - a. Local assemblies (*zemstvos*) were established.
 - b. The legal system was reformed.
- C. The industrialization of Russia
1. Railroad construction stimulated the economy and inspired nationalism and imperialism.
 2. The assassination of Alexander III (1881) brought political reform to an end.
 3. Economic reform was carried out by Sergei Witte, the minister of finance from 1892 to 1903.
 - a. More railroads were built, notably the trans-Siberian line.
 - b. Protective tariffs were raised.
 - c. Foreign ideas and money were used to build factories and create modern coal, steel, and petroleum industries.
- D. The revolution of 1905
1. Imperialist ambitions brought defeat at the hands of Japan in 1905 and political upheaval at home.
 - a. The "Bloody Sunday" massacre, when the tsar's troops fired on a crowd of protesting workers, produced a wave of indignation.
 - b. By the summer of 1905, strikes, uprisings, revolts, and mutinies were sweeping the country.
 2. A general strike in October forced Nicholas II to issue the October Manifesto, which granted full civil liberties and promised a popularly elected parliament (Duma).
 3. The Social Democrats rejected the manifesto and led a bloody workers' uprising in Moscow in December.
 4. Middleclass moderates helped the government repress the uprising and survive as a constitutional monarchy.
- V. The responsive national state, 1871-1914
- A. Characteristics of the new national state
1. Ordinary people felt increasing loyalty to their governments.
 2. By 1914, universal male suffrage was the rule, and women were beginning to demand the right to vote, too.
 3. Nationalism (and militaristic policies) was a way that governments (mainly the elites) could create a sense of unity and divert attention away from class conflicts.

4. Extreme nationalist politicians ("demagogues") found imaginary enemies, often Jews, as a way to whip up popular support for themselves.
- B. The German Empire
1. The German Empire was a union of twentyfive German states in 1871, governed by a chancellor (Bismarck) and a parliament (the Reichstag).
 2. Bismarck and the liberals attacked the Catholic church (the *Kulturkampf*) in an effort to maintain the superiority of state over church, but abandoned the attack in 1878.
 3. Worldwide agricultural depression after 1873 resulted in the policy of economic protectionism in Germany.
 4. Bismarck outlawed socialist parties in 1878.
 5. Bismarck gave Germany an impressive system of socialwelfare legislation, partly to weaken socialism's appeal to the workers.
 6. William II dismissed Bismarck in 1890 to try to win the support of the workers, but he couldn't stem the rising tide of socialism.
 7. The Social Democratic party was a socialist party.
 - a. In the elections of 1912, it became the largest party in the Reichstag.
 - b. It was strongly nationalistic and patriotic, not revolutionary.
- C. Republican France (the Third Republic)
1. The defeat of France in 1871 led to revolution in Paris (the Commune).
 2. The Paris Commune was brutally crushed by the National Assembly.
 3. A new Third Republic was established and led by skilled men such as Gambetta and Ferry.
 4. The Third Republic passed considerable reforms, including legalizing trade unions and creating state schools, and it built a colonial empire.
 5. The Dreyfus affair (1898-1899) weakened France and caused antiCatholic reaction.
 - a. Between 1901 and 1905, the government severed all ties between the state and the Catholic church.
 - b. Catholic schools were put on their own financially and lost many students.
- D. Great Britain and Ireland
1. Britain is seen as the model country as it became a full democracy; all middle-class males won the right to vote in 1832.
 2. The reform bills of 1867 and 1884 further extended the franchise in Britain, and political views and the party system became more democratic.
 - a. Nevertheless, some, like John Stuart Mill, explored the problem of safeguarding individual differences and unpopular opinions.
 - b. The conservative leader Disraeli supported extending the vote.
 - c. The Third Reform Bill of 1884 gave the vote to almost every adult male.
 3. Led by David Lloyd George, the Liberal party ushered in socialwelfare legislation between 1906 and 1914 by taxing the rich.
 4. The issue of home rule (selfgovernment) divided Ireland into the northern Protestant Ulsterites, who opposed it, and the southern Catholic nationalists, who favored it.
 - a. Gladstone supported home rule for Ireland in 1886 and 1893, but the bills failed to pass.

- b. The question of home rule was postponed because of war in 1914.
- E. The AustroHungarian Empire
 - 1. After 1866, the empire was divided in two but shared a common emperor and central ministries for finance, defense, and foreign affairs.
 - a. The nationalistic Magyars were allowed to rule Hungary.
 - b. In Austria, the ethnic Germans were only one-third of the population; the rest were Czechs, Poles, and other Slavs--and so the question of a national language was an emotional issue.
 - 2. Austria suffered from competing nationalisms, which pitted ethnic groups against one another and weakened the state.
 - a. In Hungary, the Magyar nobility used the constitution to dominate the peasants and ethnic minorities.
 - b. Unlike in other countries, the Austro-Hungarian leaders could not use nationalism to strengthen the state.
- F. Jewish emancipation and modern anti-Semitism
 - 1. In France in 1791, Jews began to gain equal civil rights.
 - 2. German Jews were given increased rights after 1848; the constitution of the new German empire abolished many of the age-old restrictions on Jews and Jewish life.
 - 3. Some discrimination remained, but anti-Jewish prejudice was on the decline by 1871.
 - 4. By 1871 most Jewish people had improved their economic and occupational situations.
 - 5. But anti-Semitism reappeared in times of economic trouble--and was whipped up by conservatives and extremist nationalists.
 - 6. Anti-Semites created political parties to attack and degrade Jews.
 - a. In Vienna, the anti-Semite Karl Lueger and his "Christian socialists" won striking victories.
 - b. As a response, Theodore Herzl advocated "Zionism"--the creation of a Jewish state.
 - c. Lueger appealed to lower middle-class people, like the young Adolf Hitler.
 - d. But before 1914, anti-Semitism was most oppressive in eastern Europe--where there was no Jewish emancipation and 4 million of Europe's 7 million Jews.
 - e. Governments channeled popular discontent into violent attacks ("pogroms") on Jewish people.
 - f. Millions of Jewish people left Europe as a result--many going to America.

VI. Marxism and the socialist movement

A. The Socialist International

- 1. A rapid growth of socialist parties occurred throughout Europe after 1871.
- 2. With Marx's help, socialists united in 1864 to form an international socialist organization known as the First International; it was shortlived but had a great psychological impact.
- 3. The Second International--a federation of national socialist parties--lasted until 1914.

- B. Unions and revisionism
 - 1. There was a general rise in the standard of living and quality of life for workers in the late nineteenth century, so they became less revolutionary.
 - 2. Unions were gradually legalized in Europe, and they were another factor in the trend toward moderation.
 - 3. Revisionist socialists believed in working within capitalism (through labor unions, for example) and no longer saw the future in terms of capitalistworker warfare.
 - 4. In the late nineteenth century, the socialist movements within each nation became different from one another and thereby more and more nationalistic.

Chapter 26- The West and the World

- I. Industrialization and the world economy
 - A. The rise of global inequality
 - 1. The Industrial Revolution caused a great and steadily growing gap between Europe and North America and the non-industrializing regions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
 - a. In 1750, the average standard of living in Europe was no higher than the rest of the world.
 - b. By 1970, the average person in the rich countries had twentyfive times the wealth of the average person in the poor countries.
 - c. This gap, seen first between Britain and the rest of Europe, was the product of industrialization.
 - d. Only after 1945 did Third World regions begin to make gains.
 - 2. Some argue that these disparities are the result of the West using science and capitalism; others argue that the West used its economic and political power to steal its riches.
 - B. The world market
 - 1. World trade, which by 1913 was twentyfive times what it had been in 1800, meant an interlocking economy centered in and directed by Europe.
 - 2. Britain played a key role in using trade to link the world.
 - a. It used its empire as a market for its manufactured goods.
 - b. For example, Europe bought 50 percent of Britain's cotton textiles.
 - c. Britain prohibited its colonies from raising protective tariffs; thus, it was difficult for them to develop their own industries.
 - d. Britain sought to eliminate all tariffs on traded goods, and this freetrade policy stimulated world trade.
 - 3. The railroad, the steamship, refrigeration, and other technological innovations revolutionized trade patterns.
 - 4. The Suez and Panama canals and modern port facilities fostered intercontinental trade.
 - 5. Beginning about 1840, Europeans invested large amounts of capital abroad and in other European countries.

- a. Most of the exported capital went to the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Latin America, where it built ports and railroads.
 - b. This investment enabled still more land to be settled by Europeans, pushing out the native peoples already living there.
 - C. The opening of China and Japan
 - 1. European trade with China increased, but not without the use of force on the part of the Westerners.
 - a. China was selfsufficient and had never been interested in European goods, and the Qing Dynasty carefully regulated trade.
 - b. British merchants and the Chinese clashed over the sale of opium and the opening of Chinese ports to Europeans.
 - c. The opium war in 1839-1842 led to the British acquisition of Hong Kong and the opening of four cities to trade (the Treaty of Nanking).
 - d. A second war in 1856-1860 resulted in more gains for Europeans.
 - 2. Japan also was unwilling to trade or have diplomatic relations with the West.
 - a. Japan wanted to maintain its longstanding isolation.
 - b. Its persecution of Christians and attack on foreign vessels led to American belief that Japan was blocking America's destined role in the Pacific.
 - c. An American fleet under Perry "opened" Japan in 1853 with threats of naval bombardment.
 - D. Western penetration of Egypt
 - 1. Muhammad Ali built a modern state in Turkishheld Egypt that attracted European traders.
 - a. He drafted the peasants, reformed the government, and improved communications.
 - b. The peasants lost out because the land was converted from selfsufficient farms to large, private landholdings to grow cash crops for export.
 - 2. Ismail continued the modernization of Egypt, including the completion of the Suez Canal, but also drew the country deeply into debt.
 - 3. To prevent Egypt from going bankrupt, Britain and France intervened politically.
 - 4. Foreign financial control provoked a violent nationalistic reaction in Egypt that led to British occupation of the country until 1956.
- II. The great migration
 - A. The greatest migration in history took place when more than 60 million people left Europe between 1815 and 1932.
 - B. The pressure of population
 - 1. The population of Europe more than doubled between 1800 and 1900.
 - 2. This population growth was the impetus behind emigration.
 - 3. Migration patterns varied from country to country, reflecting the differing social and economic conditions.
 - a. Five times as many people migrated in 1900-1910 as in the 1850s.
 - b. Between 1840 and 1920, onethird of all migrants came from Britain; German migration was greatest between 1830 and the 1880s, while Italian migration continued high until 1914.

