

**Foundations of
Western Civilization II:
A History of the
Modern Western World
Part I
Professor Robert Bucholz**



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Robert Bucholz was born March 17, 1958, in Los Angeles, California. He received his undergraduate education in history at Cornell University, where he also earned his letter in cross-country and track. He graduated in 1980, magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, whereupon he received a Keasbey Memorial Scholarship for study at Oxford University. At Oxford, Bucholz studied under G. V. Bennett and P. G. M. Dickson. He took his doctorate in modern history from Oxford in March 1988. He taught at Cornell, UCLA Extension, Cal State Long Beach, and Loyola-Marymount Universities before joining the faculty in history at Loyola University of Chicago in 1988. He currently holds the rank of professor.

At Loyola, Dr. Bucholz teaches both halves of the Western Civilization survey, as well as upper-division courses in Early Modern (Tudor-Stuart) England, English Social History, and Early Modern London. He has received several awards for his teaching, most notably, in 1994, in the first year of its presentation, the Sujack Award for Teaching Excellence, the College of Arts and Sciences' highest such award. He was also the Honors Program Faculty Member of the Year in 1998 and 1999.

Dr. Bucholz's primary research interest is the English court and royal household for the period from 1660 into the 19th century. He is the author of *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, 1993); with Sir John Sainty, KCB, *Officials of the Royal Household, 1660–1837*, 2 vols. (Institute of Historical Research, London, 1997–1998); and, with Professor Newton Key of Eastern Illinois University, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714: A Narrative History* (Blackwell, 2003). He is the project director of the Database of Court Officers, which contains the career facts of every person who served in the British royal household from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 to the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. The database was launched online by Loyola University in 2005.

In 1997, Dr. Bucholz was named Prince of Wales Foundation Scholar for Architecture in America, which led, in turn, to his being invited to speak on the etiquette of the public rooms and the experience of going to court in the 17th and 18th centuries to Royal Collection Studies at Windsor Castle in September of that year. (Dr. Bucholz's week-long stay at Windsor coincided with the death and funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales.) This talk was repeated in 2000 and published in 2001 in *The Court Historian*. Dr. Bucholz's work has been solicited and commented upon by HRH, the Prince of Wales.

Dr. Bucholz is past president of the Midwest Conference on British Studies and the organizer of the Center for Renaissance Studies/Society for Court Studies Seminar on Courts, Households, and Lineages at the Newberry Library, Chicago. Dr. Bucholz is occasionally asked to comment on British history and the activities of the British royal family to the Chicago media, most notably "Chicago Tonight" with John Calloway and "Extension 720" with Milt Rosenberg.

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Foundations of Western Civilization II: A History of the Modern Western World

Scope:

Wherever we come from, whatever we believe, however we make a living, Americans are all, to a greater or lesser extent, inhabitants of a land shaped by the last five centuries of Western history and culture. Over those five centuries, the Western world has seen a profound transformation. How did the decentralized agrarian princedoms of medieval Europe become great industrial nation-states? How was the power of disease and superstition dealt a blow by Western science and technology? How and why did absolutism yield to democratic liberalism? Why did Europe produce two great antagonistic economic systems, capitalism and communism? How did Westerners conquer half the world, then lose it? Why did the Western world erupt into two world wars, then a cold war in which Europe found itself the prize between two superpowers? To what extent have Europeans learned to work together for their common good; to what extent do they remain divided by history and culture? Overall, has their legacy to the wider world been positive or negative?

This course will explore the ideas, events, and characters that molded Western political, social, religious, intellectual, cultural, scientific, technological, and economic history during the tumultuous period between the 16th and 20th centuries. The course begins by explaining the geographical, philosophical, political, religious, and economic background to the modern Western world. It then examines, in turn, the crisis of the 17th century, absolutism and constitutionalism, the wars of the 18th century, the Enlightenment, the French and American Revolutions and the spread of liberal ideals, nationalism, the Industrial Revolution, socialism, imperialism, the Russian Revolution, two world wars, communism, fascism, de-colonization, the collapse of the Soviet bloc, democratization, and globalization and other issues confronting contemporary Western society. Frequent reference to contemporary philosophy, literature, the arts, and biography will help us define these explosive centuries and understand how we are their heirs.

Lecture One

The Importance of the West

Scope: Why study the West? What is distinctive about Western Europe and its culture? What did the West contribute to modern society and culture? This lecture posits that, for all its diversity, modern American society, in particular its assumptions and forms of expression, is very much a product of the last 500 years of European history and culture. Our system of government, our economic structures, our science and technology, and much of our literature, art, and music are based on or react to European models forged in the crucible of modern Western history. Far from being a history of “dead white men,” the story of the West is the road map that tells us where we came from and what obstacles we have erected for ourselves in the journey ahead.

Outline

- I. This course will explore the history of Western Europe from the 16th century to the present day. This period, arguably, has done more to shape our world than any other period.
 - A. Americans are all, to a greater or lesser extent, inhabitants of a world shaped by the last five centuries of Western history and culture.
 - B. Auditors and viewers might object to a course on the modern West on the following grounds:
 1. Some might say that the events of five centuries ago (and in between) are not really relevant to our ever-changing world.
 2. Others might object that dead Europeans have little to tell the inhabitants of such a diverse a country as ours.
- II. What reasons could we list for not studying the West?
 - A. There are many other histories and cultures worth studying, and many of us in North America can trace our backgrounds and ancestors to these non-European cultures.
 - B. Western or European civilization cannot be viewed as inherently superior to these other civilizations and cultures.
 1. If measured by technological advance, Western civilization clearly wins (at the moment).
 2. If the measurement is society’s ability to coexist with the natural world, then other societies do better.
- III. Why, then, should we study the West?
 - A. One answer is that European thinkers, traditions, conflicts, and experiments produced our system of government, our economic structure, and much of our art.
 - B. Above all, European culture produced certain ideas that have become pillars of our culture:
 1. “All men are created equal.”
 2. “No taxation without representation.”
 3. “The people united can never be defeated.”
 4. A free press.
 5. Limited government.
 6. Innocence until proof of guilt.
 7. Judgment by a jury of peers.
 - C. Far from celebrating dead white men, these ideas have given the world its most powerful tools to achieve justice and freedom.
 - D. It is important not to overdo this notion of Europe’s gifts to the world.
 1. Europeans have spent an awful lot of time fighting and killing each other and other non-Europeans in wars, revolutions, and general inhumanity to other humans—sometimes over these ideas.
 2. The continuing tensions in Northern Ireland, the Balkans, Chechnya, and elsewhere are noteworthy.

- E. Still, European ideals of and debates about equality, justice, class, reason, science, and technology remain at the center of our struggle for a more just world.

IV. Who am I to tell you this story?

- A. I am a professor of British history at Loyola University of Chicago, where I have taught this course every year for the past 15 years.
- B. More information is located in the professor biography of this booklet, or look me up on The Teaching Company Web site, www.teach12.com.
- C. In the meantime, the basic point to make is that this is very much a course presented by an American to Americans, both north and south.

V. What is the underlying philosophy of the course?

- A. For most of the past 500 years, the history of the West has been told as if it was the story of its kings and queens, premiers and dictators.
- B. Within the past half-century, though, historians have come to realize that there were between 100 million and 1 billion *other* people in Europe whose stories need to be told.
 - 1. Great movements and great events meant nothing unless great numbers of ordinary people were caught up in them.
 - 2. Most people in European history never saw a king, voted in an election, or even fought a war.
 - 3. Instead, they spent most of their time worrying about the same things that we worry about: growing up, falling in love, getting a job, rearing children, putting food on the table, staying healthy, and coming to terms with death.
 - 4. This, too, is a story worth telling.
- C. European historians have also come to realize that their history cannot be understood outside the context of the histories of Asia, Africa, or what historians have increasingly come to call the Atlantic world.
- D. Finally, this is a story that must be told with a view to what came before, if only because Europe did not begin in 1500.
 - 1. In fact, what this course is really about is how we stopped being medieval and became modern.
 - 2. Therefore, to help auditors and viewers place this period in a larger *chronological* context, this course will provide background lectures for the period before 1500, covering:
 - a. The geography of Europe.
 - b. The intellectual inheritance of the Middle Ages, in particular, a hierarchical worldview called the *Great Chain of Being*.
 - c. A series of developments that began to undo the Great Chain of Being at the dawn of modern Western history.

VI. The course consists of 48 lectures, divided as follows:

- A. The course begins with eight lectures that provide crucial background information.
 - 1. The first lecture will address the geography of Europe from 1500–2000.
 - 2. The second lecture will address what Europeans thought about their world in around 1500.
 - 3. The next six lectures address developments between 1500 and 1650 that were destroying the medieval worldview and laying the groundwork for the modern world. These developments include:
 - a. Renaissance Humanism.
 - b. The rise of centrally governed nation-states.
 - c. The discovery of the New World.
 - d. The invention of the printing press.
 - e. The Protestant Reformation and the Wars of Religion.
 - f. The Rational and Scientific Revolutions.
- B. Lectures Ten through Fifteen examine a crisis in European leadership in the 17th century.
 - 1. Lecture Ten explains that the French responded to the crisis by embracing absolutism.

2. Lecture Eleven and Twelve explain how the English responded by embracing constitutional monarchy.
 3. Lectures Thirteen through Fifteen chronicle how, after 1688, Britain, France, and their allies went to war with each other periodically for more than a century to determine the mastery of Europe, imperial control of the Americas, and commercial control of the Far East.
- C. Lectures Sixteen through Eighteen focus on the *Ancien Régime* on the verge of the French Revolution (1600–1789).
1. Lecture Sixteen explains how Europeans of different classes lived their lives in the century before the French Revolution.
 2. Lectures Seventeen and Eighteen explain the Enlightenment and two very different responses to its ideas: enlightened European despots and the American Revolution.
- D. Lectures Nineteen through Twenty-One address the French Revolution and its aftermath (1789–1815).
1. Lectures Nineteen and Twenty explain the causes and course of the French Revolution to the rise of Napoleon.
 2. Lecture Twenty-One addresses the Napoleonic Empire, its collapse, and the Congress of Vienna of 1815.
- E. Lectures Twenty-Two through Twenty-Six address possibly the most significant watershed separating us from our ancestors, the Industrial Revolution (1760–1850), and three great intellectual reactions to it: Liberalism, Romanticism, and Socialism.
- F. Lecture Twenty-Seven presents scientific advances of the 19th century and its effect on the perceptions of men and women.
- G. Lectures Twenty-Eight through Thirty-Two address the long-term causes of World War I.
1. Lectures Twenty-Eight and Twenty-Nine deal with nationalism in Europe, resulting in the unifications of Italy and Germany.
 2. Lecture Thirty addresses the scramble for worldwide empire among the European powers.
 3. Lecture Thirty-One discusses the second Industrial Revolution, the growing rivalry between Britain and Germany, and their eventual arms race.
 4. Lecture Thirty-Two explains the Alliance system, designed by Bismarck to prevent war, but which actually helped cause war following the events at Sarajevo in 1914.
- H. Lecture Thirty-Three examines European society and culture on the eve of World War I.
- I. Lectures Thirty-Four through Thirty-Seven address World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the war's aftermath (1914–1919).
- J. Lectures Thirty-Eight through Forty-Two offer the history of Europe between the wars (1919–1939).
1. Lecture Thirty-Eight deals with the 1920s and the Great Depression.
 2. Lecture Thirty-Nine addresses the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin.
 3. Lecture Forty presents the rise of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.
 4. Lecture Forty-One examines the Holocaust.
 5. Lecture Forty-Two traces the approach of World War II.
- K. Lectures Forty-Three and Forty-Four present World War II (1939–1945).
- L. Lectures Forty-Five through Forty-Seven address postwar Europe (1945–2005), including:
1. The reconstruction of Europe and the Cold War.
 2. The European embrace of Democratic Socialism.
 3. The fall of the Soviet Union and rise of the European Union.
(Map 1a)
- M. The final lecture addresses the meaning of European history.

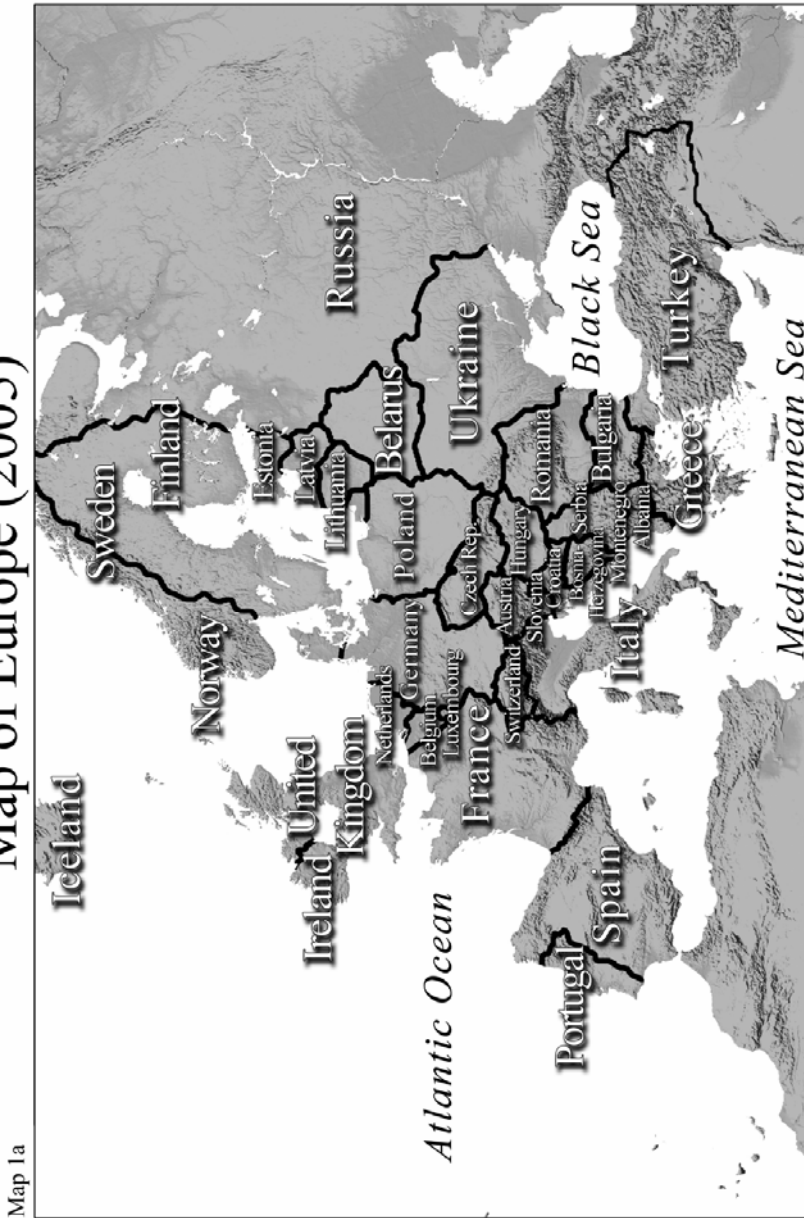
Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, Introduction.

Questions to Consider:

1. What is civilization?
2. What is the West? Is it confined to Europe or does it include the Americas? Oceania? The world?

Map of Europe (2005)



Lecture Two

Geography Is Destiny

Scope: Where, exactly, is Europe? That is, what areas are considered part of the continent and what parts are not included? How have the physical realities of Europe and the Atlantic world shaped its peoples? Why are geography and climate destiny? Which parts of Europe were fertile or prosperous, which parts were barren? How did this affect patterns of population, immigration, diplomacy, and war? How did Europe tend to divide, politically and culturally? Why do mountains, rivers, and forests matter? As this course opens, Europe is still recovering from the demographic disaster of the Black Death. The lecture concludes with descriptions of city and village life and the role of the landlord.

Outline

- I. If this is a course about Europe, what, exactly, does that mean?
 - A. For the purposes of this course, *Europe* means the continent west of Asia, an area of about 4 million square miles that comprises about 35 countries.
 - B. We will tend to concentrate on those parts of Europe that have had the greatest influence over our own American civilization.
 1. Toward the beginning of the course, we will spend a disproportionate amount of time on Italy, Spain, France, and the British Isles.
 2. Only in the 19th century will we shift our focus to Germany, Italy again, Eastern Europe, and Russia.
- II. Geography is destiny.
 - A. One way to approach the geography and even the politics of Europe is to think in terms of great axial divides (East/West, North/South) that operate as states of mind as much as they are geographic regions.
 1. The East/West border will shift:
 - a. For the first half of the course, Western Europe will include everything west of the Rhine: the British Isles, Spain and Portugal, France, and the Scandinavian countries. (Map 2a)
 - b. Eastern Europe will include countless German and Italian states, Poland, the Baltic States, the Balkans, and Russia.
 2. As the course progresses, sometime in the 19th century, the East/West dividing line will shift east to the Elbe or the Oder River. (Map 2b)
 - a. That is, as the region known as Germany unified and industrialized, it became more Westernized.
 - b. It is possible that we are witnessing a similar shift “West” today among the former communist nations and Turkey.
 3. If the dividing line East/West is as much political, economic, and cultural as it is topographic, this is equally true for Europe’s North/South divide: the Alps.
 - B. Other natural features have had a profound effect on European history.
 1. Mountains have been important as barriers to invasion and trade.
 2. Forests can be barriers to invasion and produced their own unique economies and societies.
 3. People who made their livings at sea were similarly outside the mainstream.
 4. Water defines much of Europe via the coastline.
 - a. Europe—which can be seen as a peninsula filled with peninsulas—is blessed with innumerable natural harbors.
 - b. There is one great group of islands (the British Isles) and numerous smaller islands.
 - i. The failure of invasions of Britain in 1588, 1805, and 1940 enabled a crucial subset of Western values to survive even when the rest of the continent seemed to go the other way.
 - ii. But more often, the English Channel has been a highway for invaders and traders.
 - iii. Iceland has been an important stopping point to America.
 - iv. The Mediterranean Islands were strategic for trade and naval operations, especially Gibraltar.
 - c. Rivers have also played a crucial role in European history.

- i. European diplomats and historians have tended to see them as barriers, e.g., the Rhine, Elbe, Rubicon, or Danube.
 - ii. People on the move, though, have tended to see rivers as a means to penetrate the countryside and engage in trade.
 - 5. Plains are crucial for agriculture—and invading armies.
- III. As for its climate, speaking latitudinally, Europe should be colder than it is.
 - A. Northern Europe is famously cold.
 - B. Western Europe is warmed by the Gulf Stream, leading to relatively mild climates.
 - C. Southern Europe is warmed by the Mediterranean.
- IV. Turning to demography, in 1500, the population of Europe was perhaps 80 million. (Today, it's more like 726 million.)
 - A. The population of Europe was slowly recovering from the Black Death of the mid-14th century.
 - 1. Average life expectancy in Europe in 1500 was approximately 30 years.
 - 2. Old people were far rarer in this society than is the case today.
 - 3. Infant mortality was approximately 20 percent in the first year.
 - 4. Another 10 percent of children would die by age 10.
 - B. The population only began to grow again around 1500, just as this course gets under way.
 - C. The demographic disaster of the 14th and 15th centuries ironically led to a “golden age” for labor.
 - 1. Few workers meant that the survivors could demand an end to serfdom, wages in exchange for labor, lower food prices, and lower rents.
 - 2. Many landowners abandoned demesne farming (i.e., relying on profits from crops grown on their land) in favor of renting their land to peasants.
- V. Less than 5 percent of the European population was urban.
 - A. The largest city in Europe in 1500 was Constantinople, with nearly 400,000 people.
 - 1. The next largest city was Paris with a population of 200,000, followed by Naples and Venice at 100,000.
 - 2. The populations of London, Amsterdam, Moscow, Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, and Florence were approximately 50,000.
 - B. Next in rank came provincial cities, such as York, England; Milan, Italy; and Berlin, Prussia, all of which had populations of several thousand inhabitants.
 - C. Cathedral cities (e.g., Salisbury, Rheims) and market towns (e.g., Antwerp, Bruges, King's Lynn, Dortmund, Lyon) had populations of several hundred.
- VI. The vast majority of European people lived in the countryside on manors and villages of fewer than 500 inhabitants, sometimes as few as 50.
 - A. The manor contained two impressive buildings:
 - 1. The lord's manor house or castle.
 - 2. A church made of stone.
 - a. The church was the religious center of the village. In most European states, there was no diversity of religion.
 - i. The West was dominated by what we today call Roman Catholicism.
 - ii. In the East, all people were required to worship in one of the Christian Orthodox faiths.
 - b. The church was also the social center of the village.
 - 3. A cluster of small, two-room huts likely to be made [often using a technique called “wattle and daub”] of anything that would stick together, including mud, straw, and animal manure.
 - a. Houses of more prosperous peasants might be of stone or wood.
 - b. Most people had few possessions.

- c. Personal privacy was an unknown concept.
 - d. Animals provided milk, cheese, and wool.
- B. Finally, surrounding the village, were the fields, arranged in long strips, where the villagers worked.

VII. The work engaged in by European people in 1500 varied by location.

- A. In town, most people sold goods or services.
- B. In upland areas or swamps, people made their livings by sheep farming or dairy farming; spinning wool, flax, or hemp; or quarrying.
- C. Port towns contained fishermen, shipwrights, carpenters, sailmakers, dock workers, and customs officials.
- D. Most villages depended on arable farming.
 1. The big tasks of late-medieval farming (ploughing, soughing, and harvesting) were organized communally.
 2. Men were joined by women and children at peak times (planting, harvest).
 3. At other times, the women cooked, sewed, fetched water, spun, or wove wool.
 4. Children tended animals and, when older, looked after younger children.

VIII. The landlord owned nearly all the land in the neighborhood.

- A. He commanded a vast income from the sale of produce, mineral wealth, and, above all, rents from his tenants.
- B. Control of the land implied control of the church, thanks to the fact that the landlord owned the land on which the church was built.
- C. The landlord could demand from his tenants not only rents but also taxes, exclusive hunting and fishing rights, labor services (*corvée*), military service during war, and certain seignorial rights (*droits du seigneur*).
- D. Often, the king would ask the landlord to use this power to maintain order in the countryside.
- E. Paradoxically, the landlord's local importance might draw him to London or Paris to attend the King's Council and court, or to sit in Parliament, the Estates General, or the Cortes.
- F. Fortunately, late medieval theology argued that those entrusted with such power had a paternal responsibility to provide their tenants with legal, military, and economic protection, paternal care, and hospitality.
- G. Clearly, land was the key to power.
 1. By virtue of owning land, aristocrats owned all those little villages that housed most of the people of Europe.
 2. By virtue of owning all those little villages, it could be said that, despite the end of serfdom, they owned the lives and futures of all the people living within their domain.
- H. The class of men who owned all this land and wielded all this power over all these people was tiny.

IX. To understand why the rest of the population put up with these inequalities, we will have to turn from the physical world of Europeans in 1500 to their mental universe.

Supplementary Reading:

D. Herlihy, *Women, Family and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays, 1978–1991*.

Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*.

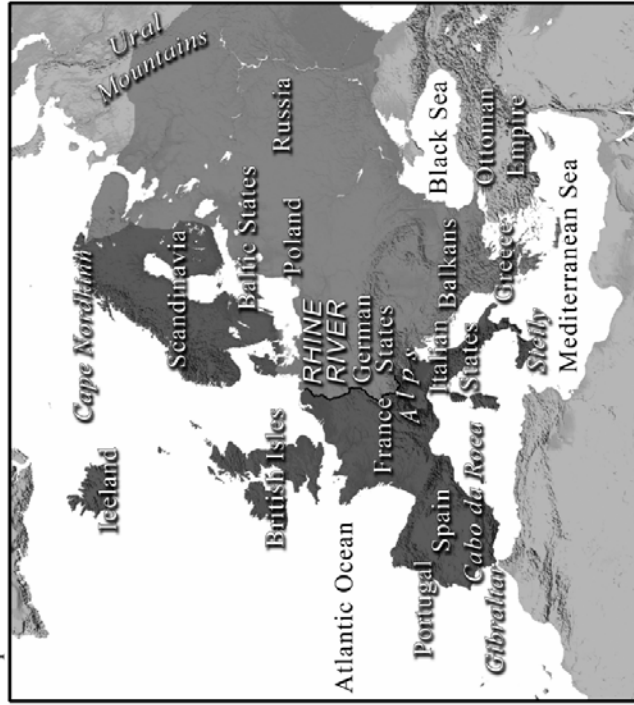
Questions to Consider:

1. What are the cultural limits of Europe?
2. Why was land the hallmark of wealth, social status, and power for most of European history?

East/West Divide Along the Rhine River

ca. 1500

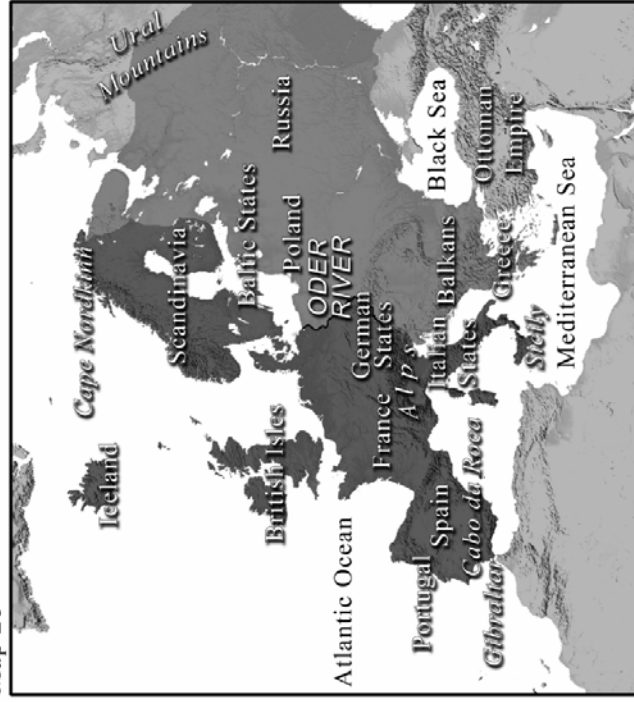
Map 2a



East/West Divide Along the Oder River

ca. 1850 - Present

Map 2b



Lecture Three

Culture Is Destiny

Scope: The Great Chain of Being posited an ordered, hierarchical universe in which every creature—especially humans—was placed in a particular rank by God. To rebel against that order, even to try to rise higher than one's place at birth, was, thus, to challenge God's own mandate. But as Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, the Great Chain of Being was being challenged and strained by forces in politics, society, religion, and culture. Those forces will be the subject of the next six lectures.

Outline

- I. Geography is destiny, but culture is, too. How people perceive their reality is at least as important as the physical and social topography discussed in the last lecture.
- II. In 1500, most European men and women were what we would call Catholics today.
 - A. All European men, women, and children were taught that God created the universe, ordered it, and was active in its everyday working.
 - B. When asked to describe their universe or its parts, late medieval commentators fell back on metaphors.
 1. One of their favorite metaphors for society was that of the body politic.
 2. A more comprehensive metaphor (because it took into account God and all the creatures in his universe) was the one that historians later dubbed the *Great Chain of Being*. (Note: I also discuss the Great Chain in my Teaching Company course entitled *History of England from the Tudors to the Stuarts*.)
 - C. Europeans generally believed in the Ptolemaic universe; a series of concentric spheres with the Earth in the center.
 1. Copernicus published *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium (On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres)* in 1543, but his ideas would only begin to gain ground around 1600.
 2. In 1500, most people still believed that, moving from the outer sphere inward, the universe consisted of the stars, the planets, the Sun, the Moon, and, at the center, the Earth; at the center of Earth were the flames of hell.
 - D. As this implies, when they thought about the inhabitants of that universe, they thought of a hierarchy, arranged as follows (Diagram 3a):
 1. The celestial hierarchy consisted of God, angels, man, animals, plants, and stones.
 2. There are five things to remember about this system.
 - a. Those at the top of this hierarchy were closer to God than those at the bottom.
 - b. Humankind is halfway down the chain, suspended between the angels and the animals.
 - c. Apart from God, each of the ranks in the chain could be further divided.
 - i. Angels were divided into nine ranks.
 - ii. The animal, plant, and stone hierarchies could be similarly divided.
 - iii. And so with man: king, aristocrats, peasants, laborers, and the poor.
 - iv. These ranks can be further subdivided.
 - v. Every rank might be further divided into families, with the genders ranked.
 - vi. In theory, every single creature and object in God's universe could be placed, precisely, in this hierarchy.
 - d. The top of each part of the chain is analogous to the head of the whole chain, God himself.
 - i. Clearly, the people of Europe in 1500 were obsessed with order.
 - ii. By the same token, their greatest fear was disorder.
 - e. The chain is a chain, not a ladder. Because the chain was considered to be God's plan, it was a grave sin to attack the chain, disobey one's superiors, rebel against the king, or even try to rise to another rank!

- E. Clearly, European society in 1500 valued order, not opportunity; conformity, not originality; community, not individuality.
 - 1. The top three ranks of the human chain represented less than 10 percent of the population.
 - 2. That 10 percent owned perhaps 50 percent of the land in Europe and possessed nearly 100 percent of the power.
 - 3. We might well ask why the other 90 percent of people put up with this system.
 - F. This system was drilled into the people of Europe from the pulpit every Sunday.
 - 1. After all, it explained their universe and probably did prevent disorder that they would otherwise have been unable to stop.
 - 2. Imagine what a European from 1500 would think of the violence, noise, and chaos of our world.
 - G. Another explanation for widespread acceptance of the chain can be found in two related beliefs designed to mitigate the worst effects of inequality: paternalism and deference.
 - 1. Paternalism was the belief, also taught from every pulpit in Europe and often embodied in proclamation and law, that those at the upper end of the chain had a responsibility to look after those below them.
 - 2. Deference, that is, allegiance, obedience, and respect, was the attitude that the lower orders were supposed to display toward those at the top of the chain.
 - H. Thus, in the European universe of 1500, every man, woman, and child knew where he or she stood. Or did they?
- III.** The chain was an ideal of order and stability, but life is ever messy and mutable. As our course opens, the ideal of the chain fit less and less well with the realities of European life.
- A. The composition of the various ranks changed.
 - 1. The nobility were supposedly the oldest, most distinguished families in Europe.
 - a. But some noble families were upstarts, receiving their titles through royal favor or court service, rather than military service, as in the past.
 - b. Other families died out or were deprived of their titles on conviction of treason.
 - c. As a result, the oldest families were, in fact, constantly renewed with new blood.
 - 2. Peasants rose and fell with fluctuations in the economy and fluctuations in the weather.
 - 3. Some people fell out of the chain entirely by forming chains of their own that did not seem to fit into the main social hierarchy.
 - B. Cities had their own chains, consisting of the mayor; aldermen, burghers, or members of the town council; citizens or freemen (that is, members of the guild); journeymen, apprentices, and so on; and everybody else.
 - 1. It was difficult to figure how to fit this chain into the main one.
 - 2. Cities were places where capitalism flourished.
 - a. People could grow rich very fast and, thus, rise in status.
 - b. People could grow poor very fast and, thus, fall in status.
 - 3. Cities were places of relative anonymity.
 - a. It was harder to tell who was who, and who belonged to whom in a city.
 - b. Unlike the parish and village, everybody did not know everybody else.
 - c. It was possible to escape one's rank in the main chain by going to the city.
 - 4. Thus, the economic and social fluidity of cities made nonsense of the chain.
 - C. In the East (Russia and portions of Southern Europe ruled by the Ottoman Empire), the Orthodox Churches were subordinate to the civil authority, but in the West, the Roman Catholic Church had its own chain: the pope, archbishops, bishops, priests, sisters, and the laity. This Church hierarchy, too, raised problems for the chain.
 - 1. If the pope was the Vicar of Christ, and the emperor or king was God's lieutenant, who was superior? That is, while these two leaders usually agreed, what if they did not?

- a. During 1309-1374, the King of France more or less abducted the papacy to Avignon (“Babylonian Captivity of the Church”), which led many people to view the papacy as a tool of the French monarchy.
- b. During the Great Schism of 1374-1417, there was more than one pope. Two separate sets of cardinals elected popes, and each one excommunicated the other. During this time, some rulers encouraged their subjects to question papal authority.
- 2. During the Middle Ages, a growing chorus had criticized both the doctrine and practice of the Church.
 - a. The Church regarded such critics as heretical, enforcing discipline, with the cooperation of kings, by burning heretics at the stake.
 - b. There remained a small minority of Christians, though, who wanted a more democratic, less hierarchical Church.
 - c. What would happen if the king ever agreed with them?
- D. These problems were inevitable given the tensions between the chain and the reality of European medieval life.
- E. But as Europe entered the 16th century, it was beginning to experience six new challenges that would eventually smash the chain and lay the groundwork for the modern world.
 - 1. Renaissance Humanism.
 - 2. The rise of centrally governed nation-states.
 - 3. The discovery of the New World.
 - 4. The invention of the printing press.
 - 5. The Protestant Reformation and its consequence, the Wars of Religion.
 - 6. The Rational and Scientific Revolutions.

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 11, sections III–IV.

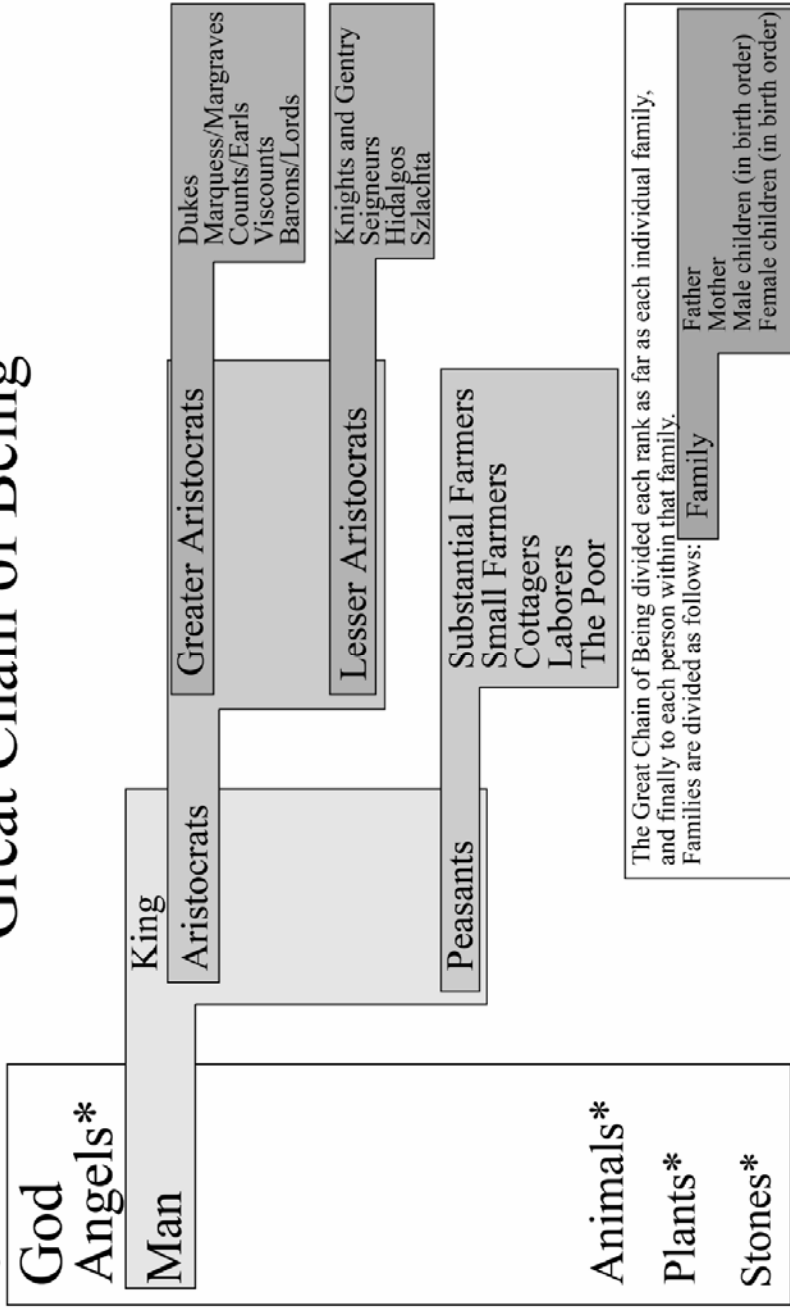
A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Why did Europeans continue to cling to the Great Chain of Being even as it failed to reflect reality?
- 2. To what extent do attitudes associated with the chain survive today?

Great Chain of Being

Diagram 3a



*Apart from God, not only man, but each of the other ranks in the chain can be further divided.

Lecture Four

Renaissance Humanism—1350–1650

Scope: The age of Michelangelo, Leonardo, More, Erasmus, Castiglione, and, especially, Machiavelli represented the first significant break from the medieval worldview. Beginning in late medieval Italy, artists and writers revived interest in the literary and historical (as opposed to the philosophical and religious) works of the Classical Age of Greece and Rome. The resulting emphasis on textual accuracy, literacy and education, and, above all, the human and the practical can be seen in new ideas about the qualifications of a gentleman, the role of women, and the expectations for a prince.

Outline

- I. What were the ideas behind the Renaissance?
 - A. Every freshman knows that *Renaissance* means “rebirth.” But what was reborn?
 - B. Beginning in the 14th century, mostly in Italy, intellectuals and artists began to be more interested in Classical (Greek and Roman) literature and art for its own sake.
 1. University scholars had long been influenced by Greece and Rome.
 2. The medieval interest in Classical writings had been limited to churchmen and university academics.
 - a. Medieval scholars were not terribly interested in ancient authors per se.
 - b. Rather, medieval schoolmen were largely interested in ancient authors for how their works could assist them in understanding Greek, Latin, and the rules of logic as laid down by Aristotle—all with a view to comprehending Scripture and, ultimately, God.
 3. But toward the end of the Middle Ages, scholars and artists began to grow interested in Greek and Roman authors for their own sakes and for what they might say about the human condition.
 - C. Although the Renaissance eventually spread north, east, and west, it is generally agreed to have started in Italy.
 1. Italy was perfectly placed to be the European entry point for goods (e.g., fabrics, spices), texts, and ideas from the fabled East.
 2. The resultant wealth, combined with the collapse of political control by the Holy Roman Empire, enabled the cities of Italy to gain independence and prosper.
 3. Later, after about 1500, the rest of Europe would bypass Italian trade routes and seek to abrogate Italian wealth. By 1559, Spanish victories largely put an end to the independence of most Italian city-states, though these wars would also allow Renaissance ideas to spread.
 4. Because Italian wealth centered on cities, Renaissance Humanism was, to start off with at least, an intensely urban phenomenon.
 - D. Far more important than the idea of rebirth of interest in Greece and Rome, the Renaissance saw a shift away from the study of abstract heavenly concerns (theology, philosophy) toward the real, the human, the concrete, and, above all, the individual.
- II. Overall, Renaissance Humanism was a valuation of the human, perhaps not over the divine, but in tandem with it.
 - A. To see this valuation, all we need do is compare a medieval Madonna and child with a Renaissance example.
 1. Certainly, both artists would have seen their productions as glorifications of God.
 - a. Humans were His creation.
 - b. They were created in His image.
 2. But what strikes us about Renaissance images is how much they look like us.
 - B. These artistic changes began in the late Middle Ages.
 1. The painter Giotto gave greater weight and presence to the human figure in the 14th century.
 2. The sculptor Donatello studied Classical masters and attempted to put their principles into practice.

3. Italian architects (e.g., Michelozzi, Brunelleschi) rejected the Gothic and went back to simpler Classical forms in the 15th century.
 4. Fifteenth-century artists such as Masaccio used mathematics and observation—as contemporary scientists do—to solve the problem of perspective.
 5. At same time, the sculptor Ghiberti applied some of these principles to the magnificent east door for the baptistery at Florence.
 6. Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi emphasized brilliant color and sensuality.
 7. Castagno and Leonardo da Vinci studied anatomy.
 8. This period saw the beginnings of portraiture. Rich Italian merchants and Renaissance princes wanted to be memorialized at the hands of such artists as Mantegna and Botticelli.
 9. These trends culminated in the masterpieces of Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Rafael.
 10. The ideals of the Renaissance spread north thanks in part to the printing press and the wars of the 15th and 16th centuries.
 11. This culminated in the work of Holbein, the portraitist, in England and 17th-century Dutch painters such as Rubens, Van Dyck, and, later, Rembrandt.
 12. Note that we know who these people are because artists now claimed and achieved far-ranging fame, e.g., sculptor Benvenuto Cellini's famous and self-glorifying autobiography (which in the 19th century became an opera by Berlioz).
- C. But the real origin and greatest impact of Renaissance Humanism was in literature. Beginning in the 14th century, Europeans began to produce a new kind of literature, less about God and kings and more about human beings.
1. In Italy,
 - a. Dante Alighieri was a precursor with his *La divina commedia* (1307).
 - b. Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), known as Petrarch, was arguably the founder of Humanism, writing poetry and prose in both Latin and Italian.
 - c. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) wrote the *Decameron*.
 - d. Lorenzo de Medici patronized Italian poets, as well as painters and sculptors at his court.
 2. In England,
 - a. The *Canterbury Tales* by Chaucer (1342/43–1400) anticipated later developments, as Dante had done.
 - b. Later Humanist works included the sonnets of Thomas Wyatt (1503–1542) and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517–1547), Spenser's *Faerie Queen* (1590–1609), Shakespeare's sonnets and plays, and Ben Jonson's poems and plays.
 3. In Spain, *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615) by Cervantes (1547–1616) made fun of medieval notions of knightly conduct.
 4. In France, the poetry of Ronsard (1524–1585), the political satire of Rabelais (c. 1494–1553), and the essays of Montaigne (1533–1592) all reflected Humanist values.
- D. Music also experienced a Renaissance.
1. Church music remained important but grew increasingly polyphonic and complex.
 2. Secular madrigals and motets, intended to be performed in people's homes, were a development of the songs of the medieval troubadours and do show a classical influence, e.g., Guillaume de Machaut, Orlando di Lasso, Don Carlo Gesualdo, Claudio Monteverdi.
- III. Renaissance Humanism sought to change the world through education.
- A. Humanist scholars were highly critical of medieval education, which was often deductive and unadventurous.
 - B. By extension, Humanist scholars were often highly critical of the medieval Church and its sometimes shabby logic and intolerance.
 - C. Humanist scholars advocated a reform and an extension of education beyond the clergy to gentlemen and, often, women.