- c. The United States absorbed about half the migrants from Europe, while in other countries an even larger proportion of their population was new arrivals.
 - C. European migrants
 - 1. Most European migrants were peasants lacking adequate landholdings or craftsmen threatened by industrialization.
 - a. Most were young and unmarried, and many returned home after some time abroad.
 - b. Many were spurred on by the desire for freedom; many Jews left Russia in the 1880s.
 - c. Italian migrants were often small landowning peasants who left because of agricultural decline; many went to Brazil, Argentina, and France; some later returned to Italy.
 - 2. Ties of friendship and family often determined where people would settle.
 - 3. Many migrated because they resented the power of the privileged classes.
 - D. Asian migrants
 - 1. Many Asians became exploited laborers.
 - 2. Asian migration led to racist reactions, such as "whites only" laws in the West.
- III. Western imperialism
 - A. The new imperialism
 - 1. Between 1880 and 1914, European nations scrambled for political as well as economic control over foreign nations.
 - 2. This scramble led to new tensions among competing European states and wars with nonEuropean powers.
 - B. The scramble for Africa
 - 1. Prior to 1880, European penetration of Africa was limited.
 - 2. In South Africa, the British and Dutch Afrikaner whites fought a war over land and gold.
 - a. This Boer War (1899-1902) was won by the British, who established the new Union of South Africa.
 - b. This state was ruled by the white minority Afrikaners.
 - 3. British occupation of Egypt and Belgian penetration of the Congo started the race for colonial possessions.
 - a. Leopold II of Belgium sent explorers into the Congo and planted the Belgian flag.
 - b. Other countries, such as France and Britain, rushed to follow.
 - 4. The Berlin conference (1884-1885) laid ground rules for this new imperialism.
 - a. European claims to African territory had to be based on military occupation.
 - b. No single European power could claim the whole continent.
 - 5. Germany entered the race for colonies and cooperated with France against Britain; the French goal was control of Lake Chad.
 - 6. The British under Kitchener massacred Muslim tribesmen at Omdurman (1898) in their drive to conquer the Sudan and nearly went to war with the French at Fashoda.
 - C. Imperialism in Asia

1. The Dutch extended their control in the East Indies while the French took Indochina.
 - a. But most Asians fled from plantation and gold mine labor--to seek opportunities in towns.
2. Russia and the United States also penetrated Asia.
 - a. Russia moved into the Caucasus and central Asia as well as China.
 - b. The United States took the Philippines from Spain and then had to put down revolt led by the Philippine patriots.

D. Causes of the new imperialism

1. Economic motives--especially trade opportunities--were important, but in the end general economic benefits were limited because the new colonies were too poor to buy much.
2. Political and diplomatic factors also encouraged imperialism.
 - a. Colonies were believed to be crucial for national security, military power, and international prestige.
 - b. Many people believed that colonies were essential to great nations.
3. Nationalism, racism, and Social Darwinism contributed to imperialism.
 - a. The German historian Treitschke claimed that colonies were essential to show racial superiority and national greatness.
 - b. Specialinterest groups favored expansion, as did military men and adventurers.
 - c. Western technological and military superiority fostered imperialism: e.g., the machine gun, the use of quinine, the steamship, and the telegraph.
 - d. Some leaders saw imperialism as a way to suppress social tensions and domestic political conflict at home--that is, to divert attention from problems at home.
4. Imperialists also felt they had a duty to "civilize" more primitive, nonwhite peoples.
 - a. Kipling set forth the notion of the "white man's burden."
 - b. Missionaries brought Christianity and education, but also European racism.

E. Critics of imperialism

1. The British economist J. A. Hobson set forth the argument that imperialism was the result of capitalism and that only specialinterest groups benefited from colonial possessions.
2. Others condemned imperialism on moral grounds.
 - a. They rebelled against the crude Social Darwinism of the imperialists.
 - b. They accused the imperialists of applying a double standard: liberty and equality at home, military dictatorship and discrimination in the colonies.

IV. Responses to Western imperialism

A. Imperialism threatened traditional society.

1. Traditionalists wanted to drive Western culture out and preserve the old culture and society.
2. Modernizers believed it was necessary to adopt Western practices.
3. Antiimperialist leaders found inspiration in Western liberalism and nationalism.

B. Empire in India

1. India became the jewel of the British Empire; the British East India Company conquered the last independent Indian state in 1848.
2. The last traditionalist response in India was broken by crushing the Great Rebellion of 1857-1858.
3. After 1858, India was administered by a white elite that considered itself superior to the Indians.
4. An Indian elite was educated to aid the British in administration.
5. Imperialism brought many benefits, including economic development, unity, and peace.
6. But nationalistic sentiments and demands for equality and selfgovernment grew among the Westerneducated Indian elite.

C. The example of Japan

1. In 1853, Japan was a feudal society, with a figurehead emperor and a military governor, the shogun.
 - a. The entry of foreigners to Yokohama between 1858 and 1863 led to a wave of antiforeign terrorism.
 - b. Western navies attacked, weakening the shogun so that patriotic samurai seized control of the government.
2. This was called the Meiji Restoration (1867). It was a reaction to American intrusion, unequal treaties, and the humiliation of the shogun (military governor).
3. The Meiji leaders were modernizers who brought liberal and economic reforms.
 - a. They abolished the old decentralized government and formed a strong, unified state.
 - b. They declared social equality and allowed freedom of movement.
 - c. They created a free, competitive, governmentstimulated economy.
 - d. They built a powerful modern navy and reorganized the army.
4. In the 1890s, Japan looked increasingly toward the German Empire and rejected democracy in favor of authoritarianism.
5. Japan became an imperial power in the Far East.
 - a. Japan defeated China in a war over Korea in 1894-1895.
 - b. In 1904, Japan attacked Russia and took Manchuria.

D. Toward revolution in China

1. In 1860, the Qing Dynasty appeared to have failed: foreigners had not been repelled, and rebellion and chaos wracked the country.
2. Then the traditional Qing rulers staged a comeback after the opium wars.
 - a. The traditional ruling groups produced effective leaders.
 - b. Destructive foreign aggression lessened, and some Europeans helped the Qings.
3. The Chinese defeat by Japan in 1894-1895 led to imperialist penetration and unrest.
4. Modernizers hoped to take over and strengthen China.
5. Boxer traditionalists caused violence (1900-1903) and a harsh European reaction.
6. Revolutionary modernizers overthrew the Qing Dynasty in 1912.

E. Summary: In the nineteenth century, the West had entered its third and most important phase of expansion; a powerful antiimperialist struggle would come after the European civil war of 1914-1918 shattered Europe's world position and its selfconfidence.

Chapter 27- The Great Break: War and Revolution

- I. The First World War (1914-1918)
 - A. The Bismarckian system of alliances
 1. Germany was the most powerful European country after 1871.
 2. Bismarck sought to guarantee European peace through alliances.
 3. The Three Emperors' League (Austria, Russia, and Germany) was created in 1873 to maintain the status quo; this was followed by an Austrian-German Alliance of 1879 and the Alliance of the Three Emperors in 1881.
 4. Because of tensions with France, Italy joined Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance (1882).
 5. In 1887, the Russian-German Reinsurance Treaty promised neutrality by each state if the other were attacked.
 - B. The rival blocs
 1. William II dismissed Bismarck, and his termination of the German-Russian Reinsurance Treaty led to a new Russian-French alliance.
 2. Under William II, the British-German "natural alliance" deteriorated into a bitter rivalry.
 - a. The Boer War, German envy of British imperialism, and economic and military rivalry drove the British and the Germans apart.
 - b. Then Britain allied with Japan and turned to France and formed the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, which further alienated Germany.
 - c. Germany tested this entente in a diplomatic struggle over Morocco.
 - d. The Algeiras Conference (1906) left Germany empty-handed and isolated.
 3. As a result, Germany became increasingly distrustful, and other European countries began to see Germany as a threat.
 4. German naval buildup, under Tirpitz, led to an arms race with Britain and a cycle of paranoia.
 - C. The outbreak of war
 1. Nationalism in the Balkans threatened the Ottoman Empire and European peace.
 2. The 1878 Congress of Berlin resolved some of the Balkan problem by a partial division of Turkish (Ottoman) possessions in Europe; this included independence for Serbia, Rumania, and part of Bulgaria, and Austria got Bosnia and Herzegovina.
 3. Then by 1903 Balkan issues were once again at a crisis point, with Serbia looking to expand and Austria looking to solidify its hold in Bosnia.
 4. Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 greatly angered Serbia, which was forced to turn southward against the Ottomans in its nationalistic desire to expand--this was the First Balkan War (1912).
 5. Serbia's dispute with Bulgaria over the spoils of victory led to the Second Balkan War in 1913.
 6. The Balkan wars of 1912-1913 were a victory for Balkan nationalism.

7. The assassination of the Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand (1914) resulted in a war between Serbia and Austria as Austria tried to stem the rising tide of hostile nationalism.
 8. Germany gave Austria unconditional support.
 9. Military considerations dictated policy, and an all-European war resulted.
 - a. Russia ordered full mobilization against Austria and Germany.
 - b. Germany invaded France via Belgium.
 - c. Great Britain joined France and declared war on Germany.
- D. Reflections on the origins of the war
1. Austria-Hungary deliberately started the war, goaded by Germany, which turned the little war into a great war.
 2. German aggression in 1914 reflected the failure of all European leaders to incorporate Bismarck's empire into the international system.
 3. Another theory is that Germany's belligerent foreign policy was the result of domestic conflicts and tensions--and that the ruling elite in Germany saw war as a way to rally the masses to its side and save its position of power.
 4. Nationalism contributed to war fever. All the European leaders underestimated the risk of war.
- E. The first Battle of the Marne (September 1914)
1. The original Schlieffen Plan--a German invasion of France through Belgium--had to be altered when British troops landed to help the Belgians.
 2. The Battle of the Marne turned the war into a long stalemate.
- F. Stalemate and slaughter
1. Trench warfare meant much horrible death but no end to the war.
 - a. The battles of Somme and Verdun cost thousands of lives but resulted in no significant gains in territory for either side.
 - b. The French army was almost destroyed at Champagne (1917), while the British lost many men at Passchendaele.
 2. The war's horrors caused a profound disillusionment with society and mankind.
 - a. The war shattered an entire generation of young men.
 - b. It created a gulf between veterans and civilians.
- G. The widening war
1. Russia pushed into eastern Germany, but the battles of Tannenberg and Masurian Lakes led to German victories in the fall of 1914; Russia lost 2.5 million soldiers in 1915 alone.
 2. Despite Austrian losses to Serbia, Austria and Germany defeated Russia and Serbia on the eastern front.
 3. Italy and Bulgaria entered the war (1915); Italy did so in return for promises of Austrian territory.
 4. With Arab help, Britain defeated the Ottoman Empire (1918); but Britain was defeated in the Dardanelles.
 5. The European war extended around the globe as Great Britain, France, and Japan seized Germany's colonies.
 6. The United States entered the war in 1917 because of German submarine warfare, anti-German propaganda, and the reality of war profits.

II. The home front

- A. Mobilizing for total war
 - 1. Most people saw the war in nationalistic terms and believed their nation was defending itself against aggression.
 - a. German trade unions and the socialists in the Reichstag supported the war.
 - 2. Total war meant that economic planning was necessary.
 - a. Rationing, price and wage controls, and restrictions on workers' freedom of movement were imposed by government.
 - b. The economy of total war blurred the distinctions between soldiers and civilians--all were involved in the war effort.
 - c. The ability of governments to manage economies strengthened the cause of socialism.
 - 3. In Germany, food and raw materials were rationed and universal draft was initiated.
 - a. Walter Rathenau, the industrialist, directed the German economy--and important advances were made in the invention of synthetic materials.
 - b. The generals, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, became the real rulers of Germany.
 - c. Total war led to the establishment of a totalitarian society.
 - 4. Britain mobilized less rapidly, but by 1916, the British economy was largely a planned economy.
- B. The social impact
 - 1. Labor shortages brought about benefits for organized labor.
 - a. Unions and socialists became partners in government.
 - 2. The role of women changed dramatically as many women entered the labor force.
 - a. Some European women gained the right to vote after the war.
 - b. Women displayed a growing spirit of independence.
 - 3. War brought about greater social equality.
 - a. Men from all classes died but less so were those from the *skilled* working class.
- C. Growing political tensions
 - 1. Wartime propaganda to maintain popular support of the war was widespread.
 - 2. But by 1916, people were growing weary of war; morale declined.
 - a. In France, Clemenceau established a virtual dictatorship to deal with strikes and those who wanted compromise to end the war.
 - b. In Germany, the social conflict of the prewar years emerged.
 - c. The German socialist leader Liebknecht called for an end of the war and the defeat of the German government.
 - d. In Austria, people were starving; a socialist assassinated the Austrian chief minister.
 - 3. By the winter of 1916-1917, Germany's military position was desperate, but she gambled by returning to unrestricted submarine warfare.
 - a. By July 1917, a coalition of socialists and Catholics in Germany called for an end to the war.

III. The Russian Revolution (1917)

- A. The Russian Revolution was one of history's most momentous events--for it presented a radically new prototype of state and society.

- B. The fall of imperial Russia
 - 1. Most Russians supported the war--including the liberals who thought alliance with Britain and France would bring democratic reform.
 - 2. However, huge war losses and mistakes pointed to the weak leadership of the tsar and the unresponsiveness of the Russian government.
 - 3. The influence of Rasputin on the royal family further weakened the government and created a national scandal.
 - 4. Food shortages led to revolution in March 1917.
 - a. A provisional government was proclaimed by the Duma.
 - b. The tsar abdicated.
- C. The provisional government (March 1917)
 - 1. After the March revolution, Russia became the freest country in the world.
 - 2. Yet the new revolutionary government, led by Kerensky, wanted to postpone land reform, fearing it would further weaken the peasant army; the continuation of the war was Kerensky's primary concern.
 - 3. The provisional government had to share power with the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.
 - a. The Petrograd Soviet's Army Order No. 1 placed military authority in the hands of ordinary soldiers.
 - b. Army discipline broke down completely, and massive desertions began.
 - 4. Liberty was rapidly turning into anarchy.
- D. Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution
 - 1. Lenin believed that revolution was necessary to destroy capitalism.
 - 2. He also believed that Marxist revolution could occur in Russia despite its absence of advanced capitalism if led by an intellectual elite.
 - 3. Russian Marxists became divided over Lenin's theories.
 - a. Lenin's Bolsheviks demanded a small, disciplined, elitist party.
 - b. The Mensheviks wanted a democratic party with mass membership.
 - 4. Lenin led an attack against the provisional government in July 1917, but it failed and he went into hiding.
 - 5. Kerensky's power was weakened by an attack on the provisional government by his commander in chief, Kornilov, and he lost favor with the army.
- E. Trotsky and the seizure of power
 - 1. A radical Marxist and supporter of Lenin, Trotsky centered his power in the Petrograd Soviet.
 - a. The Bolsheviks gained a majority in the Petrograd Soviet.
 - b. Bolsheviks controlled the military in the capital.
 - 2. Trotsky engineered a Soviet overthrow of the provisional government (November 1917).
 - 3. The Bolsheviks came to power because they were the answer to anarchy, they had superior leaders, and they appealed to many soldiers and urban workers exhausted by war.
- F. Dictatorship and civil war
 - 1. The key to Bolshevik success was in their ability to turn chaos into a dictatorial socialist society.

2. Lenin gave approval to the peasants' seizure of land and the urban workers' takeover of the factories.
3. Lenin arranged for an end of the war with Germany, but at a high price: the sacrifice of all of Russia's western territories (the Treaty of BrestLitovsk, 1918).
4. Free elections produced a stunning loss for the Bolsheviks, and Lenin dissolved the Constituent Assembly.
5. Opposition to the Bolsheviks led to civil war (1918-1921).
 - a. The officers of the old army (the Whites) organized the opposition to the Bolsheviks (the Reds).
 - b. The Whites came from many social groups and wanted selfrule, not Bolshevik dictatorship.
6. The Bolshevik victory in the civil war was due to a number of factors: unity, a better army, a welldefined political program, mobilization of the home front, an effective secret police force (the Cheka), and an appeal to nationalism in the face of foreign aid to the Whites.
7. World War I brought the conditions that led to the Russian Revolution and a radically new government based on socialism and oneparty dictatorship.

IV. The peace settlement (1918-1919)

- A. The war left 10 million dead, 20 million wounded, and cost \$332 billion; the peace treaty sowed the seeds for the next war.
- B. The end of the war
 1. By early 1917, the German populace was weary of war, and the German army was decisively defeated in the second Battle of the Marne (1918).
 2. The Allies were strengthened by American intervention, and by September, the Allies were advancing on all fronts.
 3. The German military arranged for a new liberal German government to accept defeat.
 4. German soldiers and workers began to demonstrate for peace, and Germany surrendered in November 1918.
- C. Revolution in Germany
 1. Revolution in AustriaHungary led to the breakup of the AustroHungarian Empire into new national states: Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.
 2. Revolution in Germany (November 1918) led to a victory for the moderate socialists, the Social Democrats.
 - a. There was little popular support for a radical revolution.
 - b. The Social Democrats wanted the gradual elimination of capitalism.
 - c. They accepted defeat and used the army to crush a radical uprising led by Leibknecht and Luxemburg.
- D. The Treaty of Versailles
 1. President Wilson was obsessed with creating a League of Nations to avert future wars.
 2. Clemenceau of France and Lloyd George of England were more interested in permanently weakening Germany and making it pay for the war.
 3. The conflicting desires of the Allies led to a deadlock and finally a compromise.
 - a. France gave up its demand for a protective buffer state in return for a defensive alliance with Britain and the United States.

- b. The League of Nations was created.
 - 4. Germany lost her colonies and territory in Europe--largely AlsaceLorraine, Danzig, and eastern land--to Poland.
 - 5. Germany had to limit its army, admit responsibility for the war, and pay enormous damages.
 - 6. AustriaHungary and Turkey were the big losers in the separate peace treaties; the principle of selfdetermination still applied only to Europeans, and thus Western imperialism lived on.
 - E. American rejection of the Versailles treaty
 - 1. The Versailles settlement rested on the principle of national selfdetermination, the League of Nations, and fear that the Bolshevik Revolution might spread.
 - 2. Republican senators refused to ratify the treaty largely because of the issue of the League's power.
 - a. Henry Cabot Lodge and others believed that requiring member states of the League of Nations to take collective action against aggression violated Congress's right to declare war.
 - b. Wilson refused to compromise, and the Senate did not ratify the treaty.
 - 3. The Senate also refused to ratify the defensive alliance with Britain and France.
 - a. Britain also refused to ratify the defensive alliance.
 - b. France felt betrayed and isolated.
- V. Summary

World War One was *revolutionary* because it encouraged Europe-wide nationalism, brought on the concept of total war, swept away monarchs and empires, encouraged the idea of "national self-determination," brought on radical revolution in Russia, and taught governments the lessons of government planning and government direction of economic and social life--and brought on a greater degree of social equality.