- D. They believed, like many Classical authors before them, that education was necessary to make good citizens.
1. Some Humanist scholars advocated an education that went far beyond the clergy to encompass even women, e.g., Roger Ascham, who tutored Princess Elizabeth
 2. Aristocrats were no longer to be soldiers so much as ministers and officials, serving the prince in peacetime as well as in war.
 3. A good prince should, like the Medici or the Borgia, be well educated himself, employ those who were well-educated, and promote education and the arts. This would, in turn, promote civic virtue and glorify the rule of the prince.
 4. The latter impulse led to an explosion of Renaissance civic art, and pageantry, and buildings like St. Mark's in Venice, Brunelleschi's Duomo in Florence, St. Peter's in Rome, Fontainebleau and the Louvre in France, and Hampton Court in England.
- E. The Renaissance de-emphasis of God for human concerns and human capacities, however, threatened to degenerate into a glorification of expediency over virtue.
- IV. Castiglione and Machiavelli both wrote for their respective princes at the courts of Urbino and Florence.
- A. Balthasar (Baldassare) Castiglione was a diplomat who published *Il libro del cortegiano* (*The Courtier*) in 1528.
1. The successful courtier was to be impeccable in his manners, discreet in his behavior, and accomplished in the arts of peace and war.
 2. Above all, he was to insinuate himself into the confidence of his prince by telling him the truth—but in the most flattering way possible.
- B. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) sought to advise the ruler himself in *Il principe* (*The Prince*), written in 1513 but published only posthumously in 1532.
1. *The Prince* was part of a long tradition called “Mirrors for Princes.”
 2. But Machiavelli gave this old genre a new Humanistic twist.
 - a. In keeping with the Renaissance de-emphasis on the divine and emphasis on the human, Machiavelli's goal was not to make his prince a better person or get him into heaven.
 - b. The goal was, rather, to keep the prince in power on Earth.
 3. To stay in power, the prince would have to become adept at seeming to be and doing good, while actually doing whatever it takes to enhance his power.
- V. A whole school of Christian writers, including Desiderius Erasmus and Thomas More, took a different tack from Machiavelli, prodding Renaissance princes to remember their responsibilities to their subjects and to the laws of God.
- A. In 1509, Erasmus wrote a satire of the human condition and bad government in general called *In Praise of Folly*.
- B. Thomas More wrote *Utopia* (1516), describing a mythical land that was far more just and rational than England.
- VI. Shakespeare (1564–1616) and Montaigne (1533–1592) were the ultimate inheritors of this tradition.
- A. William Shakespeare, in a series of plays written at the turn of the 17th century, explored the human condition from seemingly every angle.
- B. Michel de Montaigne's *Essays*, written in the late 16th century, similarly examined the human condition from a wide variety of angles.
- VII. Renaissance Humanism was dynamite for the old medieval worldview and the Great Chain of Being.

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 12, section III.

P. Burke, *The Italian Renaissance*.

J. Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What did the wealth and political situation of Italy have to do with the Renaissance?
2. What is distinctly modern about Renaissance ideals? What is medieval about them?

Lecture Five

Renaissance Princes—1450–1600

Scope: The Humanist emphasis on this world dovetailed nicely with the rise of a new kind of ruler who was ambitious, practical, and ruthless, typified by Henry VII, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I of England, Louis XI and Francis I of France, Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, and Ferdinand, Isabella, and Phillip II of Spain. After establishing their dynasties, these men and women sought greater control of their governments, reduced the power of their barons and legislative assemblies, secured greater authority over the religious lives of their subjects, and sought to pay for it all by claiming trade routes to the Far East and the Americas.

Outline

- I. Although we tend to think of medieval kings as powerful, in fact, their power was not absolute.
 - A. A medieval king had to answer to or balance quite a few groups in the Great Chain of Being.
 1. First, he was subordinate to God and his angels.
 - a. All medieval commentators agreed that the king's power came from God.
 - b. This power was transmitted to the king through the Church at his coronation.
 - c. Theoretically, this power could be revoked through excommunication.
 - d. The most famous and enduring statement limiting the power of a lay ruler, the Magna Carta, was written by a bishop, Archbishop Stephen Langton.
 - e. Popes might also claim to be at the top of the chain—the Vicar of Christ.
 2. Medieval kings created, enriched, and empowered nobles in order to have an army, but that meant that they created, enriched, and empowered a whole class of people who might rise up to challenge them.
 - a. These so-created nobles often used their lands and the wealth they produced to build up independent power bases—hence, the modern usage of the terms *feudal* and *fiefdom*.
 - b. They used their armies, not necessarily to defend kings or maintain peace, so much as to attack local towns or even the king himself, e.g., the Hundred Years War (1337–1456), in which a series of weak kings were taken advantage of by their vassals.
 - c. To fight the barons, kings needed to hire mercenary armies, that is, armies paid occasionally rather than endowed with land permanently, as in feudalism.
 - i. At first, kings allied with towns and their merchants. In return for loans and taxes, kings gave towns military protection and rights to hold markets or establish legal courts.
 - ii. Eventually, it became too cumbersome to summon delegations of merchants to court to explain the king's difficulties on an ad hoc basis.
 - iii. In the 13th–14th centuries, European kings began to institutionalize these meetings with both barons and townsmen. In England, these meetings came to be known as Parliament; in France, they were called the Estates General; in Castile, Spain, they were called the Cortes; and in the Holy Roman Empire, they were called the Diet.
 - iv. But only in England and Spain did the tradition develop that laws and taxes had to be approved by these bodies.
 3. Ordinary people owed loyalty, obedience, and taxes to a wide variety of persons and institutions: the Church, the nobility, and their town (if townsmen), as well as to the king.
 - B. As Europe approached the year 1500, all this began to change.
 1. A series of new, stronger monarchs arose whose goals were to end baronial rebellions and make themselves more secure and, ultimately, absolute.
 2. Inadvertently, these monarchs would establish the modern conception of a nation-state.
- II. Renaissance princes may be divided into two groups: the founders of their dynasties and their successors.
 - A. All across Western Europe, new dynasties emerged from out of the carnage of baronial and civil war.

1. In England, first the Yorkists (1461–1483), then the Tudors under Henry VII (1485–1509), established their dynasties after the Wars of the Roses.
 2. In France, the Valois reestablished themselves after the Hundred Years' War under Charles VII (1422–1461) and Louis XI (1461–1483).
 3. In the Holy Roman Empire, Habsburg (Hapsburg) power revived under Maximilian I (1493–1519).
 4. Spain was united by the 1469 marriage of Isabella of Castile and Leon to Ferdinand of Aragon, who after suppressing ten years of rebellion, became joint rulers of Spain in 1479. Isabella predeceased Ferdinand, who ruled until 1516.
 5. Portugal was united under the House of Aviz.
 6. In Hungary, Matthias Corvinus (Matthias the Just) ruled strongly from 1458 to 1490.
 7. The goal of these rulers was to establish (or, in France and the Holy Roman Empire, to reestablish) their lines and put down baronial opposition.
 - a. The rulers made strategic marriages to heal wounds within the country and gain friends for it.
 - b. They ruthlessly suppressed baronial and private armies.
 - c. They allied with cities for loans and money and were careful to hire educated Renaissance lawyers and merchants, as well as nobles, as counselors and officials.
 - d. They worked with established assemblies, such as Parliament, the Cortes, and so on.
 - e. The rulers maintained good relations with the Church, in part by persecuting heretics enthusiastically.
 - f. They drove out foreign invaders, consolidated holdings, and imposed religious uniformity.
 - g. They reformed their governments and legal systems to be more efficient in order to have more control of the localities, e.g., the Edicts of Montalvo in Spain.
 - h. In keeping with the Renaissance, these princes had a healthy respect for education, the arts—and propaganda.
- B.** These rulers laid the groundwork for a series of powerful successors who inherited and exploited the foundation laid by the previous generation.
1. The most notable of those successors included:
 - a. Henry VIII (1509–1547) and Elizabeth I (1558–1603) in England.
 - b. Francis I (1515–1547) and Henry II (1547–1559) in France.
 - c. Charles V (1519–1556) in the Holy Roman Empire, who also served as...[see next entry]
 - d. Charles I (1506–1556) in Spain, father of Phillip II (1556–1598) of Spain.
 2. Even more than their predecessors, these monarchs had terrific Humanistic educations, e.g., Charles V was tutored by the future Pope Adrian VI, Elizabeth I by famed education reformer Roger Asham, and Francis I by Christophe de Longueil.
 3. Their policies were a mixture of old and new.
 - a. All of these rulers continued the programs of suppression of elite power and heretical groups, strategic marriages, and administrative reforms.
 - b. But these rulers also changed policies of consolidation into expansion.
 - i. The Holy Roman Emperor and the kings of France, culminating in Charles V and Francis I, vied for control of Italy through the 1520s.
 - ii. Henry VIII attempted invasions of Scotland and France in 1513–1515 and 1544–1547.
 - iii. Spain expanded overseas in the New World; faced down an Islamic challenge in the Mediterranean by defeating a Turkish fleet at Lepanto in 1571; conquered most of Italy; annexed Portugal when the Portuguese Royal House died out in 1580; and dabbled in the politics of England and France.
 - c. In terms of religion, these rulers sometimes sought to dominate the Church as well as the state.
 - i. The classic example is Henry VIII breaking with Rome and making himself head of the Church of England in 1534.
 - ii. In 1516, Francis I used his military power in Italy to secure the right to appoint all bishops and abbots in France.
 - iii. Charles V made war on recalcitrant Protestant barons and towns in the War of the Schmalkaldic League. [More about this in Lecture 8.]

- iv. As Charles I of Spain, he gained complete control over Church appointments.
 - d. Renaissance kings were obsessed with projecting their power through propaganda and by commissioning buildings, poems, paintings, and so on.
 - i. Henry VIII confiscated and rebuilt Hampton Court and Whitehall, patronized the great portraitist Hans Holbein, and employed a stable of writers to support his royal supremacy.
 - ii. Charles V employed painters like Titian.
 - iii. Francis I built the Louvre and the castle and hunting lodge at Chambord, possibly originally laid out by Leonardo da Vinci. He turned Castle Fontainebleau into a major palace, commissioning great architects (e.g., Giacomo da Vignola) and artists of the day (e.g., Rosso Fiorentino, Andrea del Sarto, and Cellini).
 - 4. In reforming their governments, stamping out opposition, and taking control of the arts and even of religion, the princes of the Renaissance redefined loyalty as owed to them alone.
 - a. In 1536, Catholic peasants in Northern England rebelled against Henry VIII's break from Rome and were suppressed ruthlessly.
 - b. The Jews and Moors of Spain and the nobles of French Brittany all learned the same lesson.
 - c. Charles V's failure to stamp out Protestantism at the end of the War of the Schmalkaldic League is the exception that proves the rule: The Holy Roman Empire remained divided in religion and decentralized in authority. The result was a power vacuum in the middle of Europe.
- III. Why did other rulers succeed in creating strong nation-states where the Holy Roman Emperor failed?**
- A. It could be argued that the empire suffered from more religious disunity following the Reformation than did the other regimes noted above.
 - B. A second factor was money.
 - C. Rulers needed money to build palaces, commission propaganda, and raise armies to suppress rebellions and project their power abroad.
 - D. Where were the rulers going to get this money?
 - 1. They could raise taxes.
 - a. But, medieval rulers won support from nobles and the Church by exempting them from taxation.
 - b. That left peasants, who did not have any money, and towns, which did.
 - 2. But overtaxing towns would kill the economies.
 - 3. Moreover, the need to institutionalize the raising of money had led to the rise of representative assemblies (parliaments, diets, estates, and so on) that might question royal policy.
 - E. Was there no other source of ready money available to European rulers?
 - 1. The Italian city-states had grown wealthy on trade from the East—leading every major power (except England) to try to control Italy.
 - 2. Henry VIII, having taken over the Church in England, confiscated much of its land: annates (taxes paid to the Pope) in 1534, smaller monasteries in 1536, larger monasteries in 1539, and hospitals and other charitable foundations in 1547. Instead of using those lands to endow the monarchy for centuries, Henry then traded long-term security for quick cash by selling these lands to the nobles and gentry.
 - 3. Beginning with Louis XII, the kings of France sold government offices. While raising cash quickly and cash quickly and stimulating social mobility, this also expanded the size of government and based service on wealth, not merit.
 - 4. The Portuguese prince, Henry the Navigator, had a different idea: He planned to bypass the Italians and go directly to the source, trading with China and India themselves.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 14, sections III–IV.

R. Bonney, *The European Dynastic States, 1494–1660*.

E. F. Rice, Jr., *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Did the centralizing tendency of Renaissance monarchs contribute to or stifle greater popular participation in the state?
2. Why did Germany fail where other nations succeeded at centralization in the early modern period?

Lecture Six

The New World & the Old—1400–1650

Scope: The exploration and exploitation of Africa and Asia by the Portuguese and of the Americas by, first, the Spanish, then, the French and the English changed the economies, cultures, and political makeup of each of these regions forever. Native civilizations were destroyed; native populations were subjugated, enslaved, and transported from place to place; and often, nearly died out. European rulers and merchants gained new sources of wealth, which they used to purchase luxury goods and increase their political and military power.

Outline

- I. As the Middle Ages came to an end, the Renaissance princes encountered in the last lecture—well-educated according to Renaissance principles, ambitious, hard-headed, and ruthless—sought to make themselves more powerful and less beholden to the good will of the Church, the aristocracy, or their subjects. To do this, they needed money.
 - A. One source of funds was the rich trade with the East.
 1. Europeans were crazy for fabrics, spices, and medicines from China, India, and the Middle East.
 2. Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Milan had grown wealthy on this trade.
 3. But after 1453, when the Ottoman Empire conquered Constantinople, anyone wanting Eastern goods had to go through Muslim merchants.
 - B. In the 15th century, the rulers of Portugal began to seek a way around the Muslims and the Italians.
- II. Portugal was a relatively poor country ruled by the House of Aviz.
 - A. During the reign of King John I (1385–1433), his son, Prince Henry the Navigator, began to explore alternative sources of wealth.
 1. In 1419, he founded a college to train seamen.
 2. He sent successive expeditions down the West coast of Africa, establishing trading posts and looking for a way to turn East.
 - B. This led to a century of exploration. (Map 6a)
 1. In 1415, Portuguese mariners captured Ceuta in Morocco, which later was used to capture Tangier.
 2. Portuguese mariners explored the Madeira Islands in 1419, the Azores in 1427, Cape Verde by 1444, and Sierra Leone in 1460.
 3. In 1482, they founded a major fort at Elmina, Ghana—arguably the first European settlement in West Africa.
 4. By 1488, Bartholomew Diaz reached and rounded the Cape of Good Hope.
 5. In 1498, Vasco da Gama rounded the cape, reached India, and returned with ships laden with the wealth of the East.
 - C. Based on trade with Africa and the East, Portugal became a major seafaring empire.
 1. After Columbus laid the foundations for Spanish power in America, the pope worked out the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494.
 - a. Portugal was awarded everything east of a line 370 miles east of the Cape Verde Islands.
 - b. This enabled the Portuguese to claim and colonize Brazil.
 2. Under Manuel I (1495–1521), the Portuguese became a naval power, conquering a series of trading posts in and about India: Goa in India in 1510; Malacca (now Melaka) in Malaysia in 1511; the Moluccas (now Maluku Islands) in present-day Indonesia by 1514; and the island of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf in 1514–1515.
 - D. By the mid-16th century, Portugal began to experience decline, in part because of the attempt to keep up with Spain.

1. Spanish kings pressured the Portuguese to expel their Jews and Moors, a mistake that destroyed much of the old Portuguese middle class.
 2. In 1536, the King of Portugal introduced the Inquisition.
 3. In 1580, the House of Aviz came to an end with the death of Henry I. Phillip II of Spain took over
 4. Spain ruled Portugal for 60 years—known in Portuguese history as the “60 Years Captivity”—with revolts in 1634, 1637, and (this one successful) in 1640.
- E. The greatest significance of Portuguese exploration is that other European powers began to emulate it.
- III. Spain was a poor country, only united under Ferdinand and Isabella at the end of the 15th century.
- A. This explains why Ferdinand and Isabella supported Christopher Columbus (Christoforo Columbo in Italian; Cristóbal Colón in Spanish) when he approached them with a radical way to reach the fabled East: head West!
1. Most educated Europeans did not believe that the Earth was flat.
 2. What this group did not know was how big the Earth was.
 3. In fact, Columbus underestimated the distance to Asia.
 4. In 1491, the Spanish government agreed to the voyage.
 - a. With land spotted by lookout Rodrigo de Triana on the 12th of October 1492, Columbus landed in what is now the Dominican Republic, claiming it for Spain.
 - b. He returned to Spain, bringing with him exotic natives, parrots, and gold, and was greeted with honors.
 - c. The pope immediately granted Spain the right to the lands discovered by Columbus.
 - d. Columbus died in 1502 thinking that he had reached the Indies.
- B. The Spanish crown soon figured out that it had not reached the East Indies, but a place far more exotic—and lucrative.
1. In 1513, Vasco de Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean.
 2. In 1519, the one surviving ship from Ferdinand Magellan’s circumnavigation arrived in Spain and reported the vastness of the world.
 3. In the same year, Hernán Cortés (Hernando Cortéz) landed in Mexico and conquered an advanced Aztec civilization.
 4. In 1531, Francisco Pizarro landed in Peru and did the same thing to the Incas.
- C. Spain’s “discovery” of the “New World” (a totally Eurocentric concept) had momentous consequences for both sides.
1. What were the consequences for the native peoples?
 - a. The “Indians” would mostly die, either in futile resistance or from European diseases to which they had no resistance: smallpox, chickenpox, whooping cough, diphtheria, malaria, measles, yellow spotted fever, and even the bubonic plague.
 - b. A population of perhaps 50 million in 1492 would sink to 5 million by 1700.
 - c. The survivors were enslaved to work the plantations and gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru.
 - d. Some eventually intermarried with their conquerors, producing new peoples.
 - e. When the native populations began to die out, both Spain and Portugal began to import slaves culled from Africa. Eventually, some 10 million people were abducted, sold, transported, and worked, often to death, in the New World.
 2. What were the effects on Europeans?
 - a. Intellectually, the European worldview was challenged significantly by the existence of new and very different civilizations.
 - b. Materially, silver, in particular, flooded into Spain via biannual treasure fleets, making the Spanish crown fabulously wealthy and Spain the dominant power in Europe for 150 years.
 - c. This wealth bankrolled Charles V’s wars to maintain the Holy Roman Empire and Phillip II’s to stamp out Protestantism.
 - d. But New World silver did nothing for the Spanish people, apart from merchants in Seville.

- e. Moreover, some historians think that the silver flooding into Europe also destabilized the European economy, leading to unprecedented inflation of about 4 percent in the 17th century.
 - f. Nevertheless, other countries noted Spain’s quick success and wanted on the bandwagon of exploration, colonization, and exploitation.
- IV.** Unfortunately for France and England, they were too late and too far north to make a quantum leap in wealth or status as a result of American exploration.
- A.** In the 1580s, the French began to explore and control Canada, the upper Midwest, and the Mississippi Valley.
 - 1. Jesuits established numerous missions.
 - 2. These settlements did not result in tremendous wealth, but they supplied France with furs and pelts and Grand Banks fishing.
 - 3. France forbade Protestants to settle in Canada, thus eliminating Canada as a social safety valve and limiting the value of the colonies to the whole of French society.
 - 4. Only in the late 17th century would France aim to exploit its base in North America under the mercantilist policies of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683).
 - B.** The English did not really start to think seriously about the Americas until Elizabeth’s reign.
 - 1. At first, they just wanted to cash in on Spanish trade, hence the early slaving voyages by John Hawkins in the 1560s.
 - 2. In 1568, Spanish *guardacostas* attacked an English slaving fleet, which led to a covert war between Spain and England, with English privateers like Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Martin Frobisher seeking to intercept and confiscate Spanish fleets or sack Spanish ports in the New World.
 - 3. The first successful English colony in the Americas was founded at Jamestown in 1607 by a consortium headed by Sir Thomas Smith (Smythe) of the Virginia Company.
 - a. The purpose of the venture was to mine gold.
 - b. When no gold was found, the colony discovered a marketable commodity in tobacco (despite the prescient opposition of King James, who wrote “A Counterblast to Tobacco” in 1604).
 - c. In the 1620s, the colony discovered a cheap source of labor in African slaves.
 - 4. The colonization of Massachusetts began with the Plymouth settlement on Cape Cod in 1620 on the Virginia Company charter.
 - 5. In 1629, the Massachusetts Bay Company was chartered to establish a much larger settlement around Boston, absorbing the Plymouth settlement in 1691.
 - a. The Massachusetts Bay Company allowed for self-government and its leaders consciously set out to found a Puritan “New Jerusalem”—a “city on a hill”—where Puritan liturgy, morality, and social conventions could be enforced, free from the persecution of the Church of England.
 - b. Massachusetts Bay colonists who came for economic opportunity chafed under the intolerant religious regime. Rather, these settlements existed to provide a refuge for those Puritans who could not conform to the Church of England.
 - 5. Puritan intolerance eventually drove a Salem clergyman named Roger Williams to found Rhode Island as a haven for a wider variety of Protestants, as well as Jews.
 - 6. In 1632, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, founded Maryland, which eventually became a haven for Catholics.
 - 7. In the end, the English colonies of the New World provided limited commercial or military value. These colonies were an increasingly important safety valve for those people who could neither abide nor prosper in Anglican village society. (They provided an alternative to the Poor Law for indigent Englishmen.)
 - C.** The English government also sought to encourage the development of other markets for English products.
 - 1. The English had only wool to export.
 - 2. Of the several monopolistic trading companies chartered between 1555 and 1600, only the British East India Company (established in 1600)—which was a joint stock company in which profit and loss were shared among all who cared to invest—had the potential to benefit a wider swath of English society.

3. After the Dutch massacred an English trading colony at Amboyna in the Moluccas in 1623, all East India companies—the French, the Dutch, and the English—fought literal trade war for the trade of the Far East.
 4. By the late 17th century, they armed their ships as men-of-war, fielded vast armies against each other, and used their armies to intimidate local rulers into acceptance of their trade.
- V. The great trading nation in the 17th century was increasingly the Dutch.
- A. In the 1560s, the Dutch began a long insurgency against Spain for their independence, which Spain granted in a truce of 1609, though full independence as a separate country wasn't recognized until the Treaty of Münster in 1648.
 - B. The Dutch founded a republic: a confederation of self-governing provinces sending representatives to a legislative body called the States-General, with an executive officer (sometimes elected) called a stadholder (*stadhouder* in Dutch).
 - C. Their first important venture was to Java in 1600. Then, there was a series of trading voyages establishing trading posts in Africa—Tasmania and the Cape of Good Hope—and especially in the Far East.
 - D. The Dutch East India Company, chartered in 1602, established trading colonies in the Moluccas (or Spice Islands) and in 1619, founded Batavia (now Jakarta) in western Java.
 - E. A Dutch West Indian Company established in 1621 sponsored colonies in the West Indies at Curaçao and later St. Martin; North America at New Amsterdam in 1624; and Pernambuco, Brazil in 1630.
 - F. In 1654, the Portuguese drove the Dutch from Brazil and in 1664, the Dutch lost New Amsterdam to the British, who renamed it New York.
- VI. The Holy Roman Empire never engaged in the exploration game and never acquired any major overseas trades or colonies that it could exploit.
- A. Why?
 1. Perhaps, once again, geography is destiny: The Holy Roman Empire was badly placed for either Eastern or Western trade.
 2. Or was it a lack of will? After all, North Germans had always been distinguished sailors.
 3. Was it the close connection with Spain, seeming to absolve the German ruler of the duty to try?
 - B. The failure of the Germans to engage in the great game of European imperialism until the 19th century had far-reaching consequences: imperial poverty, powerlessness, and Protestantism.
 1. The Holy Roman Emperor never figured out a financial mechanism to pay his armies beyond taxation and consulting the Diet.
 2. As a partial result, the emperor remained the weakest of the great European rulers, the elected chairman of a board of some 300 kingdoms, duchies, counties, and dioceses.
 3. This will go a long way to explain why the topic of the next lecture—the Protestant Reformation—could happen in only one place: the Holy Roman Empire!

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 14, section II.

J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650*.

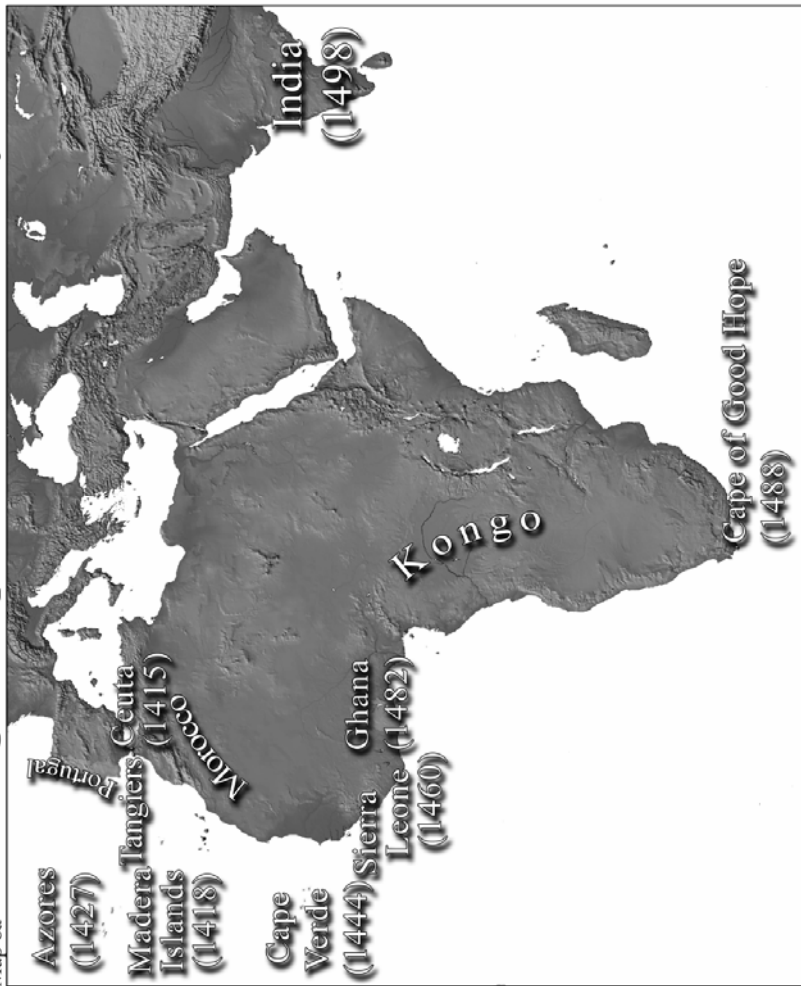
G. V. Scammell, *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion, c. 1400–1715*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Spain and Portugal lead in the race for empire in the 15th and 16th centuries?
2. What impulses besides finances drove the first European quest for empire?

Portugese Exploration and Discovery

Map 6a



Lecture Seven

The Protestant Reformation—1500–22

Scope: German decentralization, the rise of literacy and the development of the printing press in Europe made possible the dissemination of powerful new ideas, in particular the Reformation launched by Martin Luther. Scandalized by the Church's sale of indulgences, Luther came to offer an alternative theology and religious structure to Catholicism. Protestantism, elaborated by such thinkers as Calvin and Zwingli, swept across Europe, leading England, Scotland, Denmark, the Netherlands, and numerous northern German states to repudiate their allegiance to Rome.

Outline

- I. Since before the fall of the Roman Empire more than 1,000 years previously, Europe had been officially and primarily Christian.
 - A. Declared the official religion of the Roman Empire in 391, Christianity had split into two camps in 1054.
 1. Western Europe acknowledged the Bishop of Rome—later known as the pope—as the Vicar of Christ.
 2. Eastern Europe (Russia and Christians in the Ottoman Empire) acknowledged an orthodox patriarchy based in Constantinople and recognized even by the Ottomans as speaking for its Christians.
 3. Still, the patriarch of Constantinople never had the administrative authority of the pope: the Russian Orthodox Church, under a patriarch in Moscow, had broken away in 1448, and others would break away to form separate Orthodox churches in the 19th century.
 - B. Nearly every European state established Christianity as its official religion.
 1. Rulers were crowned by the Church.
 2. Bishops had been, until quite recently, the ruler's chief advisors.
 3. The Church taxed a high proportion of people's income.
 4. The state enforced conformity, by requiring attendance at weekly mass and persecuting Christian heretics.
 - C. Jews, Muslims, and other minority groups were second-class citizens, even when they were not persecuted and expelled.
 1. From 1295, the Roman Church decreed that Jews should wear badges as a mark of humiliation for their refusal to convert to Christianity.
 2. They were prohibited by successive Church councils from employing Christians or appearing in public on Easter or other Christian holidays.
 3. Because Christians were forbidden from lending money at interest, Jews found a niche as bankers and moneylenders—a niche that only increased their unpopularity in some quarters.
 4. Jews were expelled from England in 1290 and from France in 1306 and again in 1394. In Germany, not a unified country until after the early modern period, the situation varied from place to place.
 5. Medieval Spain had been very tolerant of both Jews and Muslims, but as we have seen, Isabella and Ferdinand harried them out of the country. Many fled to Portugal, but in 1497 Manuel I decided on forced conversions, causing many to leave for Greece and North Africa.
 6. The glorious exception to this really sad picture was Poland.
 - D. While Church and state generally cooperated in both East and West, there were clashes in the West during the Middle Ages.
 1. Western European kings were increasingly uncomfortable with the Church's claim to have given them their power.
 2. Kings wanted sole jurisdiction in their lands.
 3. Kings resented papal power to tax their subjects.
 4. Kings wanted to appoint bishops because they were also royal vassals and officials.
 - E. As we saw in Lecture 3, the early modern Church was not in great shape to fight these battles after the French king abducted the papacy to Avignon between 1309 and 1374, and the Great Schism of 1374–1417.
 1. Unity was restored in 1417, when a series of Church councils deposed all three competing popes and elected a fourth, Martin V.

2. After the success of these councils, there was hope that the Church would become more democratic and that conciliarism—the idea that councils should have the power to determine Church policy—would make reform possible by giving priests and lay people a voice in Church governance.
 3. Instead, Martin V and his successors concentrated on reviving and strengthening papal power.
 4. Too often, the papacy neglected the obligation to be a moral example.
 5. Some popes (e.g., Julius II; Alexander VI; Leo X) behaved like great Machiavellian Renaissance princes themselves—which in the long run harmed papal prestige and the sense that popes were spiritual leaders.
- F.** Most people turned to religion to give their hard lives meaning and consolation. Here, we get into an area of great controversy among historians.
1. Traditionally, the medieval Catholic Church has been portrayed as corrupt and unpopular—but this view is often taken directly from works of literature such as Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* or the propaganda of Protestant reformers.
 2. But recent archival research illustrative of people’s actual lives (wills, church records of donations, and clubs) shows a healthier Church.
 - a. Most clergy were doing their jobs under difficult conditions.
 - b. Most people were orthodox Catholics.
 - c. Religious books sold well. The writings of Meister Eckhart and Thomas à Kempis were very popular well beyond Germany. The *devotio moderna* emphasized a practical individual faith that was very popular in the Low Countries.
 3. That does not mean that everybody was happy in Christendom.
 - a. There was a shortage of priests, who were often poorly educated and sometimes failed to be good moral exemplars.
 - b. Church courts monitored personal behavior but had the potential to split communities and breed resentment.
 - c. From the 13th century, there was, in many parts of Europe, the Inquisition, which took hearsay evidence, encouraged neighbors to inform on neighbors, and used torture to ferret out people who did not agree with orthodox Catholicism.
 - i. Penalties ranged from public humiliation—adulterers were made to stand in the town square in a white sheet holding a taper—to horrible death. Heretics were burnt publicly at the stake in a ceremony that came to be known as an “auto-de- fe”—an “act of faith.”
 - ii. On the other hand, recent research indicates that most people hauled before the Inquisition were not burnt and that its reputation was worse than its reality.
 - d. Church taxes were sent far away to Rome; the perception of greed and worldliness of the Church was widely resented.
 - e. Lay people participated minimally in Church ritual.
 4. These problems produced increased anticlericalism and grassroots movements to change the Church.
- G.** Heresy was the Church’s term for anyone who disagreed with the Church.
1. During the High Middle Ages (1100–1300), there arose mass movements of Western Catholics—sometimes inspired by theologians, sometimes arising on their own—who had problems with their Church, most famously the Albigensians (Albigensis in French), the Lollards, and the Hussites.
 2. In general, these groups wanted:
 - a. A de-emphasis of the hierarchy and the authoritarianism of the Church, and an increased role for the laity.
 - b. A less greedy, worldly Church with more emphasis on Christ’s humility and humanity.
 - c. A translation of Scripture into the vernacular.
 3. Before the 16th century, kings and lay people rarely joined forces in criticizing the Church: To condone lay questioning of the pope would be to condone questioning of all authority—religious and civil.
- H.** By the late 15th century, Christian Humanist writers, such as Erasmus, Nicholas de Cusa, Philip Melancthon, and Ulrich Zwingli, also sought reform from within the Church.
- I.** If all three groups (kings, lay people, and reformers) ever came together, real change would be inevitable.
- II.** The catalyst of the Protestant Reformation was Martin Luther (1483-1546).

- A. Martin Luther was a devout Augustinian priest and professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg.
 - 1. Luther was steeped in the critical method and mentality of Christian Humanism.
 - 2. He was obsessed with his own sinfulness; his unworthiness of God’s mercy.
 - 3. He was equally appalled at the worldliness and corruption of the Church, especially the Church’s practice of selling indulgences, e.g., the sale of indulgences all over Germany by a Dominican priest named Johann Tetzel, who was trying to raise money for the construction of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome.
 - 4. Luther launched the Reformation by posting 95 theses attacking indulgences on the castle church door at Wittenberg on 31 October 1517.
- B. Because it took a while for the Church to respond, Luther and his followers had time to work out the implications of his ideas.
 - 1. One area of fundamental disagreement between 16th-century Catholics and Protestants was their source of religious truth.
 - a. Catholics found religious truth in Scripture, Church tradition, and papal and conciliar decisions.
 - b. Protestant reformers found God’s will for his people in the Word, that is, Scripture, and its working out by the faithful alone.
 - c. From this radical but simple idea came three equally revolutionary planks of Protestantism:
 - i. The Bible should be translated into the vernacular, printed using the new technology of the printing press, and made available to the people.
 - ii. Bibles in hand, there was no need for a corps of professional, sacrosanct clergy (including popes, archbishops, and bishops) to interpret it for the people.
 - iii. Any piece of religious dogma or practice without scriptural foundation should be rejected or abolished out of hand, including the hierarchy of popes and bishops; elaborate rituals and church decor, including crucifixes, images of saints, and so on; and most of the sacraments.
 - d. Protestants saw the only hope for reform in secular authority, that is, righteous lay rulers.
 - 2. These different attitudes to ministry were paralleled by different attitudes towards salvation.
 - a. Catholics believed that salvation was won through two mutually supportive means:
 - i. Faith, that is, belief in God, in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and in His Church.
 - ii. The performance of good works, especially the seven sacraments, which forgave sins and produced grace.
 - b. Protestants believed that no human being could merit salvation through his or her own efforts; salvation was entirely up to God.
 - i. Faith alone justified the individual in God’s eyes.
 - ii. Sacraments might or might not be useful in inclining an individual toward God, but they did not automatically result in forgiveness or salvation—that would be telling God what to do.
 - iii. Indeed, other rituals, the whole apparatus of priests, sacraments, processions, blessings, holy water, the sign of the cross, veneration of images, and so on were, at best, useless and, at worst, mere superstition and idolatry.
 - 3. One Swiss Protestant reformer, John Calvin, went further, arguing in *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536) that God, who knows all things, has already determined who is saved (the elect) or damned (the reprobate).

III. Unlike previous “heresies,” Protestant ideas survived.

- A. Weakened by corruption and perhaps overconfident, the Church did not act decisively.
 - 1. It excommunicated Martin Luther only in 1521.
 - 2. It made little response in print, giving Luther and his followers a clear field and time to get their message out.
- B. Luther benefited from two coincidental historical developments.
 - 1. The invention of the printing press in Germany in the mid-15th century enabled Luther’s ideas and translations of the Bible to spread rapidly.
 - 2. Rising literacy (to about 15–20 percent of the total population in 1600) also allowed for the rapid spread of Luther’s ideas.
- C. Luther received government support and protection.

1. Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, opposed Luther's ideas and summoned him to answer a charge of heresy at the Diet of Worms in April 1521.
2. There, courageously, Luther refused to recant.
3. The Diet responded by declaring him an outlaw.
4. If Luther had been living in a more centralized monarchy, such as Spain, France, or even England, his life would have been forfeit.
5. But Luther lived in Germany, where the central authority of the emperor was weak and the German princes were strong.
6. Some princes, mostly in the North, agreed with Luther and Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony (1463–1525), gave him sanctuary.

IV. Thanks to this support, and because the Holy Roman Emperor—in part because he never explored the New World—was weak and poor, Protestantism spread across Europe to northern Germany, Bohemia, France, England, Scotland, and Scandinavia.

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 12, section V; chapter 13, sections I–III.

D. MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History*.

J. M. Kittelson, *Luther the Reformer: The Story of the Man and His Career*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Luther succeed where so many earlier critics of the Church had failed?
2. What does the spread of Protestantism say and not say about the state of the Catholic religion in early modern Europe?

Lecture Eight

The Wars of Religion—1523–1648

Scope: The Reformation split Europe into opposing camps. Spain, led by Phillip II, spent its immense colonial wealth trying to force Christendom back together. The result was a series of bloodbaths culminating in the Thirty Years' War, the near-bankruptcy of Spain, and the conviction, expressed in the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, that perhaps religion was best not settled at the point of a sword or the barrel of a gun.

Outline

- I. How and why did Protestantism spread and take root in some parts of Europe but not in others?
 - A. As we have seen, many princes in the Holy Roman Empire, especially in northern Germany, embraced the Reformation.
 1. They did so because of their Humanist educations, religious conviction, greed for Church lands, or a desire to “stick it” to the emperor.
 2. In contrast, such places as Bavaria and Austria, more directly under the emperor’s control, stayed Catholic.
 3. The emperor spent the next half century trying to bring the Protestant princes to heel, culminating in the War of the Schmalkaldic League (1546–1552).
 4. But the Peace of Passau (1552), reaffirmed in Augsburg in 1555, granted Lutheran states the free exercise of their religion.
 5. As a result, the emperor remained weak, and Germany remained divided in religion and politics.
 - B. Protestantism was embraced by the ambitious monarchs of Sweden and Denmark.
 - C. Switzerland was a federation of self-governed city-state republics. Because there was no central control, urban areas, dominated by literate merchants, were able to embrace Protestantism.
 1. In 1520, Ulrich (Huldreich) Zwingli persuaded the merchants on the town council in Zürich to embrace Protestantism.
 2. In Geneva, John Calvin sought to create a theocracy.
 - a. Geneva embraced Protestant liturgical reforms.
 - b. The city provided rigorous public religious education for all.
 - c. Pastors and other parish officials were elected.
 - d. Individual households and personal behavior were closely monitored by a consistory of clergy and lay people.
 - e. Notorious sinners were excommunicated and even put to death.
 - f. Finally, Calvin founded a university that trained preachers who became especially influential in France and Scotland.
 - D. Protestant ideas were at first tolerated by the monarchy in France, but after placards attacking the mass were attached to church doors on 18 October 1534 (“Affair of the Placards”) the monarchy began a crackdown on Protestants, soon to be known as Huguenots, who fled to Geneva.
 1. The Huguenots returned in the 1550s and drew up a platform based on the Geneva model.
 2. They became especially popular in cities, among merchants, in part because of the Protestant emphasis on literacy.
 3. The attempts of the monarchy and Catholic Church to suppress them led to the French Wars of Religion (1552–1598).
 4. France was increasingly divided into a Huguenot minority led by the Bourbon family (headed by Henry of Bourbon), a Catholic majority led by the Guise family, and the royal house of Valois, which was caught in the middle.
 5. The 1572 murder of Protestant leaders in their beds (“St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre”) led to two decades of sporadic civil war and a France too weakened by internal division to play a major role on the international stage.
 - E. The Low Countries (Netherlands, Flanders, Luxemburg) were ruled directly by Charles V; after 1554, by Philip, eventually known as Phillip II of Spain.

1. The literate merchant classes embraced Protestantism.
 2. By the mid-16th century, the northern part (Netherlands) was mostly Protestant; the southern part (Flanders—later Belgium), Roman Catholic.
- F.** In England, Henry VIII, unable to secure a Catholic divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, declared himself Supreme Head of the Church of England in the 1530s.
1. From 1547 to 1553, Edward VI's ministers pursued Protestantism aggressively.
 2. Between 1553 and 1558, Mary restored Catholicism and launched a persecution, burning 286 Protestants at the stake.
 3. Elizabeth (1558–1603) instituted the Act of Uniformity (1559), which abolished the authority of the pope and named herself Supreme Governor of the Church of England but retained bishops, vestments, and many old holidays.
 - a. Diehard Catholics tried to maintain their faith in secret.
 - b. Strict Protestants sought to purify the settlement of Catholic rituals and practices. They became known as Puritans.
 - c. Thanks in part to Elizabeth's 45-year reign, most English men and women seem to have accepted the compromise settlement.
- G.** Scotland, ruled by the House of Stuart, had always been poorer and less centrally governed than England.
1. After the death of James V in 1547, Scotland was effectively ruled by Mary of Guise as regent for her infant daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots.
 2. By 1557, Mary of Guise began to persecute Protestants.
 3. In 1559, a group of Scottish nobles and lairds (landowners), called the Lords of the Congregation, rebelled against the two Marys, abolished papal jurisdiction and the Mass, and began to establish a Presbyterian Church structure.
 4. The French sent troops to aid Mary of Guise.
 5. Elizabeth sent help to the Protestants.
 6. In 1560, Mary of Guise died and all parties signed the Treaty of Edinburgh, promising joint rule and religious toleration.
 7. In 1567–1568, the Scottish nobility deposed Mary, Queen of Scots in favor of her infant son, who became King James VI (1567–1625).
 8. Scotland remained Protestant, eventually embracing a Presbyterian-style church settlement.
- II.** The Catholic response—the Counter-Reformation—was slow in coming and consisted of three parts.
- A.** The Council of Trent (1543–1563) convened to respond to the Reformation.
1. The Council of Trent tacitly conceded Luther's point regarding morality and discipline by calling for a moral, well-educated clergy.
 2. It rejected, though, the Protestant critique of Church doctrine, reaffirming the authority of the pope and tradition, the sanctity of the priesthood, the seven sacraments, salvation by faith and good works, Purgatory, indulgences, the use of images, and clerical celibacy.
- B.** The Jesuits were founded by Ignatius of Loyola in 1534 and recognized by the pope in 1540.
1. The Jesuits became leaders in Humanistic education, immediately developing a following with ruling elites.
 2. They went as missionaries to China, Japan, the coast of Africa, Canada, and South America.
 3. They also went to European countries, either as advisors to Catholic princes or to minister to Catholic minorities in Protestant countries.
 4. In both cases, the Jesuits involved themselves in political plots, often supported by the power and wealth of the Spanish Empire.
- C.** The Spanish Crusade, led by Philip II, was an attempt to stamp out Protestant heretics wherever he found them.
- III.** The Wars of Religion reached their height thanks to the efforts of Philip II.
- A.** Phase I lasted from 1567 to 1608.
1. The Revolt of the Netherlands began in the 1560s after Philip II imposed the Inquisition, backed by the Spanish army.

2. In 1574, Antwerp was sacked (known as the Spanish Fury), and the port never fully recovered.
 3. After the Dutch received assistance from Elizabeth I in 1585, Philip decided to send the Spanish Armada against England in 1588.
 - a. The defeat of the armada was a tremendous propaganda victory and confidence-booster for England.
 - b. Despite the loss of thousands of men and about 60 ships, the disaster of the armada did not seriously weaken Spain.
 - c. This defeat was only the beginning of a war that would last another 17 years, spread to three continents and two oceans, and drain the treasuries of England, Spain—and France.
 4. In 1589, Henry III, the last Valois king of France, was assassinated.
 - a. The next in line for his throne was the Protestant leader of the Huguenots, Henry of Bourbon.
 - b. He was opposed by the Catholic League and Philip II.
 - c. By 1598, Henry IV, supported by Elizabeth, had defeated his enemies in France.
 - i. He appeased Catholics by becoming one.
 - ii. He reassured Huguenots by granting a toleration via the Edict of Nantes (1598).
 5. By 1605, both Philip II and Elizabeth were dead and the Spanish monarchy had declared bankruptcy three times.
 - a. Peace with England came at the Treaty of London in 1605.
 - b. Spain recognized the Dutch Republic in 1608.
- B. Phase II comprised the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).**
1. The war began when the Protestants of Bohemia revolted from the Holy Roman Emperor (a Habsburg related to the king of Spain), threw the Emperor's representatives out the window ("Defenestration of Prague"), and asked the Elector Palatine, a small prince on the Rhine, to be their king in 1618.
 2. The Holy Roman Empire and Spain responded by seizing Bohemia and the Palatine.
 3. The result was a general European war over religion and the balance of power.
 - a. The Catholic side included Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and Bavaria.
 - b. The Protestant side included Saxony and other north German states, Sweden, the Netherlands, and France.
 4. For 30 years, armies crisscrossed Central Europe, leaving devastation in their wake.
 5. Finally, the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 enshrined the position "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*," that is, the religion of the state is the religion of the ruler.
- C. The Wars of Religion had significant consequences.**
1. Germany would remain weak and divided well into the 19th century.
 2. Spain, saddled with debts from more than a century of trying to fight heretics on all fronts, began a long, slow decline.
 3. England stayed out of it and, after a period of instability, would emerge a major player at the end of the 17th century.
 4. France, having achieved a degree of dynastic stability, would become the leading power in Europe.
 5. Europeans finally agreed to live and let live (more or less) on the issue of religion.
 6. With such an intensely rational settlement in place, it is no accident that the remainder of the 17th century would be regarded as the age of reason.

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 13, section IV; chapter 15, sections I–II.

G. Mattingly, *The Armada*.

G. Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Did the Catholic Church's refusal to make doctrinal concessions to Luther strengthen or weaken the Counter-Reformation?
2. In reality, was Phillip II the aggressor or the defender in the first wave of the Wars of Religion?

Lecture Nine

Rational & Scientific Revolutions—1450–1650

Scope: Beginning with Copernicus in the 15th century, European thinkers, such as Galileo, Kepler, Bacon, and Newton, questioned received views of how the world worked and pioneered the scientific method in the process. The resultant discoveries and intellectual tools promoted confidence in the ability of human beings to understand and even master the physical world through reason and technology and encouraged philosophers, such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, to apply the same methods to politics and society.

Outline

- I. To understand the significance of the scientific discoveries of the 16th and 17th centuries, we must go back to the Great Chain of Being and the astronomical theory at its heart, the theory of the Ptolemaic Universe.
 - A. In 1500, most people believed that the Earth was the unmoving center of the Universe.
 1. Expanding outward in concentric spheres were the Moon, Sun, planets, and stars orbiting in perfect circles, because the sphere is the most perfect shape.
 2. The outermost sphere, or *primum mobile*, was inhabited by God himself.
 3. The closer one got to God's realm, the more perfect the sphere.
 - B. Europeans embraced this model for three reasons:
 1. It matched their experience, their observations, and common sense.
 2. It was handed down from the scientific writings of the ancients.
 3. It fit biblical revelation.
 - C. In fact, this universe did not fit careful observation because the planets sometimes appeared to stop, reverse course, then reverse again and continue.
- II. The new worldview sought to reconcile observation not with Scripture but with observation and reason.
 - A. Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543) made the radical suggestion in 1543 that the Sun was at the center of a solar system in which the Earth was third.
 - B. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), a professor at the University of Padua, also questioned old Aristotelian assumptions about the movement of bodies, both heavenly and terrestrial.
 1. Galileo was the first major astronomer to turn the newly invented telescope to the heavens, and he discovered some alarming facts.
 - a. The surface of the Moon is pitted, cratered, and irregular.
 - b. The surface of the Sun is marked by spots.
 - c. The planet Jupiter has moons of its own—implying that it was a model for a solar system and the Earth's relationship to the Moon.
 - d. Venus has phases.
 - e. There were many more stars than previously thought.
 2. None of this new information fit the Great Chain of Being.
 3. In 1532, Galileo published his findings in *Dialogues on the Two Chief Systems of the World*.
 4. Within a year, Church authorities threatened Galileo with excommunication and torture and forced him to abjure his book.
 5. The Church could silence Galileo, but as with Luther a century earlier, the printing press spread his ideas among university scholars, especially in Protestant countries.
 - C. The Protestant Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) refined the Copernican system by proposing that the planets did not circle the Sun but revolved elliptically.
- III. Even more important than what was discovered about the cosmos was how it was discovered—using the new *scientific method*.
 - A. Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler did not follow traditional scholastic methods in devising their new worldview.

1. Medieval schoolmen worked deductively, assuming a first principle, and then constructing theories to fit it.
 2. Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler did not assume a first principle.
 3. Instead, they used inductive methods, making no prior assumptions.
 - a. These men collected facts and gathered observations of nature itself.
 - b. Out of these thousands of facts, they devised theories.
 - c. These theories were translated into mathematics, suggesting that nature was rational and predictable.
 - d. Theories could be modified or discarded as new observations were made.
 - e. These men were pioneering the scientific method, missing only one element.
- B.** Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626) proposed the next and final step in the method: experimentation, that is, testing the theory.
- C.** Armed with the scientific method, 17th-century Europeans produced a Scientific Revolution, an explosion of new knowledge.
1. In France, Blaise Pascal invented an adding machine; Rene Descartes made advances in optics; and both famously advanced mathematics.
 2. In the Netherlands, Anton von Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) perfected the microscope; Christian Huygens (1629–1695) wrote a seminal treatise on light; and Dutch universities, not bound by Catholic taboos regarding the dissection of dead bodies, became famous for medical training.
 3. In England, the physician William Harvey (1578–1657) discovered the circulation of the blood; the chemist Robert Boyle (1627–1691) formulated the law of pressure and volume ($pv = nrt$); and Edmund Halley (1656–1742), an astronomer, successfully predicted the orbits of heavenly bodies, especially the return of comets.
- D.** Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) put it all together.
1. As an undergraduate at Cambridge, he posited the idea of gravity.
 2. From this simple proposition came Newton's three laws of motion.
 - a. Every body at rest or in movement remains so unless and until a force is applied to it.
 - b. The change in motion is proportional to the force exerted.
 - c. Every action produces an opposite reaction.
 3. To demonstrate how motion works, and to explain and predict how the Universe works, Newton developed the calculus (simultaneously with Leibniz in Germany).
 4. Newton published his findings in 1687 in *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, better known as the *Principia*.
 - a. This book and the work that lay behind it caught the imaginations of Newton's contemporaries.
 - b. The implication of the *Principia* was that God's universe ran according to natural laws that were unchanging, rational, mathematical, and discoverable using the scientific method.
- E.** This discovery was a revolution.
1. Humans can discover nature's—God's—secrets; they were no longer mysterious but rational.
 2. If humans can discover nature's laws, they can discover nature's remedies.
 - a. They can cure disease.
 - b. They can increase the food supply.
 - c. They can divert mighty bodies of water.
 - d. They can build ever greater buildings.
 - e. They could, perhaps, one day, fly.
 3. Clearly, if humans could grasp these powers, then they would be less in the thrall of God.
 - a. Newton and his colleagues were not atheists.
 - b. Rather, they were, in a sense, more self-reliant.
- IV.** The rational and empirical philosophers of the 17th century tried to apply the new method to the truths of religion, philosophy, social relations, and so on.
- A.** Conservatives were appalled.
1. Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), the great French mathematician, feared that the new science would lead to skepticism and atheism.

2. Others—such as Bishop Bossuet (1627–1704) in France, King James VI in Scotland, and Robert Filmer (c.1588–1653) in England—mostly retreated into reassertions of the Great Chain
- B.** Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) applied the scientific method to political society in *Leviathan* (1651).
1. Hobbes considered himself a scientist and, thus, rejected explanations for human behavior derived from the Bible, Greek philosophy, or medieval Scholasticism.
 2. Instead, like Galileo or Newton surveying the heavens, Hobbes observed people, coming to the following conclusions:
 - a. Humans are creatures dominated by passions, appetites, and physical needs.
 - b. They will satisfy those passions, appetites, and needs at the expense of their fellow men and women.
 - c. Therefore, humans in the state of nature—prior to their enacting government or society—are in a constant state of war.
 - d. Hobbes’s solution is for human beings to form government by contract, giving full, irrevocable power to some strong, absolute ruler.
 - e. Hobbes understands the reluctance to do this.
 - i. The ruler may turn into a tyrant, with no recourse.
 - ii. But Hobbes would argue that the state of nature would be far worse.
 - f. To break the contract would lead to chaos.
 3. God does not enter into Hobbes’s equation: Power originates with the people, not the Supreme Being.
- C.** John Locke (1632–1704) went one step further in his greatest works, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and *Two Treatises of Government*, both published in 1690.
1. Locke had been private secretary to the Whig politician Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury (1621–1683) in the 1670s and 1680s.
 2. Like Hobbes, Locke claimed to be a scientist, an observer of men.
 3. But unlike Hobbes—or traditional Christian theology—he did not believe in the natural depravity of men.
 - a. Rather, in the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke argued that human beings are born neither good nor bad but more or less as blank slates: *tabula rasa*.
 - b. He believed that environment was more important than any pre-programmed human nature (today we might say genetics) in shaping human character.
 4. Locke believed, further, that human beings are naturally rational and that reason, if left alone, would lead to decent moral behavior, even Christianity.
 5. In the *Treatises of Government*, Locke rejects a biblical basis for government.
 6. He agrees with Hobbes that the authority for government comes from the people in the form of a contract.
 7. Locke argues, though, that human beings get out of the state of nature by making two contracts:
 - a. The first to form civil society.
 - b. The second to form government.
 8. Locke believes that human beings form government to protect their lives, liberty, and property.
 9. If any government fails to do that, the people retain a right to rescind the contract with their rulers and, in effect, depose them.
 10. Chaos would not ensue because the people have not dissolved the contract of civil society.
 11. This bold idea contradicts the Great Chain of Being and would be used to justify revolutions in Britain in 1688, in America in 1776, in France in 1789, and in South America in the 19th century.

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 16.

S. Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why was the new science so dangerous?
2. How scientific is the thought of Hobbes and Locke?

Lecture Ten

French Absolutism—1589–1715

Scope: Following the disasters of the Wars of Religion, the monarchies of Europe experienced a crisis of authority. The French response, foreshadowed by Henry IV and Cardinal Richelieu and perfected by Louis XIV, was an absolutism that made the king a virtual god on Earth. This solution was imitated in Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The major continental exception was the Protestant Netherlands, which, under William of Orange, fought almost single-handedly to thwart Louis' plans to inherit the Spanish throne and achieve European domination.

Outline

- I. The disaster of the Thirty Years' War shook the foundations of government all across Europe in what historians call the crisis of the 17th century.
 - A. The expense of the Thirty Years' War had exhausted the treasuries of the great European monarchies.
 - B. The nobility in France, England, Spain, and elsewhere resented the centralizing tendencies of the post-Renaissance monarchs.
 1. Nobles saw an opportunity in the king's financial exhaustion and the people's resentment of these wars to try to get some power back.
 2. They did so through government office and rebellion.
 - C. The nobles were sometimes joined by merchants who resented high taxes and the disruption of trade that accompanied these wars.
 - D. They were also sometimes joined by the peasantry.
 1. Peasants were the primary victims of the wars because of the destruction of farmland.
 2. Peasants were also the primary sponsors of war through taxes.
 - E. In the next two lectures, we will concentrate on two countries that responded very differently to the crisis of the 17th century, providing contrasting models of government for the rest of Europe.
 1. France embraced a conservative attempt to revive a modified Great Chain via *royal absolutism* (in effect, a Hobbesian solution).
 2. England came to embrace a more liberal, contractual arrangement known as *constitutional monarchy* (the Lockean solution).
- II. France had suffered terribly during the first wave of the Wars of Religion.
 - A. France emerged from these troubles under the leadership of Henry of Bourbon, who founded the Bourbon line and became Henry IV in 1589.
 1. Henry IV (1589–1610) was an effective military leader and ruler.
 - a. He promulgated the Edict of Nantes, granting toleration to Protestants (Huguenots) in 1598.
 - b. Working with his financial minister, Maximilien de Béthune, Duc de Sully (1560–1641), Henry IV pursued the following goals:
 - i. To limit the power of the nobles.
 - ii. To end religious and blood feuds.
 - iii. To limit the power of regional assemblies, called *parlements*.
 - iv. To build up an extensive local bureaucracy.
 - v. To centralize the economy.
 - c. These measures were unpopular with many noble and Catholic families.
 2. Henry IV was assassinated by a Catholic sympathizer in 1610.
 - B. Louis XIII (1610–1643) was not nearly as impressive—or popular—as his father.
 1. During the minority of Louis, from 1610–1618, his mother, Marie de' Medici served as regent.
 2. As an adult, he left real power in the hands of Armand, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642).
 3. Richelieu continued Henry IV's policies.
 - a. He reduced the power of the nobles and local *parlements*, imprisoning political opponents.

- b. He continued to centralize the economy, encouraging the exploration and colonization of the Americas.
 - c. He pursued an aggressive anti-Habsburg foreign policy by entering the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side.
 - C. By the time of Louis and Richelieu's deaths in 1642–1643, France was the most powerful nation in Europe; noble power seemed broken, but the royal treasury was bare and the country groaned under high taxes.
- III. The *Fronde* (1643–1651), the “slingshot,” was the result of these policies.
 - A. Louis XIV (1643–1715) ascended the French throne at age four.
 - 1. Real power lay in the hands of his mother, Anne of Austria, and her advisor, Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661).
 - 2. The nobles of France saw their chance.
 - B. The *Fronde* began at court in 1649 with the wives of imprisoned nobles demanding their release.
 - 1. Their cause was taken up by the *Parlement* of Paris, then the people of Paris.
 - 2. Much of the nobility and some towns joined the cause.
 - 3. In 1651, Paris fell to the rebels, and Louis was forced to abandon his palace at the Louvre.
 - C. The *Frondeur* state ruled France in Louis' name in 1651–1652.
 - 1. The Frondeur state was inefficient and corrupt.
 - 2. In 1652, Louis and Mazarin returned to power by popular demand.
- IV. Louis XIV was determined that he would never again be forced into submission by his nobles or anyone else in France. Following Mazarin's death in 1661, he began to revive the Great Chain of Being and to perfect the absolutist state of his grandfather, Henry IV, and Cardinal Richelieu by pursuing five principles that I have dubbed Louis XIV's five rules of absolutism.
 - A. The king must be godlike.
 - 1. Louis had been raised to believe that he was God's lieutenant, wielding God's power.
 - 2. Louis began a program to disseminate this image throughout France.
 - a. He established royal academies of art, music, literature and rhetoric, drama, science, and medals.
 - b. He legislated that the French style in art was to be Classical, harking back to the Golden Age of Greece and Rome.
 - i. Louis was portrayed everywhere as Apollo, the Greek god of the Sun.
 - ii. When not portrayed as a Greek god, he was portrayed as the Sun itself: the center of the solar system and the source of all life.
 - c. Louis maintained strict censorship of the arts to ensure that the message was never diluted.
 - 3. The epitome of this program was the magnificent palace that Louis set about building at Versailles.
 - 4. The king's daily routine emphasized his exalted station.
 - B. The king must be in control.
 - 1. Louis was tireless, working long days, reading reports, and drafting diplomatic correspondence himself.
 - 2. He assembled a corps of professional secretaries and administrators drawn not from the nobility but from the ranks of professional men.
 - 3. Louis never called the Estates General.
 - 4. In the localities, he established trained professional bureaucrats called *intendants*.
 - C. The king must be wealthy. When Louis declared himself of age, the country's finances were a mess, largely from more than 40 years of war. But Louis had two advantages in restoring those finances.
 - 1. He was advised by a financial genius named Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), who continued the Bourbon program of centralizing the economy and perfected a policy of mercantilism.
 - 2. Louis was able to tax at will, without the interference of a legislature.
 - a. In the short run, this paid for Versailles, armies of bureaucrats and soldiers, and a great navy.
 - b. In the long run, though, it hampered mercantile initiative and would eventually impoverish the peasantry.
 - D. The king must impose religious conformity on his subjects.

1. France had been bitterly divided in religion between Roman Catholics and Huguenots.
 2. Though Louis virtually controlled the Church in France, Huguenots were outside of his spiritual power thanks to the toleration granted by his grandfather in the Edict of Nantes.
 3. In 1685, Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes.
 - a. Thousands fled to Germany, the Netherlands, England, and North America.
 - b. This action, too, hurt the French economy in the long run.
- E.** The king must have an army, if only to back up the other four rules of absolutism.
1. Louis launched a series of reforms of the military, resulting in the most professional fighting force in Europe.
 2. Louis used that army on his neighbors in an attempt to position himself to be the next king of Spain.
 - a. In the 17th century, Spain still ruled a vast empire.
 - b. Spain had overextended itself in the 16th and early 17th centuries and was now the sick man of Europe, a rotting hulk of an empire.
 - c. Louis, who was related to the Spanish royal house, wanted to absorb that empire after the death of its sickly, childless ruler, Carlos II (1661–1700), known as El Hechizado (“the bewitched”).
 3. Louis was opposed in this undertaking by the Netherlands.
 - a. The Protestant Dutch Republic had the motivation and the wealth to stand against Louis’ dreams of European monarchy.
 - b. The Dutch *stadholder*, William of Orange, was deeply aware of the consequences for Protestant Europe if Louis combined the Spanish Empire with French military might.
 - c. This led to a series of wars in which Louis XIV conquered numerous small states along the Rhine and Dutch border—Franche-Comté, Luxemburg, Lorraine, Orange, and the Spanish Netherlands (roughly modern-day Belgium)—in an attempt to encircle the Netherlands.
 - d. By the late 1680s, Louis was planning the *coup de grâce*—another war to wipe the Dutch off the map.
- V.** But at this point, Louis began to face a much greater challenge from England.

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 15, sections V–VI; chapter 17, section I.

R. N. Hatton, *Europe in the Age of Louis XIV*.

S. Schama, *An Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What would have been the consequences of a French takeover of the Spanish Empire?
2. Why was the Netherlands able to mount a credible challenge to the ambitions of Louis XIV?

Lecture Eleven

English Constitutionalism—1603–49

Scope: The English response to the crisis of the 17th century was far less neat than the French. The Stuart monarchs of England struggled with Parliament and their own foibles and extravagancies over taxation, religion, and foreign policy. The result was the British Civil Wars, which culminated in the trial and execution of King Charles I in 1649.

Outline

- I. Nearly every problem faced by the English monarchy in the 17th century can be traced back to the 16th century and the reign of Henry VIII.
 - A. A century before Louis XIV, Henry had sought to strengthen the English monarchy against a repeat of the Wars of the Roses.
 - B. But in making himself head of Church and state, in relying on Parliament to do so, and in spending recklessly on repeated wars, Henry left a series of problems for his successors.
 - C. Instead of anticipating Louis XIV's five rules of absolutism, Henry created five problems that prevented absolutism: the problems of royal personality, of control and sovereignty, of royal finance, of religion, and of foreign policy.
 1. The problem of royal personality: Because Henry, like Louis, was larger than life; he set the bar impossibly high for his children and subsequent monarchs.
 - a. Edward was a sickly adolescent who died shy of his 18th birthday.
 - b. Mary and Elizabeth were women.
 - c. In short, his successors did not conform to the expectations of the Great Chain of Being.
 2. The problem of control and sovereignty: Henry VIII clearly wanted to be a more powerful sovereign.
 - a. To throw the pope out of England, Henry had to rely on parliamentary legislation.
 - i. Parliament already had the right to approve or disapprove of taxes.
 - ii. From now on, it would also claim the right to debate and legislate religion.
 - b. Each of Henry's successors also went through Parliament to get their religious settlements: Edward VI to establish Protestantism, Mary to re-establish Catholicism, and Elizabeth I in 1559 to establish the Anglican compromise.
 - c. Empowering Parliament raises a question in England that would never be raised in France: Who was truly sovereign, the king or Parliament?
 3. The problem of royal finance: As mentioned, Parliament had the right to approve or disapprove of taxes.
 - a. For centuries, the English king could tax his subjects only with Parliament's permission.
 - b. Henry loved to spend money on wars and over 60 palaces.
 - c. Henry's great minister, Thomas Cromwell, secured him a windfall when the two dissolved all the Catholic monasteries in England.
 - d. This should have brought the Crown £90,000 additional a year, but Henry wanted quick cash for his wars and sold off the monastic lands, thus impoverishing the Crown in the long run while enriching the landed gentry (the lower aristocracy) of England.
 4. The problem of religion: Henry wrenched England from Rome but refused to bring it to the Protestant side as represented at the Peace of Augsburg (1555).
 - a. He was congenitally attracted to Catholicism but only really supported by Protestants.
 - b. His son, Edward VI, imposed a stricter Protestantism during his six-year reign.
 - c. His daughter, Mary, reestablished Roman Catholicism during her five-year reign.
 - d. Henry's last daughter, Elizabeth, promoted a compromise: a Church of England that was more or less Protestant in doctrine but Catholic in ritual and hierarchy.
 - e. This left extremists on each side—diehard Catholics and Puritans—hoping to force the country to their own views on religion.

5. The problem of foreign policy: Henry VIII died leaving England alienated from Spain, embroiled in war with Scotland and France, and financially exhausted.
 - a. Edward lost the war in Scotland.
 - b. Mary lost a second war with France.
 - c. Elizabeth staved off the Spanish War as long as she could but spent the last 15 years of her reign fighting it.
 - d. Through it all, England struggled against richer, more powerful countries, wondering whether it should retreat behind its watery walls or embrace a major role in Europe.
- II.** Because Elizabeth died the Virgin Queen in 1603, she was succeeded by her next Protestant heir, King James VI (1603–1625) of Scotland.
- A. By contemporary standards, James was not godlike (the problem of royal personality).
 1. James’s Scottish heritage was difficult to stomach for his English subjects.
 2. James’s informal, unconventional personal behavior contrasted with the Tudors.
 - B. James was not in control (the problem of control and sovereignty).
 1. James rarely got along with Parliament.
 2. Because he could not afford an efficient bureaucracy, James relied on the goodwill of unpaid aristocrats to watch the country for him.
 - C. James was not wealthy (the problem of royal finance).
 1. The English administration was corrupt and inefficient.
 2. James spent money he did not have on buildings, masques, parties, and royal favorites.
 3. His debts rose from £300,000 in 1603 to £1,000,000 by 1621.
 - D. James did not control the religion of the country (the problem of religion), or, rather, his three countries.
 1. England was mostly Anglican.
 - a. But Puritans wanted an even more Protestant settlement, like Scotland’s Presbyterianism.
 - b. Catholics were a tiny but hated minority by 1603, constantly feared because of such events as the attempted invasion of the Spanish Armada in 1588 or the failed Gunpowder Plot to blow up the king and Houses of Parliament in 1605.
 2. Scotland was mostly Presbyterian, with some Catholics in the Highlands.
 3. Ireland was mostly Catholic, but land and power had been taken over by Scots and English Protestants.
 4. James dealt well with this mess largely by not dealing with it.
 - E. James did not have an army (the problem of foreign policy) because he did not have any money.
 1. This was fine with James because, unusually for a king, he sought to be a *rex pacificus*, a peaceful king who would heal the religious and diplomatic rifts that tore Europe.
 2. This peace policy was unpopular, especially with Puritans, who wanted an aggressive Protestant foreign policy and a role in the Thirty Years’ War.
- III.** Charles I (1625–1649) appeared, on the surface of things, to be an improvement on his father.
- A. He was more dignified but also more rigid.
 1. Charles expected instantaneous obedience.
 2. He refused to compromise or explain the reasons for his actions.
 - B. Charles was no better at dealing with Parliament than his father had been.
 1. Despite needing money desperately, he prorogued (suspended) Parliament repeatedly.
 2. He finally tried to dissolve Parliament for good in 1629.
 3. He ruled without Parliament for 11 years.
 - C. Charles was no wealthier than his father but just as extravagant.
 1. Charles assembled the most magnificent art collection in Europe.
 2. But after dissolving Parliament in 1629, Charles had to live within his means.
 - a. He trimmed expenses, launching a major retrenchment of government called “Thorough.”
 - b. He maximized revenue through dubiously legal taxes.
 3. These measures were unpopular, and England began to go on a tax strike in 1638.

- D. In religion, Charles was a High Church Anglican but also an inflexible man who wanted every one of his subjects to worship as he did.
 - 1. He promoted High Church bishops who wanted more hierarchy and ceremony and less Puritanism.
 - 2. He persecuted Puritans for failing to conform to Anglican ritual.
 - 3. Worse, Charles was married to the Catholic princess Henrietta Maria (1609–1669) of France.
 - 4. All of these issues led Charles’s subjects to wonder whether the king was a secret Catholic.
 - 5. He upset his Scottish subjects in 1637 when he tried to force an Anglican-style prayer book on Presbyterian Scotland.
 - 6. This led to the Bishops’ Wars, which began in 1637 and lasted to 1642. [In 1641, Irish Catholics took advantage of the distraction to rebel against their Protestant landlords.]
 - 7. By 1642, the English Parliament came to believe that it, not Charles, represented the interests of the nation and that royal policy had to be stopped.
 - 8. That conviction led to the English Civil War of 1642–1646.
 - E. Charles had no regular army with which to fight these British civil wars (1637–1660).
 - 1. He relied on wealthy aristocrats and local militias (nicknamed Cavaliers) for his army.
 - 2. In response, after much to-ing and fro-ing, Parliament raised a professional force, the New Model Army (nicknamed Roundheads, for the ordinary people who lacked courtier hair).
 - 3. The New Model Army defeated the king in 1646.
- IV. When King Charles would not negotiate in good faith, Parliament tried and convicted him on a charge of high treason in 1649.
- A. When the king questioned the court’s legitimacy at trial, Parliament responded that it represented the interests of the people.
 - B. The king was publicly executed on 30 January 1649.
 - C. For the first time in English history, the English people had judicially and publicly murdered their king.
 - D. Within weeks, the Rump Parliament abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords and proclaimed England a republic.
 - E. Would England now settle down and the English people accept rule by the Rump, the gentry, and the army in a truncated Chain of Being?
 - F. Or would England demand that the revolution go farther and embrace such radical notions as democracy and religious toleration?

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 15, section IV.

M. Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603–1714*, chapters 1–7.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. To what extent were the British Civil Wars the fault of the Tudors, the fault of the Stuarts, or a result of long-term structural problems within the British state(s)?
- 2. Was the trial and execution of Charles I legal? Just? Deserved?

Lecture Twelve

English Constitutionalism—1649–89

Scope: After the execution of the king, the English people experimented with a republic called the Commonwealth ruled by Parliament, followed by a protectorate ruled by Oliver Cromwell, before inviting the return of the Stuart monarchy in 1660. The restored Stuarts, Charles II and James II, sought to emulate Louis XIV by pursuing absolutism, but the power of Parliament over royal finances and the English people's rejection of Catholicism thwarted their plans. Finally, in 1688, the Protestant William of Orange invaded England and, with the support of the English people, overthrew King James II. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688–1689 made England a Protestant constitutional monarchy and set the pattern for an alternative, more democratic form of government in Europe and the Americas.

Outline

- I. The Commonwealth (1649–1653): Immediately upon the execution of the king, Parliament declared England a republic.
 - A. Like the *Frondeur* aristocracy of France, the members of Parliament, landowners, and merchants who engineered this revolution now wanted it to stop, with themselves at the top of the social hierarchy.
 1. But in killing the king, they had provided an opportunity and an example for ordinary people to break more links in the Great Chain of Being.
 2. Many ordinary people, including the soldiers of the New Model Army, no longer wanted to be ruled by someone else.
 3. In particular, a group arose in the army called the Levelers who wanted religious toleration, law reform, and universal manhood suffrage.
 4. One participant in the New Model Army's debates over England's post-war constitution, Colonel Thomas Rainsborough, propounded the Leveler notion of contract and consent bubbling up from the people themselves— half a century before Locke.
 - B. Other groups took advantage of the end of censorship to explore religious possibilities.
 1. The Baptists or "Dippers," believed that baptism, and the choice of faith it implied, should be delayed until adulthood, when one could make a rational choice.
 2. The Seekers actually went from congregation to congregation seeking a permanent home.
 3. The Diggers, led by Gerard Winstanley (c. 1609–1660), believed that Christ wanted property to be shared in common.
 4. The Ranters believed that nothing was a sin unless one conceived it to be a sin.
 5. The Quakers, led by George Fox (1624–1691), believed that all people contained God's inner light in equal measure, implying that a peasant was as good as a lord, a woman as good as a man.
 6. The Muggletonians believed that Lodowick Muggleton (1609–1698), a tailor from the West Country, was the last prophet named in the Revelation.
 7. Most disturbing of all, though, to those who loved order were the Fifth Monarchy Men.
 - a. They believed that the Bible had foretold five great monarchies on Earth.
 - b. Four had already fallen: Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome.
 - c. Given that the fifth was to be the kingdom of King Jesus, the Commonwealth was only an interim arrangement, to be brought into conformity with Mosaic Law.
 - C. Religious toleration and a free press had produced religious and political diversity—or, to contemporary eyes, chaos.
 1. The ruling elite was horrified by the sects and began to think better of the experiment with religious toleration and freedom of speech.
 2. This would doom rule by the Commonwealth and, eventually, the revolution.
 - D. In the end, the Parliament that ruled the Commonwealth was too radical for conservative country gentlemen and too conservative for Levellers and sectaries.
 1. In 1653, the army, upset at being sent to Ireland to pacify Catholics (which they did with enthusiasm) without being paid, sent Parliament home.

2. After a number of experiments, the army named its current commander, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector (1653–1658) of England, Scotland, and Ireland.
- II.** Cromwell briefly pursued Louis’ policies, even before Louis himself did so.
- A.** He assumed many of the trappings of godlike kingship without being king.
 - B.** Cromwell was a strong, decisive leader and tireless worker.
 1. He divided England into 11 military districts, each ruled by a major general, not unlike the French *intendants*.
 2. The generals were supposed to maintain law and order, keep an eye on Anglicans and Royalists, and suppress rebellion, riot, blasphemy, swearing, drunkenness, gambling, fornication, adultery, indecent fashions, alehouses, playhouses, Sunday sports, and Christmas celebrations.
 3. The generals were terribly unpopular.
 4. Parliament’s complaints about money also gave Cromwell fits.
 - C.** Cromwell, an “independent Puritan,” granted religious toleration for all Protestant sects and readmitted the Jews into England—which he saw as part of the Second Coming.
 - D.** Cromwell pursued an aggressive, Protestant foreign policy.
 1. He crushed rebellions in Ireland and Scotland, in the former case, ruthlessly.
 2. He won a trade war with the Dutch.
 3. He captured Jamaica from the Spanish.
 - E.** Cromwell was the first solvent ruler of England since Henry VII but at tremendous cost.
 1. The Protectorate’s excise tax on beer and other commodities hurt the poor.
 2. Cromwell confiscated the lands of Royalists, Anglicans, and Catholics.
 3. This activity yielded an annual revenue of £2 million, far more than Charles I had to play with, but at the cost of much grumbling and resentment.
 - F.** Oliver Cromwell died in 1658.
- III.** As in France, after more than a year of instability, the English ruling elite decided to restore the Stuart monarchy in the person of Charles I’s son, Charles II, to the throne of his father. In many ways, Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) and his brother James II (ruled 1685–1688) were reruns of their father and grandfather.
- A.** Neither Charles II nor James II was godlike.
 1. Charles II was witty, affable, and a great conversationalist.
 - a. He could, also, be quite undignified.
 - b. Having been made cynical by his father’s fate, he gave himself over to pleasure in the company of his mistresses, who included the beautiful and ambitious Countess of Castlemaine (who converted to Catholicism), the Duchess of Portsmouth named Louise-Renée de K roualle (French and Catholic), and “pretty, witty” Nell Gwynne (Protestant).
 2. James II, who succeeded Charles II in 1685, was more dignified, a military man who had shown courage under fire.
 - a. He was also less witty, more of a plodder.
 - b. Worse in the eyes of his subjects, James II was a Roman Catholic.
 - B.** Neither Charles nor James was in control, unlike their cousin, Louis XIV.
 1. Though Charles was lazy, James was a hard worker like Louis XIV.
 2. Unlike Louis, they did not have an efficient local bureaucracy at their disposal.
 3. Above all, though restored to the throne of their father, the brothers still had to deal with a powerful and sometimes uncooperative Parliament.
 - C.** Neither Charles nor James was wealthy, at least at first.
 1. At the restoration, Charles II was voted revenue that was supposed to yield £1,200,000 a year.
 - a. But the taxes voted with it did not always yield that amount.
 - b. Worse, like his father and grandfather, Charles loved to spend money on art, architecture, his mistresses, and their numerous offspring.
 2. Parliament was unwilling to finance these hobbies.

3. In 1685, James was luckier: Because a group of Whigs revolted soon after his accession, Parliament voted him more than £2 million in revenue.
- D.** Neither Charles nor James could enforce conformity, in part because they did not entirely conform to the Church of England themselves.
1. Both Charles and James were attracted to Catholicism and religious toleration, but Charles was too smart and knew his people too well to do much about it.
 2. James was not smart.
 - a. As Duke of York, he openly worshipped as a Catholic in the 1670s.
 - b. As king, he tried to convince Parliament to legalize Catholicism.
 - c. This action was very unpopular, but people put up with it because they assumed that when James died, he would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter Mary, married to William of Orange, the Protestant champion.
 - d. But in 1688, James's second wife, Mary Beatrice of Modena, gave birth to a son, who would clearly be raised Catholic, supersede the female Mary, and continue his father's policies.
- IV.** The Glorious Revolution (1688–1689): At this point, William of Orange decided to invade England, landing in the south on 5 November 1688.
- A.** James II fled to France on 11 December 1688.
 - B.** After much debate, Parliament, on 13 February 1689, asked William and Mary to take the Crown as William III (1689–1702) and Mary II (1689–1694).
 - C.** These actions began to solve most of the problems plaguing English monarchs since the reign of Henry VIII in a very different way from Louis XIV's solution.
 1. The problem of sovereignty: Clearly, the king was not a god because Parliament had chosen him; in effect, Parliament was sovereign.
 2. The problem of control: The English king remained powerful, but his financial and diplomatic situation would dictate that he could no longer rule without Parliament.
 3. The problem of finance: The revolution would lead to a series of wars with France that would force the Crown and Parliament to finally solve the Crown's money problems by tapping into the growing wealth of the English economy.
 4. The problem of religion: Clearly, England would not be Catholic.
 - a. England would remain Anglican officially.
 - b. Parliament would grant toleration to Puritans, though, because they had supported the revolution.
 5. The problem of foreign policy: William's accession would bring the British kingdoms into his fight against France. In fact, the ensuing Nine Years' War would be the first of seven colossal conflicts pitting Britain against France between 1688 and 1815.
 6. Finally, the Glorious Revolution marks England's and, thus, Europe's first completely successful break from the Great Chain of Being.

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 17, section IV.

M. Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603–1714*, chapters 8–13.

Questions to Consider:

1. Was the Restoration Settlement doomed to failure?
2. Was the Revolution of 1688–1689 a liberal revolution or a reassertion of religious bigotry?

Timeline for Modern Western Civilization, 1450–2000

Notes:

1. Eras, prolonged wars, and lifespans of major figures are listed in bold before the events that take place during that time.
2. Events taking place in the same year are listed on separate lines unless they are related in some way.

ca. 1450	Johannes Gutenberg invents a printing press.
1455–1485	English Wars of the Roses.
1469	Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.
1478	Spanish Inquisition begins.
1479	Ferdinand and Isabel jointly assume the throne of united Spain.
1485	Henry VII founds the Tudor dynasty in England.
1491	Treaty of Pressburg gives Bohemia and Hungary to the Habsburgs.
1492	Columbus encounters the Americas.
1494	Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal to divide the New World.
1498	Vasco de Gama returns from the Far East.
1509–1547	Reign of Henry VIII (England).
1517	Luther launches the Reformation.
1519–1556	Reign of Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor).
1521	Edict of Worms declares Martin Luther a heretic and outlaw.
1524	The Peasants' War.
1526	The Diet of Speyer relaxes pressure on Lutherans; reversed three years later.
1530–1531	German Protestant princes form Schmalkaldic League.
1532	Machiavelli's <i>The Prince</i> published.
1532	Galileo's <i>Dialogues on the Two Chief Systems of the World</i> published.
1533–1534	England breaks from Rome with Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) and Act of Supremacy (1534).
1534	Protestants flee Paris after the "Affair of the Placards."
1543–1563	Council of Trent.
1543	Copernicus's <i>On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies</i> published.
1546–1552	War of the Schmalkaldic League.
1552	Peace of Passau.
1555	Peace of Augsburg.
1556–1598	Reign of Phillip II (Spain).
1558–1603	Reign of Elizabeth I (England).
1562–1598	Wars of Religion in France.
1564–1623	Life of Shakespeare.

1567–1608	Dutch Revolt against Spain.
1571.....	Turkish navy defeated at Battle of Lepanto.
1588.....	The Spanish Armada sails, fails.
1589.....	Henry IV founds the Bourbon dynasty in France.
1594–1603.....	O’Neill Rebellion in Ireland.
1598.....	Edict of Nantes grants toleration to Huguenots (French Protestants).
1603.....	James I founds the Stuart dynasty in England and Ireland.
1605.....	Bacon’s <i>The Advancement of Learning</i> published.
1606–1669	Life of Rembrandt.
1607.....	Jamestown founded.
1618–1648	Thirty Years’ War.
1618–1621.....	Kepler’s <i>Epitome of Copernican Astronomy</i> published.
1620.....	Bacon’s <i>Novum Organum</i> published.
1625.....	Kepler’s <i>Rudolphine Tables</i> published.
1637–1660	The British Civil Wars.
1648.....	Peace of Westphalia (Treaties of Münster and Osnabrück).
1643–1715	Reign of Louis XIV.
1649–1652.....	The <i>Fronde</i> .
1649.....	Trial and execution of Charles I (England).
1652.....	Hobbes’s <i>Leviathan</i> published.
1653–1658	Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell.
1660.....	Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in England.
1683.....	Austrians defeat Ottomans at Battle of Zenta.
1685.....	Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
1687.....	Newton’s <i>Principia Mathematica</i> published.
1688–1689.....	Glorious Revolution in England.
1688–1697	Nine Years’ War (War of the Grand Alliance) , known in North America as King William’s War.
1690.....	William III defeats James II at Battle of the Boyne in Ireland.
1690.....	Locke’s <i>Two Treatises of Government</i> and <i>Essay Concerning Understanding</i> published.
1697.....	Treaty of Ryswick ends Nine Years’ War.
1700–1721	Great Northern War challenges Sweden.
1701–1714	War of the Spanish Succession , known in North America as Queen Anne’s War.
1704.....	Battle of Blenheim.
1713–1714.....	Peace of Utrecht (Treaty of Rastatt, Treaty of Baden) ends the War of the Spanish Succession.