Chapter 28- The Age of Anxiety

- I. Uncertainty in modern thought
 - A. The effects of World War I on modern thought
 - 1. Western society began to question values and beliefs that had guided it since the Enlightenment.
 - 2. Many people rejected the longaccepted beliefs in progress and the power of the rational mind to understand a logical universe and an orderly society.
 - a. Valéry wrote about the crisis of the cruelly injured mind; to him the war ("storm") had left a "terrible uncertainty."
 - b. New ideas and discoveries in philosophy, physics, psychology, and literature encouraged this general intellectual crisis.
 - B. Modern philosophy
 - 1. The traditional belief in progress and the rational human was attacked by Nietzsche, Bergson, and Sorel before 1914.
 - a. Nietzsche believed that Western civilization was in decline because of Christian humility and an overstress on rational thinking at the expense of

- emotion and passion; he believed that a few superior supermen had to become the leaders of the herd of inferior people.
 - b. Bergson added to this the idea that immediate experience and intuition are as important as rational and scientific thinking.
 - c. Sorel argued that socialism, led by an elite, would succeed through a great violent strike of all working people.
 - 2. The two main developments in philosophy were logical empiricism (logical positivism) in English-speaking countries, and existentialism on the Continent.
 - a. Logical empiricism, as defined by Wittgenstein, claimed that philosophy was nothing more than the logical clarification of thoughts--the study of language; it could not answer the great issues of the ages such as the meaning of life.
 - b. Existentialism, first developed in Germany by Heidegger and Jaspers, and then by Sartre and Camus in France, stressed that humans can overcome the meaninglessness of life by individual action.
 - c. Existentialism was popular in France after the Second World War because it advocated positive human action at a time of hopelessness.
- C. The revival of Christianity
 - 1. Before 1914, Protestant theologians, such as Schweitzer, stressed the human nature of Jesus and turned away from the supernatural aspects of his divinity; they sought to harmonize religious belief with scientific findings.
 - 2. A revitalization of fundamental Christianity took place after World War I.
 - a. Kierkegaard was rediscovered; he had criticized the worldliness of the church and stressed commitment to a remote and majestic God.
 - b. Barth stressed the imperfect and sinful nature of man and the need to accept God's truth through trust, not reason.
 - c. Catholic existential theologians, such as Marcel, found new hope in religion by emphasizing the need for its hope and piety in a broken world.
- D. The new physics
 - 1. Prior to the 1920s, science was one of the main supports of Western society's optimistic and rational worldview.
 - 2. The challenge to Newtonian physics by scientists such as Planck and Einstein undermined belief in constant natural laws.
 - a. Plank's work with subatomic energy showed that atoms were not the basic building blocks of nature.
 - b. Einstein postulated that time and space are relative, the universe is infinite, and matter and energy are interchangeable.
 - 3. The 1920s were the "heroic age of physics."
 - a. Rutherford split the atom.
 - b. Subatomic particles were identified, notably the neutron.
 - c. The new physics described a universe that lacked absolute objective reality; Heisenberg claimed that instead of Newton's rational laws, there are only tendencies and probabilities.
 - d. In short, science seemed to have little to do with human experience and human problems.
- E. Freudian psychology

1. Prior to Freud, it was assumed that the conscious mind processed experiences in a rational and logical way.
2. According to Freud, human behavior is basically irrational.
 - a. The key to understanding the mind is the irrational unconscious (the id), which is driven by sexual, aggressive, and pleasure-seeking desires.
 - b. Behavior is a compromise between the needs of the id and the rationalizing conscious (the ego), which mediates what a person *can* do, and ingrained moral values (the superego), which tell what a person *should* do.
3. Instinctual drives can easily overwhelm the control mechanisms; yet rational thinking and traditional moral values can cripple people with guilt and neuroses.
4. Many interpreted Freudian thought as an encouragement of an uninhibited sex life.

F. Twentieth-century literature

1. The postwar moods of pessimism, relativism, and alienation influenced novelists.
2. Literature focused on the complexity and irrationality of the human mind.
3. Writers such as Proust embraced psychological relativity--the attempt to understand oneself by looking at one's past.
4. Novelists such as Woolf, Faulkner, and Joyce adopted the stream-of-consciousness technique, in which ideas and emotions from different time periods bubble up randomly.
5. Some literature, such as that of Spengler, Kafka, and Orwell, was anti-utopian--it predicted a future of doom.

II. Modern art and music

A. "Modernism" in art and music meant constant experimentation and a search for new forms of expression.

B. Architecture and design

1. The new idea of functionalism in architecture, exemplified by Le Corbusier, emphasized efficiency and clean lines instead of ornamentation.
2. The Chicago school of architects, led by Sullivan, pioneered in the building of skyscrapers.
3. Frank Lloyd Wright designed truly modern houses featuring low lines, open interiors, and mass-produced building materials.
4. Germany was the leader in modern architecture.
 - a. The Bauhaus school under Gropius became the major proponent of functional and industrial forms.
 - b. It combined the study of fine art with the study of applied art.
 - c. The Bauhaus stressed good design for everyday life.
5. Van der Rohe brought European functionalism to Chicago--and hence steel frame and glass wall architecture.

C. Modern painting

1. French impressionism yielded to nonrepresentational expressionism, which sought to portray the worlds of emotion and imagination, as in the works of van Gogh, Gauguin, Cézanne, and Matisse.
2. Cubism, founded by Picasso, concentrated on zigzagging lines and overlapping planes.

3. Nonrepresentational art turned away from nature completely; it focused on mood, not objects.
 4. Dadaism and surrealism became prominent in the 1920s and 1930s.
 - a. Dadaism delighted in outrageous conduct.
 - b. Surrealists, inspired by Freud, painted wild dreams and complex symbols.
- D. Modern music
1. The concept of expressionism also affected music, as in the work of Stravinsky and Berg.
 2. Some composers, led by Schönberg, abandoned traditional harmony and tonality.
- III. Movies and radio
- A. The general public embraced movies and radio enthusiastically.
 - B. The movie factories and stars such as Mary Pickford, Lillian Gish, Douglas Fairbanks, Rudolph Valentino, and Charlie Chaplin created a new medium and a new culture.
 - C. Moviegoing became a form of escapism and the main entertainment of the masses.
 - D. Radio, which became possible with Marconi's "wireless" communication and the development of the vacuum tube, permitted transmission of speech and music, but major broadcasting did not begin until 1920.
 1. Then every country established national broadcasting networks; by the late 1930s, three of four households in Britain and Germany had a radio.
 2. Dictators and presidents used the radio for political propaganda.
 - E. Movies also became tools of indoctrination.
 1. Eisenstein used film to dramatize the communist view of Russian history.
 2. In Germany, Riefenstahl created a propaganda film for Hitler.
- IV. The search for peace and political stability
- A. The search for peace was difficult: Germany hated the Treaty of Versailles, France was fearful and isolated, Britain was undependable, and the United States was not interested. Besides, Eastern Europe was in ferment and the international economy was disrupted and poor.
 - B. Yet, from 1925 to late 1929, it appeared that peace and stability were within reach. But the collapse of the 1930s ended that quest.
 - C. Germany and the Western powers
 1. Germany was the key to lasting peace, and the Germans hated the Treaty of Versailles.
 2. France believed that an economically weak Germany was necessary for its security and wanted massive reparations to repair devastated northern France.
 3. Britain needed a prosperous Germany in order to maintain the British economy.
 - a. J. M. Keynes, an economist, argued that the Versailles treaty crippled the European economy and needed revision.
 - b. His attack on the treaty contributed to guilt feelings about Germany in Britain.
 - c. As a result, France and Britain drifted apart.
 4. When Germany refused to continue its heavy reparations payments, French and Belgian armies occupied the Ruhr (1923).
 5. The Germans stopped work in the factories, and France occupied the German Rhineland; this left many Germans unemployed.
 - a. Inflation skyrocketed; prices soared and savings were wiped out.

- c. When prices started to fall, thousands of people had to sell their shares at once to pay their brokers, and a financial panic started.
 2. Financial crisis led to a decline in production, first in the United States and then in Europe, and an unwise turn to protective tariffs.
 3. The absence of international leadership and poor national economic policies added to the depression.
- C. Mass unemployment
 1. As production decreased, workers lost their jobs and had no money to buy goods, which cut production even more.
 2. Mass unemployment also caused great social and psychological problems.
- D. The New Deal in the United States
 1. Roosevelt's goal was to reform capitalism--especially by giving aid to farmers by raising agricultural prices and restricting production (via Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933).
 2. Government intervention and regulation took place through the National Recovery Administration (NRA)--designed to reduce competition, fix prices and wages.
 3. The NRA was declared unconstitutional (1935), and Roosevelt decided to attack the problem of mass unemployment by government employment of as many people as possible.
 - a. The popular Work Projects Administration (1935) employed millions of people.
 - b. Other social measures, such as social security and government support for labor unions, also eased the hardships of the depression.
 4. Although the New Deal helped, it failed to pull the United States out of the depression.
 - a. Some believe Roosevelt should have nationalized industry so that national economic planning could have worked.
 - b. Many economists argued that the New Deal did not put enough money into the economy through deficit financing.
- E. The Scandinavian response to depression
 1. Backed by a strong tradition of community cooperation, socialist parties were firmly established in Sweden and Norway by the 1920s.
 2. Deficit spending to finance public works and create jobs was used to check unemployment and revive the economy after 1929.
 3. Scandinavia's welfare socialism, though it depended on a large bureaucracy and high taxes, offered an appealing middle way between capitalism and communism or fascism in the 1930s.
- F. Recovery and reform in Britain and France
 1. Britain's concentration on its national market aided its economic recovery--so that by 1937 production had grown by 20 percent.
 2. Government instability in France prevented recovery and needed reform.
 - a. The Socialists, led by Blum, became the strongest party in France, and his Popular Front government attempted New Deal-type reforms.
 - b. France was drawn to the brink of civil war, and Blum was forced to resign (1937), leaving the country to drift aimlessly.

Chapter 29- Dictatorships and the Second World War

I. Authoritarian states

A. Conservative authoritarianism

1. Conservative authoritarianism had deep roots in European history and led to an antidemocratic form of government that believed in avoiding change but was limited in its power and objectives.
2. Conservative authoritarianism revived after the First World War in eastern Europe, Spain, and Portugal.
 - a. These countries lacked a strong tradition of selfgovernment.
 - b. Many were torn by ethnic conflicts.
 - c. Large landowners and the church looked to dictators to save them from land reform.
3. The new authoritarian governments were more concerned with maintaining the status quo than with forcing society into rapid change.

B. Radical totalitarian dictatorships

1. Radical dictatorships emerged in the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy.
2. These dictatorships rejected parliamentary and liberal values (including rationality, peaceful progress, economic freedom, and a strong middle class), and sought full control over the masses--of whom they sought to mobilize for action.
3. Lenin, in the Soviet Union, provided a model for single-party dictatorship.
4. Totalitarian leaders believed in will power, conflict, the worship of violence--and the idea that the individual was less valuable than the state and there are no lasting rights.
5. Totalitarianism was a permanent revolution.
6. The USSR was totalitarianism of the left, while Nazi Germany was totalitarianism of the right.
7. Some historians describe the totalitarian regimes of Mussolini and Hitler as *fascism* which grew out of capitalism.
8. *Fascism* was expansionist nationalism, anti-socialism and anti-working class movements, and the glorification of war.
9. More recently, historians have emphasized the uniqueness of totalitarian rule in each country.