1733	Voltaire's <i>Letters on England</i> published.
1733–1735	War of the Polish Succession; concludes with Treaty of Vienna (1738).
1739–1742	War of Jenkins's Ear.
1740–1780	Reign of Maria Theresa (Austria).
1740–1786	Reign of Frederick the Great (Prussia).
1740–1748	War of the Austrian Succession.
1746	Battle of Culloden.
1748	Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751–1780	Diderot's <i>Encyclopedia</i> published.
1756–1763	Seven Years' War; concludes with Treaty of Paris.
1759	Battles of Minden, Fort Duquesne, Quebec.
1759	Voltaire's <i>Candide</i> published.
1762	Rousseau's <i>Social Contract</i> and <i>Emile</i> published.
1770–1827	Life of Beethoven.
1773	Boston Tea Party.
1773–1774	Pugachev's failed Peasant Rebellion leads to renewal of serfdom in Russia.
1774	British Parliament passes Quebec Act.
1775–1783	American Revolutionary War.
1776	U.S. independence.
1776	Smith's <i>Wealth of Nations</i> published.
1777	Battle of Saratoga.
1781	Battle of Yorktown.
1783	Treaty of Paris.
1789	French Revolution begins.
1791	Pillnitz Declaration supports the French king against the French Revolution.
1792	Wollstonecraft's <i>A Vindication of the Rights of Women</i> published.
1792	Louis XVI rejects the Constitution of 1791.
1792–1801	French Revolutionary War.
1792	Battle of Valmy.
1793–1794	Reign of Terror.
1798	<i>Essay on the Principle of Population</i> by Thomas Malthus
1799	Napoleon Bonaparte seizes power in France.
1801	Treaty of Amiens.
1803–1815	Napoleonic Wars.
1805	Battles of Trafalgar, Austerlitz.
1807	France signs Treaties of Tilsit with Prussia and Russia.

- 1812..... Napoleon’s Russian campaign fails.
- 1815..... Battle of Waterloo; Congress of Vienna.
- 1815..... Holy Alliance.
- 1819..... Peterloo Massacre in Manchester, England.
- 1819..... Carlsbad Decrees stifle freedom at German universities.
- 1820..... Troppau Protocol seeks to suppress revolution in Naples.
- 1820–1823..... Revolutions in Spain, Portugal, Italy.
- 1821–1829..... Greek War of Independence**, concludes with Treaty of Adrianople.
- 1825..... Decembrist Revolt fails in Russia.
- 1830..... Revolutions in France, Belgium, German states, Spain, Portugal, Italian states; French invade Algeria.
- 1832..... Reform Act (Britain).
- 1832..... Sadler commission investigates child labor (Britain).
- 1833..... Factory Act reduces working hours (Britain).
- 1839–1842..... Opium Wars.
- 1845–1847..... Great Famine (Ireland).
- 1848..... Revolutions in France, German states, Italian states, Austria-Hungary; Marx and Engels’s *Communist Manifesto* published.
- 1851..... Crystal Palace Exhibition, the first world’s fair.
- 1853–1856..... Russia defeated in Crimean War.
- 1857–1858..... Indian Mutiny.
- 1859..... Darwin’s *Origin of Species* published.
- 1861..... Unification of Italy; emancipation of Russian serfs.
- 1863–1864..... Dano-Prussian War.
- 1866..... Austro-Prussian War.
- 1869..... Opening of the Suez Canal.
- 1870–1871..... Franco-Prussian War; unification of Germany
- 1872–1901..... Nietzsche’s major publications.**
- 1872..... Three Emperors’ League (Germany, Austria, Russia).
- 1876..... Wagner’s *Der Ring des Nibelungen* premiers.
- 1878..... Russia imposes Treaty of San Stefano on Ottoman Empire.
- 1881..... Assassination of Alexander II (Russia).
- 1881–1973..... Life of Picasso.**
- 1883..... Marx’s *Das Kapital* published.
- 1884..... Berlin Conference establishes the Belgian Congo Free State.
- 1892..... Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Italy).
- 1894..... Franco-Russian Alliance.

1894–1906	Dreyfus Affair (France).
1904	Entente Cordiale (Britain, France).
1904–1905	Russia defeated in Russo-Japanese War.
1905	First Russian Revolution; Einstein’s three major papers published.
1906	H.M.S. <i>Dreadnought</i> built.
1907	Triple Entente (Britain, France, Russia).
1914–1918	World War I.
1914	Rape of Belgium; Battle of the Marne.
1915	Gallipoli campaign; sinking of the <i>Lusitania</i> .
1916	Battle of Verdun, Battle of the Somme.
1917	Russian Revolutions; United States enters World War I.
1918	Treaty of Brest-Litovsk removes Russia from World War I.
1919	Paris Peace Conference and Treaty of Versailles; founding of the League of Nations.
1921	Treaty of Riga sets Polish border with Communist Russia.
1922	Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and Communist Russia.
1923	German inflation.
1923	T. S. Eliot’s <i>The Wasteland</i> published.
1924	Death of Lenin; power struggle in Russia between Stalin and Trotsky.
1925	Germany signs Locarno Pact against changing boundaries by force.
1927	Heisenberg’s Uncertainty Principle.
1929–1939	Great Depression.
1930	Freud’s <i>Civilization and Its Discontents</i> published.
1932	Lausanne Conference absolves German debts.
1936–1939	The Spanish Civil War.
1936	Hitler enters the Rhineland.
1938	Sudetenland Crisis.
1939–1945	World War II.
1940	Fall of France; Battle of Britain.
1941	German invasion of the Soviet Union; Japan and the United States enter war.
1942	Battles of Midway, El Alamein, Stalingrad.
1943	Invasion of Italy; Battle of Kursk.
1944	D-Day.
1945	Surrender of Germany; U.S. drops atomic bombs; surrender of Japan.
1945	Founding of the United Nations.
1945–1989	Cold War.
1947	Marshall Plan enacted.

- 1948..... Berlin airlift.
- 1949..... NATO founded; first Soviet atomic blast.
- 1955..... Warsaw Pact founded.
- 1956..... Hungarian revolt crushed by the Soviets.
- 1957..... Treaty of Rome establishes the European Economic Community.
- 1957..... Sputnik launched.
- 1961..... Berlin wall erected.
- 1968..... Czechoslovakia’s “Prague Spring” crushed by the Soviets.
- 1980..... Solidarity trade union established in Poland.
- 1985..... Mikhail Gorbachev becomes premier of the Soviet Union.
- 1987..... INF Treaty reduces nuclear arms.
- 1989..... Break-up of Warsaw Pact.
- 1990–1991..... Break-up of Soviet Union.
- 1994–1999..... New Balkans Crisis.
- 1994..... Founding of the European Union.

**Foundations of
Western Civilization II:
A History of the
Modern Western World
Part II
Professor Robert Bucholz**



THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

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Robert Bucholz was born March 17, 1958, in Los Angeles, California. He received his undergraduate education in history at Cornell University, where he also earned his letter in cross-country and track. He graduated in 1980, magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, whereupon he received a Keasbey Memorial Scholarship for study at Oxford University. At Oxford, Bucholz studied under G. V. Bennett and P. G. M. Dickson. He took his doctorate in modern history from Oxford in March 1988. He taught at Cornell, UCLA Extension, Cal State Long Beach, and Loyola-Marymount Universities before joining the faculty in history at Loyola University of Chicago in 1988. He currently holds the rank of professor.

At Loyola, Dr. Bucholz teaches both halves of the Western Civilization survey, as well as upper-division courses in Early Modern (Tudor-Stuart) England, English Social History, and Early Modern London. He has received several awards for his teaching, most notably, in 1994, in the first year of its presentation, the Sujack Award for Teaching Excellence, the College of Arts and Sciences' highest such award. He was also the Honors Program Faculty Member of the Year in 1998 and 1999.

Dr. Bucholz's primary research interest is the English court and royal household for the period from 1660 into the 19th century. He is the author of *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, 1993); with Sir John Sainty, KCB, *Officials of the Royal Household, 1660–1837*, 2 vols. (Institute of Historical Research, London, 1997–1998); and, with Professor Newton Key of Eastern Illinois University, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714: A Narrative History* (Blackwell, 2003). He is the project director of the Database of Court Officers, which contains the career facts of every person who served in the British royal household from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 to the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. The database was launched online by Loyola University in 2005.

In 1997, Dr. Bucholz was named Prince of Wales Foundation Scholar for Architecture in America, which led, in turn, to his being invited to speak on the etiquette of the public rooms and the experience of going to court in the 17th and 18th centuries to Royal Collection Studies at Windsor Castle in September of that year. (Dr. Bucholz's week-long stay at Windsor coincided with the death and funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales.) This talk was repeated in 2000 and published in 2001 in *The Court Historian*. Dr. Bucholz's work has been solicited and commented upon by HRH, the Prince of Wales.

Dr. Bucholz is past president of the Midwest Conference on British Studies and the organizer of the Center for Renaissance Studies/Society for Court Studies Seminar on Courts, Households, and Lineages at the Newberry Library, Chicago. Dr. Bucholz is occasionally asked to comment on British history and the activities of the British royal family to the Chicago media, most notably "Chicago Tonight" with John Calloway and "Extension 720" with Milt Rosenberg.

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A History of the Modern Western World
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Foundations of Western Civilization II: A History of the Modern Western World

Scope:

Wherever we come from, whatever we believe, however we make a living, Americans are all, to a greater or lesser extent, inhabitants of a land shaped by the last five centuries of Western history and culture. Over those five centuries, the Western world has seen a profound transformation. How did the decentralized agrarian princedoms of medieval Europe become great industrial nation-states? How was the power of disease and superstition dealt a blow by Western science and technology? How and why did absolutism yield to democratic liberalism? Why did Europe produce two great antagonistic economic systems, capitalism and communism? How did Westerners conquer half the world, then lose it? Why did the Western world erupt into two world wars, then a cold war in which Europe found itself the prize between two superpowers? To what extent have Europeans learned to work together for their common good; to what extent do they remain divided by history and culture? Overall, has their legacy to the wider world been positive or negative?

This course will explore the ideas, events, and characters that molded Western political, social, religious, intellectual, cultural, scientific, technological, and economic history during the tumultuous period between the 16th and 20th centuries. The course begins by explaining the geographical, philosophical, political, religious, and economic background to the modern Western world. It then examines, in turn, the crisis of the 17th century, absolutism and constitutionalism, the wars of the 18th century, the Enlightenment, the French and American Revolutions and the spread of liberal ideals, nationalism, the Industrial Revolution, socialism, imperialism, the Russian Revolution, two world wars, communism, fascism, de-colonization, the collapse of the Soviet bloc, democratization, and globalization and other issues confronting contemporary Western society. Frequent reference to contemporary philosophy, literature, the arts, and biography will help us define these explosive centuries and understand how we are their heirs.

Lecture Thirteen

War, Trade, Empire—1688–1702

Scope: The Revolution of 1688–1689 precipitated a series of general European wars pitting the French and their allies against the British and Dutch and their allies for mastery in Europe and control of trade with colonies in America and Asia. The first of these wars, the Nine Years' War, ended in 1697 in a draw, necessitating a second, the War of the Spanish Succession. Perhaps the most lasting legacy of the first war was the Irish Penal Code.

Outline

- I. Following the Revolution of 1688–1689, French absolutism and British constitutionalism were bound to clash.
 - A. William III had invaded the British Isles to bring the wealth and power of England, Scotland, and Ireland into his fight with Louis XIV.
 1. For his part, Louis XIV could not abandon James and England to William.
 - a. Louis could not condone the example of James's disinheritance and usurpation.
 - b. Louis could not let slip the last chance to revive Catholicism in England.
 - c. Louis could not sit idly by and watch William bring Britain into the Dutch column against him.
 2. Thus, the conflict that started in 1688 revolved around a number of issues.
 - a. It was about absolutism versus constitutionalism.
 - b. It was about Protestantism versus Catholicism.
 - c. It was about balance of power (France versus the rest of Europe).
 - B. In fact, this war was to be the first of seven such wars between the French and the British, with a changing roster of allies, that would drag on for more than a century.
 1. The first two—the Nine Years War (1688–1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714)—were about ideas: absolutism versus constitutionalism, and Catholicism versus Protestantism, or more accurately, religious uniformity versus religious toleration.
 2. The next three—the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), the Seven Years War (1756–1763), and, controversially and to a lesser extent, the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783)—were less about ideas and more about material things, especially colonies and overseas trade. The debatable exception here would be the American war on the American side.
 3. The last two—the French Revolutionary War (1792–1801) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815)—were about ideas again: egalitarianism versus privilege, rationalism versus tradition, nationalism versus imperialism (or centralization), and romanticism versus rationalism.
- II. The Nine Years' War was fought from 1688 to 1697.
 - A. The sides divided up as follows:
 1. The French side consisted, basically, of France, with some papal support.
 2. The Grand Alliance forged by William of Orange consisted of the three British kingdoms, the Dutch Republic, Spain, Portugal, and the Holy Roman Empire.
 - a. England was wealthy thanks to a commercial revolution (more about this in Lecture 14), but it had a dismal military record and had lost the last two trade wars against the Dutch (1664–1667 and 1672–1674).
 - b. The Dutch Republic had a vibrant economy and a battle-hardened army and navy, but the wars of the 18th century would eventually wreck Dutch agriculture and plunge the Dutch government into debt from which it would never fully recover.
 - c. Spain and Portugal were weak absolutist monarchies.
 - d. The Holy Roman Empire remained decentralized, but certain German states within it had significant armies, especially Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria.
 - i. Catholic Austria was a not particularly wealthy or well-governed empire, ruling an ethnically diverse population (Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians, Serbs, and others). Though Catholic,

- its Habsburg rulers traditionally opposed the Bourbons. It was also being pressured by a resurgent Ottoman Empire to the south and east.
- ii. Protestant Brandenburg-Prussia was rapidly growing in wealth and had one of the best trained armies in Europe.
 - iii. Other German states, some Catholic, some Protestant, hoped to gain territory or at least survive, including Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and Rhine Palatine. [In subsequent wars, a number of German states would try the French side.]
 - iv. The main contribution to the war effort of Savoy—a Catholic, non-German part of the Holy Roman Empire between France and the Italian mainland—was a great general, Prince Eugene (or *Prinz Eugen*, as he's known to Germans) of Savoy.
3. In addition, three great Eastern empires stood on the sidelines, but they were important later.
 - a. Sweden, beginning under Gustavus Adolphus, had conquered a northern empire in the 17th century but overextended itself when it took on Russia in the Great Northern War (1700–1721).
 - b. Russia grew under a series of tough czars, culminating in Peter the Great (r. 1689–1725), who sought to modernize and westernize the country.
 - c. The Ottoman Empire, revived from its defeat at Lepanto in 1571, had threatened to conquer Vienna as recently as 1683 (where they were defeated by the armies of Polish king and military commander Jan III Sobieski), but entered a long period of decline after defeat at the Battle of Zenta in 1697.
- B.** The arrival of Britain into the Grand Alliance was vital—but that was not apparent at first.
1. The British were reluctant participants in this war.
 2. At first, the allies were on the defensive.
 - a. On the Continent, the early years of the war saw Louis take fortress after fortress on the Dutch border.
 - b. In the summer of 1689, Louis backed an invasion of Ireland by James II.
 - c. Oppressed Catholic peasants flocked to his cause.
 - d. The ragged army of Irish peasants drove the Protestants north into Ulster and laid siege to Protestant enclaves at Londonderry and Enniskillen, where thousands of Ulster men and women died of disease and starvation before a Williamite relief force arrived in July 1689—a hallowed memory in Protestant Ulster to this day.
 - e. In the summer of 1690, William defeated James at the Battle of the Boyne.
 - f. This defeat resulted in the ruthless suppression of the Catholic-Irish population by Protestant landowners.
 - i. The Irish Penal Code, passed over the next 40 years, forbade the Catholic-Irish from voting, holding office, sitting in Parliament, attending university, practicing law, purchasing land, inheriting land from Protestants, bearing arms or wearing swords (a mark of gentility), or owning a horse worth more than £5.
 - ii. The Catholic-Irish were forced to divide bequests among all their heirs (partible inheritance), thus leading to the gradual elimination of large land holdings.
 - iii. As a result, by 1727, the Catholic Irish amounted to four-fifths of the population but owned only one-seventh of the land.
 - iv. No wonder that in 1729, Jonathan Swift made the satirical suggestion in “A Modest Proposal” (1729) that the English, having sought to liquidate the Catholic Irish in any case, might as well eat their children.
 - v. No wonder that in Ireland today, the memory of William’s relief of Ulster and victory at the Boyne continues to rankle with Irish Catholics, as it is celebrated tauntingly by Ulster Protestants.
 - g. The victory enabled William to take the war to Louis on the continent.
 3. Though William was not a great general, a combination of his sheer determination and British material resources eventually wore Louis down.
 4. In 1697, Louis asked for peace.
- C.** The Treaty of Ryswick was a draw with an Allied slant.
1. Louis recognized William III and his heirs, not James II and his heirs, as the rightful rulers of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

2. Louis returned nearly all the European territory he had conquered since 1678.
 3. Louis agreed to work out with William a partition of the Spanish Empire to take effect when Carlos II died.
 4. Louis XIV had been stopped; his dreams of a vast Bourbon empire looked to have been thwarted.
- III.** In the period from 1700 to 1702, the international situation began to heat up again because of three royal deaths.
- A.** First, in October 1700, Carlos II of Spain finally died, heirless.
 1. On his deathbed he left his empire to Louis' grandson, Philippe, Duke of Anjou, on the grounds that the Bourbons were most likely to be able to keep it intact.
 2. In accepting the will, Louis repudiated part of the provisions of Ryswick and dared William to fight him again.
 3. Since the British Parliament was reluctant to pay for another war so soon, Louis and Philippe seemed to get away with it.
 - B.** In November 1701, James II, the deposed king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, finally died.
 1. On his deathbed, he asked Louis to recognize his son as James III of England and Ireland and James VIII of Scotland.
 2. In doing so, Louis repudiated all that was left of Ryswick and double-dared the British to fight.
 3. This time, Parliament backed war and William's diplomats began to rebuild the Grand Alliance.
 - C.** In March 1702, William, who had always been physically delicate, died after a fall from his horse.
 1. This brought Queen Anne to the British throne.
 2. Given that contemporaries did not believe that women could lead armies, she placed the command of her troops in the hands of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

Supplementary Reading:

M. B. Chambers, et al., *Western Experience*, chapter 17, sections II–III.

R. F. Weigley, *The Age of Battles: The Quest for Decisive Warfare from Breitenfeld to Waterloo*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What are the lingering consequences of the Irish Penal Code?
2. Why did Louis XIV take the gamble of allowing his grandson to ascend the Spanish throne?

Lecture Fourteen

War, Trade, Empire—1702–14

Scope: The War of the Spanish Succession resulted in a clear victory for the Grand Alliance, thanks in part to the military genius of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. But the real secret to British success in the wars of the period lay in its commercial wealth and a financial revolution that would produce new ways of raising quick cash by exploiting deficit finance. There ensued two decades of peace, during which the British consolidated their holds on trade to India and China, the Mediterranean, and most importantly, the triangular Atlantic trade in sugar, tobacco, and African slaves. Britain became the most prosperous trading nation in Europe, but much of the foundation of that prosperity was built on the misery of Africans.

Outline

- I. The War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714) would decide the thrones of Spain and Britain and settle the balance of power in Europe and North America for a generation.
 - A. The principal combatants in this war were:
 1. France, Castilian Spain (loyal to the Bourbon candidate, Philippe or “Felipe V”), and Bavaria on one side.
 2. Britain, the Dutch Republic, Catalanian Spain (loyal to an Austrian Habsburg candidate, “Carlos III”), and most of the Holy Roman Empire (including Austria, Prussia, and Hanover), Portugal, and Savoy on the other side.
 - B. At first, the Grand Alliance, intimidated by Louis’ reputation, moved cautiously.
 - C. The stalemate was broken in the summer of 1704, when the Duke of Marlborough marched south from Flanders, met up with Prince Eugene of Savoy’s army marching north from Italy, and defeated a superior French and Bavarian army under Marshal de Tallard at the Battle of Blenheim (Blindheim), what the French called the Battle of Höchstädt, on the Danube.
 - D. Blenheim was one of the decisive battles of history.
 1. It saved Vienna, thus preserving the Grand Alliance.
 2. It knocked Bavaria out of the war.
 3. It destroyed the flower of the French army.
 4. It destroyed the myth of Louis XIV’s invincibility.
 5. It justified, in Allied eyes, an aggressive land campaign—and the taxation to support it.
 - E. That support made possible a series of crushing victories over the French by Marlborough: at Ramillies in 1706, Oudenarde in 1708, Malplaquet in 1709, and Bouchain in 1710.
 - F. Louis did better in the Spanish theater of war, where Felipe’s Castilian Spanish and French forces smashed Allied armies at Almanza (Almansa) in 1707 and Brihuega in 1710.
- II. The first Treaty of Utrecht of (1713) and the Treaty of Rastatt negotiated by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1714 confirmed and completed the revolution of 1688–1689, ensuring British superiority in Europe and beyond for a generation.
 - A. The Duke of Anjou remained on the throne of Spain as Felipe V (1700–1746), albeit with a promise that the crowns of Spain and France would never be worn by the same person.
 - B. The Allies received territory.
 1. The Dutch received a series of barrier forts on their southern border.
 2. The Holy Roman Emperor received territory in Italy and the Spanish Netherlands (roughly modern-day Belgium).
 3. Savoy claimed Sicily.
 4. Britain received some territory and other concessions:
 - a. Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean.
 - b. Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson’s Bay in Canada.
 - c. St. Kitts in the Caribbean.

- d. The *asiento*, that is, the right to sell slaves to the Spanish New World.
 - e. Recognition of the Hanoverian succession by Louis XIV.
- C. Though controversial at the time, the Treaty of Utrecht was a masterstroke of diplomacy.
 - 1. In fact, it did not matter who sat on the throne of Spain, because both Spain and France were exhausted, financially and militarily, after so many years of warfare.
 - 2. Britain's territorial acquisitions would make it the wealthiest trading nation on Earth.
- III. Louis never fully understood that he was beaten not by better generalship, though that certainly helped, but by the "longest purse."
 - A. A story related by Samuel Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets*, about the efforts of French diplomats to overawe English diplomat and poet Matthew Prior at Versailles (sent to negotiate a Partition Treaty) after the Nine Year's War, sums up the contrasting attitudes and experiences of the British and the French.
 - B. From the 17th to the mid-18th century, supremacy in trade passed from country to country.
 - 1. The Spanish lost the ability to capitalize on their New World wealth.
 - 2. The Dutch dominated the mid-17th century, building a relatively open and tolerant society and producing a great culture.
 - 3. Soon afterwards, they went into decline as a result of successive wars against, first, Britain, then France.
 - 4. The French did well in the third quarter of the 17th century but were hurt by exodus of Huguenot merchants after 1685.
 - 5. By 1680, the British were experiencing a commercial revolution based on American tobacco, sugar, and slaves and East Indian silks, spices, and medicines.
 - C. Still, when Britain went to war against France, it was militarily and economically inferior to France.
 - 1. The Nine Years' War was the most expensive in English history to date, trebling total government expenditure to about £5.5 million a year.
 - 2. Louis seemed to be able to raise these funds easily because he had no Parliament with which to deal; rather, he simply taxed the French peasantry at will.
 - 3. William did have to deal with a Parliament, which only reluctantly voted him a land tax in 1693, but it was not enough to fund the war.
 - D. Fortunately, William had an able Chancellor of the Exchequer named Charles Montagu, later Earl and Marquis of Halifax.
 - 1. His idea was to tap England's growing commercial wealth by soliciting loans from merchants.
 - a. This should have been a hard sell: Charles II had gone bankrupt in 1672, and the government's credit was terrible.
 - b. The fact that William's regime was a revolutionary one, seemingly teetering on the brink, made potential lenders even more reluctant.
 - 2. Montagu offered government annuities, paying 14 percent interest, that became fabulously popular.
 - 3. Montagu also established government-sponsored lotteries.
 - 4. In 1694, Montagu sponsored the Bank of England, which also lent money to the government in exchange for its charter.
 - a. It acted as a private bank (making loans, receiving deposits).
 - b. It was an investment opportunity for subscribers.
 - c. It became a sort of federal reserve to regulate the money supply.
 - E. The result was a "financial revolution," with far-reaching effects.
 - 1. In the short term, the British government raised fabulous sums of money.
 - 2. This enabled the Crown to raise and supply its armies in Europe, the Royal Navy at sea, and its allies with subsidies.
 - 3. In the long run, this wealth made England the greatest military power on Earth.
 - 4. In order to secure parliamentary approval for the financial revolution, William had to call Parliament regularly, thus solidifying constitutional monarchy.
 - 5. The socioeconomic importance of the financial revolution was that it created a new class of wealthy investors, "monied men" who made their fortunes out of credit, not land or goods.
 - 6. As any one could rise, this ability further weakened the Great Chain of Being.

- F. As a result of these new commercial and financial arrangements, and the territories acquired at Utrecht, Britain became the wealthiest and most powerful nation in Europe.
1. British trade was led by the import to British territories and re-export to Europe of Caribbean sugar, followed by American tobacco, furs, and salt-fish; Indian silks, dyes, and spices; Portuguese madeira and port wine; Spanish oranges, figs, and raisins; Italian olive oils and silks; and Middle Eastern coffee, which gave rise to coffee-house culture in London.
 2. All these trades were protected by the Navigation Acts and safeguarded by the Royal Navy.
 3. Underpinning it all was the slave trade and the murderous exploitation of Africans in the New World.
 - a. British slavers shipped metal goods and textiles to Africa.
 - b. There, they traded with African chiefs for captives.
 - c. These people were transported to the New World in appalling conditions at the rate of 5,000 a year.
 - d. Once sold to a West Indian sugar grower or American tobacco grower, the African captives were treated like human machinery. The average life expectancy of the slaves was seven years.
 - e. The tobacco or sugar harvested by the slaves was sent to East Coast American ports for refining.
 - f. Then, the tobacco and sugar was shipped to London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, or other ports.
 - g. From there, these products were sent into the interior or onto Europe at a considerable mark-up.
 4. Thus, a good deal of British and American prosperity in the 18th century was built on the backs of captive Africans or at the expense of Native Americans driven from their land.
- G. British trade yielded vast sums of money, which yielded military superiority, which in turn yielded victories, colonies, and more trade.
1. Eventually, the profits from this process would be invested in more successful wars against France.
 2. The profits would also be poured into the first Industrial Revolution, thus further extending the British economic lead.
 3. Thus, while defeating absolutism and forging modern notions of human rights and democracy, the British were also denying the humanity of millions.
 4. Gradually forced to confront the contradiction, they were the first to have real qualms about the slave trade, finally outlawing it in 1807.
 5. Despite the massive human misery created by the Atlantic System, the ultimate legacy of the Glorious Revolution and of the Treaty of Utrecht was arguably to lay much of the foundation of much that is good in Western Civilization.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 18, section IV.

J. R. Jones, *Marlborough*.

J. S. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783*.

J. H. Parry, *Trade and Dominion: The European Oversea Empires in the Eighteenth Century*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the French and Dutch fail to maintain their commercial supremacy? Why did the French not experience a financial revolution?
2. What do you suppose were the contemporary arguments most often deployed to justify the slave trade?

Lecture Fifteen

War, Trade, Empire—1714–63

Scope: Most of Europe, but France in particular, emerged from two decades of warfare exhausted financially and militarily. Moreover, after the death of Louis XIV in 1715, France was ruled by a series of regencies under the boy-king Louis XV, while Britain was ruled by the relatively disengaged Hanoverians George I and George II. France and Britain were only finally drawn back into war in the early 1740s by the aggression of Frederick the Great of Prussia against Maria Theresa of Austria. The resulting War of the Austrian Succession ended in a draw in 1748, but another conflict, the Seven Years' War, ended in a crushing British-Prussian victory over the French and the Austrians in 1763. The Treaty of Paris of that year left Britain the undisputed master of Canada and the eastern seaboard of North America.

Outline

- I. The immediate legacy of Utrecht was a peace that lasted almost two decades because France was neutralized.
 - A. France emerged from a century of warfare, like Spain earlier, exhausted financially and militarily.
 1. Louis XIV died in 1715 after a reign of 73 years, confessing that he had, perhaps, been “too much in love with war.”
 2. Because he had outlived his son and all but one grandson (who, as Felipe V, king of Spain, could not succeed in France without violating the Treaty of Utrecht and starting another war), he was succeeded by his great-grandson, a child of five: Louis XV (r. 1715–1774).
 3. Inevitably, France was ruled by a Regency Council.
 - a. The first regent, Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, worked out a deal with the *Parlement* of Paris: he restored a right to veto royal acts that Louis XIV had taken away, disbanded the court at Versailles and moved the capital back to Paris, and established a set of eight councils (the polysynody) staffed by the ancient aristocracy (the “nobility of the sword”) to run the kingdom.
 - b. In 1719, Orleans attempted to bring the financial revolution to France by embracing the scheme of a Scottish speculator named John Law (1671–1729) to establish the Mississippi Company for investment in the French territory of Louisiana and the Banque Royale to issue notes and stock—which created a rash of speculation that became known as the “Mississippi Bubble.”
 - c. Orleans died in 1723 and was succeeded by the Duc de Bourbon [**note:** incorrectly identified in lecture as the “Duc de Berry”].
 - d. In 1726, the regency passed to wise, old, pacific Cardinal André-Hercule de Fleury, who believed in the necessity of peace to give young Louis time to grow up and keep France’s rickety Crown finances solvent and served from 1726 to 1743.
 - e. He encouraged trade and stabilized the currency.
 - B. Britain’s Queen Anne died in 1714.
 1. The crown passed immediately to the next Protestant heirs to the throne as determined by Parliament: the House of Hanover.
 - a. George, elector of Hanover, became King George (later George I, 1714–1727) of Great Britain and Ireland.
 - i. He was rather elderly by contemporary standards: 54 years old.
 - ii. He was content to be a constitutional monarch, leaving government in the hands of his chief minister, Sir Robert Walpole.
 - b. George II (1727–1760) continued the same policies.
 2. Sir Robert Walpole served as head of the British Treasury and, in effect, prime minister from 1720 to 1742 by running a vast patronage empire and by keeping taxes low.
 3. To do that, Walpole had to keep Britain at peace.
 - C. Thus, a period of relative calm and stability in France and England yielded two decades of peace.
- II. As Walpole and Fleury entered their second decade of power, the European situation was heating up again.
 - A. The preliminaries came from Eastern and Southern Europe.

1. During 1733–1735, and not fully resolved until 1738, France and Spain joined against Russia and Austria in a cynical squabble over the throne of Poland known as the War of the Polish Succession.
 2. The Treaty of Vienna of 1735 settled matters by shuffling crowns around like poker chips: Augustus III kept Poland for Russia; Stanislaw Leszczyński, the claimant backed by France, became Duke of Lorraine; the existing Duke of Lorraine, Francis Stephen, became the Grand Duke of Tuscany; Spain got Naples and Sicily.
 3. In 1739–1742, the British fought against Spain in a trade war that became known as the War of Jenkins’s Ear.
- B.** The Austrian succession precipitated a much larger crisis.
1. In 1740, the royal family of Austria faced a succession crisis when Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–40) died and was succeeded by his daughter, Maria Theresa.
 2. Prussia, sensing an opportunity, invaded the rich farmland of Silesia.
- C.** The rulers of Prussia had built a small but powerful and efficient state, backed by a great army.
1. Frederick II plunged Europe into the War of the Austrian Succession by invading the Austrian territory of Silesia.
 2. Maria Theresa rallied her people, addressing the Hungarian Diet while holding up her children for them to see.
 3. France joined Prussia against its traditional enemy, the Habsburgs.
 4. Walpole had been reluctant to involve Britain, but the war was popular; once he fell from power after the War of Jenkins Ear did not go well, Britain allied with Austria in 1742.
- D.** The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) was really two nearly separate wars: Austria versus Prussia on the Continent over the Austrian succession and Silesian farmland and Britain versus France at sea, in North America and in India over colonies and trade.
1. At first, things went well for Prussia and France.
 - a. Frederick rolled over the Austrian army in 1740–1742 and 1744–1745.
 - b. The French under Maurice, Comte de Saxe (1696–1750), invaded the Austrian Netherlands, defeating the defenders at Fontenoy in 1745 and Rocourt in 1746.
 - c. France launched an invasion of Scotland in 1745 to try to place the Stuart pretender, the titular James III and VIII, on the throne.
 - i. The pretender’s son, “Bonnie Prince Charlie” (Charles Edward Stuart, 1720–1788), defeated an English army and took Edinburgh.
 - ii. Charlie, though, found no support in England.
 - iii. His troops (the Jacobites) were routed at the Battle of Culloden in 1746.
 - iv. He fled, in disguise, to France, soon after.
 - d. Still, for a while, the only thing keeping Austria afloat was English money.
 2. But the war turned toward the British and Austrians after 1746.
 - a. Maria Theresa launched a reform of the Austrian government and army.
 - b. The British navy and army won crucial victories at sea and in North America.
 - c. But the French and Prussian armies held their own on the continent, as did the French in India.
 3. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was both a draw and a timeout.
 - a. Both sides went back to their previous borders.
 - b. They began to gear up for round two.
- III.** Diplomats on both sides worked overtime after the war, leading to a diplomatic revolution (1748–1755).
- A.** Desperate to recover Silesia, Count Kaunitz (1711–1794), the Austrian foreign minister, abandoned the traditional rivalry with the Bourbons and engineered a switch to France.
1. This seemed logical because both Austria and France were Catholic, absolutist monarchies.
 2. Above all, the Austrians were still impressed with the military power of France—the legacy of Louis XIV.
- B.** Kaunitz’s move was, in fact, a blunder.
1. Prussia joined with Britain.
 2. Both states had Protestant monarchies.
 3. Prussia and Britain were also the two best-run large states in Europe.

4. This alliance married Europe's best army with Europe's greatest navy and biggest bank account.
- IV. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) is actually misnamed, because it began in the previous year in North America.
- A. In 1755, the British sent an army of regulars and colonial militia under Edward Braddock to attack Fort Duquesne, on the site of modern Pittsburgh.
 1. The strategic significance of this site is that it was at the juncture of three rivers (the Ohio, the Allegheny, and the Monongahela), control of which would lead to control of much of North America.
 2. The assault failed (and Braddock was killed, leaving a young George Washington in command), but the “great game” was on.
 - B. The early years of the war were disastrous for the British and the Prussians.
 1. Although Frederick won some battles (e.g., Lobositz in 1756 and Torgau in 1760), the siege of Prague failed in 1757, and by 1760, Berlin had fallen.
 2. At sea, a British raid on Rochefort failed, and the French destroyed the British Mediterranean fleet under Admiral Byng (who was court-martialed and shot for the defeat) and captured Minorca.
 3. In America, the French captured Fort Oswego and Fort William Henry, while a British expedition sent to capture Cape Breton, north of Nova Scotia, was destroyed by a storm.
 4. In India, the French took Calcutta.
 - C. The result was political turmoil—and reform.
 1. George II named a new prime minister, William Pitt, who, like Winston Churchill two centuries later, proved a great war minister.
 2. Basically, Pitt threw money and 18th-century reason at the problem.
 - a. He raised taxes and borrowed hugely against government credit.
 - b. He spent that money on an army that grew to 100,000 men, a navy that grew to 70,000 men, shipyards and foundries, and subsidies to keep the Prussian army in the field in Europe.
 3. The latter was crucial because Pitt concentrated British forces in North America and India.
 4. The French and Austrians simply could not keep up.
 5. The year 1759 came to be known in Britain as the *annus mirabilis*, or “miracle year.”
 - a. In Europe, a British and German army defeated the French decisively at Minden.
 - b. At sea, a French invasion attempt was thwarted when the French fleet was defeated in the Mediterranean.
 - c. In America, the British finally captured Fort Duquesne (renaming it Pittsburgh), Guadalupe in the Caribbean, and Quebec after a British army under General James Wolfe stormed the Plains of Abraham.
 - d. In India, General Clive threw the French out of Bengal.
 - D. The war dragged on for a few more years, into the reign of Britain's King George III (1760–1820).
 - E. Unlike the subtle masterpiece of diplomacy at Utrecht in 1713–1714, the Treaty of Paris (1763) was a brutal recognition of force.
 1. Britain got Canada; all of the American territories to the Mississippi; Grenada, Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent in the West Indies; Senegal in Africa; and the removal of French East India Company troops from India.
 2. Prussia kept Silesia.
 3. France retained a few islands off Canada, the West Indies, and Africa, and a few trading posts in India.
 4. French colonial ambitions were crushed.
- V. The promise of Utrecht was fulfilled at Paris; the longest purse had won an empire. The race begun by Prince Henry the Navigator seemed to have been won by King George III.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 17, section V.

F. Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the Austrians switch allies in the 1750s?
2. What qualities made William Pitt a great war minister?

Lecture Sixteen

Life Under the *Ancien Régime*—1689–1789

Scope: Up to this point in the course, European society has changed little from what it had been in the Middle Ages. A small circle of aristocrats still absorbed most of the wealth, while most of the people were poor peasants. Thanks to the commercial and financial revolutions, the middling orders of merchants and professionals were growing in numbers, wealth, and political savvy. These groups would be key to the coming revolution in European social and economic relations. This lecture concludes with an examination of basic issues of family formation, child-rearing, education, lifestyles, and death rates in Europe before the French and Industrial Revolutions.

Outline

- I. One simple way of conceptualizing the structure of European society in the 18th century is to think of a pyramid with a very broad base.
 - A. At the apex of the pyramid stood a tiny proportion of the population, less than 3 percent, the landed aristocracy, though that proportion varied from country to country: maybe 10% in Poland, 7–8% in Spain, 2% in Russia, and 1–2% in England.
 1. The aristocracy is easy to define at the top, less so at the bottom.
 - a. It included the titled nobility of dukes, marquesses or (in German states) margraves, counts or (in Britain) earls, viscounts, and barons.
 - b. Below these nobles in rank stood secondary aristocrats without titles, including knights and gentry in Britain, *seigneurs* in France, *hidalgos* in Spain, and *szlachta* in Poland.
 - c. Some aristocrats without titles were as rich, if not richer, than many titled nobility.
 - d. Other aristocrats were impoverished, especially Spanish *hidalgos* and Polish aristocrats.
 - e. Theoretically, they came from very old families, but in reality, they frequently died out and were replenished from below.
 2. The nature of aristocratic wealth was changing.
 - a. At the beginning of the century, it was based on land, especially rents.
 - b. As the century wore on, smart aristocrats, especially in Western Europe, diversified.
 - i. Many held offices in the royal bureaucracies that had arisen to fight the wars of the 17th and 18th centuries.
 - ii. Many more invested in overseas trade and high finance.
 - iii. But in France and Spain, the law actually prohibited aristocrats from engaging in trade.
 - iv. Often, the result was genteel poverty.
 3. Aristocratic wealth made possible a lifestyle marked by opulence, elegance, and display.
 - a. Great aristocrats lived in great country houses and *chateaux* designed to show off their power.
 - b. Lesser aristocrats and gentry lived in more moderate splendor—different in scale but not in kind.
 - c. Yet, for half the year (October–May, with time at home for Christmas), great aristocrats spent their time at court in the great capitals of Europe.
 - i. Some aristocrats had posts in government or sat in Parliament in England or Ireland.
 - ii. Most aristocrats lived a dizzy life of entertainment and social obligations at court (Versailles in France, St. James's in England, Sanssouci in Prussia, and Schoenbrunn in Austria), at the theater and opera, or in salons.
 - B. The middling orders included those with no titles and usually no lands, but they generally did not work with their hands and lived comfortable lives. They amounted to, perhaps, 10 percent of the population and included merchants, financiers, and professionals.
 1. Merchants and financiers made money from overseas trade, internal trade, and investment.
 - a. The most successful merchants rivaled the greatest aristocrats in wealth and might and ape them by purchasing an estate in the country and even a title.
 - b. Many merchants tried to break into the aristocracy by providing an endowed daughter to a poor aristocratic family.
 - c. Others served as mayors, aldermen, or burghers in cities.

2. Professionals included lawyers, doctors, military and naval officers, clergy, estate stewards, and majordomos.
 3. Small tradesmen and craftsmen, that is, small businessmen, made things and sold them in shops for lesser remuneration.
 4. Servants of all ranks were important in a world without automation.
- C. Peasants, perhaps three-quarters to four-fifths of the population, did the work on great landed estates and small farms that made everyone else wealthy.
1. In Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, and most German states, most peasants were serfs.
 - a. These peasants were not free to leave the land of their own volition.
 - b. They owned no land; rather, they “rented” it by working a certain number of days per week on the land set aside for the landlord’s crops.
 - c. They survived by working the rest of the week to raise their own crops on the land they rented.
 - d. They were very much in their lord’s power, because he ran the local court, and owned the only mill and oven in town.
 - e. In Russia and Prussia, the power of landlords grew thanks to royal attempts to gain landlord support for great military adventures.
 2. France’s peasants fared much better.
 - a. Although there were still some serfs, most peasants in France were free and could leave the land.
 - b. Most rented, but an increasing percentage owned their land.
 - c. Still, they had to pay immense seigniorial dues to grind grain in the landlord’s mill, or bake bread in his oven, or crush grapes in his press.
 - d. They had to work on roads for free for a specified number of days a year.
 - e. They were inferior in law to nobles.
 - f. Along with the middle class, the peasants bore the brunt of taxes.
 - g. In short, the peasants in France could be quite prosperous, but a combination of bad harvests or war could wipe them out.
 3. English peasants were best off.
 - a. Some of the peasants were owners, but though most rented from a great landlord, many renters held very secure tenure and could not easily be thrown off the land.
 - b. They were free but losing some customary rights.
 - c. Some were very prosperous, rivaling moderate gentry in wealth.
 - d. They were equal in legal rights to the greatest lord—in theory.
 - e. Any peasant owning or renting land valued at £2 a year had a vote. At the beginning of the century, peasants with a vote amounted to about 15 percent of the male population.
 - f. The tax burden was still pretty fair.
 - g. Scottish and Irish peasants did not do so well.
 - i. Scottish peasants were very poor; one step above serfs.
 - ii. Irish peasants were even worse off thanks to the Penal Code.
- II. The most obvious and important thing that historians have found about private life is no surprise: Life was drastically different for the rich and the poor.
- A. Birth varied by class.
 1. Upper-class children were conceived early in young marriages, when parents were in their late teens, to provide as many heirs as possible.
 2. Middling- and lower-class children were conceived in later marriages, when their parents were in their mid-20s.
 - B. The experience of childhood also varied by class.
 1. Upper-class children were not reared by their parents directly but placed in the care of wet nurses, then, if male, tutors.
 2. Lower-class children were reared by their own parents.
 - C. Education varied by class.
 1. Upper-class males were sent away.

- a. At a fairly young age (12–14), male children went to “public” (private and exclusive) schools in England (e.g., Eton, Harrow, Rugby, etc.), Jesuit academies in France, or military academies in Prussia.
 - b. At age 16–18, young, upper-class men attended university, not so much for a liberal education as for polish and networking opportunities.
 - c. They might skip this stage and take the Grand Tour of European capitals.
 - d. They might make their debut at court in search of titles, lands, or a wife.
2. Upper-class females were not generally given liberal educations in this period.
 - a. Instead, they were taught domestic duties, that is, how to run a great household.
 - b. Sooner or later, they went to court to seek a husband.
 3. Middling children saw growing opportunities.
 - a. Males generally attended a well-endowed grammar or boarding school.
 - i. The wealthiest male children could attend the same schools as the aristocracy, especially in England.
 - ii. Mercantile or craftsmen’s children could pay tuition to serve an apprenticeship in the house of another merchant.
 - b. Girls were sometimes allowed to attend school.
 - i. Increased literacy made possible an intellectual life of novels and poetry.
 - ii. Generally, girls of this class were educated at home, similar to aristocrats.
 - iii. Often, like apprentices, they were farmed out to someone else’s household for training as housewives.
 4. Peasants received little schooling.
 - a. Some attended a basic parish school and learned to read and write.
 - b. Most children of peasants were farmed out.
 5. In general, in the West, the 18th century saw conditions improve for children, with the end of swaddling clothes; greater emphasis on hygiene, fresh air, and even play; less corporal punishment; actual children’s clothing; the first toy stores; and the first children’s books, e.g., a work by “Tom Telescope” (a pseudonym) called *Newtonian System of Philosophy, adapted to the Capacities of Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (1761).
- D.** Marriage and family formation were the most obvious areas of difference in aristocratic versus ordinary life.
1. Aristocrats married young (at ages 16–20) to partners chosen for them by their respective families on the basis of economic advantage.
 - a. As a result, aristocratic men were practically expected to find love elsewhere, with mistresses and prostitutes.
 - b. This led to a rational reaction in the 18th century decrying arranged marriages.
 2. The middling orders experienced more freedom, but economic responsibilities meant that their choices were still limited by material circumstances and family advantage and opinions.
 3. Peasants could marry almost whomever they wanted because most had no property to lose.
- III.** Offspring of the rational and scientific revolutions, better hygiene and food supply, gentler child rearing, slightly more education, and more emphasis on love at marriage contributed to a lower mortality rate in the 18th century.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 18, sections I, III.

W. Doyle, *The Old European Order, 1660–1800*.

Questions to Consider

1. What was the *ancien régime*? Did the inhabitants of Europe have more in common or more to separate them circa 1750?
2. What forces were beginning to erode the stability of the *ancien régime* in the 18th century?

Lecture Seventeen

Enlightenment & Despotism

Scope: While European society seemed to have changed little from the Middle Ages, European thinkers, including Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, were absorbing, spreading, and expanding on the ideas of their predecessors, including Newton and Locke, in a movement that came to be known as the Enlightenment. These *philosophes* called for the reform of old, irrational traditions; an end to aristocratic privilege; the free interchange of ideas; and, in at least one crucial case, democracy. Some European monarchs, known as *enlightened despots*, tried to implement their ideas from above and within the existing system, but in the end, they remained despots. Their failure to significantly change their societies led some Europeans to consider the alternative: revolution.

Outline

- I. In the previous lecture, we examined an *ancien régime* seemingly little changed from what it had been like in the Middle Ages.
 - A. In the 18th century, European society remained strictly hierarchical and monarchical, with state religions and wealth, political power, legal privilege, and even access to entertainment all concentrated at and for the top.
 - B. But as we have seen, the 17th and 18th centuries saw cracks in this edifice.
 1. The Dutch Republic had pioneered non-monarchical government and religious toleration.
 2. The British Civil Wars of the 17th century aired notions of equality, religious toleration, and popular sovereignty.
 3. The subsequent Revolution of 1688–1689 installed constitutional government.
 4. All across Europe, the middling orders were growing wealthier and more critical of aristocratic privileges and state churches.
 5. Above all, the ideas of the Age of Reason began to trickle down into the corridors of power in a process we call *enlightenment*.
- II. The Enlightenment was a period of time, from roughly 1720 to 1820, when intellectuals applied the methods of the scientific revolution to political, social, economic, and even philosophical and religious problems.
 - A. Most Enlightenment writers were popularizers, not original thinkers.
 - B. Their work was read by kings, nobles, and the middling orders.
- III. *Philosophe* is the title usually given to these writers.
 - A. The great ideas being popularized were, often, English in origin.
 1. Irishman John Toland, an early Deist, argued in *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696) that nature itself is proof of God's existence, that everything valid in religion can be reduced to reason, and that anything that cannot be reduced to reason is nonsense.
 2. In the *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (1710), Bishop George Berkeley, another Irishman, tried to respond to rational skepticism with a theory of subjective idealism: matter does not exist except as we perceive it in the mind. This allowed him to posit an overall controlling mind: that of God.
 3. On the opposite end of the spectrum was David Hume, a skeptic and atheist who argued in the 1750s—in works so controversial that they were suppressed until 1779—that reason and rational judgments were merely habitual associations of sensations or experience.
 - B. They flourished from Scotland to Sicily, and from Portugal to Poland.
 - C. In Germany, Immanuel Kant agreed with Hume about the limitations of reason, but nonetheless sought absolute rules that everyone could assent to and follow.
 - D. But the heart of the movement was in France.
 1. François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire) lived from 1694 to 1778.
 - a. As a young writer, he was sent to the Bastille for satirical writings on the government.

- b. In 1726–1729, he fled to England and was overwhelmed by the relative intellectual freedom, the tolerance of different religious beliefs, and the openness of political life.
 - c. In 1733 and 1734, first in English as *Letters on England* and then in French as *Lettres philosophiques*, Voltaire explained to Frenchmen and other Europeans Britain’s constitutional monarchy, religious toleration, the scientific ideas of Newton, and the political ideas of Locke.
 - d. The book was an immediate hit and is often credited with launching the Enlightenment.
 - e. Voltaire spent the rest of his life attacking irrationality, intolerance, and superstition in essays, fables (most famously *Candide*), and a *Philosophical Dictionary*.
 - f. These works led to charges of atheism and to exile from France.
 - g. Voltaire did not seem to want to abolish monarchy, aristocracy, and the Church but to reform them.
2. Denis Diderot lived from 1713 to 1784.
- a. He agreed with Voltaire on the need to banish bigotry and superstition.
 - b. He saw the new science as the way to do this, popularizing it through the *Encyclopédie*. Diderot edited 28 volumes during 1751–1772 [later the publisher added five supplementary volumes and a two-volume index, for a total of 35 volumes].
3. Charles-Louis de Secondat Baron de Montesquieu lived from 1689 to 1755.
- a. He argued that scientific study of man and his environment would yield the best possible government.
 - b. In *The Spirit of the Laws* of 1748, he argued that the best governments mix, separate, and balance elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy to varying degrees determined by climate.
4. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) went further in giving the people a share of power.
- a. He grew up in Geneva, which had a republican form of government.
 - b. As a young man, he migrated to Paris, the heart of the Enlightenment, where he met the great figures of Enlightenment France in Parisian salons.
 - c. His writings reveal him to be sort of an anti-*philosophe*.
 - i. In the *Discourse on the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality Among Mankind*, published in 1755, he argues that reason is good but that he found his heart a better guide to right conduct. Unlike Hobbes or even Locke, he asserts that man was happiest in the state of nature. Civilized society tended to corrupt man.
 - ii. In *Emile* of 1762, he argues for an educational system that emphasizes freedom of expression and self-discovery.
 - iii. In the *Social Contract*, also of 1762, Rousseau contends that big states are naturally corrupt and corrupting of the human spirit. He argues for small states in which citizens know and trust each other, such as in Geneva. Further, Rousseau argues that government policy should follow the “general will” of the people.
 - d. These ideas influenced later democratic theorists but also fascists, including Hitler.
 - e. His autobiography, *Confessions* (published 1782–1789, though written and circulated much earlier), emphasized emotion and the moral ambiguity of adult life, thereby influencing Romanticism.
- E. Taken together, the *philosophes* seemed to point to two possible courses of action.
- 1. Before Rousseau, *philosophes* seem to have expected current monarchs and nobles to put an end to privilege and bigotry and spread intellectual and personal freedom and scientific progress.
 - 2. Only Rousseau suggests that the whole rotten system of the *ancien régime* should be abolished and power given to the people.
- F. Both of these solutions would be tried.
- 1. Rousseau’s radical solution would bear fruit in the American and French Revolutions
 - 2. First, though, kings and nobles would get their chance....

IV. Neither Britain's Georges nor France's Louis seem to have paid much attention to the *philosophes* (apart from occasionally banning them in the latter case). Rather, it was three central European monarchs who most assiduously read and tried to respond to the Enlightenment while retaining power in their own hands, hence the term *enlightened despots*.

A. Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796) of Russia was the first Russian ruler since Peter the Great to have the stability of a long reign and continue his policies of reform and Westernization.

1. Catherine, a German princess who came to the throne after a coup against her husband, had read a number of *philosophes*.

a. In 1767, she named a legislative commission, elected by all free men (above the rank of serf), to reform the law.

Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) had been a sort of proto-enlightened despot. He reduced the power of the nobles (*boyars*). He reduced the power of the Orthodox Church, especially a group known as the Old Believers. He reformed the army and established the navy, defeating Sweden in the Great Northern War for control of Baltic ports. He compensated the nobles by making Russian serfs their personal property. In short, he made Russia a great European power but at great cost in lives and cultural conflict.

b. She sought to westernize Russia by founding schools and encouraging publishing and journalism.

c. But Pugachev's Peasant Rebellion of 1773–1774 caused her to turn authoritarian.

i. Successful for a time, the rebellion was eventually crushed by the imperial army.

ii. Pugachev and numerous supporters were executed.

iii. Future reforms were designed to increase royal and aristocratic power and extend serfdom.

2. Catherine is known as "the Great" mostly for her foreign policy successes against Poland (1795–1797) and the Ottoman Empire (wars during 1768–1774 and 1787–1792).

B. Frederick II, "the Great" (r. 1740–1786) of Prussia, had also read the *philosophes*.

1. Frederick rationalized and simplified Prussian law, encouraged industry and established tariffs to protect it, promoted scientific agriculture, encouraged the immigration to Prussia of tradesmen and professionals, encouraged education, and sympathized with the American Revolution.

2. Frederick remained a despot who reinforced an age-old hierarchical structure and squandered men and treasure in pursuit of military glory.

C. Joseph II of Austria (1780–1790) truly was motivated by an enlightened concern for his subjects.

1. As regent for his mother, Maria Theresa, Joseph reformed and centralized the bureaucracy of the Austrian Empire in Vienna, forced the nobles to pay taxes, and limited the amount of labor required of serfs.

2. As emperor, Joseph reformed the law, declared religious toleration for all, dissolved the contemplative monasteries and used the proceeds to endow hospitals, imposed proportional taxation on everyone, imposed the German language on the whole empire for administrative efficiency, and abolished serfdom and gave the emancipated serfs land.

3. These measures were opposed by the aristocracy, the Roman Catholic Church, and Belgians and Hungarians, who resented having to conduct public business in German.

4. He eventually established a secret police just to watch over all of his enemies.

5. Joseph II died, worn out with care, just 10 years after his accession.

V. Clearly, the hope that a single, rational philosopher-king, educated according to Enlightenment ideals, could reform the *ancien régime* was premature—and anyway there was an alternative, one that came, surprisingly enough, from America.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 19.

P. Gay, *The Enlightenment, an Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism*.

N. Hampson, *A Cultural History of the Enlightenment*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did most Enlightenment thinkers seem to retain their respect for the very hierarchies that had perpetuated the problems they were attacking?
2. Why did the monarchs of Europe fail as agents of enlightenment?

Lecture Eighteen

The American Revolution

Scope: The American Revolution started as a dispute over taxation necessary to pay for the British defense of the American colonies from a French revival, but eventually, it became a fight over Enlightenment ideas. America's distance from Britain, the divisions within the mother country over the American question, and French help all made victory by the revolutionaries possible. The new republic and its constitution represented the first comprehensive attempt to put Enlightenment ideas into practice and, thus, became a model and an inspiration to Europeans who wanted reform. It also bankrupted the French.

Outline

- I. The American Revolution was a direct result of decisions taken in the wake of Britain's victory in the Seven Years' War.
 - A. In 1763, at the end of the Seven Years' War, Britain was more or less declared the winner of the race for empire in North America.
 1. France lost almost all its American colonies.
 - a. This led to a feeling of national humiliation and resentment.
 - b. This, in turn, spurred reforms to the French war machine.
 2. Britain gained a vast empire but also the problem of defending it.
 - a. This situation was complicated by the wide variety of types of governing arrangements and cultures.
 - i. The 13 British colonies, with a population of 2.5 million Europeans and Africans, were not accustomed to much interference or taxation from London.
 - ii. To the west, thousands of indigenous peoples had allied with the French in previous wars.
 - iii. To the north and west, there remained some 65,000 French or French-speaking settlers, mostly settled around Quebec.
 - iv. Spain retained a vast empire to the south and west of the Mississippi.
 - b. After 1763, Britain sought to pacify or contain three groups.
 - i. In 1763, a royal proclamation recognized indigenous Indian sovereignty, angering many British colonists.
 - ii. The 1774 Quebec Act reaffirmed the old French legal system, the seigniorial system; recognized the Catholic Church; and restored to colonists the lands between the Ohio and Mississippi that had been given in 1763 to Indians. This reconciled many French people to British rule, but it, too, produced resentment in the 13 colonies, where the Quebec Act was viewed as favoritism.
 - iii. The British colonists on the eastern seaboard and in the West Indies possessed little collective consciousness; rather, they had their own individual histories, populations, economies, and cultures.
 - c. Generally, the latter economies thrived. The West Indies relied on sugar. In the south, the plantation-slave economy relied on the export of cotton, tobacco, rice, and corn. The north produced rum and refined sugar for England and ships for the colonies.
 - d. The British generally took a hands-off attitude towards these economies.
 - i. The Navigation Acts kept foreigners out.
 - ii. Crown taxes were low or nonexistent.
 - iii. Central rule was light, and each colony had an assembly that controlled expenditures.
 - iv. In the 1680s, James II tried to run the colonies more closely, consolidating northern colonies into a "Dominion of New England" (1680s) under a governor, Sir Edmund Andros (1637–1714); however, James II was overthrown in 1688, and William III restored the powers of the assemblies.
 - B. British policy toward the 13 colonies on the Eastern seaboard changed after the Seven Years' War.
 1. The British, fearing a French resurgence with Indian help, decided to require the American colonists to pay for their own protection.

2. The Stamp Act of 1765 required all public documents to have a stamp, purchased from the government.
 - a. Many colonists saw this as an arbitrary imposition of taxation.
 - b. Colonial assemblies condemned the act.
 - c. The Sons of Liberty encouraged physical violence against Stamp Offices and collectors.
 - d. A Stamp Act Congress urged merchants to refuse British imports, and colonists to refuse to use the stamps.
 - e. In 1766, at the behest of British merchants, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act.
 3. Parliament passed the Declaratory Act in the same session, asserting its right to legislate for the colonies.
 4. The next decade saw Parliament pass taxes as much to prove that it could do so as to raise money.
 - a. The colonists would object.
 - b. Parliament would repeal the tax—but pass another to defend the principle.
 5. Following the Boston Tea Party of 1773, the British government reacted with the Coercive Acts of 1774, closing the port of Boston, depriving the Massachusetts legislature of power, and allowing for the billeting of soldiers on the public.
 - a. On the night of 19 April 1775, British troops were ordered to secure a store of guns and ammunition assembled by the colonists at Concord, Massachusetts.
 - b. A group of colonists, warned by Paul Revere, fought back, firing on British troops at Lexington, then Concord.
- II.** The American Revolutionary War has sunk into our collective popular consciousness as the story of brave colonists standing up, against overwhelming odds, to the might of ruthless King George and the British Empire.
- A.** The balance of advantages and disadvantages tipped toward the Americans.
 1. It is true that the American colonists began the war without a central government or a professional army or navy.
 2. The British—with a population 9 million strong—had the best navy in the world and an army hardened on the plains of Europe and in the forests of America during the Seven Years' War.
 3. The British forces, though, would be fighting far from home against a people defending their own homes and, in their view, their way of life.
 4. Intelligence to and orders back from Britain took six weeks to cross the Atlantic round-trip.
 5. For once, the British would have no allies of consequence; the French would, in 1778, see an opportunity for revenge.
 6. Just as the colonists were disunited between revolutionaries and loyalists (or Tories), so many Whigs in Parliament, including Edmund Burke, opposed the war as unnecessary, expensive, and an attack on fellow Englishmen defending English freedoms.
 - B.** Perhaps this is the point that Americans miss the most about the American Revolution.
 1. For all the financial and naval help of the French, the Revolution was fought by landowners and businessmen—little different from English country gentlemen or London and Bristol merchants—over many of the same issues that had led to the British Civil Wars of 1637–1660 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689.
 2. When the colonists rebelled against King George III, they claimed to be doing so in defense of English liberties, citing the martial law and billeting provisions of the Petition of Right of 1628, free trade with the empire as represented by the Navigation Acts, and above all the principle enshrined in the English Declaration of Rights of 1689 that an Englishman could not be taxed without his permission.
 - C.** The war lasted from 1775 to 1783.
 1. The Revolution began badly for the colonies.
 - a. In June 1775, the British broke a colonial siege of Boston, only to abandon the city in March 1776.
 - b. In July 1776, the colonies declared independence, but a British force captured New York.
 - c. On Christmas night 1776, Washington launched a surprise assault on Hessian mercenaries at Trenton for a needed psychological victory.
 - d. It was Benedict Arnold's resistance in upstate New York that kept the British from driving to Canada.

2. The year 1777 was the crucial one of the war.
 - a. That summer and fall, a large British force under General John Burgoyne, sweeping down from Canada, was defeated by American forces at Saratoga, New York.
 - b. At the urging of Ben Franklin, this convinced the French government to send military and financial support.
3. Having lost the North, the British captured Savannah, Georgia, in December 1778 and most of South Carolina by the spring of 1780.
 - a. American forces, though, launched an effective guerilla war against the British.
 - b. In 1781, Washington, reinforced by French troops under the Marquis de Lafayette, encircled the last British army in North America at Yorktown, Virginia.
4. It took two more years to bring His Majesty's government representatives to the table, but peace—and a recognition of American independence—was reached at the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

III. The American Revolution had profound effects, not only on our history, but on that of Europe as well.

- A. The American Revolution and Constitutional Convention of 1787 were important in Europe because they demonstrated that Enlightenment ideals could be put into practice.
 1. America is a nation that created itself by a Declaration of Independence that followed Locke in arguing that government is instituted by the people in a contract to protect their lives, liberties, and property and that they can revoke that contract when a government fails in those responsibilities.
 2. The Americans followed Locke in 1787 in instituting a new contract—the U.S. Constitution.
 3. They followed Montesquieu in establishing a government separating and balancing its powers among three branches.
 4. They followed Voltaire in establishing freedom of expression and religion and failing to establish a state church.
 5. They followed Rousseau in establishing a wide franchise (adult, propertied, free males) and reserving political power to more localized communities (states).
 6. They perhaps also followed an implication of Rousseau's thought in allowing the majority white population to declare black slaves three-fifths of a person.
- B. Despite many difficulties—including tremendous financial hardship and inflation after the war, the immediate loss of export trade to Britain, the emigration of maybe 100,000 productive citizens, Shay's Rebellion in 1786–1787 by Massachusetts farmers unable to pay their debts—two things saved the Republic: the 1787 Constitution and the prestige and steadying influence of George Washington.
- C. The loss of America was a blow to British prestige, but trade with America soon recovered.
 1. Whigs launched the Economical Reform movement to make the British government cheaper and more efficient.
 2. The war gave a spur to electoral reform in Britain.
 3. Britain still retained Canada, which supplied furs and timber, and the West Indies, which supplied sugar and of course received the slave trade.
 4. British manufactured exports continued to grow after the war, even though manufactured exports from the United States to Britain were stagnant until 1790 and didn't really start growing again until 1800.
 5. In other words, Britain got all of the benefits of colonial ownership without any of the responsibilities like defending the colonists.
- C. France experienced the heady enjoyment of victory over the British.
 1. But the American war plunged the French monarchy into bankruptcy by the end of the 1780s.
 2. Thus, the American Revolution paved the way for the French Revolution.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 20, section I.

B. Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*.

R. Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Was the British demand that Americans pay for their own defense unreasonable?
2. Was the American claim to be defending British and European liberties reasonable?

Lecture Nineteen

The French Revolution—1789–92

Scope: French participation in the American Revolution, combined with terrible harvests in 1788 and 1789, nearly bankrupted the French state. By 1789, Louis XVI was forced to convene the Estates General, France’s legislature, which had not met since 1614. When the Third Estate, representing ordinary men and women, could get no reforms past the clergy and aristocrats in the Estates General, it broke away to form a National Assembly, abolish aristocratic privilege, issue a Declaration of the Rights of Man, and by 1791, draft a new French constitution. France was now a constitutional monarchy, but would the king accept his reduced role?

Outline

- I. One could argue that our course has been outlining the principal cause of the French and attendant revolutions from the very beginning.
 - A. It could be argued that the whole political, social, and economic system of Europe was unfair, inefficient, oppressive, and unrealistic—and bound to come apart sooner or later.
 - B. But even if we can agree that this was the case—and many historians would not—that still does not explain why the changes began in France in 1789.
 - C. French government finances had passed in and out of trouble throughout the 18th century.
 1. These financial problems were due to recurrent war.
 - a. The French failed to manage and service government debt as productively as the British did.
 - b. For most of the 18th century, the two wealthiest groups in the country, the aristocrats and clergy, paid proportionally less in taxes than the peasantry.
 2. To these long-term problems was added the debt from the two most recent American wars.
 - a. Louis XV had imposed a special war tax on everyone, as well as a tax on officeholders, and he kept those taxes on the books despite the protests of the aristocracy and clergy.
 - b. This led to a storm of protest from nobles, officeholders, and local *parlements* who argued, using the language of *philosophes*, that this infringed on their ancient rights.
 - c. When, in early 1787, Louis XIV called an assembly of notables to address the financial crisis still lingering from the American War, representatives of the nobility questioned whether there really was a crisis, charged that the court just wanted more money, and demanded to examine the books.
 3. By 1787, half of all government revenue went to pay interest on the debt.
 4. By early 1789, the French Crown was in financial crisis.
 - D. The peasants and middling orders were expected to solve the crisis by paying the French tax bill.
 1. The general condition of the French peasantry had been improving throughout the 18th century.
 - a. The peasantry had gone long periods without famine.
 - b. In 1789, peasants owned 40 percent of the land in France—a much higher proportion than most of Europe.
 - c. But the high tax burden meant that many peasants still lived on the margins of poverty.
 - d. A bad harvest could cause some peasants to fall into poverty.
 2. The years 1787–1789 saw a series of bad harvests.
 - a. This led to starvation of the poorest peasants and loss of purchasing power by the rest and by urban workers known as *sans-culottes* (“without knee britches”) because, as working men, they wore trousers.
 - b. Landlords reacted by raising grain prices and rents to maintain their profit margins.
 - c. Peasants were unable to pay the *taille*.
 - d. The traditional defenders of the peasants were the 13 regional *parlements*, led by the *Parlement* of Paris, but in May 1788, Louis XVI, reacting to their protests about religion and high taxes, abolished the *parlements*.
 - e. The financial crisis reached the boiling point in August 1788.
 - i. Law and order broke down.

- ii. People began to demand a meeting of the Estates General.
- E. This ancient institution had not been called since 1614. [Recall the failure of the Fronde revolt at the end of the Thirty Years War.]
 1. The Estates General was a tri-cameral body representing the traditional Estates of France:
 - a. The First Estate was the clergy, owning 10 percent of the land.
 - b. The Second Estate was the aristocracy, owning 25 percent of the land.
 - c. The Third Estate was the commonality, or everybody else (95 percent of the population).
 - d. Any legislation in the Estates General had to win the approval of *two* of the houses or estates.
 2. The Third Estate was elected by all adult males not included in the other two.
 3. Given that poor farmers had little standing, those who were elected were more likely to be lawyers, bankers, and merchants of the middling orders.
 - a. The middling orders had been reading the *philosophes*.
 - b. Many took up the plight of the peasants.
 - c. Local grievances were conveyed to the Estates through *cahiers de doléance*, arguing for the end of absolutism and a permanent legislature.
 4. No matter what the representatives of the Third Estate approved, the structure of the Estates General dictated that they had to win over one other Estate or the reform would be stillborn.
 5. A flood of pamphlets appeared demanding vote by the head, not by the Estate.
- II. The Estates General convened in May 1789.
 - A. After the king refused to rule on how the Estates should vote, the Third Estate invited members of the other two to join them to form a National Assembly in June.
 1. Some nobles and clergy, having read the *philosophes*, did so.
 2. This ad hoc body proclaimed itself the National Assembly on 17 June.
 3. Government officials reacted by locking them out of their Parisian meeting place.
 4. On 20 June 1789, the National Assembly met in an indoor tennis court across the street from their usual meeting place and took the Tennis Court Oath to remain until France had a new constitution.
 - B. At this point, the king hesitated to react, which only served to create a climate of fear.
 1. By late June, the *sans-culottes* of Paris, encouraged by the formation of the National Assembly but worried that Louis would crush it, began to organize.
 2. On 14 July 1789, they stormed the Bastille, looking for arms.
 3. They soon took over the government of Paris.
 4. Throughout France in the summer of 1789, *chateaux* were burned and aristocrats fled.
 - C. As France burned, the National Assembly, later known as the Constituent Assembly, worked on the new constitution.
 1. On 4 August 1789, aristocrats in the National Assembly renounced their privileges, e.g., Vicomte de Noailles became Citizen Noailles.
 2. A month later, on 26 August 1789, the National Assembly ratified a statement of principles, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, a summary of Enlightenment thought on the state.
 - a. But it said nothing about the rights of women, which led women to political demonstrations and Olympe (Olympia) de Gouge (1748–1793) to react with her own “Declaration of the Rights of Women” in 1791.
 - b. Nothing in the Declaration addressed the gross inequalities of wealth and property in *Ancien Régime* France.
 - c. More ominously, it did not address the proper balance of rights between the individual and the state.
 - d. Again, Louis could have embraced the document.
 - e. But his queen, Marie Antoinette, urged Louis to suppress the revolution.
 - f. As before, Louis hesitated before finally approving the Declaration of the Rights of Man months later.
 - g. On 5 October 1789, a Parisian crowd, reacting to rumors that the king would act against the revolution, stormed Versailles and forced the royal family into house arrest at the Tuileries Palace in Paris.

3. The Constitution of 1791 took two years to draft.
 - a. France remained a monarchy, but one governed by a constitution.
 - i. The king was no longer divine or absolute, but the First Officer of the State.
 - ii. He retained control of the military and foreign policy.
 - iii. He had a suspensive veto (2 years) on legislation.
 - b. The legislature was unicameral and elected every two years.
 - i. It initiated legislation.
 - ii. It controlled the budget.
 - iii. It had the exclusive right to declare war.
 - c. The electorate consisted of male citizens with property—about 4 million out of 25 million, the widest franchise in Europe.
 - d. There was a stricter property qualification for a seat in the legislature.
 - e. The local government of France was to see the old provinces abolished and replaced with 83 equal, rational *départements*, whose 40,000 officials were to be elected by all adult males.
 - f. The Church was to be “federalized” (nationalized):
 - i. Its lands were to be confiscated to pay off government debt and redistributed to the peasantry.
 - ii. The clergy were to become paid officials of the state.
 - iii. Priests and bishops were to be elected by property-owning citizens—and need not be Catholic!
 - g. The society and economy were to experience the abolition of privilege.
 - i. All people were to be equal under the law, including blacks and mulattoes.
 - ii. Guilds and monopolies were to be abolished.
 - h. This was a truly revolutionary attempt to expand civil liberties, empower the middling orders, and base the state on reason, not faith.
 - i. It depended on the cooperation of the ruler, the ruling class, and the people of France and the rest of Europe.
 4. In fact, almost none of these groups was satisfied.
 - a. Peasants were upset because they wanted to vote for the legislature, and they wanted an end to economic disparities.
 - b. The Church was upset by the loss of land and their status as the sole legal religion in France..
 - c. The aristocracy was upset at the loss of privilege.
 - d. Louis XVI faced a crossroads.
 - i. He could have embraced the new constitution and become the First Citizen of France.
 - ii. Instead, in June 1791, he fled Paris in secret for Austria, homeland of Marie Antoinette, where he hoped to raise troops to crush the revolution.
 - iii. He was seized by revolutionary guards at Varennes near the Austrian border.
 - iv. Louis was completely discredited and became a prisoner.
 5. In August 1791, the governments of Austria and Prussia issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, urging all European monarchs to band together to restore Louis.
 - a. By April 1792, Austria and Prussia invaded France.
 - b. They were eventually joined by Great Britain, Spain, and Russia.
- III.** The events of 1791–1792 convinced the French people that they were no longer the subjects of a king but the citizens of a nation.
- A. In reaction to this situation, a revolutionary officer named Rouget de Lisle (1760–1836) penned what became the French national anthem, *La Marseillaise*.
 - B. The song inspired the French people to rally to the revolution, form a citizen army, and defeat the invading Prussians and Austrians in September 1792 at Valmy.
 - C. This was the beginning of the French Revolutionary Wars, which along with the ensuing Napoleonic Wars would last on and off to 1815.
 - D. Because the French Revolution threatened every crowned head, every aristocrat, and every bishop in Europe, the European ruling elite rose up to try to crush the French Revolution, just as foreign powers had earlier stepped in to quash earlier rebellions in the Netherlands and Poland.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 20, sections II–III.

J. Egret, *The French Pre-Revolution, 1787–1788*.

N. Hampson, *Social History of the French Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Was the French Revolution justified?
2. Should Louis XVI have embraced the revolution? Crushed it?

Lecture Twenty

The French Revolution—1792–1803

Scope: Louis XVI's refusal to become a constitutional monarch led the revolution to turn violent in an attempt to purge counterrevolutionaries in the Reign of Terror. The execution of the king in January 1793 led, in turn, to war with virtually every other monarchical regime in Europe. Attacked on all sides by the crowned heads of Europe, the French people rallied to the revolution and a new concept: nationalism. Having stopped the Allies at the French border, the French set about trying to solve their internal problems. The French Revolutionary Wars brought to power a series of governments, culminating in the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte. Having fought the Allied powers to a peace in 1801, Napoleon concentrated on rational domestic reforms.

Outline

- I. The leaders of the French Revolution attempt to demolish the *Ancien Regime* without eradicating the monarchy, the Church, or other longstanding institutions in France, but resistance to the revolution by the king, most aristocrats and clergy, and the invading great powers of Europe would ironically throw the revolution into the arms of the radicals.
- II. The situation in 1792 was dire.
 - A. Having failed in his attempted counterrevolution, the king became a virtual prisoner of the Constitution of 1791.
 - B. France was beset by enemies on all sides.
 - C. The old royal army was riven by faction and unreliable.
 - D. The state was still laboring under its long-term debt.
 - E. Many clergy railed against the revolution, encouraging their flocks to join counterrevolutionary mobs.
 - F. On August 10, 1792, the revolution took a radical turn. A mob of ordinary citizens stormed the Tuileries, demanded a republic, and killed 600 Swiss guards.
 - G. The Paris Commune, an elected body, appointed George-Jacques Danton (1754–1793) Minister of Justice, but a special court he established to try the enemies of the revolution was not enough for the radical Paris workers, who stormed the jails for a week in early September, murdering or injuring nearly 1,000 such “enemies” of France.
 - H. The National Convention, entrusted with drafting a new, republican constitution, was divided between *Girondins* (moderates), who still wanted to work with the king, and *Jacobins*, who were urged on by the *sans-culottes* and, led by Maximilien Robespierre, wanted to push the revolution in a more radical direction. A third group at the convention was called the Plain (La Plaine), because it existed between these two peaks of extremism.
- III. The state of national emergency produced radical solutions.
 - A. On 21 September 1792, the National Convention declared France a republic and began to draw up a new constitution.
 - B. The convention established a Committee of Public Safety, soon dominated by Robespierre and the Jacobins, and gave it responsibility for running France.
 1. To deal with France's dire war situation, it created the *levée en masse*, a vast national army, conscripted from all adult males.
 - a. The Committee of Public Safety reformed the army, installing promotion on merit, but purging any officer of aristocratic background, even if he supported the revolution.
 - b. The *levée en masse*, opposed by smaller professional armies, pushed the enemy back beyond France's borders by the fall of 1793.
 - c. In the summer of 1794, the *levée en masse* drove the Austrians out of “the Austrian Netherlands,” that is, Belgium

- d. What had been a defensive war of liberation to save France and preserve the revolution now became a war of conquest to spread the revolution beyond France's borders.
 - 2. At home, the Jacobins sought to create a perfectly egalitarian and secular society—even if that meant infringing on personal liberties.
 - a. They established free compulsory public education for all boys and girls.
 - b. They established the right to public welfare for the poor.
 - c. They imposed price controls on bread.
 - d. But they also abolished the right of workers to form associations and unions or go on strike.
 - e. They abolished such titles as *monsieur* and *madame* in favor of *citizen* (*citoyen*).
 - f. They established a new calendar dating from the revolution.
 - g. They intended to replace the superstitions of organized Christianity with a “cult of reason.”
 - h. They confiscated Church and noble lands, redistributing them to the poor.
 - i. They even replaced old royal measurements with the metric system.
 - 3. With the revolution beset on all sides, the Committee of Public Safety decided to eliminate its enemies via show trials and executions.
 - a. The king was tried on a charge of tyranny and conspiring against the constitution in December 1792 and executed in January 1793, with the vote for immediate execution winning by one vote.
 - b. In September 1793, the Convention approved the Reign of Terror.
 - c. Its victims included, first, Royalist noblemen, then anyone of noble birth; clergy and other conspirators against the revolution; numerous bourgeois and peasants who had simply expressed unpopular opinions; and finally, anyone opposed to the Jacobins and Robespierre.
 - d. Overall, 250,000 were arrested, 17,000 were tried and executed, 12,000 were guillotined without trial, and untold thousands died in jail, including the king's son Louis XVII.
 - 4. The Reign of Terror ended in the Thermidorian reaction of July 1794 when a group of Jacobins in the convention, fearful that they were next, brought charges against Robespierre himself, who was soon executed.
 - 5. The National Convention later broke the *sans-culottes*.
 - 6. As in the English Civil War, the French Revolution now turned back toward moderation, even conservatism.
- IV. The next constitution took three years to draw up and resulted in something called the *Directory* (*Directoire*) in 1795.
- A. Its structure implied a step back from democracy.
 - 1. Its executive consisted of a five-man board of directors selected by the legislature.
 - 2. The legislature consisted of two houses: the Council of Ancients (*Conseil des Anciens*) and the Council of 500 (*Conseil de Cinq-Cents*).
 - 3. The members of the legislature were elected by property owners: the 30,000 wealthiest male citizens in France.
 - B. The Directory was consistently unpopular.
 - 1. It was criticized by politicians on both sides of the political spectrum.
 - 2. The directors were known to be corrupt.
 - 3. The Directory pursued an aggressive military policy to distract the populace from their corruption and a depressed economy.
 - a. In 1795, the anti-French, anti-revolutionary alliance collapsed.
 - i. Prussia, the Netherlands, Spain, and Savoy signed peace treaties.
 - ii. This left only Britain and Austria in the field.
 - b. In 1795, France annexed the Austrian Netherlands.
 - c. In 1796–1797, French armies pushed into Italy.
 - C. But by 1799, most of the country was sick and tired of revolution, war, high taxes, high prices, new constitutions, and directors!
 - D. Many Frenchmen began to long, nostalgically, for the good old days of rule by a strong king.
- V. The rise of Napoleon was the result.

- A. Napoleon, born in 1769 of minor Corsican nobility, had, early on, tied his star to the revolution, rising as the officer corps was purged of aristocrats.
 - B. A general at age 24, he won a series of victories for the revolution.
 - 1. He took the Royalist French city of Toulon in 1793.
 - 2. He suppressed riots against the Directory in 1795.
 - 3. Thereafter, he swept through Italy, establishing a pro-French puppet republic in the north and gaining territory along the Rhine from the Austrians.
 - 4. France was now an empire again, and Britain was alone.
 - C. All of this brought Napoleon to the attention of the lead director, Paul-François, Vicomte de Barras (1755–1829).
 - 1. Barras wanted to exploit Napoleon’s popularity to enhance his own.
 - 2. But the young general proved a little too successful, especially following his spectacular invasion of Egypt in 1798.
 - 3. Upon his return from Egypt, on 9–10 November 1799, Napoleon led troops against the Directory and forced it to dissolve itself.
 - D. France was to be ruled by three consuls, with Napoleon at their head, though millions of people boycotted the plebiscite in which this was approved, and the government faked the results.
- VI. Napoleon concluded that France was badly in need of a restoration of strong central government before it could face its external enemies.
- A. Before Napoleon could turn to domestic reform, he had to take the heat off from France’s enemies.
 - 1. In 1799, a new anti-French alliance was formed consisting of Britain, Austria, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.
 - 2. After completing a series of successful military campaigns, climaxing in the defeat of the Austrians at Marengo, Napoleon forced all parties to discuss peace.
 - 3. The Treaty of Amiens was signed in 1801.
 - 4. Everyone knew that it was just a truce, but the two years’ breathing space it gave allowed Napoleon to begin his domestic reforms.
 - B. Napoleon’s domestic reforms look, on the surface, to be liberal, egalitarian, and revolutionary, but they owed more to Louis XIV than to Voltaire, Rousseau, or Robespierre.
 - 1. Napoleon instigated the drawing up of a new series of law codes, resulting in the Code Napoléon between 1804 and 1811.
 - 2. Napoleon guaranteed free public education for all, but that education included indoctrination in strict patriotism and loyalty to Napoleon.
 - 3. Napoleon established a national bank, reformed French government finances on the English model, stabilized the currency, and imposed taxes equally on all.
 - 4. In 1801, Napoleon and the pope signed a concordat recognizing the Roman Catholic Church as the official religion of France but also preserving religious toleration.
 - a. Confiscations of Church lands were to cease, but previously confiscated land was to remain in current hands.
 - b. Napoleon was to appoint the bishops.
 - 5. The administration of France was kept strictly in Napoleon’s hands.
 - a. The legislature became a rubber stamp.
 - b. The press was censored.
 - c. The local administrators of the 83 departments kept Napoleon informed of everything going on in their districts.
 - d. A secret police monitored opposition and disposed of dissenters and dissidents.
 - C. These reforms institutionalized the revolution while enhancing Napoleon’s power.
 - 1. Napoleon began as a soldier of the revolution, a man of relatively common birth, who rose to the top through merit.
 - 2. But once in power, Napoleon made himself the absolute ruler of revolutionary France.
 - a. He dominated the administration of government.
 - b. He dominated the wealth of France.

- c. He dominated the religion of France.
 - d. And, of course, he was the undisputed commander of the army.
 - D. There remained only one of Louis' rules of absolutism left unfulfilled.
 - 1. In 1802, Napoleon had himself proclaimed First Consul of France for life.
 - 2. In 1804, he assumed the title of emperor (1804–1814; 1815).
 - 3. An emperor needs an empire...

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 20, sections III–IV; chapter 21, section I.

R. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution*.