II. Stalin's Soviet Union

A. Stalin's modern totalitarian dictatorship was instituted by his five-year plans--which were economic, social (and propaganda) plans to build a new socialist humanity.

B. From Lenin to Stalin

1. By 1921, the economy of Russia had been destroyed.
2. In 1921, Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP) reestablished limited economic freedom in an attempt to rebuild agriculture and industry.
 - a. Peasants bought and sold goods on the free market.
 - b. Agricultural production grew, and industrial production surpassed the prewar level.

3. Economic recovery and Lenin's death in 1924 brought a struggle for power between Stalin and Trotsky, which Stalin won.
 - a. Stalin met the ethnic demands for independence within the multinational Soviet state by granting minority groups limited freedoms.
 - b. Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," or Russia building its own socialist society, was more attractive to many Communists than Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution," or the overthrow of other European states.
 4. By 1927, Stalin had crushed all opposition and was ready to launch an economic-social revolution.
- C. The five-year plans
1. The first five-year plan (1928) to increase industrial and agricultural production was extremely ambitious, but Stalin wanted to erase the NEP, spur the economy, and catch up with the West.
 2. Stalin waged a preventive war against the better-off peasants, the kulaks, to bring them and their land under state control.
 - a. "Collectivization" of the peasants' land resulted in disaster for agriculture and unparalleled human tragedy.
 - b. Collectivization in the Ukraine resulted in massive famine in 1932-1933.
 - c. In the USSR, 93 percent of peasant families had been forced onto collective farms (by 1933).
 - d. Peasants fought back by securing the right to cultivate tiny family plots.
 - e. But it was a political victory for Stalin and the Communist party, as the peasants were eliminated as a potential threat.
 3. The five-year plans brought about a spectacular growth of heavy industry, especially with the aid of government control of the workers and foreign technological experts.
 4. Massive investment in heavy industry, however, meant low standards of living for workers.
- D. Life and culture in Soviet society
1. The Communists wanted to create a new kind of society and human personality.
 2. Nonfarm wages fell--by 1937, workers could buy only about 60 percent of what they bought in 1928.
 3. Life was hard, but people were often inspired by socialist ideals and did gain some social benefits.
 4. Personal advancement came through education, and a skilled elite emerged.
 5. Women were given much greater opportunities in industry and education.
 - a. The 1917 revolution proclaimed complete equality of rights for women.
 - b. In the 1920s, divorce and abortion were made easy, and women were urged to work outside the home and liberate themselves sexually.
 6. Medicine and other professions were opened to them--eventually most doctors were women.
 7. Most women had to work to help support their families in addition to caring for the home and the children; many families were broken.
 8. Culture became political indoctrination, and the earlier experimentation with art, theater, and literature came to an end.

- a. History was rewritten.
 - b. Religion was persecuted.
 - E. Stalinist terror and the Great Purges
 - 1. In the mid-1930s, a system of terror and purging was instituted.
 - a. Even Stalin's wife fell victim of his terrorist action.
 - b. The Kirov murder led to public "show trials" of prominent Bolsheviks; this led to more than 8 million people being arrested--many were killed.
 - 2. Stalin recruited new loyal members to take the place of those who were purged; these people ruled until the 1980s.
 - 3. Historians are baffled as to why the purges took place--some think they were a necessary part of totalitarianism; others think that Stalin's fears were real.
- III. Mussolini and fascism in Italy
 - A. Mussolini hated liberalism; his movement was the first fascist movement--a halfway house between conservative authoritarianism and modern totalitarianism.
 - B. The fascist seizure of power
 - 1. Prior to 1914, Italy was moving toward democracy but with problems: Catholics, conservatives, and landowners hated liberalism and the country was divided.
 - a. Only in Italy did the Socialist party gain leadership prior to 1914.
 - 2. The First World War and postwar problems ended the move toward democracy in Italy.
 - a. Workers and peasants felt cheated because wartime promises of reform were not carried out.
 - b. Nationalists felt cheated by the war settlement.
 - c. The Russian Revolution energized Italy's socialists into occupying factories and farms.
 - 3. By 1922, most Italians were opposed to liberal, parliamentary government.
 - 4. Mussolini's Fascists opposed the "Socialist threat" with physical force (the Black Shirts).
 - 5. Mussolini marched on Rome in 1922 and forced the king to name him head of the government.
 - C. The regime in action
 - 1. Mussolini's Fascists manipulated elections and killed the Socialist leader Matteotti.
 - 2. Between 1924 and 1926, Mussolini built a oneparty Fascist dictatorship but did not establish a fully totalitarian state.
 - a. Much of the old power structure remained, particularly the conservatives, who controlled the army, economy, and state.
 - b. The Catholic church supported Mussolini because he recognized the Vatican as an independent state and gave the church heavy financial support.
 - c. Women were repressed, but Jews were not persecuted until late in the Second World War.
 - d. Overall, Mussolini's fascist Italy was never really totalitarian.
- IV. Hitler and Nazism in Germany
 - A. The roots of Nazism

1. German Nazism was a product of Hitler, of Germany's social and political crisis, and the general attack on liberalism and rationality.
2. Hitler was born in Austria, was a school dropout, and was rejected by the Imperial art school.
3. Hitler became a fanatical nationalist while in Vienna, where he absorbed anti-Semitic and racist ideas.
4. He adopted the ideas of some fanatical Christians (e.g., Lueger) that capitalism and liberalism resulted in excessive individualism.
5. He became obsessed with anti-Semitism and racism, and believed that Jews and Marxists lost the First World War for Germany.
 - a. He believed in a Jewish-Marxist plot to destroy German culture.
6. By 1921, he had reshaped the tiny extremist German Workers' group into the Nazi party, using the mass rally as a particularly effective tool of propaganda.
 - a. The party grew rapidly.
 - b. Hitler and the party attempted to overthrow the Weimar government, but he was defeated and sent to jail (1923).

B. Hitler's road to power

1. The trial after Hitler's attempted coup brought him much publicity, but the Nazi party remained small until 1929.
2. Written in jail, his autobiography, *Mein Kampf*, was an outline of his desire to achieve German racial supremacy and domination of Europe, under the leadership of a dictator (Führer).
3. The depression made the Nazi party attractive to the lower middle class, who were seized by panic as unemployment soared and Communists made election gains.
 - a. By late 1932, some 43 percent of the labor force was unemployed.
 - b. Hitler favored government programs to bring about economic recovery.
4. By 1932, the Nazi party was the largest in the Reichstag--having 38 percent of the total.
5. Hitler wisely stressed the economic issue rather than the anti-Jewish and racist nationalism issues.
6. He stressed simple slogans tied to national rebirth to arouse hysterical fanaticism in the masses.
7. He appealed to the youth. Almost 40 percent of the Nazi party were under 30 years of age.
8. One reason for his rise to power is that Brüning and Hindenburg had already turned to rule by way of emergency decree.
9. Another reason Hitler won is that the communists welcomed Hitler as the last breath of monopoly capitalism.
10. Key people in the army and big business along with conservative and nationalistic politicians believed that they could control Hitler; Hitler was legally appointed chancellor in 1933.

C. The Nazi state and society

1. The Enabling Act of March 1933 gave Hitler absolute dictatorial power.
2. Germany became a one-party state--only the Nazi party was legal.

- a. The Nazi government was full of rivalries and inefficiencies, leaving Hitler to act as he wished.
 - b. Strikes were forbidden and labor unions were replaced by the Nazi Labor Front.
 - c. The Nazis took over the government bureaucracy.
 - d. The Nazis took control of universities, writers, publishing houses; democratic, socialist, and Jewish literature was blacklisted.
3. Hitler gained control of the military by crushing his own storm troopers, the SA, thus ending the "second revolution."
 4. The Gestapo, or secret police, used terror and purges to strengthen Hitler's hold on power.
 5. Hitler set out to eliminate the Jews.
 - a. The Nuremberg Laws (1935) deprived Jews of their citizenship.
 - b. By 1938, 150,000 of Germany's 500,000 Jews had left Germany.
 - c. Kristallnacht was a wave of violence directed at Jews and their synagogues and businesses.

D. Hitler's popularity

1. Hitler promised and delivered economic recovery through public works projects and military spending.
 - a. Unemployment dropped. The standard of living rose moderately--but business profits rose sharply.
 - b. Those who were not Jews, Slavs, Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, communists, or homosexuals experienced greater opportunities and equality.
2. Hitler reduced Germany's traditional class distinctions; the old ruling elites had to give way to lowermiddleclass people in Hitler's train.
 - a. Yet few historians believe that Hitler brought on a real social revolution: the welleducated classes held on to their advantaged position, and women remained largely housewives and mothers.
3. He appealed to Germans for nationalistic reasons.
4. Communists, trade unionists, and some Christians opposed Hitler; many who opposed him were executed.

V. Nazi expansion and the Second World War

A. The chief concepts of Nazism were space and race--which demanded territorial expansion.

B. Aggression and appeasement (1933-1939)

1. When he was in a weak position, Hitler voiced his intention to overturn an unjust system; when strong, he kept increasing his demands.
2. He lied about his intentions; he withdrew from the League of Nations in order to rearm Germany.
3. Germany worked to add Austria to a greater Germany, established a military draft, and declared the Treaty of Versailles null and void.
 - a. An AngloGerman naval agreement in 1935 broke Germany's isolation.
 - b. In violation of the Treaty of Versailles, Hitler occupied the demilitarized Rhineland in 1936.

4. The British policy of appeasement, motivated by guilt, fear of communism, and pacifism, lasted far into 1939.
5. Mussolini attacked Ethiopia in 1935 and joined Germany in supporting the fascists in Spain (the Rome-Berlin Axis alliance).
6. Germany, Italy, and Japan formed an alliance.
7. Hitler annexed Austria and demanded part of Czechoslovakia in 1938.
8. Chamberlain flew to Munich to appease Hitler and agree to his territorial demands.
9. Hitler accelerated his aggression and occupied all of Czechoslovakia in 1939.
10. In 1939, Hitler and Stalin signed a public nonaggression pact and a secret pact that divided eastern Europe into German and Russian zones.
11. Germany attacked Poland, and Britain and France declared war on Germany (1939).