T. C. W. Blanning, *The French Revolutionary Wars, 1787–1802*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Was the Terror inevitable?
- 2. Was Napoleon a revolutionary or a reactionary?

Lecture Twenty-One

The Napoleonic Empire—1803–15

Scope: Napoleon resumed conflict in 1803, first with Britain, then with the other crowned heads of Europe. He was stopped from invading Britain in October 1805 at Trafalgar by the Royal Navy under Admiral Lord Nelson. Unable to beat the British at sea, he tried to starve them out by erecting the first European trade union, the Continental System. To force the nations of Europe into his system, Napoleon conquered most of them in a series of brilliant military campaigns. These campaigns ended when he took on the vast Russian Empire, where he suffered the loss of most of the Grand Army in 1812. This led to the eventual collapse of his empire in 1814. After a brief return to power, Napoleon suffered final defeat on the field of Waterloo in 1815. At the same time, the Congress of Vienna sought to put Europe back together after 20 years of revolution by restoring the Bourbon monarchy in France but leaving in place liberal and Napoleonic reforms. The Congress of Vienna was less successful in dealing with the growing nationalism of various European peoples, leaving many under the “protection” of empires and states that were culturally foreign and politically oppressive.

Outline

- I. The period before the Trafalgar Campaign (1803–1805) saw both sides girding for a resumption of hostilities.
 - A. Napoleon knew that he could not be master of Europe so long as he had to contend with the wealth and Royal Navy of Great Britain.
 1. By 1803, Napoleon was building up his army in the Netherlands and another invasion force at Boulogne.
 2. His plan was to ferry his soldiers across the English Channel in barges, protected by the French and (currently allied) Spanish navies.
 3. Unfortunately, both of his navies were hundreds of miles away, stuck in the Mediterranean.
 4. To sail up the west coast of Europe and rendezvous with the French army, Napoleon’s navy would have to get past the Royal Navy, under Admiral Lord Nelson.
 - B. Nelson had been a thorn in Napoleon’s side since the Battle of the Nile; his current task was to keep the French and Spanish fleet from rendezvousing with the invasion force.
 - C. After months of pursuit, Nelson cornered the French-Spanish fleet on the morning of 21 October 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, Spain.
 1. The British fleet (about 27 vessels) was outnumbered about three to two in this battle, so a traditional line of battle would not have worked out so well for the British.
 2. Nelson’s tactics were unconventional; he allowed the French-Spanish fleet to “cross his T,” that is, to position themselves to fire full broadsides as his fleet approached in two perpendicular columns.
 3. But once Nelson’s columns broke through the French-Spanish battle line, they won a decisive victory.
 4. Nelson was picked off by a French sharpshooter and died after 30 French and Spanish ships had surrendered.
 5. Britain, though, was saved from invasion.
 6. This was the last serious challenge to Britain’s naval superiority until 1914.
- II. After 1805, Napoleon turned inland and made himself master of much of Europe.
 - A. The conquest of Europe took about six years.
 1. In 1805, Russia and Austria joined the British in a coalition, but Napoleon defeated the Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz, knocking the former out of the war.
 2. In 1806, Napoleon seized Naples, conquered the Netherlands and much of Germany, dissolving the Holy Roman Empire and consolidating some 300 small German states into the Confederation of the Rhine.
 3. When the Prussians objected, he destroyed the vaunted Prussian army at Jena, taking Prussian territory and making Prussia a client state.
 4. In 1807, Napoleon then defeated the Russians again at Friedland, resulting in the Treaty of Tilsit.

- a. Czar Alexander I recognized Napoleon as the emperor of the West and promised economic cooperation.
 - b. In return, Napoleon promised to leave Russia alone in the East.
 - 6. Napoleon then seized Portugal.
 - 7. In 1808, he invaded Spain, naming his brother Joseph as king.
 - 8. By 1810, all of Western Continental Europe to the borders of Russia was either ruled directly by Napoleon or was a client state ruled by a family member.
 - 9. He had divorced his first childless wife, the Empress Josephine, in 1809, and in 1810, he married the daughter of the Austrian Emperor, the Archduchess Marie Louise, a Habsburg, who gave birth to a son, also Napoleon, in 1811.
 - 10. Only the British and their Navy remained independent and at war.
- B. The Continental System was Napoleon’s plan to get around “the nation of shopkeepers.”
 - 1. Devised in 1806, it was a tariff union or common market for all Europe.
 - a. There were to be no tariff barriers between European states.
 - b. All continental ports were closed to British goods.
 - 2. Its purpose was to make Europe economically self-sufficient and prosperous, encourage French industry, and choke off British trade.
 - 3. The Continental System was hard on British trade, especially during the harsh winter of 1810–1811.
 - 4. The Continental System was even harder on the Continent.
 - a. The British navy blockaded Europe from American agriculture—which helped bring about the War of 1812 between Britain and America.
 - b. French industry could not keep up with demand.
 - c. The rest of Europe grew increasingly resentful of its economic restrictions.
- C. Europeans increasingly resented Napoleon’s rule in general.
 - 1. At first, Napoleon and his armies were greeted enthusiastically because it was thought that he would bring the ideals of the French Revolution.
 - 2. Napoleon did dismantle much of the *ancien régime* in conquered territories, abolishing the Holy Roman Empire, serfdom and seignorial dues, and old trade barriers.
 - 3. He gave many nations the trappings of enlightened government, including written constitutions with legislatures, free public education, state-supported academies of the arts, the Napoleonic Code, and civil rights for Jews and other minority groups.
 - 4. But instead of liberating conquered peoples and going home, Napoleon’s forces stayed in one way or another.
 - a. People resented high taxes and the conscription of their young men for his endless wars of conquest.
 - b. They also resented Napoleon’s “police state,” with its strict censorship of speech and secret police.
 - c. They resented the presence of French troops, French language, and French culture.
 - 5. Sometimes, these resentments were expressed culturally, as when Beethoven wrote *Fidelio*, an opera, and also incidental music for Goethe’s play, *Egmont*—both about the triumph of liberty when patriots are imprisoned by tyrannical powers for their beliefs.
 - 6. But in Spain, resentments were also expressed by rebellion, and other countries became less cooperative.
 - a. In 1808, Spain—aided by British troops and commanded by a young English nobleman named Arthur Wellesley—erupted into guerilla war against the French army.
 - b. In Italy, secret bands of nationalistic guerillas—the *carbonari* (named after the charcoal marks that members placed on their foreheads after secret initiations)—attacked French troops.
 - c. Prussia quietly reformed the administration and planned to resurrect their army to fight Napoleon in the field.
 - d. Russia, expected to trade within the Continental System, instead ignored it in favor of widespread smuggling to and from Britain.

III. The Russian Campaign of 1812, an effort to teach the Russians a lesson, was Napoleon’s first significant defeat.

- A. Russia was technically independent of Napoleon’s empire but expected to trade within the Continental System.
 - 1. The Russians chafed at this because they needed British trade.
 - 2. Smuggling was widespread.
 - B. In 1812, Napoleon resolved to teach the Russians a lesson.
 - 1. In June, Napoleon marched into Russia with an army of 600,000 men.
 - 2. The Russians avoided battle, burnt the crops, drew Napoleon deep into Russian territory, and waited for “General Winter.”
 - 3. After the bloody Battle of Borodino in September, Napoleon was able to take Moscow, but after a fire destroyed the city’s food stores in October, he was forced to begin a long, disastrous retreat in winter.
 - 4. Only one-sixth of his army survived.
- IV. From this point on, Napoleon’s spell was broken, and other nations rose up.
- A. In the spring of 1813, Napoleon’s army was defeated at Leipzig by Russian, Austrian, and Prussian forces.
 - B. Also in 1813, British-Spanish forces crossed the Pyrenees into France itself.
 - C. Numerous revolts broke out among subject peoples.
 - D. On 31 March 1814, with Allied armies approaching Paris, Napoleon abdicated and was subsequently exiled to the island of Elba.
 - E. In February 1815, Napoleon escaped from Elba, rallied the remnants of the Imperial Army, returned to Paris, and launched a campaign to split the Allied forces in Belgium.
 - 1. In June 1815, Napoleon was finally defeated by Allied forces at Waterloo.
 - 2. This time, he was exiled to the island of St. Helena, in the middle of the South Atlantic, where he died of cancer six years later.
- V. Although it took place in the 19th century, the Congress of Vienna (1815) was the last and greatest of the 18th-century peace conferences.
- A. On the surface, the Congress of Vienna looks like an attempt to turn the clock back and ignore the issues of liberalism and nationalism raised by the French Revolution.
 - 1. The Congress was dominated by five great powers (Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and—now that it was safely a monarchy again—France) but especially three great conservative statesmen: Austrian Foreign Minister, Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859); British foreign minister Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (1769–1822); and French Foreign Minister Count Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754–1838).
 - 2. In France, the Bourbon monarchy was restored, as were the pre-1792 borders.
 - 2. To restore the balance of power, France was ringed with strong buffer states.
 - 3. That is, the great powers (Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia—and France) chose to ignore nationalism, trading smaller countries like baseball cards. (Map 21a)
 - a. The Netherlands, north of France, was enlarged to include Belgium and Luxembourg.
 - b. Sardinia (the former Savoy) was enlarged to the south of France.
 - c. Prussia and Saxony were enlarged, the former given territory along the Rhenish border with France.
 - d. Austria received northern Italy in compensation for the loss of the Austrian Netherlands.
 - e. The states of the old Holy Roman Empire were consolidated into 38.
 - f. Russia received Finland and Poland.
 - g. As at Utrecht (1713), Britain took overseas colonies with commercial and military implications: Cape Colony, South Africa, Mauritius, and Malta.
 - B. But a closer look at the Congress of Vienna indicates that the French Revolution had not been completely repudiated.
 - 1. In France, the restored Bourbon monarchy was a constitutional monarchy not that different from the constitution of 1791, with a legislature elected by property owners.
 - 2. The revolutionary land settlement stood.
 - 3. Napoleon’s reforms of the law and bureaucracy remained.

4. Privileges of the Church and aristocracy were never restored; in their place, the middling orders had gained an identity and political power.
5. In Europe as a whole, the ideals of liberalism and nationalism could not be stamped out, leading to a series of revolutions from 1820 to 1848.
 - a. Liberalism included demands for accountable government, for the vote, for a free press, for equality under the law, and for individual liberty.
 - b. Nationalism emphasized the value of one's own culture and tradition and the desire for self-determination of different ethnic groups, including and maybe especially the small ones, e.g., Belgians, Poles, Baltic peoples, Slavs, and Magyars,
- C. The greatest achievement of the Congress of Vienna is that there would be no general European war again for 99 years.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 21, sections II–IV.

L. Bergeron, *France under Napoleon*.

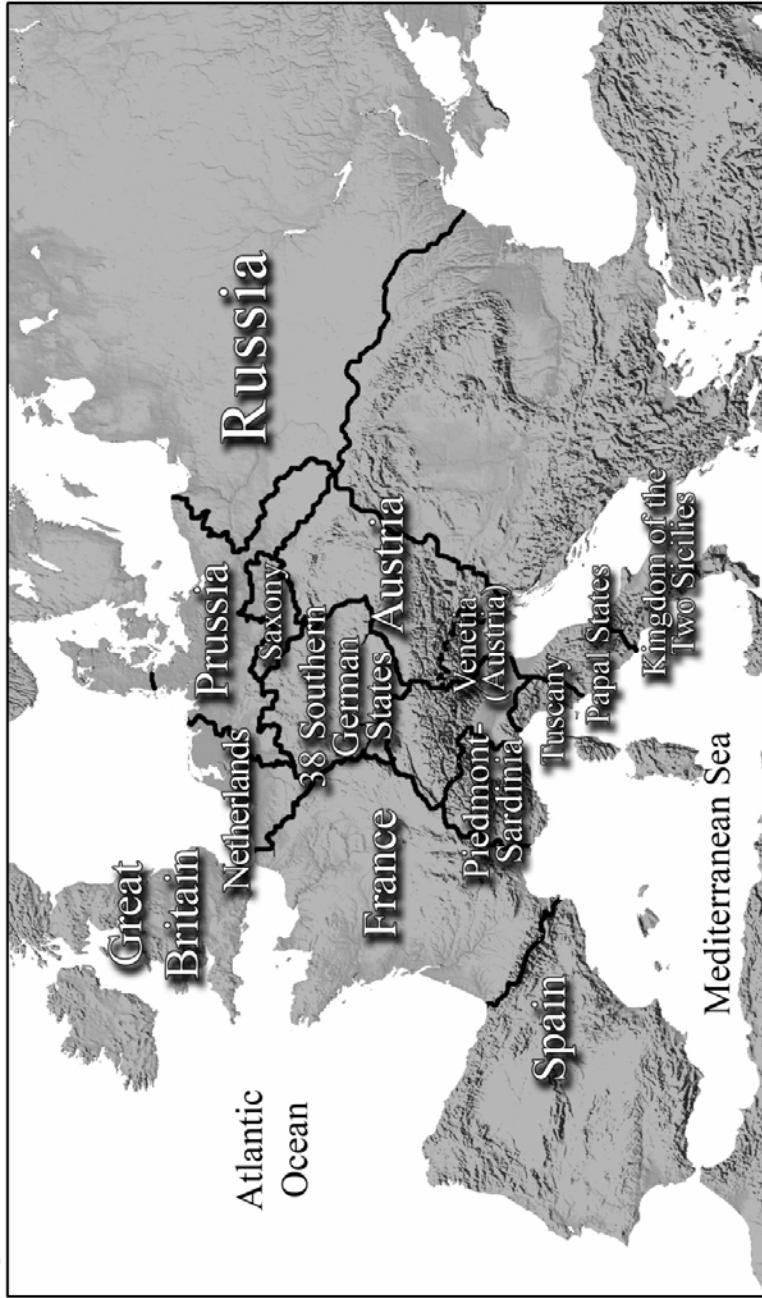
F. Markham, *Napoleon*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Can a general European war be won without defeating Britain?
2. Could a more diplomatic approach have made the Continental System workable?

Europe after the Treaty of Vienna (1815)

Map 2 | a



Lecture Twenty-Two

Beginnings of Industrialization—1760–1850

Scope: Europe was the first continent and Britain the first country to industrialize. Europe got there first because of its abundance of natural resources and an agricultural revolution that led to a growing population and its corollaries: high demand for manufactured goods and a potentially large labor force. Britain was the first European nation to exploit these advantages because the commercial and financial revolutions had endowed it with an abundance of investment capital; because its government took a hands-off (*laissez-faire*) attitude to the economy; and because it was the least hierarchical and most open to merit and new ideas of any of the great nations of Europe. These conditions produced a host of brilliant inventors, financiers, and managers who made the first Industrial Revolution happen. Demand for cheap textiles (especially cotton) resulted in developments in other fields, from mechanical engineering and metallurgy to transportation and marketing.

Outline

- I. Why did the Industrial Revolution happen first in Europe, in Britain in particular, followed by Belgium, France, the Ruhr Valley, and northern Italy? Why the late 18th and early 19th centuries?
 - A. There were four European preconditions to industrialization.
 1. Europe was blessed with the first requirement for industrialization: the raw materials out of which to make things and the fuel to power the manufacturing process.
 2. During the 18th century, Europe experienced a population explosion that was, in part, a result of a long-term and ongoing agricultural revolution leading to an increased food supply.
 3. The population increase led to increased demand for manufactured goods.
 4. The increase in population also led to an enlarged labor force, that is, the workers needed to produce these articles.
 5. All throughout Europe, and especially in the West, this new itinerant labor force, spawned by the agricultural revolution of the 13th–18th centuries and the population explosion of the 18th century, was available to work on the raw materials of Europe to supply their own demand.
 6. But why did they do so in Britain first?
 - B. There were four additional preconditions specific to Britain that helped it to become the first industrial nation.
 1. Thanks to the commercial and financial revolutions, the British had plenty of capital and methods to raise funds to build factories.
 2. The British government had a *laissez-faire* economic policy that prevented obstacles to investment, entrepreneurship, and creativity.
 3. British culture, perhaps along with the Dutch, had the greatest perception of social mobility, and British merchants and financiers played a larger role and garnered greater respect than anywhere else in Europe.
 4. Perhaps because of the previous three preconditions, late-18th-century and early-19th-century Britain produced a great number of innovators.
- II. As with the space program in the 20th century, developments in one area tended to spur or require advancement in another, and the end result was an industrialized nation.
 - A. For the purposes of this lecture, the key to unlocking the Industrial Revolution is cotton.
 1. In the mid-18th century, cotton was both highly desirable and difficult to produce.
 - a. Cotton was grown abroad, first in the North American colonies, then in the United States or the West Indies.
 - b. By 1750, the supply of raw cotton from the colonies was more than adequate—thanks to the plantation-slave economy of the South.
 - c. The process of producing cotton, though, made it rare and expensive.
 - i. First, the cotton was separated from its own seeds, then hand-carded and combed.
 - ii. Then, it was spun into thread on spinning wheels.

- iii. Finally, it was woven by hand on slow, heavy looms that required two people to work.
 - d. As a result, cotton manufacture was a cottage industry.
 - i. Raw cotton fibers were distributed by cotton factors (agents) to farmers' wives, who did the work described above.
 - ii. Their products were then collected periodically by the factor.
 - e. As a result, cotton was expensive, costing 11 shillings per pound.
- 2. In 1733, John Kay (1704–1764) invented the flying shuttle, a lighter, quicker loom able to be worked by one hand.
- 3. In 1763, James Hargreaves (c. 1720–1778) invented the spinning jenny, a multiple spinning wheel on a rectangular frame with 8 or 10 (or more) spindles—all of which could be worked by one person.
- 4. In 1769, Richard Arkwright (1732–1792) invented the water frame (aka throstle or roll drawing machine), which strengthened the thread by twisting it before it entered the spinning jenny.
- 5. In 1793, Eli Whitney (1765–1825), or possibly Mrs. Whitney, invented the cotton gin, which efficiently separated the seeds from the raw cotton itself.
- 6. By 1800, the real limit on cotton manufacture was energy—the number of spinning jenny spools that could be cranked by a single human being.
- 7. After the 1760s, it became common to assemble groups of spinning jennies, water frames, and flying shuttles in factories, where they were powered by water wheels.
 - a. This limited factory locations to places with rushing rivers, often inconvenient for large financial and commercial centers such as London.
 - b. Further, the rivers might freeze in winter or dry up in summer.
- B. The answer to these problems was steam.
 - 1. In 1712, Thomas Newcomen (1663–1729) applied for a patent for an inefficient “atmospheric engine” to power water pumps for coal mines.
 - 2. In 1769, James Watt (1736–1819) modified Newcomen’s engine to make it far more efficient and capable of providing circular motion, perfect for powering spinning jennies, flying shuttles, and mules.
 - 3. Beginning in 1785, textile manufacturers began to apply steam engines to powering machinery much larger and more extensive than possible with the human hand.
 - a. They could now erect their factories closer to sources of raw materials, labor, and markets.
 - b. The only limitation on the size of the factory and the number of machines that could be powered from a steam engine was how much steam pressure could be generated.
 - c. That was limited by the strength of the metals that made up a steam engine.
- C. To prevent boiler explosions, it was necessary to produce stronger metals.
 - 1. Metal before 1800 meant iron and to smelt iron, charcoal, which comes from burnt wood was needed; unfortunately, as early as 1700, Britain was running out of trees.
 - 2. In 1709, Abraham Darby (c.1678–1717) figured out how to pre-heat coal, which becomes coke, to separate iron from its ore.
 - a. The iron would then be wrought, that is pounded flat with hammers manually.
 - b. However, this results in iron of varying thicknesses that is still quite weak.
 - 3. In 1783, Henry Cort (1740–1800) invented puddling and rolling, using coal to heat iron ore till molten, which allowed it to be cast it into molds.
 - a. This process produced stronger, more homogeneous iron.
 - b. It also made it easier to prefabricate materials.
 - 4. In 1856, Henry Bessemer (1813–1898) figured out that pre-heated iron and carbon produced high-grade steel, much stronger and more flexible than iron.
- D. All these inventions and processes worked together.
 - 1. Better metals meant better tools; stronger, cheaper cutlery; rails for railroads; and better steam engines.
 - 2. Better steam engines meant railways and steamships by the 1820s; more powerful pumps to allow for deeper mines, which led to more coal, tin, and iron ore; and increasingly powerful motive power to turn spinning jennies, water frames, and flying shuttles in ever-larger factories.
 - 3. Factories rendered cottage industry, piecework, and handwork no longer profitable.
 - 4. Increasingly, in textile and other industries, manufacturing was organized in factories in big towns; powered by steam engines; supplied by coal from mines in the North Midlands, Wales, and Scotland;

supplied with labor from the countryside; and able to bring goods to the whole world via steamships and railways.

5. The greatest entrepreneurs, such as Sir Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95), sought to control every aspect of production, from quarries and canals for raw materials to showrooms and shops in major cities.

III. The result of all this activity varied according to one's perspective.

- A. On a global level, Britain became manufacturer to the world and increased its lead as the wealthiest country on Earth.
- B. The factory owner made fabulous profits. By 1820, one spinner was able to do the work of 20 spinners before industrialization.
- C. The consumer had access to lots of cheap goods: cotton, for example, went from 11 shillings a pound in 1784 to one shilling a pound by 1832.
- D. The profitability of American slavery also increased, especially after Britain outlawed slavery in its own colonies, and so helped cause the American Civil War.
- E. The lower price of cotton also enhanced the profitability of American slavery.
- F. Similar results, without the last implication, were produced in all sorts of industries.
- G. The former agricultural workers who drifted to the cities in search of work experienced hell on Earth.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 18, sections II–III.

T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution, 1760–1830*.

M. Gutmann, *Toward the Modern Economy: Early Industry in Europe, 1500–1800*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Was Britain inevitably the first industrial nation? Where else might industrialization have taken off?
2. Who were more important to early industrialization: inventors or entrepreneurs?

Lecture Twenty-Three

Consequences of Industrialization—1760–1850

Scope: The consequences of the first Industrial Revolution were significant and arguably did more to create the world in which we live than any other development studied in this course. First, industrialization made available a vast array of cheap manufactured goods. It also revolutionized transportation and distribution networks. It created new wealth, further enriching aristocrats wise enough to invest in it, splitting the middle classes into factory owners and craftsmen who could no longer compete with handmade goods, and drawing vast numbers of workers to the cities to man the factories, which created a working class. Unprotected by agricultural custom, paternalist employers, or interventionist governments, factory workers lived and worked in terrible conditions, which began to draw the attention of European intellectuals.

Outline

- I. The Industrial Revolution had many repercussions for national economies and for people.
- II. The implications for national economies were far reaching.
 - A. Before 1815, industrialization was very much a British phenomenon.
 1. Britain became even wealthier.
 2. This wealth built the great British cities of the North and Midlands, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Bradford.
 3. Industrialization linked the cities to each other and to the rest of Britain with railways.
 - a. This made possible the easier shipment of raw materials, goods, and people.
 - b. It also fostered communication such as the Penny Post.
 4. Manufacturing wealth linked Britain to the rest of the world with steamships.
 5. The sheer statistical data on the British Industrial Revolution were staggering.
 - a. Between 1782 and 1852, industrial production grew 3–4 percent a year—phenomenal at the time.
 - b. By 1830, Britain produced 70 percent of the world’s coal and 50 percent of the world’s iron and cotton cloth.
 - c. By 1850, per capita income was £32.6 per annum in Britain; £21.1 per annum in France, which had been experiencing industrialization since Napoleon; and £13.3 per annum in central Europe, just beginning to industrialize.
 - d. By the 1870s, Britain produced 50 percent of the world’s steel and owned one-third of the world’s shipping and one-half of the world’s railways.
 - e. Though the British population only doubled from 1800 to 1850, per capita income rose 85 percent.
 6. Britain became the world’s supplier of cottons, woolens, cutlery, pots, pans, stoves, grates, railway engines, and steamships.
 7. Britain’s leadership role was put on display at the first world’s fair: the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851.
 - a. Perhaps the greatest marvel of all was the vast iron and glass building designed by Sir Joseph Paxton (1801–1865) and built in prefabricated units to house it all: the Crystal Palace.
 - b. And yet, the Crystal Palace stood just a few miles away from some of the worst slums in Europe.
- III. The human implications of industrialization varied considerably depending on the class or group to which one belonged.
 - A. In the short term, the Industrial Revolution would seem to have had little impact on the landed aristocracy.
 1. The wealthiest and smartest aristocrats exploited their mineral and forest rights and invested in factories and railway and steamship lines.
 2. Thus, many aristocratic families grew wealthier.
 3. In the long run, though, the aristocracy was infiltrated and challenged by a new, more powerful middle class.
 - B. The old middling orders split in the course of the 19th century as a result of the Industrial Revolution.

1. The upper middling orders, great merchants and professionals with money to invest, new factory owners, or those otherwise able to service and profit from a growing economy, became wealthy, sometimes fabulously so, e.g., the Wedgwood china dynasty, the Vickers arms manufacturers, and Cadbury's chocolate in Britain; the Rothschild banking family in France; Krupp's armaments in Germany; and Astor land and banking, Vanderbilt railways, and Morgan banking in the United States.
 - a. Many people were able to make enough from the "family firm" to buy their way into the aristocracy.
 - b. Throughout Western Europe, this new, wealthy middle class would increasingly demand political power.
 2. The lower middling orders, those unable to invest in the new factory system, such as shopkeepers, craftsmen, and artisans, were unable to compete with it.
 - a. Almost no one who made goods by hand could compete with the cheap, mass-produced goods created in factories.
 - b. These people—cobblers, tailors, ironworkers, and others—fell out of the middle class.
 - c. Apprenticeships died out because there was no longer any need for skilled workers.
 - d. Seeking factory work at sometimes starvation wages, these once-skilled workers joined the immigrants from the countryside, falling into an entirely new class: the working class.
- C. The working class, that is, urban factory workers, was entirely the creation of the Industrial Revolution.
1. As on the farm, all members of the family worked as soon as they could do so, certainly by the age of six.
 2. Wages were often poor because of the huge labor market. If you did not like the wages, then you could be replaced.
 3. Work itself was strictly regimented, repetitive, and quota-driven.
 - a. Workers put in 12–16 hours a day, winter and summer, six days a week, seven if behind on a quota.
 - b. Working conditions were often dark, noisy, and dangerous.
 - c. Given the *laissez-faire* economic policies that had made all this possible, there was no one to tell factory owners that this was no way to treat workers.
 4. Beginning in the early 19th century, some members of the British Parliament began to inquire into the conditions of workers in the factories.
 - a. The most famous of these was undertaken by the Sadler commission on child labor during 1832.
 - b. The Sadler commission's findings were published in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831–1832, vol. XV; relevant excerpts are available online at <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/workers1.html>.
 5. Living conditions were not much better at the end of the day.
 - a. Industrial towns grew too fast to plan for the arrival of hundreds of thousands of immigrants.
 - b. Tenements were hastily thrown up to house these new arrivals.
 - i. Tenements were essentially row houses.
 - ii. They had no indoor plumbing or toilets and often no windows.
 - iii. The air was thick with factory smoke and terrible smells from tanneries, dye-works, animal and human excrement, and assorted river smells.
 - iv. They were terribly overcrowded, whole families—sometimes extended families—living in a single room.
 - c. The working class diet consisted of potatoes; weak stew; stimulants, such as tea; and depressants, such as alcohol.
 - d. It is not surprising that the people in this class were especially prone to diseases, including typhus, cholera, diphtheria, malaria, and smallpox.
 - e. In 1840, the average death rate in Britain was 1 death in 45 per year, but in Manchester it was 1 in 20.
 5. Contemporary writers worried not just about the physical implications of all this but about the spiritual and moral effect on the industrial generations.
 - a. In Britain, the government-sponsored Poor Law was supposed to be administered at the parish level—which didn't work very well when there was in fact no parish.
 - b. The new industrial economy promoted a fluid labor market in which boom and bust cycles caused people to move around the country constantly and broke up families.

- c. Close living conditions made privacy impossible and promoted not only disease, but abuse, domestic violence, and sexual promiscuity.
- d. It has been estimated that one half of the babies born in European cities between 1830–1850 were illegitimate.

IV. *Qui bono*—who benefited from the Industrial Revolution?

- A. An optimist would point to the general increase in national wealth; Britain’s domination of world industry, trade, and finance; the tremendous growth in productivity and the rise in *per capita* prosperity.
- B. A pessimist would put against this the misery of the working class: the job insecurity from recurrent boom-and-bust cycles and the poor working and living conditions discussed previously.
- C. The optimist might point out in reply:
 - 1. The farm had not been a worker’s paradise either.
 - 2. Even if it had been, the agricultural revolution meant that as farm labor grew more efficient, fewer farm laborers were needed.
 - 3. Those people would have had to go somewhere: It might be argued that it was a good thing that the factory system was there to absorb them.
 - 4. These would have been hard times on people anyway, thanks to the French revolutionary wars, the Napoleonic wars, and bad harvests.
 - 5. Life in the city was at least exciting.
 - 6. This led to a working-class culture and sense of identity.
 - 7. The next step would be for workers to organize to fight for better pay and conditions, an option not open to their country counterparts because they were so spread out.
 - 8. Moreover, the concentration of workers in cities meant that they and their plight could not be ignored, if only because they threatened to overwhelm all the progress that European civilization had made up to this point.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 22, sections II–III.

W. O. Henderson, *The Industrialization of Europe, 1780–1914*.

C. M. Cipolla, ed., *The Industrial Revolution, 1700–1914*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. On balance, was the Industrial Revolution a good thing or a bad thing?
- 2. Would it have been better to be a factory worker in 1850 than an agricultural laborer in 1750?

Lecture Twenty-Four

The Liberal Response—1776–1861

Scope: The appalling conditions in which the working class lived and worked produced a series of intellectual and political reactions in Western Europe. At first, liberal thinkers, such as Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus, urged a “hands-off” approach to these problems, arguing that if aristocratic privilege, censorship of the press, and outdated government regulations were abolished, the market would take appropriate care of everyone. Later generations of liberals, such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, called for government intervention to improve the lives of workers. The first type of liberal was especially popular with middle-class factory owners. Together, they would persuade politicians to reform the law and extend the vote to their ranks in Britain and France by the mid-19th century. However, enfranchisement and protection for the workers would take longer in coming.

Outline

- I. The first intellectuals to examine the problems associated with industrialization were the classical liberals.
 - A. John Locke (1632–1704) was the first true liberal, with his belief that human beings are born neither good nor bad, that they are naturally rational, that they are (or should be) free to contract with each other to form society, and that differing ideas about religion and how to live should be tolerated.
 - B. Adam Smith, in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* of 1776, was the first liberal to confront industrialization.
 1. Like the work of Hobbes and Locke, Smith’s work claimed to be scientific: the first such examination of how economies actually worked.
 2. Like Newton, Smith claimed to have discovered that the economic world runs, like the natural world, according to certain natural laws.
 - a. Money, goods, and services orbit the planet the way the planet orbits the Sun: naturally and unvaryingly.
 - b. Economies are governed by the law of supply and demand.
 3. Humans, using reason, could discover these laws.
 4. To tamper with those laws via government regulations—tariff barriers, high taxes, or artificial encouragement of failing industries, guilds, and monopolies—only retarded economic progress.
 5. Rather, world and national economies were healthiest when they were left alone, when trade was free, and when individuals pursued their own self-interest.
 6. Under those conditions, an “invisible hand”—the market—would take care of all.
 7. That is, the pursuit of individual self-interest, multiplied across society, generated demand, production, distribution, and wealth, which flowed down to all.
 8. By the same token, benevolence, charity, and altruism, while virtuous, did not really improve the lot of the poor.
 9. *The Wealth of Nations* is still the bible of *laissez-faire* liberalism; in its day, it was immediately attractive to the British middle class.
 - C. Thomas Malthus’s *Essay on Population* of 1798 was almost as famous and much more frightening.
 1. Malthus noted that the world’s food supply increases *arithmetically*—that is, gradually.
 2. But population increases *geometrically*: doubles, then squares itself, and so on.
 3. Sooner or later, that population is going to outrun the food supply.
 4. The only things that slow down the process are demographic disaster: famines, wars, epidemics, and natural disasters.
 5. Unfortunately, human life was being preserved and the planet further depleted by modern medicine, peace, and charity, all of which merely encouraged the poor to have more children.
 6. Since 1798, Malthus’s conclusions have remained controversial—for example, he failed to foresee the ability of science and technology to increase the food supply.
 7. His general point, that the resources of the planet are finite while the potential increase in the population is limitless, carries great weight.

- D.** David Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* of 1817 made these depressing connections even clearer by formulating the "iron law of wages."
1. If the population of workers is low, employers must compete to attract and keep workers by offering higher wages.
 2. High wages lead to healthier workers.
 3. Healthier workers produce more children.
 4. More workers' children translate into more workers.
 5. More workers can be paid less, individually, because they can always be replaced.
 6. Low wages lead to unhealthy workers.
 7. As unhealthy workers die, the workforce contracts and the cycle begins over again.
- E.** Many in the middle class used these theories to justify untempered greed or, at least, to neglect problems of the new urban poor.
- F.** Workers seemed to have no recourse as a result.
1. The 1790s to the 1820s saw increasing signs of labor unrest, especially in Britain.
 2. Between 1811–1817, the Luddites broke up machines.
 3. In February 1812, the British government passed the Frame Breaking Act, making machine breaking a capital offense.
- II.** Toward the end of the 18th century, the classical liberal theorists began to be challenged by a new kind of liberal, the utilitarians.
- A.** Jeremy Bentham outlined the basics of utilitarianism in his great work, *The Principles of Morals and Legislation*, published in 1789.
1. Like all Enlightenment thinkers, Bentham believed in reason.
 - a. But he was less interested in using it to discover unvarying laws of nature, economics, or other areas of study.
 - b. Rather, he believed that reason could be used to discover laws that were practical, useful, and beneficial to humans.
 2. Bentham believed that the best society, the best government, the best institutions were those that brought the greatest happiness to the greatest number.
 3. Any law, belief, or institution that did not further this goal should be abolished, including the aristocracy, state religion, and slavery.
 4. Less radically, other institutions had the potential to be useful but needed reform: English common law, schools, the Poor Law, and prisons.
 5. Utilitarians also demanded an end to press censorship and universal manhood suffrage.
 6. While wanting barriers and unfair privilege abolished and reform of those institutions that stand in people's way, Bentham also advocated a degree of government intervention that had not been seen in liberals before.
- B.** John Stuart Mill was a utilitarian and is often held up as the classic example of a classical liberal, but his experience of the British industrial world changed him into something more like a modern liberal of today..
1. *On Liberty* of 1859, Mill's most famous work shows him to be a conventional Benthamite utilitarian liberal.
 - a. In this work, he promotes political reform and universal suffrage (that is, including women).
 - b. He advocates a *laissez-faire* economy and the elimination of constraints on personal freedom.
 2. But in *Principles on Representative Government* and later editions of his *Principles of Political Economy*, and above all, as a member of Parliament, Mill began to confront the Industrial Revolution and argue for a more interventionist policy.
 - a. Mill argued that it was not enough to give people a vote if they could not read a newspaper or if their working and living conditions were so poor as to shorten their lives.
 - b. Mill argued for free public education, housing, and healthcare to be provided by the only institution large enough to make a difference: the government.
 - c. Mill became a new type of liberal.

- i. He still believed in untrammelled personal freedom, as long as others were not hurt, and in small government, if possible.
- ii. That freedom no longer included the right to exploit the poor or deny them education, housing, or votes.
- iii. Rather, to ensure the maximum amount of freedom for all, the public had an obligation to educate, house, and protect all.
- iv. If that meant restricting the economic freedom of factory owners, so be it.
- v. If that meant higher taxes on the aristocracy and rising middle class, so be it.

III. Liberalism took some time to have an effect on politics and society and, when it did so, it was mostly classical liberalism and mostly in industrialized Western Europe, that is, Britain and France.

A. During the early years of the Industrial Revolution, Britain retained many elements of the *ancien régime*.

1. The period 1815–1820 was one of economic depression, middle- and working-class agitation, and government repression in an attempt to preserve the status quo.
 - a. With the arrival of peace in 1815, British producers expected a massive European demand and they produced accordingly. Europe, however, was so devastated by war that it couldn't afford British products.
 - b. The conservative government of Lord Liverpool faced a series of bad harvests, the Luddite riots, and a middle class that was demanding the vote.
 - c. Lord Liverpool responded by protecting aristocratic landowners with high tariffs on foreign grains—the Corn Laws (in Britain, the word “corn” applies to wheat).
 - d. In 1819, a rally of middle class families and workers calling for reform, meeting in St. Peter's Fields outside of Manchester, was run down by British cavalry in what became known as the Peterloo Massacre.
 - e. Parliament responded with the notorious Six Acts, which further restricted the right to assemble, allowed houses to be searched for seditious and blasphemous pamphlets, permitted imprisonment of authors for such writing, and placed high taxes on cheap newspapers to keep them out of the hands of literate workers.
2. But after 1820, a new generation of British politicians, raised on the classical liberals and utilitarians, took power and launched reforms designed to wipe away old, irrational, and oppressive measures.
3. The most important of these was the Great Reform Act of 1832, which gave seats to the new industrial towns and lowered property requirements for voting, so that middle class men now all had the vote.
4. During the 1830s–1840s, workers agitated for a National Charter, which would have guaranteed their right to vote and served as England's first written constitution, but the Charter was voted down in Parliament repeatedly.
5. It would take most of the 19th century to persuade the British middle class that workers deserved the vote and still longer before they came to embrace the ideas of John Stuart Mill.

B. By the time of Napoleon's fall in 1815, France was well on its own way to industrialization.

1. The legislature of France was divided between conservative royalist *Ultras*, who wanted a return to absolutism, and liberals under the Marquis de Lafayette, who wanted a wider franchise.
 - a. Louis XVIII (r. 1814–1824) was a conciliatory and popular figure who tried to unite the nation.
 - b. But his successor, Charles X (r. 1824–1830), was a reactionary who, in 1830, dissolved the legislature and imposed strict censorship on the press.
 - c. His Five Ordinances of 1830 were a French version of the Six Acts the British parliament had passed in 1819.
2. In July 1830, Paris erupted in a second French Revolution.
3. Within weeks, the king abdicated in favor of a cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans.
4. Louis Philippe (r. 1830–1848) was an aristocrat with the soul of a factory owner: a “citizen-king.”
 - a. He appointed capable ministries that encouraged industry.
 - b. He approved a liberal constitution that widened the franchise to include more of the middle class.
 - c. Workers, many of whom had done the heavy lifting of the July Revolution, got little.
5. In France, as in Britain, liberalism offered more at first to the middle class; workers would have to wait their turn—or receive help from another movement.

- C. The German states were mostly ruled by small and very conservative autocracies and absolute monarchies, with liberalism mainly an idea confined to the universities and their students.
- D. By the 1830s, Liberalism had given the middle classes in Britain and France what they wanted.
 - 1. It had given them the franchise and the political power it implied.
 - 2. It had removed old irrational aristocratic privileges and censorship.
 - 3. It had given them complete economic freedom.
- E. As for the workers, the franchise and political power continued to be denied them.
 - 1. It would not be until the second half of the 19th century that Mill's later ideas, and with them a greater sense of responsibility for workers, would begin to gain traction with the middle class and in government.
 - 2. In the meantime, other, more radical philosophies would fill the void.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 23, sections II–III.

R. Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers*.

A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement, 1783–1867*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. How have the terms *liberal* and *conservative* changed since their use circa 1800?
- 2. How would Adam Smith have answered John Stuart Mill's implicit criticism of classical liberalism?

Glossary

Adrianople, Treaty of (a.k.a. Treaty of Edirne): Established Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire, 1829.

aide: French sales tax before the revolution.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of: Treaty ending the War of the Austrian Succession (1748). Essentially, all sides reverted to their prewar borders.

Albigensians: Medieval heresy that taught that all matter was evil, violently persecuted by the Church.

Anglicans: Conservative or “High Church” members of the Church of England favoring Church government by bishops.

Anschluss: German annexation of Austria, 1938.

Amiens, Treaty of: Treaty ending the French Revolutionary Wars in 1801.

asiento: The right to supply African slaves to the Spanish colonies of the New World, secured for Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713.

Augsburg, Peace of (1555): Settlement within the Holy Roman Empire allowing each prince to determine the religion within his territory (*cuius regio, eius religio*).

Auschwitz-Birkenau: Established in 1941 in Poland, the most murderous of the Nazi death camps; liberated in 1945.

auto-da-fé: literally “act of faith”; public declaration of sentences imposed by courts of the Spanish Inquisition, with the carrying out of the sentence (e.g., burning at the stake) by secular authorities.

Avignon Papacy, 1309–1374: Also known as the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, the period when the papacy was based in Avignon, a papal holding in France.

Baptists: Protestants who believed that baptism should be left to adult choice. This idea was controversial because it would leave children unbaptized and vitiate any notion of a national church.

Bastille: French royal prison, attacked by a Parisian mob on 14 July 1789, the first violent act of the French Revolution.

Beer Hall Putsch: Attempted Nazi coup to take over the government of Bavaria in 1923. It was crushed easily, and the Nazi leaders went to prison for one year.

Black Death: Probably bubonic plague, which ravaged Europe from 1347 to 1350, killing one-third to one-half of the population and returning periodically until the last outbreak at Marseilles in 1722.

Black Hand: Serbian nationalist terrorist organization that planned the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in 1914.

Blank Check: Kaiser Wilhelm II’s offer to back the Austrian emperor, Franz-Josef, militarily should he attack Serbia and be attacked by Russia in 1914.

Blitzkrieg: War of shock and movement, perfected by the German general staff between the wars and deployed by the German military in World War II, which used aircraft to destroy enemy supply lines and to support ground operations involving massed tanks and infantry.