C. Hitler's empire (1939-1942)

1. The key to Hitler's military success was speed and force (the blitzkrieg).
2. He crushed Poland quickly and then France; by July 1940, the Nazis ruled nearly all of Europe except Britain.
3. He bombed British cities in an attempt to break British morale but did not succeed.
4. In 1941, Hitler's forces invaded Russia and conquered the Ukraine and got as far as Leningrad and Moscow until stopped by the severe winter weather.
5. After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor (1941), Hitler also declared war on the United States.
6. Hitler began building a New Order based on racial imperialism.
 - a. Nordic peoples were treated with preference; the French were heavily taxed; the Slavs were treated as "subhumans."
 - b. The SS evacuated Polish peasants to create a German "settlement space."
 - c. Polish workers and Russian prisoners of war were sent to Germany to work as slave laborers. Most did not survive.
 - d. Jews, Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, and communists were condemned to death.
7. Six million Jews from all over Europe were murdered by killing squads, in ghettos, or in concentration camps.
 - a. At the extermination camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau the victims were forced into gas chambers.
 - b. Recent research suggests that many Germans knew of and participated in these killings.
 - c. Some scholars believe that the key reason so many Germans (and non-Germans) did not protest the murders is that they felt no personal responsibility for Jews.

D. The Grand Alliance

1. The Allies had three policies that led them to victory.
 - a. The United States concentrated on European victory first, then Japan.
 - b. The Americans and British put military needs before political questions, thus avoiding conflict over postwar settlements.

- c. The Allies adopted the principle of "unconditional surrender" of Germany and Japan, denying Hitler the possibility of dividing his foes.
 - 2. American aid to Britain and the Soviets, along with the heroic support of the British and Soviet peoples and the assistance of resistance groups throughout Europe, contributed to the eventual victory.
- E. The tide of battle
 - 1. The Germans were defeated at Stalingrad at the end of 1942, and from there on the Soviets took the offensive.
 - 2. At the same time, American, British, and Australian victories in the Pacific put Japan on the defensive.
 - a. The Battle of the Coral Sea (1942) stopped the Japanese advance.
 - b. The Battle of Midway Island (1942) established American naval superiority in the Pacific.
 - 3. The British defeat of Rommel at the Battle of El Alamein (1942) helped drive the Axis powers from North Africa in 1943.
 - 4. Italy surrendered in 1943, but fighting continued as the Germans seized Rome and northern Italy.
 - 5. Bombing of Germany and Hitler's brutal elimination of opposition caused the Germans to fight on.
 - 6. The British and Americans invaded Germanheld France in June 1944 but did not cross into Germany until March 1945.
 - a. The Soviets pushed from the east, crossing the Elbe and meeting the Americans on the other side on April 26, 1945; Hitler committed suicide, and Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945.
 - b. The United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945, and it too surrendered.

Chapter 30- Cold War Conflicts and Social Transformations, 1945-1985

- I. The origins of the cold war (1942-1953)
 - A. The cold war began during the Second World War
 - 1. The wartime allies (the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain) began to quarrel as soon as the Nazi threat lessened.
 - a. The Americans and British decided to postpone questions about the makeup of postwar Europe.
 - b. Stalin, however, wanted decisions made with regard to postwar borders.
 - 2. The Big Three at Teheran (1943) decided to launch an AmericanBritish invasion of Hitler's empire via France, and a Soviet invasion of eastern Europe.
 - 3. At the Yalta Conference (1945), the Allies decided to divide Germany into occupation zones.
 - a. It was also agreed that Germany would pay heavy reparations to Russia.
 - b. Stalin agreed to declare war on Japan after Germany was defeated.
 - 4. The Yalta Compromise over eastern Europe broke down almost immediately.

5. At the Potsdam Conference (1945), Truman demanded free elections throughout eastern Europe, but Stalin refused.
 - a. Stalin believed that eastern European states must not be anti-Soviet.
 - b. He feared that free elections would result in possibly hostile governments on his western border.
6. Short of war, the United States could not really influence developments in eastern Europe.

B. West versus East

1. Truman cut off aid to Russia because of Stalin's insistence on having communist governments in eastern Europe.
2. By 1947, many Americans believed that Stalin was trying to export communist revolution throughout Europe and the world.
3. The Marshall Plan was established to help European economic recovery; the Truman Doctrine was meant to ward off communist subversion with military aid.
4. The Soviet blockade of Berlin led to a successful Allied airlift.
5. In 1949, the United States formed an anti-Soviet military alliance of Western governments, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); in return, Stalin united his satellites in the Warsaw Pact.
6. In 1949, communists won in China.
7. In 1950, when communist North Korea invaded the south, American-led UN troops intervened.
8. The American General MacArthur wanted to invade China but President Truman said no and fired him; in 1953 a Korean truce was negotiated.
9. The Western attempt to check Stalin probably came too late and may have encouraged Russian aggression.

II. The Western renaissance

A. A divided and economically weak Europe made a huge turn-around within a generation after 1945.

B. The postwar challenge

1. The war left Europe physically devastated and in a state of economic and moral crisis.
 - a. Food rationing was necessary.
 - b. Russia's border had been pushed west, as was Poland's; thus, many Germans were forced to resettle in a greatly reduced Germany.
 - c. All the Allies treated Germany harshly.
2. New leaders and new parties, especially the Catholic Christian Democrats, emerged in Italy, France, and Germany and provided effective leadership and needed reforms.
3. In many countries, such as Britain, France, and Italy, socialists and communists emerged from the war with considerable power and a strong desire for social reform.
4. The Marshall Plan aided in economic recovery and led to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC); military protection was provided through NATO.
5. Led by West Germany, a European economic miracle was underway by 1963.
 - a. American aid helped get the process off to a fast start.

- b. European nations adopted Keynesian policies to stimulate their economies.
- c. Under Erhard, Germany adopted a freemarket economy, a social welfare network, currency reform, and price controls.
- d. Under Monnet, flexible planning and a mixed state and private economy brought rapid growth to France.
- e. Great potential demand (for products such as refrigerators), abandonment of protectionism, and the creation of the Common Market stimulated the economy.

C. Toward European unity

- 1. Democratic republics were reestablished in France, West Germany, and Italy.
- 2. The Christian Democrats wanted a unified Europe, but economic unity proved to be more realistic than political unity under the Council of Europe.
- 3. The sixnation Coal and Steel Community marked the beginning of a movement toward European unity and led to reduction of tariffs.
- 4. This was known as the European Economic Community (EEC, or Common Market).
- 5. However, regenerated hopes for political union in Europe were frustrated by a resurgence of nationalism in the 1960s.
 - a. De Gaulle, a romantic nationalist, wanted France to lead the Common Market.
 - b. He withdrew from NATO and vetoed British attempts to join the Common Market.

D. Decolonization

- 1. The causes of imperial decline
 - a. "Decolonization" brought demands for national selfdetermination in colonial areas after the First World War.
 - b. The Second World War reduced European power and destroyed the Western sense of moral superiority.
- 2. Britain's Labour government granted independence to India in 1947.
- 3. In the Middle East the French gave up Syria and Lebanon; the British established a Jewish state inside of Palestine--which was divided into two states by the United Nations.
 - a. the Arabs refused to accept this division and in 1948 an Arab attack led to Jewish conquest.
- 4. France was defeated in Indochina (Vietnam) in 1954, but they used a dirty war to hold on to Algeria until 1962.
- 5. Britain's African colonies were freed and then tied to Britain by way of the Commonwealth.
 - a. As a result, European cultural and economic interests increased in Africa.
 - b. This is called "neocolonialism"; some claim that this undermined African independence.

III. America's civil rights revolution

A. Postwar prosperity in the United States

- 1. Conversion to a peacetime economy went smoothly, and the wellbeing of Americans increased dramatically.

2. From 1948 to 1960, domestic politics consisted of consolidating the New Deal reforms and maintaining the status quo--only the interstate highway system was new.
 - a. In 1960, Kennedy was elected amid hopes he would revitalize the country.
- B. The civil rights revolution
1. School segregation was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1954.
 2. African Americans used boycotts, sit-ins, and demonstrations to gain reforms in the 1960s. In the North, African Americans gained the support of the liberal wing of the Democratic party.
 - a. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in public services and on the job.
 - b. The Voting Rights Act of 1964 guaranteed all African Americans the right to vote.
 - c. President Johnson instituted a "war on poverty."
 3. The United States became more of a welfare state in the 1960s, as a surge of liberal social legislation was passed.
- IV. Soviet eastern Europe, 1945-1968
- A. While the West surged ahead economically, eastern Europe's political, economic, and social developments were slow and uneven--nearly at a halt by the 1960s.
- B. Stalin's last years
1. The national unity of the war period ended in rigid dictatorship again.
 2. Stalin began a new series of purges, enforced cultural conformity, and revived the forced labor camps.
 - a. Culture, art, and Soviet Jews were denounced and purged.
 3. Fiveyear plans were reintroduced; heavy and military industry were given top priority, while consumer goods, housing, and agriculture were neglected.
 4. Stalin's system was exported to eastern Europe.
 - a. Only Tito in Yugoslavia was able to build an eastern European communist state free from Stalinist control.
 - b. Tito's success led Stalin to purge the Communist parties of eastern Europe in an attempt to increase their obedience to him.
- C. Reform and deStalinization, 1953-1964
1. Stalin died in 1953; Khrushchev and fellow reformers won the leadership of Russia and then denounced Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress (1956).
 - a. He began a policy of "de-Stalinization."
 - b. The Soviet standard of living was improved, and greater intellectual freedom was allowed.
- D. De-Stalinization caused writers such as Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn to challenge communism and the Stalinist past.
1. Khrushchev pushed for "peaceful coexistence" with the West and a relaxation of cold war tensions.
 2. DeStalinization caused revolution in eastern Europe in 1956.
 - a. Poland won greater autonomy.
 - b. Hungary installed a liberal communist leader in 1956 but was invaded by Russia and defeated.
- E. The end of reform

1. ReStalinization began with Khrushchev's fall in 1964.
 - a. Khrushchev's policy of deStalinization was opposed by old-time conservatives, who saw it as a threat to the whole communist system.
 - b. Khrushchev's erratic foreign policy was also an issue--he was successful in building the Berlin Wall but was forced to back down on the installation of missiles in Cuba.
2. Brezhnev stressed Stalin's "good points" and launched an arms buildup.
3. In Czechoslovakia the reform communists voted in Dubcek, who sought genuine socialism, democracy, and an end to censorship.
 - a. This caused fear among hard-line communists in Poland, East Germany, and the Soviet Union.
 - b. Russian troops invaded Czechoslovakia, and the reformers surrendered.
 - c. Brezhnev declared (the Brezhnev Doctrine) that the Soviets had the right to intervene in any socialist country; further repression occurred within the Soviet Union.