Bloody Sunday: On 22 January 1905, a peaceful crowd sought to petition the czar at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. The imperial guard panicked and fired on the crowd, resulting in about 100 deaths, which in turn, precipitated the First Russian Revolution.

blue-water strategy: A military strategy that concentrates on naval forces rather than land forces.

Bolsheviks (from the Russian word for “majority”): By 1903, a faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party that favored a tight, disciplined, and militantly revolutionary party membership. Led by Lenin, the Bolsheviks would form the core of the triumphant Communist Party at the revolution.

Bon Marché, Paris: Generally credited as the world's first department store.

Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of: Treaty between communist Russia and Germany, in which the former ceded vast amounts of territory, population, and natural resources to the latter in 1918. Allowed Germany to shift the bulk of its forces west for a final offensive later that year.

cahiers de doléance: Reports from the countryside, written to the Estates General, about conditions in France in 1789.

Carbonari: Italian for “charcoal burners”; 19th-century Italian nationalist partisans.

CHEKA: First incarnation of the Soviet secret police, with antecedents in the czarist secret police of the 19th century (see **Third Section**); subsequent incarnations included the GPU, OGPU, NKVD, NKGB, and (from 1953) the KGB. See also **NKVD**.

COMECON: Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; economic association of Communist countries created in 1949, disbanded in 1991.

Commercial Revolution: General expansion of European trade, much of it with North American colonies, China, and India, in the 17th century. Benefited the Dutch, the French, and most of all, the British.

Common Market: Popular name for the European Economic Union established in 1957 that provided for free trade across members' borders.

conciliarism: Late medieval reform movement which responded to the Great Schism by proposing that church councils, rather than the Pope, should have the power to determine policy for the Catholic Church; rejected by Pope Martin V (1417-31) and later condemned by the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517).

Congress of Vienna: Peace conference after the Napoleonic Wars (1815), dominated by Klemens von Metternich; Robert, Viscount Castlereagh; and Charles, Count Talleyrand, which restored monarchies and redistributed territory to create a buffer around France and, thus, maintain the balance of power. Though hostile to liberalism and nationalism, the Congress of Vienna secured a general European peace for 99 years.

Congo Free State: Established by the Congress of Berlin of 1884, the personal proprietary colony of Leopold II of Belgium was ruthlessly exploited for its rubber. The revelations of the regime's brutality led to the assumption of control by the Belgian parliament in 1908.

Continental System: Tariff union and free trade area organized by Napoleon for his empire in 1806 in order to promote French industry and shut out the British. This system became one of the grievances against the Napoleonic Empire.

corvée: The right, prior to the Revolution, of a French landlord to demand periodic labor from his tenants to build roads, erect barns, and so forth.

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS): Alliance, created in 1991, consisting of most states that emerged from the former Soviet Union.

Council of Trent: Church Council, convened in 1543–1563, to address the Reformation. Reasserted Catholic doctrine but urged a reformation of the Catholic clergy.

Crystal Palace Exhibition: The first world's fair (1851), designed to show off the wonders of the Industrial Revolution.

dauphin: title referring to the eldest son of a king of France, in use from 1349 until 1830. “Dauphine” referred to the wife of a dauphin.

Dawes Plan: First American initiative to restructure Germany's massive war reparations debt after World War I; its acceptance in 1924 helped put an end to the inflationary crisis that had gripped Germany in the preceding year.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen: The statement of principles of the French Revolution (1789), guaranteeing personal freedom, equality, and the sovereignty of the people; it was a summary of Enlightenment thought on government.

Deism: View, increasingly popular in the wake of the Scientific Revolution, in which God's active involvement is not regarded as necessary to explain the daily running of the universe. rather, the Supreme Being is regarded as more of a celestial watchmaker who designed the universe, wound it up, and set it going according to unchanging natural laws.

Diggers: Religious sect emerging out of the toleration following the British Civil Wars. They were led by Gerald Winstanley from about 1649–1650 and believed that the Bible did not sanction private property. A combination of government repression and local hostility broke the movement.

Directory: The constitutional arrangement, headed by five directors, that governed France from 1795–1799.

Dreadnought: British warship completed in 1906 whose firepower, speed, and protection were so superior to other warships that subsequent similar vessels were referred to by the same name. The race to build dreadnought battleships by Britain and Germany was one of the long-term causes of the Great War.

Dreyfus Affair: *Cause célèbre* in 1890s France in which a Jewish French army officer, Alfred Dreyfus, was accused, convicted, and imprisoned on a charge of disclosing military secrets to the Germans. Following a campaign led by Émile Zola to have the case reopened, during which Dreyfus was attacked by conservative politicians and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, he was pardoned, then exonerated, and restored to his rank in 1906. Partly as a result of these events, the French Republic passed legislation separating church and state in 1905.

droits du seigneur: Rights of the landlord to various items and services of his tenants in *ancien régime* Europe.

economic determinism: Marxist theory that says that the political, religious, social, and cultural superstructure of any community is based on its economic arrangements. Related to the idea that all history is a story of class struggle.

Edict of Nantes: Granted toleration to French Protestants (Huguenots) in 1598; revoked by Louis XIV in 1685.

Ems Dispatch: Telegram regarding the Spanish succession that Otto von Bismarck edited to be insulting to French interests, precipitating the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.

Entente Cordiale: Alliance between Britain and France, ending centuries of hostility, worked out in 1904.

Estates General: Tricameral French legislature prior to the French Revolution but not convened between 1614 and 1789. The three chambers corresponded to the First Estate (the clergy), the Second Estate (the nobility), and the Third Estate (the commonality). Legislation had to be approved by a majority of the three chambers.

European Union: Restructuring and expansion of the European Economic Union in 1994 to give Europe greater political unity.

evolution and natural selection: Theory presented in Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859) to explain variations in fossils and within current species. Darwin's theories, especially the idea that evolution was propelled by survival of the fittest, were quickly accepted by scientists but attacked by theologians and clergymen.

fascism: Political philosophy originating with Benito Mussolini; emphasized nationalism, patriotism, militarism, obedience, and traditional values. Nazism is a species of fascism.

Fifth Monarchy Men: Sect arising during the British Civil Wars who believed that Christ's Second Coming was imminent.

financial revolution: Process whereby the Dutch, then the English, pioneered many of the instruments and techniques of modern high finance, in particular, the servicing of a funded national debt. Vital to the creation of a successful fiscal-military state in Britain during the 18th century.

Fourteen Points: Woodrow Wilson's plan of 1918 to bring Germany to the bargaining table in World War I. Only partially used as the blueprint for the Versailles peace settlement in 1919.

Frankfurt, Treaty of: Treaty ending the Franco-Prussian War (1871). Bismarck's harsh terms embittered France for more than a generation.

Fronde (literally “slingshot”): Revolt of the French aristocracy (1649–1652), which briefly triumphed (1651–1652). “Frondeur” later came to refer to anyone advocating limits to monarchic power, and even later to anyone criticizing any existing powers.

gabelle: French salt tax before the Revolution.

Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo): Nazi secret police.

Girondins: Relative moderates in the French Revolution who wanted to work with the king to establish a constitutional monarchy.

Glorious Revolution: Political revolution in England (1688–1689), which displaced the Catholic James II in favor of the Protestant William III and Mary II. Established parliamentary sovereignty and, therefore, constitutional monarchy in England.

Grand Alliance, War of the, 1688-1697: Also known as the Nine Years’ War, and in North America as King William’s War, a conflict between France under Louis XIV and a coalition of other European powers led by William III fought over the succession to the British crowns and the balance of power on the continent; concluded with the Treaty of Ryswick.

Great Chain of Being: A medieval intellectual system in which every creature and article in the universe was arranged in a strict hierarchy beginning with God.

Great Schism, 1374–1417: Period when rival popes ruled from Avignon and Rome. Ended at the Council of Constance with the election of Martin V.

guardacostas: private naval forces employed by the Spanish government against England during the 18th century. Their aggressive tactics precipitated the War of Jenkins’ Ear 1739–42.

heresy: The Catholic Church’s term for any belief which disagreed with the tenets of the Church.

Holy Alliance: An alliance devised in 1815 by Czar Alexander I of the great European monarchies (Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, Britain) that was to work in concert to rule their peoples with Christian love while crushing liberalism, nationalism, and rebellions. Generally successful in the 1820s; Britain and France left in the 1830s as they grew more liberal.

Hundred Years’ War, 1337–1456: Intermittent conflict between France and England, which was often allied with French barons. After years of English occupation of large portions of France, the conflict ended with the English being driven out.

Hussites: Followers of John Hus in 15th-century Bohemia who demanded communion in both kinds (i.e., bread and wine). Persecuted as a heresy by the Roman Catholic Church.

iconoclasm: Attacks, often of Protestants against Catholic churches, that destroyed statues and stained glass as graven images.

indulgences: Catholic practice by which the Church claims to remit time in Purgatory for good works. Their sale at the beginning of the 16th century infuriated Martin Luther, prompting his 95 Theses (1517), which launched the Protestant Reformation.

Iron Law of Wages: First posited by David Ricardo in 1817, the idea that wages rise and fall in inverse proportion to the size of the labor force.

intendants: French officials who oversaw local affairs for the Bourbon kings.

Jacobins: Radicals in the French Revolution who sought to create a perfectly egalitarian society. In power, they defended France ably but discredited themselves by launching the Reign of Terror.

Jacobites: Supporters of the exiled King James II and his son, the titular James III, known to his opponents as the Pretender. Jacobite rebellions in 1715 and 1745 failed to restore the Catholic Stuarts to the British throne.

Jesuits: members of the Society of Jesus, a Catholic religious order founded by Ignatius of Loyola in 1534 and recognized by the pope in 1540.

Kaiserschlacht (“emperor battle” in German): German plan to win the war in the west in 1918, devised by General Erich Ludendorff. The Germans nearly reached Paris but were stopped by fresh American troops.

Kosovo: Province of Serbia inhabited mainly by ethnic Albanians. The Serbian attempt to suppress this minority in 1999 provoked NATO military action, which led to the fall of the government of Slobodan Milosevic.

Kristallnacht: Widespread violence against Jews, Jewish businesses, and synagogues in Germany and Austria on 9 November 1938, in response to the murder of a German diplomat in Paris by a Jew.

kulaks (from Russian for “fist”): pejorative term for relatively wealthy Russian peasants, regarded in the Soviet Union as stingy class enemies of the Communist Revolution.

Kulturkampf (Culture War): Otto von Bismarck’s program to reduce the role of the Roman Catholic Church in German life.

laissez-faire: Economic policies that eschew government regulation of trade and industry; generally associated with Great Britain at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries.

levée en masse: Conscripted citizen army established by the Jacobins to defend France in 1793.

Levelers: Radical members of the New Model Army during the British Civil Wars who demanded universal manhood suffrage, law reform, and “the sovereignty of the people.” They were suppressed by the Commonwealth regime.

Little Entente: Alliance against German expansion created in 1920 by Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia, and later joined by France and aided by Poland.

Lollards: Followers of John Wycliff in 14th- and 15th-century England who wanted a deemphasized Church hierarchy, greater lay participation in the liturgy, and Scripture translated into the vernacular. Believed to have been persecuted out of existence by the time of the Reformation.

Lusitania: British luxury liner torpedoed by a German U-boat in May 1915 with tremendous loss of life, including 125 Americans. American threats to enter World War I as a result led the Germans to halt unrestricted submarine warfare for nearly two years.

MAD (mutually assured destruction): The guarantee that use of nuclear weapons by either superpower would result in an automatic, overwhelming, and fatal response. In theory and, so far, in fact, the guarantee of mutual destruction has prevented the use of these weapons.

Mein Kampf: Hitler’s autobiography/political manifesto in which he lays out the Nazi program, published in 1926.

Mensheviks (from the Russian word for “minority”): A loosely organized faction of the Russian Socialists, including intellectual moderates. Individual Mensheviks were eventually absorbed into or purged from the Bolshevik-led Communist Party at the revolution.

mercantilism: Economic system, especially associated with 17th-century Western Europe, in which the government plans the economy, encourages local industry, protects it with high tariffs, and acquires colonies for raw materials and markets. Largely discredited by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776).

middling orders: Social rank below the aristocracy referring to those who generally did not work with their hands and lived comfortable lives but did not have titles and usually did not have lands. Before the Industrial Revolution, they included merchants, financiers, mayors, aldermen, burghers, and professionals such as lawyers, doctors, military and naval officers, clergy, estate stewards, and majordomos. They amounted to perhaps 10 percent of the European population. The Industrial Revolution of the 19th century split the middling orders into an upper group that directly benefited from the new factory system, and a lower group unable to invest in, or compete with, the new system.

Mississippi Company, also Mississippi Scheme: Plan developed by a Scottish speculator named John Law and backed in 1719 by the Duc d’Orleans, regent to Louis XV, to establish a company for investment in the French territory of Louisiana and a Banque Royale to issue notes and stock. The plan collapsed in a rash of speculation.

Muggletonians: a sect of English Puritans who believed that Lodowick Muggleton (1609–1698), a tailor from the West Country who had experienced a series of religious visions, was the last prophet named in the Book of

Revelation, with the power to save or damn on the spot. Muggleton denied the Trinity, denounced the heliocentric view of the solar system, and claimed that Eve had been the incarnation of evil.

National Assembly: The Third Estate, plus aristocratic and clerical supporters, once it had retreated to a Parisian tennis court to give France a new constitution in 1789.

National Convention: The body that governed France from 1792–1795.

National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazis): Germany’s fascist party in the 1920s–1940s, led by Adolf Hitler.

New Economic Policy: Lenin’s tempering of communization (1921–1924).

NKVD: Stalin’s secret police, regular police, purge operations, and prison camps combined in 1934 under a “People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs” headed first by Nikolai Yezhov and then by Lavrenty Beria.

No Man’s Land: Area between the two trench systems on the Western Front of World War I. So called because no man could long survive the hail of machine-gun bullets and artillery shells that left a scene of desolation and carnage.

Paris Commune: An elected body, run by the *sans-culottes*, that shared governmental power with the National Assembly during the French Revolution. Separately, also later used to refer to the socialist government that governed Paris for two months in the spring of 1871 following France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War.

Paris, Treaty of: Ended the Seven Years’ War in 1763 by awarding Silesia to Prussia and most of Canada and other heretofore French possessions to Great Britain.

Paris, Treaty of: Ended the American Revolutionary War in 1783 by recognizing American independence.

parlements: French legal institutions that often acted as a brake on royal power before the French Revolution.

Passau, Peace of, 1552: France and Maurice of Saxony negotiated with the Holy Roman Empire for the release of Protestant princes, which prepared the way for the **Peace of Augsburg** in 1555.

Pax Britannica (literally, the “British Peace” in Latin, harking back to the Pax Romana of ancient times): Refers to the period in the late 19th century when the British Empire was at its height and the Royal Navy enforced order around the globe.

Peasants’ War: Failed religious, political, and economic revolt by German peasants during 1524-1526, sparked by the attacks on the church by Martin Luther and other reformers. Luther himself denounced the revolt.

perestroika: Attempted restructuring of the communist system by Mikhail Gorbachev, intended to save communism but actually helped to precipitate its demise in Eastern Europe.

philosophes: Eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophers.

Phony War: Period from 1939–1940 when neither the Allies nor the Germans launched offensives.

Positivism: The belief, associated with Auguste Comte, that a scientific approach to human problems would lead to their solutions and continuous human progress.

Pragmatic Sanction Decree, 1713: Decree by which Maria Theresa was recognized as heir to the Austrian throne.

Prague, Treaty of: Treaty ending the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, which saw the creation of the North German Confederation.

Pogroms (from Russian for “wreaking of havoc”): Spontaneous anti-Semitic massacres in czarist Russia, often tolerated by the government.

polysynody: system of French government, used briefly after the death of Louis XIV in 1715, in which traditional ministers were replaced by eight councils staffed by the ancient aristocracy (“the nobility of the sword”).

Pugachev’s Rebellion: Peasant rebellion in Russia (1774) led by Yemelyan Ivanovich Pugachev, brutally suppressed by the forces of Catherine the Great.

Purgatory: Roman Catholic belief that, at death, souls who are not damned but not of sufficient perfection to merit heaven go to this place to become so. Catholics believe that the prayers of the faithful and the indulgences granted by the Church for good deeds in life are efficacious in reducing the amount of time a soul spends there.

Puritans: English Protestants who sought the continued reform of the Church of England after its establishment in 1559–1563.

Quakers: Religious sect emerging out of the toleration following the British Civil Wars and led by George Fox. They believed that each human being possessed God’s inner light in equal measure, regardless of gender or social rank. This inclined them, notoriously, to flout gender roles, deny deference to social superiors, refuse to swear oaths, and “quake” with their inner light at services.

Ranters: Religious radicals emerging out of the toleration following the British Civil Wars, who believed that those in tune with God can commit no sin. This idea was thought to give Ranters license to perform all manner of debauchery. Though much feared and reviled at the time, historians now debate their existence.

Realism: Nineteenth-century artistic movement emphasizing the accurate depiction of life, especially among working people in both city and country.

Realpolitik: Belief, associated with Otto von Bismarck, that international diplomacy should be based on practical considerations, not religious or moral sentiments.

Reform Act: British statute of 1832 that extended the vote to the middle class.

Revolt of the Netherlands, 1567–1608: Protestant Dutch response to Philip II’s decision to impose the Inquisition on the Netherlands; it eventually resulted in independence for the northern provinces.

Risorgimento (“resurgence”): Abortive movement in 1848 to unify Italy.

Ryswick, Treaty of, 1697: Treaty ending the Nine Years’ War, by which Louis XIV recognized William III as the rightful king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; gave back European territory taken since 1678; and agreed to work out with William a partition of the Spanish Empire after the death of Carlos II.

salon: Originating in France during the 17th and 18th centuries, any literary, artistic, or intellectual gathering of distinguished guests, often from a variety of fields, in a drawing room or large reception hall and organized by a prominent hostess or host. Crucial to advancing the Enlightenment and often led by women.

salutary neglect: British policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Britain’s North American colonies.

sans-culottes: Urban workers, mainly in Paris, who radicalized the French Revolution. So called because, being people who worked for a living, they wore trousers, not knee-britches.

Schlieffen Plan: Devised by General Alfred von Schlieffen and finalized in 1905, Germany’s plan to win a general European war quickly by attacking France first, then Russia. The defeat of France was to be accomplished by a feint through the Ardennes, the main attack coming through neutral Belgium. The plan failed on implementation in 1914, leading to the stalemate on the Western Front.

Schmalkaldic League: League of Protestant nobles who fought Charles V for religious autonomy within the Holy Roman Empire in the mid-16th century.

Schutzstaffel (SS): Elite Nazi military units, often associated with concentration camp duties and battlefield atrocities.

Sejm: Historical term for the entire parliament of Poland, consisting of two chambers as well as the king (who was regarded as considered a third legislative chamber). Veto was possible by any one aristocrat (*liberum veto*). After 1918, Sejm referred only to the lower chamber.

Spanish Armada: Philip II’s failed attempt to invade England in 1588, defeated by the Royal Navy and a Protestant wind (i.e., the weather).

Spanish Crusade: Effort, led by King Philip II beginning in the 1560s to stamp out Protestant heretics.

Spanish Inquisition: Effort launched in 1478 by the united Spanish monarchy under Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabelle of Castile to eradicate Catholic heresies and root out *conversos* (Jews who claimed to have converted to

Christianity while continuing to practice their own religion) and *moriscos* (Muslims who had been forced to convert to Christianity). Later, the Spanish government expelled non-Christians. From 1492, 150,000 Jews were expelled from Spain, leading to the loss to Spain of many physicians, artists, and government officials. From 1502, Muslims were expelled as well. In 1602, even converted Muslims had to leave. The Inquisition continued to operate into the early 19th century.

Social Darwinists: Nineteenth-century social theorists who attempted to apply Darwin's theories of evolution and natural selection to human political, social, and economic relations, resulting in justifications for the European class system, imperialism, and aggression.

Spanish Flu: Worst pandemic in history, killed perhaps 20 million in 1918–1919.

Stamp Act: A British parliamentary statute of 1765, requiring that the American colonists purchase stamps to affix to official documents. The first serious attempt to tax the colonies was met with great hostility and was repealed the next year.

Sturmabteilungen (SA): Nazi storm troopers, eliminated in 1934.

Sudetenland Crisis: Ensued when, in 1938, Hitler demanded, first, autonomy, then independence, and finally, the absorption into Germany of the Sudetenland, a portion of Czechoslovakia mainly inhabited by ethnic Germans. Britain, France, and Italy agreed to these measures over Czech protests. Early in 1939, Hitler absorbed the rest of Czechoslovakia.

szlachta: Relatively broad class of local nobles and gentry in Poland, whose power was weakened by the partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) in favor of the most elite portions of the aristocracy.

taille: A hearth tax paid by every French commoner before the revolution.

Three Emperor's League: Alliance designed in 1872 by Bismarck, Julius Andrassy, and Prince Gorchakov to ally the rulers of Germany, Austria, and Russia.

Third Section: Russian secret police established by Czar Nicholas I after the failed Decembrist uprising of 1825.

Tilsit, Treaty of, 1807: Recognized Napoleon's Empire in the West and Czar Alexander I's supremacy in the east.

Tories: English political party that arose in the 17th century. The Tories began as a court party, defending the hereditary succession in the person of James, duke of York. They favored the rights of the monarch, the Church of England, and the interests of landowners. During the 1690s, as they became associated with Jacobitism and lost power, the Tories grew to be more of a country (opposition) party.

Totalitarianism: A form of absolute government admitting no dissent or rival loyalties, usually associated with dictatorship and the use of modern technology to monitor and enforce obedience.

Triple Entente: Alliance among Britain, France, and Russia established in 1907.

Triangular Trade: The commercial system from 1619–1807, whereby British slavers purchased slaves from West African kings, transported them to and sold them in the New World, and transported the sugar, tobacco, or cotton they harvested back to Britain for distribution to all of Europe. This trade was key to Britain's economic superiority in the 18th century.

Triple Alliance: Alliance worked out by Kaiser Wilhelm II among Germany, Austria, and Italy in 1892.

Unterseeboots or U-boats: German submarines, used to sink merchant ships supplying the British Isles in both world wars.

Utopian Socialists: Early-19th-century socialists (Henri de St. Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen) who believed that the aristocrats and factory owners could be persuaded to relinquish control of natural resources and the means of production for the good of all.

Utrecht, Treaty of, 1713: Treaty between Great Britain and France ending their hostilities in the War of the Spanish Succession. Britain acquired Gibraltar, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, territory in the Caribbean, the *asiento*, Louis XIV's recognition of the Protestant Succession, and the promise that the crowns of France and Spain would never be united.

Versailles Conference: Peace conference, held at Versailles Palace, to formally end World War I in 1919. The conference was successful in establishing numerous democracies in Europe, but it did not seriously confront the issue of imperialism, and its punitive treatment of Germany contributed to the resentment that would lead to the Second World War.

Versailles Palace: Magnificent palace built by Louis XIV during 1661–1685 to display his power.

War Communism, 1917–1921: Lenin's first quick attempt at communization. Forced collectivization, immediate peace with Germany, and the encouragement of international terrorism led to much loss of life, territory, and international legitimacy. Reversed in 1921–1922 by Lenin's New Economic Policy.

Westphalia, Treaty of: Treaty ending the Thirty Years' War in 1648 that affirmed the principle *cujus regio, ejus religio*: the religion of the state is to be that of the ruler. This was, in fact, a step toward religious diversity and toleration in Europe.

Whigs: English political party that arose in the 17th century. The Whigs began as a country (opposition) party, demanding the exclusion of James, duke of York, a Catholic, from the throne; emphasizing the rights of Parliament and of dissenters; and championing a Protestant (pro-Dutch) foreign policy. In the 1690s, they became a party of government and grew less radical.

Yalta Conference: Attended in February 1945 by Sir Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin to determine the postwar fate of Europe. The decision to recognize the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe laid the foundation for the Iron Curtain.

**Foundations of
Western Civilization II:
A History of the
Modern Western World
Part III
Professor Robert Bucholz**



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Robert Bucholz was born March 17, 1958, in Los Angeles, California. He received his undergraduate education in history at Cornell University, where he also earned his letter in cross-country and track. He graduated in 1980, magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, whereupon he received a Keasbey Memorial Scholarship for study at Oxford University. At Oxford, Bucholz studied under G. V. Bennett and P. G. M. Dickson. He took his doctorate in modern history from Oxford in March 1988. He taught at Cornell, UCLA Extension, Cal State Long Beach, and Loyola-Marymount Universities before joining the faculty in history at Loyola University of Chicago in 1988. He currently holds the rank of professor.

At Loyola, Dr. Bucholz teaches both halves of the Western Civilization survey, as well as upper-division courses in Early Modern (Tudor-Stuart) England, English Social History, and Early Modern London. He has received several awards for his teaching, most notably, in 1994, in the first year of its presentation, the Sujack Award for Teaching Excellence, the College of Arts and Sciences' highest such award. He was also the Honors Program Faculty Member of the Year in 1998 and 1999.

Dr. Bucholz's primary research interest is the English court and royal household for the period from 1660 into the 19th century. He is the author of *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, 1993); with Sir John Sainty, KCB, *Officials of the Royal Household, 1660–1837*, 2 vols. (Institute of Historical Research, London, 1997–1998); and, with Professor Newton Key of Eastern Illinois University, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714: A Narrative History* (Blackwell, 2003). He is the project director of the Database of Court Officers, which contains the career facts of every person who served in the British royal household from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 to the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. The database was launched online by Loyola University in 2005.

In 1997, Dr. Bucholz was named Prince of Wales Foundation Scholar for Architecture in America, which led, in turn, to his being invited to speak on the etiquette of the public rooms and the experience of going to court in the 17th and 18th centuries to Royal Collection Studies at Windsor Castle in September of that year. (Dr. Bucholz's week-long stay at Windsor coincided with the death and funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales.) This talk was repeated in 2000 and published in 2001 in *The Court Historian*. Dr. Bucholz's work has been solicited and commented upon by HRH, the Prince of Wales.

Dr. Bucholz is past president of the Midwest Conference on British Studies and the organizer of the Center for Renaissance Studies/Society for Court Studies Seminar on Courts, Households, and Lineages at the Newberry Library, Chicago. Dr. Bucholz is occasionally asked to comment on British history and the activities of the British royal family to the Chicago media, most notably "Chicago Tonight" with John Calloway and "Extension 720" with Milt Rosenberg.

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Foundations of Western Civilization II: A History of the Modern Western World

Scope:

Wherever we come from, whatever we believe, however we make a living, Americans are all, to a greater or lesser extent, inhabitants of a land shaped by the last five centuries of Western history and culture. Over those five centuries, the Western world has seen a profound transformation. How did the decentralized agrarian princedoms of medieval Europe become great industrial nation-states? How was the power of disease and superstition dealt a blow by Western science and technology? How and why did absolutism yield to democratic liberalism? Why did Europe produce two great antagonistic economic systems, capitalism and communism? How did Westerners conquer half the world, then lose it? Why did the Western world erupt into two world wars, then a cold war in which Europe found itself the prize between two superpowers? To what extent have Europeans learned to work together for their common good; to what extent do they remain divided by history and culture? Overall, has their legacy to the wider world been positive or negative?

This course will explore the ideas, events, and characters that molded Western political, social, religious, intellectual, cultural, scientific, technological, and economic history during the tumultuous period between the 16th and 20th centuries. The course begins by explaining the geographical, philosophical, political, religious, and economic background to the modern Western world. It then examines, in turn, the crisis of the 17th century, absolutism and constitutionalism, the wars of the 18th century, the Enlightenment, the French and American Revolutions and the spread of liberal ideals, nationalism, the Industrial Revolution, socialism, imperialism, the Russian Revolution, two world wars, communism, fascism, de-colonization, the collapse of the Soviet bloc, democratization, and globalization and other issues confronting contemporary Western society. Frequent reference to contemporary philosophy, literature, the arts, and biography will help us define these explosive centuries and understand how we are their heirs.

Lecture Twenty-Five

The Romantic Response—1789–1870

Scope: When the first Liberals offered only halfhearted or partial solutions to the problems of the Industrial Revolution, Romantic writers, such as William Wordsworth, William Blake, and Percy Shelley, following the French model, urged revolution. The Romantic political and economic revolution never materialized, in part because the Romantics were all feeling and no plan. But Romantic writers, such as Schiller and Hugo; musicians, such as Beethoven and Wagner; and painters, such as David and Turner revolutionized how Europeans and, later, Americans saw and felt the world.

Outline

- I. The term *romantic*, like the term *liberal*, has all sorts of modern connotations that don't always stem from the movement's original historical meaning.
 - A. Often, we use it to mean sentimental, idealistic, nostalgic, even erotic.
 - B. But what did the term mean originally?
 - C. And what did the term have to do with the Industrial Revolution?
 - D. We can trace the roots of Romanticism to the middle of the 18th century and to a qualification of or reaction against the Enlightenment.
 1. As we have seen, a number of Enlightenment figures questioned the 18th-century faith in pure reason, including David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Edmund Burke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.
 2. As these writers, especially Rousseau, grew popular, there arose an 18th-century movement to revive "feelings" and to glorify sentiment.
 - a. We see this trend in the rise of popular, sentimental novels.
 - b. We see it on a much higher plane in German writers and composers in the late 18th century, including Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and Mozart.
 3. It could be argued that there was something political about this idea.
 - a. After all, who was devouring all that Enlightenment and liberal writing emphasizing reason and reform? The middle class.
 - b. Against it, such writers as Burke emphasized emotional loyalties to persons—kings and landlords, for example—rather than to ideas. Indeed, Burke is often credited as one of the founding voices of Conservatism.
 - c. This yearning for a return to the great Chain of Being represents an idea that is at once Conservative and Romantic.
 4. How was it, then, that Romanticism and Romantic writers became the defenders of the working class?
 5. To understand that, we must examine those British Romantic figures who did their writing in the midst of the Industrial Revolution.
 - E. In 1798, two young English poets, William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, produced a collaborative volume entitled *Lyrical Ballads*.
 1. To understand why this book was revolutionary, compare one of its poems, say "Tintern Abbey," to a typical 18th-century poem, such as Pope's *Essay on Man*.
 2. I would argue that such a comparison reveals five distinguishing characteristics of Romanticism that will determine its attitude toward industrialization:
 - a. Romantic poetry stresses content over form.
 - b. In Romantic poetry, emotion is good; feeling is to be embraced and shared.
 - c. Romanticism emphasizes the feelings of the individual.
 - d. Romanticism yearns for the past, which is often seen as a better time than the present.
 - e. Romanticism celebrates nature.
 3. We see these characteristics again and again in Romantic novels (Sir Walter Scott, Mary Shelley, Victor Hugo), in Romantic painting (David, Friedrich, and Turner), and in Romantic music (Beethoven, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Liszt, and Wagner).
 4. But what does any of this have to do with the Industrial Revolution?

- II.** It should be obvious how a movement that valued content over form, emotion over reason, the individual, nature, and the past would view the new factory economy or the cities that it had spawned.
- A.** William Blake (1757–1827) posits the question of what Jesus would think of “these dark satanic mills” in “Jerusalem.”
 - B.** Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) argued in *A Defence of Poetry* (1820; published 1840), “Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world” and sought to use that power to urge his fellow Britons toward reform and revolution in such poems as “England in 1819” and “Song to the Men of England.”
 - C.** The most Romantic of Romantics rejected society and its mores, living unconventional lives and dying romantic deaths.
 - D.** The English Romantics had welcomed the French Revolution and hoped for and expected the same in industrial England.
 - E.** Beyond England, continental Romantics, including Schiller, Beethoven, Manzoni, and Pushkin, took up the call, producing works with political messages.
- III.** But radical change never came.
- A.** The great Romantic revolution never materialized.
 1. Britain never experienced a French-style revolution; instead, it experienced gradual change as liberal ideas triumphed.
 2. France’s first revolution turned into Napoleon’s empire.
 3. The Revolution of 1830 was more middle class and liberal than Romantic: Louis-Philippe was a prosaic, bourgeois figure—not dashing.
 4. English, French, and German Romantics would have to travel to find congenial revolutions: Byron famously fought and died for Greece during its war of independence against the Ottoman Empire in 1829.
 5. Or the Romantics could wait for the revolutions of 1848.
 - B.** But most Romantics did not wait.
 1. Wordsworth and his formerly rebellious and utopia-minded friend Robert Southey became establishment figures, defending the status quo.
 2. Later in the 19th century, John Ruskin (1819–1900) urged a return to the medieval past with guild organization and craftsmanship. You can see his influence in many neo-Gothic buildings, including Barry and Pugin’s design for the Houses of Parliament (built during the 1830s to 1850s).
 3. Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) saw society’s best hope in the ascent of some great hero—a sort of combination of an enlightened despot and Superman—who, like Napoleon, would right the wrongs of the Industrial Revolution.
 4. Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), like John Stuart Mill, urged better education, but the tone of much of his writing, for example, “Dover Beach,” is valedictory and resigned, as if civilization had seen its best days.
 - C.** Why did the great Romantic revolution not materialize?
 1. The Romantics had plenty of passion but no clear plan for how to bring down existing society or erect a new one.
 - a.** Like the radical counterculture of the 1960s, the Romantics knew how to inspire strong feelings of indignation at the injustice of existing society and excitement about the possibility of imminent change.
 - b.** But, with their emphasis on individuality and emotion and nostalgia for the past, it was, perhaps, inevitable that the Romantics failed to organize and never came up with a practical plan for either revolution or the society that it would create.
 - c.** Indeed, if we remember that the German writer E. T. A. Hoffman described the fundamental characteristic of Romanticism as “infinite longing,” maybe it was inevitable that achieving the movement’s goal was beyond the Romantics’ capacity.
 2. As with the counterculture of the 1960s, the movement’s main achievement was in changing attitudes and ways of thinking.

- a. It could be argued that the Romantics dominated the worlds of literature and painting into the 1880s and the world of serious music into the 1910s.
- b. In terms of popular culture, we are still Romantics: Look at our popular music, films, and television.

IV. In some ways, the next group that reacted to the Industrial Revolution started out as the mirror image of the Romantics.

- A. Early Socialists had a rational plan for changing society, but they inspired no passion.
- B. The Socialists' most famous adherents would combine and inspire both: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, it could be argued, were history's greatest and most successful Romantics.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 23, section I.

N. V. Riasanvsky, *The Emergence of Romanticism*.

M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What would a Romantic utopia have looked like?
2. Why does the Romantic mindset still appeal?

Lecture Twenty-Six

The Socialist Response—1813–1905

Scope: The earliest Socialists, frustrated at the failure of liberalism and Romanticism to attack the problems of industrial society, urged the middle-class factory owners to share the wealth by giving up their ownership of natural resources and the factories to society as a whole, for the good of all. When this failed to happen, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels urged a more radical solution: Workers should seize the “means of production” by revolutionary action. Marx’s critique of capitalism was powerful and influential, but in the end, rising prosperity, union organization, enfranchisement of workers, and reform legislation prevented industrial Europe from ever experiencing the revolution for which he called.

Outline

- I. If the word *liberal* has loaded connotations, the word *Socialist* is nearly an epithet in America.
 - A. In fact, it could be argued that many early human societies practiced a form of Socialism.
 - B. But Socialism first emerged as a coherent philosophy in the early 19th century as a response to the Industrial Revolution.
 1. Early Socialist writers agreed with the classical liberals that all should have the vote and that the press should be free.
 2. But like Mill, they also argued that such amenities would be useless if the voters and readers of that press were illiterate and miserable.
 3. Early Socialists went farther even than Mill in arguing for a radical solution.
 - a. They argued that it was neither natural nor fair that 1 percent of the population owned 35 percent of the wealth, including land and natural resources.
 - b. Socialists advocate the common ownership of natural resources and the means of production and distribution, that is, the factories, transportation companies, and so on.
- II. The earliest advocates of Socialism were so optimistic about the persuasiveness of this logic that they have been dubbed Utopian Socialists.
 - A. Utopian Socialists hoped to persuade the upper and middle classes to relinquish ownership of the natural resources and means of production voluntarily or through government action.
 1. Count Henri de Saint-Simon is often credited with originating Socialism.
 - a. He saw it as a logical outgrowth of Christianity.
 - b. In *The New Christianity* (1825), the count urged the state to organize common exploitation of resources as directed by scientists and intellectuals.
 - c. He also originated the famous phrase: “From each according to his ability; to each according to his work.”
 2. Charles Fourier (1772–1837) believed that social harmony would result if society were organized into small, self-sufficient communities called *phalanges* (phalanxes).
 3. Robert Owen also wanted to reorganize society, but he wanted factory owners themselves do the organizing, arguing that it was in their own interest.
 - a. A self-made man, Owen purchased the cotton mills at New Lanark, Scotland, in 1799.
 - b. Appalled at the conditions of the workers, he resolved to give them decent working hours and conditions, housing, schools, hospitals, and churches.
 - c. Owen’s model community proved both productive and profitable.
 - d. In 1813, Owen published *A New View of Society*, urging the establishment of similar self-sufficient factory communities.
 - e. Several Owenite communities were established, including Owen’s greatest experiment, 20,000 acres at New Harmony, Indiana.
 - f. Most of the Owenite communities failed as a result of mismanagement and the hostility of the outside world.
 - B. In the end, the Utopian dream that factory owners could be persuaded to share the wealth was misguided.

- III.** The Revolutionary Socialists, seeing the writing on the wall, believed that the only way for workers to achieve a just society was to seize the means of production.
- A.** Louis Blanc (1811–1882) argued that workers should seek a more just society by revolutionary action.
- B.** Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich (Frederick) Engels (1820–1895) systematized the call for revolutionary action, rooting it in history.
- 1.** Both started off as fairly typical 19th-century middle-class intellectuals.
 - a.** Engels was the son of a wealthy German factory owner who was shocked at what he found when sent to examine the family’s factories in Manchester, England. In response, he wrote *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.
 - b.** But Engels did not know what else to do about it until he met Karl Marx in 1843.
 - c.** Marx was a German university student whose liberal writings got him into trouble with the authorities.
 - 2.** Marx and Engels’s first great work is the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848; they developed their ideas over the next 35 years, culminating in *Das Kapital*, or *Capital*, two volumes of which were still unpublished at Marx’s death in 1883. [The three volumes were published in 1867, 1885, and 1894.]
 - a.** In these works, they developed the economic (or materialist) interpretation of history.
 - i.** According to Marx and Engels, the most important thing about a society, its basic structure, how and why it organizes itself, depends on how it apportions its resources, the material basis of life.
 - ii.** According to Marx and Engels, all human activity and, therefore, all human history is the story of people’s struggle for material resources.
 - iii.** Because there is a finite amount of money and material in the world, that story is one of class struggle.
 - iv.** Industrialization is only the latest such struggle—one that the factory owners seem to have won.
 - b.** Because the real story of history is class war, because the factory owners have many advantages in fighting it (wealth, political power, and so on), and because the factory owners will never voluntarily relinquish the resources and means of production, the only hope for workers is found in revolution.
 - i.** But revolution is impossible so long as the workers lack class consciousness and fail to realize that they are in a class war.
 - ii.** Religion, nationalism, and even trade unions are smokescreens created by the factory owners, their predecessors, and allies to fool workers into submissive loyalty based on deferred reward, patriotism, or incremental progress.
 - c.** After the revolution, according to Marx and Engels, a classless society would ensue.
 - i.** All would work according to their abilities and be rewarded according to their needs.
 - ii.** Because all would have the necessary material conditions of life, all would be content and class struggle would cease.
 - iii.** Because everyone would now be on their best behavior, after a brief interval to set things up, the state would wither away.
 - iv.** The result would be a workers’ paradise—indeed, a paradise for all.
 - 3.** It is easy to find the flaws in Marx and Engels’s system.
 - a.** On the one hand, they define humans and human happiness far too narrowly by denying spiritual and altruistic impulses.
 - b.** On the other hand, they also underestimate our greed, our materialism, and our tendency to compete: We do not revolt, in part, because we hope to do as well as the factory owner some day.
 - 4.** Still, no great philosopher’s work is without flaws and none has ever been implemented with the results that that philosopher predicted.
 - a.** Marx remains an important and influential thinker, in part because he was the first to point out just how important economics is to history.
 - b.** His critique of capitalism is often powerful and difficult to answer.
 - c.** Finally, perhaps more than any other great philosophers, Marx and Engels appeal to the emotions with a profound sense that there should be social justice for the least powerful members of society.

IV. Yet Marx and Engels mostly failed to achieve their worker's revolution.

- A.** The revolutions of 1848—in Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Italy—were largely about liberal freedoms and nationalistic aspirations.
 - 1.** There were no such revolutions in England or Belgium—the cradles of industrialization.
 - 2.** Only in France did the economic slump of 1846 to 1848 produce a revolution against Louis-Philippe—uniting workers, middle-class intellectuals, and other individuals.
 - a.** During the June Days in Paris, workers formed communes and fought street battles, demanding universal suffrage.
 - b.** In July 1848, a national assembly proclaimed France a republic, but the new voters elected Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the late emperor, as president.
 - c.** The Chamber of Representatives was to be elected by universal male suffrage—far more liberal than any other major country in Europe.
 - d.** But that's it: There was no seizing of factories and no communal ownership of natural resources or of the means of production.
 - 3.** In 1852, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (Napoleon III) declared himself emperor (1852–1870).
- B.** Why did Marx and Engels not get their revolution? Why was 1848, in fact, the last serious revolution in Europe until 1917?
 - 1.** The hard times of the mid-1840s ended and the period of 1848 to 1871 saw full employment and unprecedented economic growth.
 - 2.** Full employment meant that workers were in high demand and, thus, could organize into unions that could bargain and strike.
 - 3.** Workers gradually received the vote, in 1848 in France and by 1918 in Britain.
 - 4.** Once workers got the vote, politicians seeking their support began to push reforms of working and living conditions.
 - a.** In France, Louis Napoleon censored the press and banned the writings of Victor Hugo, but he also pursued progressive social legislation, including encouraging the construction of affordable housing, eliminating slums, instituting large-scale public works projects, and improving credit facilities so that peasants could purchase land.
 - b.** In Britain, successive ministries from different parties vied with each other to see who could provide the most reform in similar areas.
 - c.** In most cases, this legislation was more impressive on paper than in practice because fines for offending factories and money for public housing and education were all low.
 - 5.** By the end of the 19th century, urged on by the German Socialist Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932), workers began to support their own Socialist political parties, dedicated to their own interests: building on predecessor organizations, the Social Democratic Party of Germany was legalized in 1890, the British Labour Party was founded in 1892, and the United Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste Unifié) came together in France during 1905–1906.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 23, section I; chapter 25, section II.