V. Postwar social transformations, 1945-1968

A. Science and technology

1. With the Second World War, pure science and applied science were joined as leading scientists worked for their governments to help fight the war.
2. The war led to major technological breakthroughs, such as radar, improved jet engines, computers, and the atomic bomb.
 - a. Einstein's letter to Roosevelt in 1939 about the theoretical possibility of the atomic bomb led to the Manhattan Project.
 - b. The first atomic bomb was successfully tested in July 1945--showing the awesome power of science.

B. Big Science

1. The war inspired "Big Science," which could attack difficult problems by combining theoretical work with engineering techniques.
2. The United States took the lead in Big Science after the Second World War.
 - a. By 1965, most of the funds for scientific research came from the government.
 - b. A large portion of scientific research was devoted to defense.
 - c. Russia pioneered in the development of a space program by launching a satellite in 1957, but the United States put the first men on the moon, in 1969.
 - d. European countries undertook financing of Big Science in order to stop the "brain drain" of their best scientists to the United States; they created the *Concorde*.
3. The lives of scientists were altered by Big Science.
 - a. There were many more scientists and much specialized knowledge.
 - b. Specialization made teamwork, bureaucracy, and managers necessary.
 - c. It became difficult to appraise an individual scientist's contribution to a team effort.
 - d. Competition among scientists was often fierce.

C. The changing class structure

1. Because of rapid economic growth after 1945, the traditional class distinctions became less clearcut, and society became more mobile and democratic.
 2. Educational and employment opportunities made the middle class more open.
 3. The rural working class shrank in size due to the mass exodus from the country.
 4. Social security reforms such as health care and family allowances reduced class tensions.
 - a. These reforms promoted greater social and economic equality.
 - b. Lower food costs allowed for greater consumption of other goods.
 - c. Automobile ownership increased; gadgets and household appliances, largely bought on credit, became necessities for most families. Mass consumerism had come of age.
 5. Leisure and recreation, especially travel, became big business.
- D. New roles for women
1. Emancipation of women in this period was significant; women's experiences and expectations changed considerably.
 2. Women married earlier and bore their children quickly; a baby-boom occurred in the 1950s but in the 1960s the birth rate declined--reaching a no-growth level by the mid-1970s.
 3. Therefore, most women had smaller families and were finished childbearing by their later 20s--meaning having more of their lifetime available for new roles outside the family.
 4. After World War II almost all women had to go outside the home to find cash income--this helped by an economic boom of 1950-1973.
 - a. Western women shared in an education boom; they then went into office work and professional jobs.
 - b. In Eastern Europe, women were even more employable.
 - c. The birth rate continued to fall and women had fewer babies.
 - d. But as workers they experienced widespread pay discrimination.
 5. Discrimination led to movements for equality and emancipation; women's perspective on work moved from that of temporary nuisance to a permanent condition that demanded job satisfaction and equality.
- E. Youth and the counterculture
1. Prosperity and increased democracy in the late 1950s and 1960s led to a youth culture that rebelled against authority and the status quo.
 2. In America, the youth rebellion grew out of the "beat" generation of the 1950s, and then became a major culture in the 1960s--much of it beginning in San Francisco and Chicago's Near North.
 - a. Rock music by Elvis Presley and then the Beatles encouraged its popularity.
 - b. Rock poetsinger Bob Dylan best expressed the movement's radical politics, while the Beatles encouraged personal and sexual freedom.
 3. Sexual behavior changed; sexual intercourse between non-married young people increased dramatically.
 4. This culture was encouraged by modern mass communications and travel, by the large proportion of young people in society (the baby boomers), and by greater youth purchasing power.

5. Youth culture was in opposition to the established order because of the rebirth of romanticism and revolutionary idealism--including the idea that the West was hopelessly rotten.
 - a. As a result, the Vietnam war took on great significance--as young people concluded that the war was immoral.
6. Prior to the 1950s, higher education in Europe had been limited to only a few.
 - a. However, the number of people entering European universities increased in the 1950s and 1960s.
 - b. Overcrowding resulted, and a new "youth culture" emerged.
 - c. Many students believed they were not getting the kind of education they needed.
7. Student revolts over these issues occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A general strike spread across France in 1968.
 - a. De Gaulle moved troops toward Paris and called for new elections, which he won resoundingly.

VI. Conflict and uncertainty in the late cold war, 1968-1985

A. The United States and Vietnam

1. The Vietnam war grew out of American efforts to contain communism in Asia.
 - a. President Eisenhower backed up the South Vietnam government decision to not accept free elections in Vietnam; the United States provided military aid.
 - b. President Johnson expanded the United States' role in the undeclared Vietnam war with massive aid.
 - c. The U.S. strategy of limited warfare backfired; the American public grew tired and the protest movement grew.
 - d. The Vietcong Tet Offensive in 1968 was seen in America as a defeat--President Johnson called for negotiations and he did not run for re-election.
2. President Nixon scaled down the war and reached a reconciliation with communist China.
 - a. Nixon got caught in illegal spying and illegal use of government documents, all of which he attempted to cover up.
 - b. Because of this "Watergate" scandal, Nixon resigned from the presidency in 1974.
 - c. Vietnam was united, but America was divided and uncertain about its proper role in world affairs.

B. Détente or cold war

1. An alternative to the cold war was "détente"-- the progressive relaxation of cold war tensions between East and West.
 - a. The lead in détente was taken by Willy Brandt of West Germany.
 - b. In 1970, he went to Poland to ask for forgiveness for German crimes against Poles and Polish Jews; a treaty was signed.
 - c. Brandt then negotiated treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia that accepted loss of German territory (following World War Two); he established relations with East Germany.

- d. All of Europe and the United States signed agreements on borders and human rights at Helsinki in 1975.
 - 2. Détente was blocked by Brezhnev's Soviet actions in Afghanistan and elsewhere.
 - a. The Atlantic alliance was weakened, although President Carter tried to shore it up.
 - b. Carter, then President Reagan, increased American military spending--and joined Britain's Thatcher to check the Soviets.
 - c. The Soviet leader Gorbachev saw that the cold war was foolish and dangerous.
- C. The women's movement
 - 1. The women's movement grew as a result of women's lessened attention to children and greater attention to work, along with new feminist critiques and the lessons of the civil rights movement, which encouraged dissatisfied individuals to band together.
 - 2. The most influential early writer was Simone de Beauvoir, who argued that women had been trapped by a male-constructed inferiority role.
 - a. Betty Friedan of the United States called for group action and political solutions for women's crisis of identity--which was really "sexism."
 - b. This led to Friedan helping found NOW, and many similar groups followed in Europe.
 - c. These groups pushed for equality in the workplace and issues such as legalized abortion, right to divorce, protection from rape, and so on.
 - d. Revolutionary changes occurred in Italy and elsewhere.
 - e. Homosexuals and others called for an end to legal discrimination.
- D. The troubled economy
 - 1. An economic crisis occurred in the early 1970s--partly because President Nixon's economic policies led to the fall of the dollar and increased inflation; great uncertainty prevailed.
 - 2. Also, cheap oil came to an end with an OPEC embargo on oil to the United States--causing a great economic shock and world economic downturn.
 - a. Recovery did not begin until 1982; still, in 1985 unemployment was at its highest.
 - b. The "misery index" shows that economic misery was greatest in western Europe.
- E. Society in a time of economic uncertainty
 - 1. Economic stagnation of the 1970s and 1980s led to pessimism and sober realism.
 - a. But the welfare system of the state preserved political stability and democracy--unlike earlier eras.
 - b. One result was rapid growth of budget deficits by the late 1970s--and then a reaction to government spending set in.
 - 2. Margaret Thatcher in Britain slowed government spending and shifted to "privatizing" state-owned industries.
 - a. Ronald Reagan's success was more limited--because he increased government spending, partly due to his obsession with the Soviet threat, and partly due to more welfare spending.

- b. In France, Mitterrand tried to take France toward more government ownership, but he failed.
- 3. Government reductions in big science projects led to greater demand for computers.
- 4. Austerity led some people to question excessive materialism and look to ways of improving diet and health.
 - a. People postponed marriage, and many women became permanent members of the labor force.

Chapter 31- Revolution, Reunification, and Rebuilding, 1985 to the Present

- I. Decline of communism in eastern Europe
 - A. The Soviet Union had shifted back and forth between a desire to reform itself and aggressive dictatorship--then Gorbachev opened a new era of reform.
 - B. The Soviet Union to 1985
 - 1. The Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 was the most important event in the Brezhnev era.
 - 2. Re-Stalinization followed, but with a collective not a personal dictatorship.
 - a. Living standards improved until the 1970s, when economic decline set in; the gap between the elite and the ordinary person grew.
 - b. Nationalism held the country together in a common belief; the dominant Great Russians feared that minorities within Russia might desire autonomy.
 - c. The Great Russians feared that liberalism and democracy would cause minorities to revolt.
 - d. Nonconformity and protest were severely punished; Jews were persecuted, and some dissidents (such as Solzhenitsyn) were expelled.
 - 3. Nevertheless, a social revolution was in the making.
 - a. The urban population grew to two-thirds of the total and became more sophisticated.
 - b. A class of educated and self-confident experts grew and became connected to the West.
 - c. The public became more educated and political.
 - C. Solidarity in Poland
 - 1. The Polish communists dropped efforts to impose Soviet-style collectivization on the peasants and to break the Catholic church.
 - 2. The Polish economy suffered greatly because of poor leadership and the world depression of the 1970s.
 - 3. The "Polish miracle" occurred when the economic crisis became a spiritual crisis as well.
 - a. Pope John Paul II, former archbishop of Cracow, called attention to the rights of all people.
 - b. Strikes in August 1980 led to revolutionary demands, which were accepted by the government in the Gdansk Agreement.

- c. Lech Walesa led the new democratic trade union movement called Solidarity. Its demands were for industrial, political, and economic rights.
 - d. Solidarity had massive support and a sophisticated organization.
 - e. It stopped short of directly challenging the communist monopoly of power.
4. When Solidarity lost its cohesiveness, the Polish communist leadership under Jaruzelski smashed the movement (1981) and imposed martial law.
- a. After 1981, Solidarity went underground and fought on with great popular support.
 - b. Polish cultural and intellectual life remained vigorous despite the repression.

D. Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union

- 1. A new era of fundamental change began under Gorbachev in 1985.
 - a. By 1982, economic decline was worsened by mass apathy and lack of personal initiative.
 - b. Andropov tried to reinvigorate the old system but with no success.
 - c. Gorbachev set forth a series of reforms to restructure the economy (*perestroika*), centering on a freer market economy, but the economy stalled midway between central planning and free-market mechanisms.
 - d. He instituted *glasnost*, or openness in society and politics, leading to much more freedom of speech.
 - e. Democratization of the Soviet state was begun; free elections were held in 1989 for the first time since 1917; meetings of Congress were televised.
- 2. Democratization encouraged demands for autonomy by non-Russian minorities.
- 3. Gorbachev withdrew troops from Afghanistan and encouraged reform in eastern Europe, repudiating the Brezhnev Doctrine.

II. The revolutions of 1989

A. Gorbachev's plan to reform communism snowballed out of control

- 1. A series of anti-Communist revolts spread across eastern Europe.
- 2. Gorbachev's reform plans in the Soviet Union backfired as anti-Communist revolts took hold.

B. The collapse of communism in eastern Europe

- 1. Gorbachev's plan to reform communism snowballed out of control. [NOTE: THIS COMMENT REPEATS THAT OF ITEM II A ABOVE. OK ANYWAY?]
- 2. In Poland, Solidarity was again legalized and won overwhelmingly in free elections.
 - a. Gorbachev refused to send Soviet troops to keep Polish communists in power.
 - b. Many radical political and economic reforms were instituted.
- 3. In Hungary, popular resistance and communist liberation ended one-party rule and brought free elections in 1990.
 - a. A multiparty democracy was established.
 - b. Borders between Hungary and East Germany were opened.
- 4. Growing economic dislocation brought revolution in East Germany.
 - a. The Berlin Wall was opened.
 - b. Communist leaders were swept out of power.

5. The people of Czechoslovakia ousted the communist bosses in 1989.
6. Only in Romania was the revolution violent and bloody.
 - a. Ceausescu was executed.
 - b. Romania's political prospects remained uncertain.

C. The disintegration of the Soviet Union

1. In 1990, the moderate Gorbachev was in between hard-line communists and revolutionary democrats and anti-Communists.
 - a. Groups (i.e., in Lithuania and the Caucasus) still within the Soviet Union were challenging Soviet (Great Russian) control.
 - b. In February 1990, the democrats and anti-Communists won local elections; Gorbachev's new constitution abolished the Communist party's monopoly of power.
 - c. Gorbachev was elected president of the Soviet Union.
2. The radical Boris Yeltsin was elected leader of parliament while Gorbachev tried to keep the Soviet Union intact.
 - a. In an attempted coup, hard-liners kidnapped Gorbachev; Yeltsin saved the government and brought about more reform.
3. By declaring Russia independent from the Soviet Union, Yeltsin caused the dismemberment of the Soviet Empire.
 - a. Gorbachev's job ceased to exist.
 - b. Russia now concentrated on building a strong Russia.

D. German unification and the end of the cold war

1. The death of communism in East Germany reopened the question of German unification.
 - a. East German reform communists had feared unification and looked for a "third way."
 - b. This idea failed because half the population fled and because West German Kohl offered a generous economic plan to bankrupt East Germany.
 - c. The key to unification was Gorbachev's approval (1990) in exchange for aid; Germany was officially unified in 1993.
2. The Paris Accord of 1990 brought twenty-two European countries to agree to arms reductions and to affirm existing borders.
 - a. The Americans and the Soviets followed with a significant reduction in nuclear weapons.
 - b. With Russia in decline, only the United States was left as a world superpower.
3. The United States used its new power to turn back an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990.
 - a. France, Britain, and the UN supported this massive operation, which smashed Iraqi forces.
 - b. A new era began with the United States and the United Nations working together to impose peace and stability throughout the world.

III. Building a new Europe in the 1990s

A. Common patterns and problems

1. European states accepted neo-liberal, free-market capitalism.

- a. Former communist states such as Poland and Hungary turned state industries over to private owners; western states scaled down welfare benefits.
 - b. In doing this, they were following the successful American economy model.
 - 2. A new global economy encouraged these trends.
 - a. Europeans joined in the new global economy that stressed open markets.
 - b. The computer-electronic revolution encouraged the global economy--and leveled the playing field between big and small companies.
 - c. Some workers and unions saw the global economic trends as a threat to wages, job security, and health care.
 - d. Protesters charged that global neoliberalism hurt the world's poor.
 - e. Liberal democracy united Europe in a common political-cultural ideology.
 - 3. Liberal democracy triumphed throughout most of Europe but was accompanied by a return of nationalism.
 - a. But the national and ethnic hatreds of Yugoslavia's civil war did not spread widely elsewhere.
 - b. Most nations wished to become members in the European Community.
- B. Recasting Russia
 - 1. Yeltsin and Russia opted for breakneck economic liberalization in 1992.
 - a. Industries were sold to the workers; but prices and inflation soared for five years.
 - b. New firms did not emerge to replace the old state monopolies--as the old managers joined up with criminals to block true reform.
 - c. A new capitalist elite became rich while many fell into poverty.
 - d. Huge profits were made by some in oil; wealth became overconcentrated in Moscow.
 - e. Life expectancy fell, and only in 1997 did living conditions begin to improve.
 - 2. Yeltsin was more successful in politics.
 - a. In 1993, he won in a struggle between those who wanted a strong presidency and those who wanted a strong parliament.
 - b. But Russia does not yet have a tradition of strong political parties and rule by law and an effective court system.
 - 3. Military spending declined, and Russia did not protest that Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic joined NATO.
 - a. Russia's intervention into Chechnya was an exception to her moderation in foreign affairs.
 - b. Popular dissatisfaction within Russia led to Yeltsin's withdrawal from Chechnya.
- C. Progress and tragedy in east central Europe (Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary)
 - 1. Three major trends occurred.
 - a. The socialist-state planning economies were replaced with market capitalism.
 - b. Western-style electoral politics took hold.

- c. Social/economic inequality increased--as the young and the ex-communists became a new elite, and gangsterism increased.
 - d. In addition, nationalism was reborn.
 - 2. The economic results were impressive: Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary all made great gains.
 - a. As well, each made impressive gains in creating new civic institutions, such as legal systems and the presidency.
 - 3. The three nations were accepted into NATO and the EEC.
 - 4. Slovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria had a more difficult time in economic and political transition from communism to Western tradition.
 - 5. The tragic post-communist experience was in the old Yugoslavia.
 - a. Yugoslavia was broken up at the fall of communism in 1989--three separatist republics began to fight it out.
 - b. Milosevic led the Serbian Republic to grab territory, which caused Slovenia and Croatia to declare independence.
 - c. Serbia retaliated with a war of aggression on Slovenia and Croatia, and then on Bosnia, which had been a part of Serbia.
 - 6. Bosnia declared its independence, which led to a dirty war between Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians.
 - a. Many became victims of murder, rape, destruction, and were herded into concentration camps.
 - b. United States President Clinton used U.S. troops to impose peace, and an agreement was reached that divided Bosnia between Bosnian Serbs and Croats in 1995.
 - c. In 1998 the Albanian Muslims of Kosovo fought for independence from Serbian repression.
 - d. Milosevic's Serbian army drove 780,000 Kosovars into exile.
 - e. United States and NATO bombing raids led to the defeat of Milosevic and the Serbian government turned him over to the War Crimes Tribunal.
- D. Unity and identity in western Europe
 - 1. The Single European Act of 1986 gave a powerful second wind to western European unity.
 - a. It set the ground rules for a single market, which was established in 1993--as the European Union (EU).
 - b. The Maastricht Treaty of 1990 established the rules for a single currency.
 - c. Single currency (monetary union) is seen as a step toward political unity to come.
 - d. Some Europeans, opposed this monetary union--partly because of fears of a centralized bureaucracy and fears of cuts in social benefits.
 - e. Unpopular views of Maastricht in France led to defeat of the Socialist party--and struggles over cuts in social expenditures, like transportation service.
 - 2. The possible inclusion of eastern European states into the EU led some to question how effective a huge European state could be.
 - a. German unification problems (particularly for women) led to increased unemployment and the defeat of Kohl in 1998.

- b. Although new members (Sweden, Finland, Austria) were brought into the EU, a host of complex issues need to be resolved before its expansion into eastern Europe.

IV. New challenges in the twenty-first century

A. The prospect of population decline

1. Europeans fear that decline in population is a "ticking time bomb" that will hurt the social welfare system and the economy.
 - a. The fact of careers for women and the drive for gender equality is the decisive reason for the decline of the birth rate.
 - b. It is not clear if Europeans will fail to reproduce themselves--as many women stop with a single child, or no children at all.

B. The growth of immigration

1. In the 1990s a surge of migrants from Africa, Asia, and eastern Europe has led to a debate over the value of large-scale immigration.
2. Many of these new immigrants are political refugees escaping from conflicts in Afghanistan, Rwanda, and other problem areas.
3. Illegal immigrants are in search of jobs--some are young women who are forced into prostitution.
 - a. Some Europeans, particularly rightist politicians, oppose immigrants, who are accused of taking jobs and undermining national unity.
 - b. Others believe that Europe needs newcomers to limit population decline and provide technical skills.

C. Europe's role in the global era

1. European intellectuals and opinion makers began to envision a new historic mission for Europe: the promotion of peace and human rights in the world.
 - a. This rests on more global agreements and institutions to set moral standards and the regulation of society to conform to standards of "human rights."
 - b. The United States, after George W. Bush was elected, reacts coolly to this idea.
 - c. Some European states have pushed for greater rights in the area of sexuality, smoking of pot, and euthanasia.
 - d. Some have criticized unrestrained capitalist globalization and seek greater social and economic equality
2. Terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, led to further Western struggle against oppression in the non-Western world.
 - a. The September 11 terrorists used four hijacked American planes to attack the United States--killing thousands of people from many different countries.
 - b. The U.S. and its allies launched a military campaign in Afghanistan against the Taliban, Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida terrorist network.
 - c. Swift punishment of the terrorists brought about a new government and the liberation of Afghanistan.

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