A. S. Lindemann, *A History of European Socialism*.

S. Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1.** Why did Owen's experiment work at New Lanark—and no where else?
- 2.** Why have the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels been so controversial?

Lecture Twenty-Seven

Descent of Man; Rise of Woman—1830–90

Scope: Industrialization was the material product of an age of advancing science. But science, with its emphasis on empirical evidence, reason, and experimentation, also revolutionized how Europeans thought. In so doing, it challenged fundamental beliefs, most dramatically in the form of Darwin's theories of evolution and natural selection. The social Darwinists applied Darwin's theories to human society to justify everything from the class system to imperialism. The beginnings of modern medical technology, especially in surgery, also began to extend life expectancies into the 50s. In the meantime, women began to demand the benefits of Enlightenment and industrialization in the form of higher education, professional opportunities, and the vote.

Outline

- I. For all the problems it created, the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution led to increased faith in science and what was seen to be its inevitable result: progress.
 - A. In *System of Positive Politics, or Treatise on Sociology* (1851–1854), Auguste Comte argued for Positivism: the belief that a scientific approach to all human problems and the careful accumulation and quantification of hard facts would produce accurate, “positive” laws for society.
 - B. At the end of the 18th century, new geologic findings and the discovery of strange fossils bearing no apparent relation to current animals and plants raised questions about the age of the Earth and how existing species came to be.
 1. A number of scientists offered preliminary answers along evolutionary lines.
 - a. Charles Lyell (1797–1875) established the modern science of geology, publishing *The Principles of Geology* in 11 revised editions between 1830–1870.
 - b. James Hutton (1726–1797) argued that contrary to the 6,000-year time frame established by Bishop James Usher (1581–1656), the Earth was immeasurably old.
 - c. Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829) developed an early theory of evolution in his *Zoological Philosophy* (1809) and *The Natural History of Animals Without Backbones* (1815 and 1822).
 2. Charles Darwin put it all together.
 - a. Trained as an M.D. and clergyman, in 1831–1836, Darwin signed on as the ship's botanist on the scientific expedition of HMS *Beagle* to the South American coast.
 - b. He was intrigued by the slight differences in living specimens between habitats and from the fossils he collected.
 - c. To explain these variations, he posited the theory of evolution by natural selection.
 - i. Scientists had believed in evolution for half a century.
 - ii. What was new was Darwin's suggestion, following Malthus's *Essay on Population*, that all nature was engaged in a great competition for survival.
 - iii. The winners of that competition would be those species, or examples of a species, that were best fitted to their environment, the acquisition of food, and other factors: survival of the fittest.
 - iv. In 1859, Darwin published his finding in *The Origin of Species*.
 - d. Darwin's ideas were rapidly accepted in the scientific world because they explained so much.
 - e. They caused controversy, though, in the wider world because they seemed to deny both the veracity of the biblical account of creation and agency for God in the natural world.
 - f. Some thinkers, known as Social Darwinists, applied the ideas of natural selection and survival of the fittest to humanity, concluding that history was the struggle of the strong against the weak for command of the Earth's resources.
 - i. In the view of Social Darwinists, the civilized, the powerful, and the wealthy were so because they were best fitted to win the struggle of human life.
 - ii. The uncivilized, powerless, and poor were nature's losers.
 - iii. Thus, Darwin and the theory of natural selection were used to justify racism, imperialism, classicism, and sexism.

- g. Most controversial of all was the implication articulated in *The Descent of Man* (1879) that if all nature evolved from a primitive state, surely so did man—from apes.
 - 3. Gregor Mendel, an Augustinian monk from Brno, Czechoslovakia, asked how Darwin's useful traits are passed on to the next generation.
 - a. Building on the work of 18th-century taxonomists, Mendel studied 28,000 pea plants for heredity and evolution.
 - b. These experiments led to the idea of genetic inheritance: inheritance by means of genes.
 - c. He published his work in 1866, but it made little impact until after 1900.
 - C. Far more immediately important to physical medicine were the discoveries of Louis Pasteur (1822–1895) and Robert Koch (1843–1910).
 - 1. Louis Pasteur was Professor of Chemistry at the University of Lille.
 - a. He studied the process of fermentation and identified microorganisms—bacteria—that sour wine.
 - b. He also came to understand how milk sours, developing the idea of pasteurization to kill bacteria.
 - c. His work led to the germ theory of disease.
 - d. Mocked at first, Pasteur's theories were gradually proved by his experiments on anthrax, rabies, septicemia, cholera, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and smallpox.
 - 2. Robert Koch developed these ideas further.
 - a. In the 1870s, he isolated the disease-causing agent in anthrax, thus demonstrating that Pasteur was right.
 - b. He developed techniques for working with infectious agents and infectious wounds, explaining how tetanus worked.
 - c. In 1882, he announced the isolation of the bacteria causing tuberculosis.
 - D. The period also saw new medical treatments and technologies.
 - 1. Surgical anesthesia was introduced in the 1840s.
 - 2. Joseph Lister developed antiseptics in 1865.
 - 3. At the end of the century, Roentgen developed x-rays.
- II. Questions about man's rank in the universe, along with women's increasing role in the workplace, contributed to a similar debate about gender.
- A. Feminism was not a new idea: European history is full of writers who had questioned the subordinate place of women.
 - 1. But the key figure in forcing the Enlightenment to confront feminism was Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), who published *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792.
 - a. She condemned the state of servile ignorance into which most women were consigned.
 - b. She asked, in Enlightenment fashion, why women should not be free to exercise their non-biological talents, as men did.
 - 2. John Stuart Mill extended these ideas in *On the Subjection of Women* (1869).
 - 3. Georges Sand (Amandine A.L.D. Dudevant) dressed in men's clothes, engaged in a series of affairs with prominent intellectuals, and wrote novels, letters, and memoirs, all celebrating her unconventional lifestyle.
 - 4. Early Socialists, including Saint-Simon (1760–1825) and Engels (1820–1825), also embraced the notion of female equality.
 - B. During the 19th century, public education was extended, and then made mandatory, for women in France and England.
 - C. But professional opportunities for women were limited because reformers passed laws restricting the work women could do on the grounds of protecting them and preserving jobs for men.
 - 1. Still, women were becoming a more common sight in the factory.
 - 2. Other fields associated with single women included teaching and secretarial work.
 - D. Perhaps the most important advances made by 19th-century women were in the areas of sex, marriage, and divorce.
 - 1. In most European countries, women were viewed as property and could not own their own property if married.
 - a. Women had no rights of divorce.

- b. There was no recognition of the possibility of marital rape.
 - c. Birth control was illegal.
 - 2. In England, Caroline Norton (1808–1877) campaigned for the right of women to initiate divorce proceedings.
 - 3. Josephine Butler (1828–1906) fought laws that discriminated against prostitutes yet made no attempt to punish their male clients.
 - 4. Annie Besant (1847–1933) campaigned for the right to distribute information on birth control.
 - 5. In the Netherlands, Aletta Jacobs (1854–1929) established the first birth control clinic in the 1880s.
 - E. During the 19th century, women’s suffrage was really only an issue in those countries where men had first achieved the vote, especially England and the United States. By the end of the century, two approaches to this issue had emerged.
 - 1. The National Society for Women’s Suffrage urged persuasion and peaceful protest.
 - 2. The Women’s Social and Political Union, led by Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928), urged violence if necessary.
- III. Evolution, feminism, Marxism, Romanticism, and liberalism all fed into the scintillating intellectual life of 19th-century Europe.**
- A. The arts were dominated by Romanticism and reactions to it.
 - B. But increasingly faced with the squalor of agricultural and working-class life, artists reacted against the idea of the Romantic hero and embraced Realism and Naturalism.
 - 1. In literature, Balzac (1799–1850), Flaubert (1821–1880), Zola (1840–1902), Dickens (1812–1870), Eliot (1819–1880), Hardy (1840–1928), Dostoevsky (1821–1881), Tolstoy (1828–1910), and Ibsen (1828–1906), among many others, took on controversial social topics, including working conditions, poverty, divorce, and belief.
 - 2. Painters, such as Courbet (1819–1877) and Millet (1814–1875), depicted agricultural and working-class life more realistically; the same could be said of the new technique of photography.
 - 3. In music, Realism manifested itself in the operas of Verdi (1813–1901), Leoncavallo (c. 1857–1919), and Puccini (1858–1924).
 - C. But music also embraced nationalism, traditional stories, and folk-tunes—from the operas of Wagner, to the *Hungarian Dances* of Brahms (1833–1897) and *Slavonic Dances* of Dvořák (1841–1904), to the ballets of Tchaikovsky (1840–1893).
 - D. The emphasis on reason and science may also be seen in a renewed interest in history based on primary evidence.
 - E. Associated with all these movements and beliefs was a growing secularization.
 - 1. In England, the Church of England remained established, but there was a growing culture of doubt.
 - 2. In France, the Church had never recovered the position lost in the French Revolution.
 - 3. In Germany, Bismarck launched a full scale *Kulturkampf* (“culture war”) against the Roman Catholic Church.
 - 4. Overall, church attendance declined for workers and peasants, and many urban Jews became secularized.
 - 5. As we saw in the case of evolution, conservatives bewailed these developments. The Roman Catholic Church, especially, mounted an active resistance to modern trends.
 - a. In 1864, Pope Pius IX issued the Syllabus of Errors, condemning virtually the whole of modern civilization.
 - b. In 1870, the First Vatican Council approved the doctrine of papal infallibility.
 - 6. But in 1878, a new pope, Leo XIII, began the process whereby the Church has come to terms with modernity. Perhaps the earlier pope’s hostility to modernity is understandable. He was one of many European rulers who lost power as a result of one of its hallmarks—nationalism—which we will discuss in the next lecture.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 25, section II; chapter 26, section I.

G. Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*.

R. J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation in Europe, America and Australia*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why have some religious groups found the ideas of Charles Darwin so disturbing?
2. Can it be argued that feminism has, in fact, changed more lives than liberalism, Romanticism, or socialism?

Lecture Twenty-Eight

Nationalism—1815–48

Scope: The Industrial Revolution was primarily a Northern and Western European phenomenon. Elsewhere, the big issue was nationalism. The failure of the Congress of Vienna to take the new forces of nationalism and liberalism into account led to revolutions across Europe throughout the next 30 years, in France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Greece, the German states, the Italian states, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Where those revolutions received the assistance of the middle class (France) or outside countries (Greece), they prospered. Otherwise, the forces of reaction were too strong.

Outline

- I. The period after the Congress of Vienna saw a marked attempt to turn the clock back on liberalism and nationalism.
 - A. The Congress of Vienna had been called into being by the Allied powers to solve the mess created by the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars.
 1. The Austrian foreign minister, Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859), and the British foreign minister, Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (1769–1822), agreed that France had to be contained but also preserved as a great power.
 2. The third architect of the Congress was the French foreign minister, Count Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand (1754–1838).
 3. All three were wily conservatives who feared liberalism and sought to preserve the *ancien régime* and European peace; their approach was to ring big countries with defensible borders by shuffling little countries around in defiance of nationalist sentiment.
 4. They restored the Bourbon monarchy in France (albeit constitutionally), Spain, and Naples.
 5. They then divided the rest of Europe up among the remaining great and lesser powers.
 6. The European state system devised by the Congress of Vienna worked for 99 years, but that does not mean that the people who lived under it were happy.
 - a. Monarchies were preserved and new liberal ideas coming out of France and England were repudiated.
 - b. Many people were ruled by governments of a different nationality and culture.
 - i. The Dutch ruled the Belgians.
 - ii. The Austrians ruled Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, some Poles, Rumanians, Serbs, Slovenes, Croats, and some Italians.
 - iii. Russians or Prussians ruled the rest of the Poles.
 - iv. The Russians also ruled Finns, Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians.
 - v. The Swedes ruled the Norwegians (albeit with plenty of autonomy).
 7. Only in France was some of the legacy of the French Revolution honored in a moderate constitution.
 - B. The Holy Alliance was formed by the five great powers to stave off the threat that liberalism and nationalism would once again erupt into revolution, bring down their *ancien régimes*, and break up their empires.
 1. Proposed by Czar Alexander I, the idea was that the great powers would rule their peoples with paternalistic Christian love as an antidote to godless democracy.
 2. If that did not work, the leaders of the five great powers would hold periodic conferences to discuss their differences and possible trouble brewing.
 3. If that did not work, and any of them suffered a liberal or nationalistic revolt, they would all rush to defend each other.
 4. Initially, this seemed to work.
 - a. In Spain and Portugal, Napoleon's liberal reforms were abolished.
 - b. In the Papal States, Pope Leo XII also abolished Napoleonic reforms, revived the Inquisition, and drove some Jews back into the ghetto.
 - c. In Russia, Prussia, and Austria, liberals were fined and imprisoned.

- d. In 1819, Prussia and Austria agreed to the Carlsbad Decrees, stifling freedom of expression in universities.
 - 5. But in the end, the Holy Alliance was not terribly realistic and early on lost the support of increasingly liberal regimes in Britain and France. Gradually, Europe split into a liberal West and a conservative South and East.
- II. If the period 1820–1848 was another age of revolutions in Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe, these were provoked equally by the increasingly respectable ideas of liberalism and nationalism and the increasingly harsh repression of the *ancien régime*.
 - A. Southern Europe experienced a series of revolutions in 1820–1823.
 - 1. In Spain, liberal intellectuals demanding a return to the Bonapartist Constitution of 1812 were suppressed by French troops.
 - 2. The revolution spread to Portugal and Italy, where it was suppressed by the Austrian army.
 - B. In Russia, the Decembrist Revolt against the conservative Czar Nicholas I failed in 1825.
 - 1. Nicholas I, pathologically fearful of reform, established a secret police, the Third Section, to spy on the opposition.
 - 2. The issues he deferred would erupt again in 1905 and 1917.
 - C. Revolutions in the Balkans and Greece (1817–1829) against the Ottoman Empire were more successful because they were supported by many Western European governments.
 - 1. In 1817, the Balkans and Greece were still controlled by the Ottoman Empire, which was well run and relatively tolerant but viewed in Europe as corrupt and oppressive.
 - 2. In 1817, the Serbs rebelled and gained their independence.
 - 3. In 1820, a Russian general of Greek descent led a Greek revolt against the Turks that failed when Metternich urged the czar not to support the rebellion.
 - 4. In 1821–1823, a second round of revolts began at the grassroots. Greek peasants killed Turks, and Turks retaliated by hanging the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, pillaging Greek Orthodox Churches, massacring thousands of men, and selling Greek women into slavery.
 - 5. This enraged Western public opinion. Greece was portrayed as the cradle of Western civilization, fighting barbarian occupiers.
 - 6. In 1827, a combined British, French, and Russian fleet defeated the Turkish navy at Navarino.
 - 7. In 1828, Russia advanced on Istanbul.
 - 8. In 1829, all parties signed the Treaty of Adrianople. Greece received its independence the following year, and Russia was appointed to “protect” the semi-independent provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, that is, western and eastern Romania.
 - 9. This arrangement would eventually lead to the Crimean War (1853–1856).
 - D. Revolutions elsewhere in 1830 only succeeded where great powers did not interfere.
 - 1. As we have seen, the French deposed Charles X and installed a moderately liberal constitutional monarchy under Louis-Philippe.
 - 2. From this point, the revolution spread to Belgium, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Poland, and Italy.
 - 3. But this wave of revolution was successful only in Belgium. The great powers, occupied with rebellions closer to home, acceded to Belgian independence on the promise of Belgian neutrality.
 - 4. Elsewhere, the revolutions were crushed by Russian and Austrian troops.
- III. The revolutions of 1848 were the most threatening of all: During one remarkable year, the entire continent west of the Elbe exploded in revolution.
 - A. All over Europe, the revolutions of 1848 were precipitated by bad harvests and declining economies.
 - B. The rebellions began, as usual, in France, on 22 February 1848.
 - 1. As we have seen, Louis-Philippe was deposed in favor of a republic under Louis Napoleon.
 - 2. This event touched off nationalistic/liberal revolutions elsewhere, except in Britain and Russia.
 - C. Liberals in German states revolted in March 1848 to create a single, liberal German state.
 - 1. But each important group in Germany wanted something different out of the revolution.

2. Above all, the revolutionaries could not decide at first whether the united Germany should be headed by Prussia or Austria.
 - a. Neither monarchy wanted a liberal constitution.
 - b. Neither monarchy was willing to accept second place.
 3. Delegates from all over Germany met in Frankfurt to try to hammer out these differences.
 4. After a year of debate, they offered a constitutional crown of Germany to Frederick William IV (1840–1861) of Prussia.
 5. But Frederick William, encouraged by the success of the Austrian emperor in suppressing the revolution in his own domain, refused any crown offered by the people.
- D.** In Italy, the *Risorgimento* (“resurgence,” that is, of Italian unity and greatness) was equally a movement to unite the country under a liberal constitution and, in this case, to drive the Austrians out of Venetia (Venezia).
1. Revolts began in Sicily in January 1848, where nationalists and liberals wanted the Bourbon monarchy to push for both national unification and a liberal constitution; the revolts then spread north to Venice.
 2. As in Germany, nationalists could not agree on who should lead Italy—Piedmont-Sardinia, Venetia (controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire), the pope, or the Two Sicilies—but their reactions to the *Risorgimento* made their decision for them.
 - a. Austria crushed the Venetian Revolt.
 - b. In the Two Sicilies, the government also suppressed a revolt.
 - c. The pope condemned the rebellion, then fled Rome.
 - i. Briefly, a Roman Republic was established under the radical nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini, supported by Giuseppe Garibaldi.
 - ii. But in 1849, the French intervened on the side of the pope and crushed the republic.
 - d. Only King Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia (1831–1849) embraced the *Risorgimento*.
 - i. He enacted a liberal constitution.
 - ii. He attempted to aid Venetian rebels but was defeated at the Battle of Novara by the Austrian army in 1849.
 3. Thus, the Revolution of 1848 failed in Italy, too.
- E.** In Austria-Hungary, the revolution sought independence for the constituent members of the empire, as well as liberal constitutions.
1. The revolution began in the spring of 1848 with simultaneous anti-Austrian riots in Venetia and Hungary, as well as student riots in Vienna.
 2. Austria’s corrupt government fled to Innsbruck; promising an elected parliament, an end of censorship, and Hungarian home rule.
 3. A National Assembly convened to draft a constitution, first passing the March Laws granting Hungary some self-government and abolishing the last vestiges of aristocratic privilege, feudalism, and serfdom.
 4. In Hungary, nationalist Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) proclaimed complete independence.
 - a. He abolished serfdom, thereby offending the landlords.
 - b. He offered nothing to Czechs, Serbs, Croats, and Rumanians.
 5. Gradually, the Austrian monarchy under a young, new emperor—Franz Josef (1848–1916)—reasserted itself.
 - a. He mobilized the army under Count Joseph Radetzky.
 - b. He gathered allies among the aforementioned groups pushed around by Kossuth.
 - c. Together, they crushed the rebellion in Italy, then Hungary.
 6. In 1849, the National Assembly was dissolved and an authoritarian constitution was imposed.
- F.** All across Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe, the old monarchies and aristocracies had reasserted themselves.
- IV.** The failure of these revolutions tells us six important things about Europe at this time.
- A.** First, liberalism, nationalism, and in France, socialism were important and, to some extent, viable movements in Central and Southern Europe.

- B. Second, the fact that the revolutions failed tells us that the *ancien régime* still had a great deal of residual strength.
 - 1. There was little unity on the other side. Different groups were attracted to one or another of these movements in varying degrees and for different reasons, but there was little revolutionary unity across national boundaries, as Marx had wanted.
 - 2. As in Britain and France previously, liberal intellectuals wanted government reform, universal manhood suffrage, and a free press. The middle class wanted government reform, the vote for itself alone, and economic equality. The working class wanted the vote and social welfare programs, and peasants wanted land. Yet none of these programs had a chance unless their backers were united.
- C. The third significant point about the Revolutions of 1848 was what happened to the radicals who advocated them.
 - 1. Many were proscribed in their own countries.
 - 2. Many emigrated to the United States, where they were instrumental in helping to form radical movements.
- D. Fourth, before the “liberal” issues could be solved, the national issues had to be solved. That is, before Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary could enact liberal constitutions, they had to sort out whether they would be countries. They had to go through the process that Britain and France had experienced from the Middle Ages to the 18th century.
- E. Fifth, given that unification would clearly come from the top down, it was highly doubtful that the result would be liberal democracies.
 - 1. In every case, the hopes for national unity began to focus on a king or great leader.
 - 2. As this implies, the champions of reform in 1848 had to grow less idealistic and more practical.
- F. Finally, it should be clear that German or Italian unification depended to a great extent on what happened in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. For once, the key to Europe’s future lay in the east and south.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 22, section I; chapter 24, section I.

H. Kissinger. *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812–22*.

P. Alter, *Nationalism*.

E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789 to 1848*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. On balance, was the Congress of Vienna a success or a failure?
- 2. Are nationalism and liberalism compatible?

Lecture Twenty-Nine

Nationalism—1848–71

Scope: Following the revolutions of 1848, Prussia and Piedmont-Sardinia rose to leadership of the German and Italian states, respectively. In the meantime, the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires grew weaker as many of their constituent peoples (Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians, Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, and others), especially in the Balkans, yearned to break out and form their own independent states. The creation of a unified Italy in 1861 did little to upset the balance of European power because its economy remained primarily agricultural. But the unification of Germany at the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, combined with its growing industrial might and the instability of Eastern and Southern Europe, would upset the balance of power on the Continent for generations to come.

Outline

- I. All across Europe, Germans, Italians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians, and others had, since Napoleon, begun to embrace the uniqueness of their own history, language, and culture and to argue that they needed to live in nations of their own.
 - A. For Germans, this meant national unification.
 - B. For the Italians and everybody else, it meant the removal of foreign occupiers, followed by national unification or independence.
 - C. In many ways, the key region for all of this was Central Europe, especially the Austro-Hungarian Empire, because its weakness would make German and Italian unification possible and render the Balkans unstable, thus making Russia and the Ottoman Empire players in this “great game.”
- II. The Austro-Hungarian Empire barely weathered the revolutions of 1848.
 - A. It did so by making concessions at first, followed by repression.
 - B. But the problems that led to 1848 did not go away.
 1. The Ottoman Empire continued to weaken, leading to independence movements and general instability in the Balkans.
 2. Austria’s failure to support Russia in the Crimean War against the Ottoman Empire (1853–1856) meant that Russia would not support Austria in holding onto its Slavic and Balkan territories.
 - a. Rather, Russia publicly supported the claims of ethnic Serbs, Hungarians, Rumanians, and others.
 - b. It secretly hoped to “move in” and become the next big imperial power in the Balkans.
 3. Austria’s response was tighter repression.
 - C. Austria’s obsession with its eastern and southern problems would divert it from the German and Italian questions, making unification possible in those two regions.
- III. After 1848, it was clear that Piedmont-Sardinia, under the Savoy dynasty, was the key to Italian unification.
 - A. Piedmont-Sardinia had stood up to Austria (albeit unsuccessfully) and retained its liberal constitution in 1848.
 - B. In 1852, King Victor Emmanuel II (1861–1878) named the extremely competent Count Camillo di Cavour (1810–1861) as first minister.
 1. He strengthened Piedmont-Sardinia against its Austrian rival.
 - a. He fostered the creation of a modern industrial and financial state.
 - b. He reformed and expanded the armed forces.
 - c. He secured the support of France in case of war with Austria.
 2. In 1859, Austria demanded that Piedmont-Sardinia stop its military build-up.
 - C. When the Italians refused, Austria invaded Piedmont-Sardinia.
 1. Napoleon III sent troops.
 2. The French forces defeated the Austrian army at Magenta and Solferino.
 - D. At this point, nationalists all over Italy rose in revolt against their conservative rulers.

1. The southern revolt, led by Giuseppe Garibaldi and his *Carbonari*, was especially successful.
 2. Fearing that Garibaldi might establish an Italian republic, Cavour ordered the Piedmontese army to march further south.
 3. But when the two armies met, Garibaldi knelt and submitted to Victor Emmanuel II as king of Italy.
- E. Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed king of Italy in March 1861.
1. Venezia remained officially Austrian until 1866.
 2. The pope disliked the new arrangement, and Rome remained under papal control until 1870.
 3. Liberals were disappointed: They wanted a republic.
- F. Contemporaries thought that the unification of Italy was an epochal event, reviving the Roman Empire.
- G. In fact, Italy's internal rivalries and relatively poor agricultural economy meant that its unification did not change greatly the balance of power in Europe.
- IV. In Germany, too, the weakness of Austria, the pretensions of Napoleon III, and the machinations of a great minister proved decisive.
- A. German nationalists were torn in attempting to decide whether Prussia or Austria should lead a unified Germany.
1. Austria-Hungary was the sentimental favorite.
 - a. It was already an empire, descended from the Holy Roman Empire, the first German Reich.
 - b. The Austrian government, though, was repressive, inefficient, corrupt, and obsessed with its eastern problems.
 - c. Its defeat by Piedmont-Sardinia in 1859 further damaged its prestige.
 2. Prussia had numerous advantages.
 - a. Its population was more homogenous.
 - b. Its government was efficient.
 - c. Its economy was strong in agriculture and industry.
 - d. Its army was the best trained in Europe.
 - e. Its chancellor from 1862 was the brilliant Otto von Bismarck.
- B. Arguably, the most significant European statesman of the 19th century, Bismarck believed that politics should be governed by practical considerations and realistic aims, that is, *Realpolitik*.
1. Bismarck's aim was to ensure Prussia's supremacy among the German states, especially in the north, but not to unite Germany—unification was instead the dream of the National Liberals.
 2. But Austria would not cooperate, attempting to subtly undermine Prussian influence with the north German states.
 3. Bismarck prepared for a showdown. He made an alliance with Russia, he favored Italy and France in disputes with Austria, and he engineered three wars as demonstrations that only the Prussian state could protect the interests of Germany.
- C. The first of these clashes, the Dano-Prussian War of 1864, began in a dispute with the Danes over the independence of Schleswig-Holstein.
1. In 1863, Denmark foolishly annexed Schleswig-Holstein.
 2. Both Prussia and Austria sent forces north, which handily defeated the overmatched Danes.
 3. The Peace of Vienna of 1864 gave Prussia and Austria joint responsibility for Schleswig-Holstein.
 4. This created tensions with Austria that would boil over into the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.
- D. Bismarck used disputes over the administration of Schleswig-Holstein as a pretext to send troops into Austrian Holstein, but the Austro-Prussian War was really about who was to lead Germany.
1. At the end of seven weeks, Prussia's more efficient military overwhelmed the Austrians.
 2. The Peace of Prague (1866) was relatively lenient, but it led to the establishment of the North German Confederation in 1867, which excluded Austria. Prussia and Bismarck had achieved their goal.
 3. After 1866, France grew alarmed at the growing might of Prussia.
 - a. Napoleon III had supported Bismarck in the hope that Austria and Prussia would destroy each other.
 - b. Instead, Prussia appeared to be reviving a strong German presence on the western border of France, which was very unpopular with the French people.

- c. To retrieve his prestige, Napoleon demanded German territory of Bismarck or, failing that, Belgium.
 - 4. Realizing that the French problem would not go away, Bismarck began preparations to fight France on Prussia's terms.
 - E. The Franco-Prussian War 1870–1871 was Bismarck's masterpiece.
 - 1. Bismarck maneuvered France into isolation and war.
 - a. First, he discredited Napoleon III by informing both the southern German states and Britain of his request for territory.
 - b. Then, he manufactured a pretext for war by proposing a member of the Prussian Royal House as the new king of Spain.
 - i. Spain needed a king because it was in the midst of a revolution against the Spanish branch of the Bourbons.
 - ii. The French were appalled at the thought of German rulers on two borders (sort of Louis XIV's dream in reverse!).
 - iii. When French diplomats attempted to get the Prussian king to renounce the Spanish throne for his nephew, Bismarck edited his answer (the Ems dispatch) so as to be insulting to the French.
 - iv. He then sent copies to the French papers.
 - v. The French people demanded war.
 - 2. As usual, Prussia's more efficient government, industrial might, and better trained army, allied with the south German states, beat the French in a matter of weeks.
 - 3. Napoleon III's defeat at Sedan was the end of the Second Empire, yet the war dragged on.
 - a. Liberals and Socialists proclaimed a new republic—the Third Republic—and immediately sought peace.
 - b. Bismarck insisted that France give up the rich western provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.
 - c. The French foreign minister, Jules Favre, tried to argue that the days of conquest and passing land around like poker chips were over, that seizing French provinces would permanently embitter the two countries.
 - d. Bismarck insisted, and the French resolved to fight on.
 - e. At this point, toward the end of 1870 and the beginning of 1871, the Germans surrounded Paris and lay siege to it.
 - f. On 28 January 1871, the French finally signed an armistice. The Peace of Frankfurt, worked out by May 1871, was harsh, breeding French feelings of humiliation and resentment that would contribute to future wars.
 - g. The fall of France weakened the new republic from its inception. The citizens of Paris proclaimed the Commune in 1871, which existed for two months as a self-governing communist entity. The government restored order after bloody street fighting.
 - F. Bismarck used the war and Prussia's victory as an argument that all Germans needed the protection of living in a single German Empire.
 - 1. On 18 January 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, all the German states, minus Austria, acknowledged the king of Prussia, Wilhelm I (1861–1871) as kaiser (emperor) of all Germany (1871–1888).
 - 2. This event changed the balance of power in Europe forever.
 - 3. Europe would spend a century adjusting to the new reality.
- V. The unification of Germany initiated a new epoch in Europe.
 - A. It created a state that was rich, powerful, and ambitious in its middle.
 - B. That was made more dangerous by the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Empire had not solved its nationalistic problems and was in a state of decay.
 - 1. The Ottoman Empire grew weaker.
 - 2. Russia was anxious to take advantage of the situation.
 - 3. What role would Germany play?

- C. Finally, in solving their nationalistic problems, neither Cavour nor Bismarck had concerned themselves overmuch with ethical or moral issues. Rather, international diplomacy and politics were decided by considerations of *Realpolitik* and expenditures of iron and blood.
1. Other old verities, such as French supremacy, German weakness, and British neutrality, were also swept away in the German tide.
 2. Could Europe adjust to the new rules? Could Europe contain this new colossus and its ruthless leadership?

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 24, sections II–III.

D. Beales, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*.

O. Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany: The Period of Unification, 1815–1871*.

M. Howard, *The Franco-Prussian War*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did contemporaries think that the unification of Italy was a momentous event?
2. How would a Germany united around Austria have been different from the one created by Bismarck?

Lecture Thirty

Imperial Rivalry—1870–1914

Scope: During the last years of the 19th century, the European powers, as well as the United States, sought new empires overseas, carving up most of Africa and much of the Pacific. They did so for economic, military, religious, and racist reasons. The raw materials flowing in from around the globe would fuel the second Industrial Revolution. But the resultant competition for colonies would breed conflict between nations that had no other reason to fight, contributing in the long run to World War I. Imperialism would also change forever the societies and cultures of both the conquerors and the conquered, colonizers and colonized peoples. We are still living with the long-term consequences of Western imperialism.

Outline

- I. For the half-century before 1870, imperialism was unfashionable or, at best, a low priority for the great states of Europe.
 - A. Liberalism seemed to argue against imperialism.
 1. Following Adam Smith and American independence, most European statesmen decided that they could profit from an overseas market or source of raw materials without the trouble and expense of governing or defending it.
 2. Following the French Revolution and the rise of reform movements in Britain and elsewhere, it was difficult to justify imperialistic domination of other peoples.
 - B. By 1830, Spain and Portugal had lost their overseas empires to independence movements.
 - C. France had lost most of its colonial empire as a result of the Seven Years' War and the Congress of Vienna.
 - D. Russia retained a vast empire in Eurasia but sold Alaska to the United States.
 - E. Only the Dutch and British retained large overseas empires.
 1. The Dutch retained Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and New Guinea.
 2. The British retained Canada, Cape Colony (South Africa), and a presence in India and Australia.
 - F. Only the United States, driven by the idea of Manifest Destiny, continued to expand its empire westward 1815–1870.
 - G. In Europe, nationalism further discredited the idea of empire.
- II. The revival of the empire after 1870 had five causes.
 - A. Economic reasons were paramount.
 1. It is true that the old mercantilist ideas of such men as Colbert had been exploded by Adam Smith.
 2. But that did nothing to stop *individual* Europeans from trying their luck abroad. In fact, the Smithian/laissez-faire doctrine of free trade encouraged it.
 3. These men rarely understood fully the cultures of foreign peoples and seem to have assumed that Western attitudes and Smith's natural economic laws prevailed everywhere.
 - a. They expected locals to allow them to buy and sell with minimal interference from local rulers or religious authorities.
 - b. They were often perceived by locals as ignorant, arrogant, and totally insensitive to native power structures or customs.
 4. Two examples serve to highlight this insensitivity.
 - a. In the late 17th century, the British began importing tons of Chinese tea, but they had nothing of comparable value to sell to the Chinese, resulting in a trade imbalance.
 - i. The one exception was opium, grown cheaply by the British in India, although outlawed in China. The resultant smuggling trade reversed the imbalance of trade for Britain but increased the problem of addiction for China.
 - ii. In March 1839, Chinese officials confiscated British opium at the docks, leading to the first Opium War.

- E. Finally, failing all else, by the 1880s, the great powers of Europe were acquiring colonies because they could, because national prestige was measured by the extent of a nation's overseas empire, and because they did not want to be left out.

III. How far did the great European powers extend their dominion?

- A. We have seen how, in order to protect its route to India, the British moved first into South Africa and the Indian Ocean, then into northern and eastern Africa, Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, and Uganda. By 1900, the British Empire included one-quarter of the world's land mass and one-fifth of the world's people.
 - 1. All these places supplied raw materials for the juggernaut of British industry.
 - 2. All provided bases for and were guarded by the Royal Navy.
 - 3. In addition, the British invested heavily in Japan, China, Turkey, the United States, and Central and South America.
 - 4. Wealthy Britons made the world their playground, traveling as explorers, scientists, tourists, and expatriates.
 - 5. They gave the world new words (*raj*, *Cook's tour*, *posh*) and sports (lawn tennis, rugby, football, squash, and cricket).
- B. France resurrected its empire in the 1830s, conquering much of northern and western Africa, but Britain's colonies were far more lucrative.
 - 1. In a strange example of French ambition, Napoleon III attempted and failed to establish a puppet French regime in Mexico under Archduke Maximilian of Austria.
 - 2. The French also acquired Asian and Pacific holdings.
- C. Germany only established its empire in East Africa, after unification in 1871.
- D. Italy, also a late starter, concentrated almost totally in the poorest parts of Africa.
- E. Finally, Belgium's King Leopold II (1865–1909) was given control of the Belgian Congo and its lucrative rubber trade at the Congress of Berlin of 1884.
 - 1. The Belgian Congo was, perhaps, the most brutal of the imperialistic regimes.
 - 2. The native population was exploited ruthlessly, at a cost of 5–10 million lives.

IV. Setting aside for the moment the question of whether Europeans had any right to be there, let us survey the effects of imperialism.

- A. An optimist would argue that European imperialists brought European religion and philosophy, science and medicine, technology, economic development, and rule of law.
- B. In contrast, a pessimist would point out a legacy of bigotry and cultural insensitivity, economic exploitation, pollution, and the destruction of natural environments.
- C. By their interference, Europeans ensured that native cultures missed out on 200 years of their own growth and interaction.
- D. Although Europeans certainly brought many good things, one would be hard pressed to argue that most of them, the missionaries apart, did so for altruistic reasons.
 - 1. The infrastructure Europeans established was designed for extraction of raw materials, not local development. Further, the beneficiaries of this extraction were overwhelmingly European.
 - 2. Tribalism and corruption were ways for native peoples to resist and cope, and have left their own bitter legacy of bloodshed and poverty in Africa to this day.
 - 3. These facts do not absolve native peoples completely in their own demise.
 - a. Local African and Indian rulers, having no sense of nationalism, often engaged in their own brutal tribal warfare and slavery.
 - b. They cooperated with Europeans for their own particular advantage.
- V. What was the significance of imperialism for World War I? European imperialism inspired rivalries and conflicts among nations that would not have otherwise shared borders nor had reason to clash.
 - A. During the 1870s–1880s, for example, the British and French clashed constantly along the Gold Coast and the Sudan. In the 1890s, Germany encouraged a revolt of the Dutch Boer settler population against British rule in South Africa.

- B. In the Middle East, a crumbling Ottoman Empire left a vacuum into which the great powers of Europe wanted to insert themselves: Russia, hoping to expand south, fought the Crimean War in 1853–1856 against Britain, France, Piedmont-Sardinia, and the Ottoman Empire.
- C. Russia’s advance into the Far East led to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905.
- D. The scramble for naval bases in the Pacific led to disputes over the Samoan Islands.
- E. In 1898–1899, the United States dramatically raised its Pacific presence by taking the Philippines from Spain; this would later lead to tensions with Japan.
- F. All these conflicts added to the reasons that European powers had for suspicion of and hostility toward their neighbors. Imperial addiction would be the first of the long-term causes of the Great War.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 25, sections III–IV.

D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century*.

V. G. Kiernan, *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse, 1815–1960*.

N. Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*.

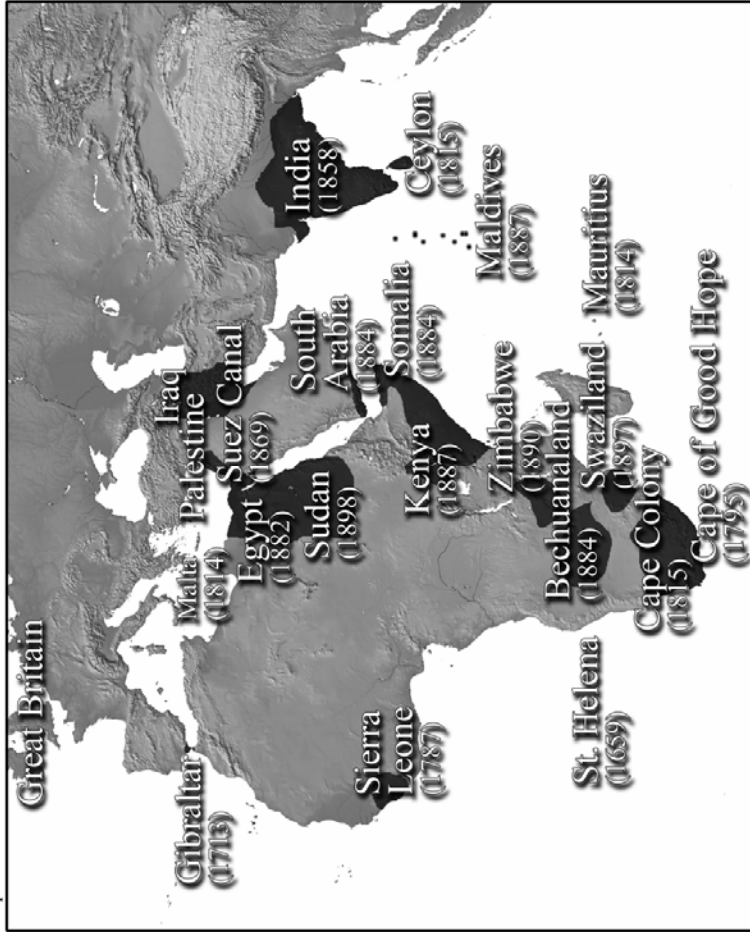
Questions to Consider:

1. How did the drive for empire fit with other 19th-century movements: liberalism, feminism, the new science, and so on?
2. To what extent are the possibilities and problems of the modern world a product of 19th-century European imperialism?

The British Empire Expands

Route to India

Map 30a



Lecture Thirty-One

Industrial Rivalry—1870–1914

Scope: Between 1870 and 1914, Europe experienced a second Industrial Revolution. For most people, its immediate result was a cornucopia of new products and opportunities that expanded possibilities for communication, entertainment, travel, leisure, and individual expression. On an international level, the last years of the 19th century saw the emergence of two new industrial giants to challenge Great Britain: Germany and the United States. The rivalry with Germany created tensions that helped to frame World War I. European imperial and industrial rivalries spilled over into an arms race between Great Britain and Germany. Germany's decision to build a navy to challenge the long-time maritime supremacy of the British not only exacerbated tensions between the two greatest military powers on Earth but also nearly bankrupted their treasuries.

Outline

- I. The period 1870–1914, during which Europe was adjusting to the rise of Germany and acquiring new territories overseas, also coincided with what some historians have called the second Industrial Revolution.
 - A. This period began to exploit new sources of fuel and energy, including oil and electricity.
 1. Fuel would power ships and automobiles.
 2. Energy made possible:
 - a. Telegraphy by mid-century.
 - b. The telephone in 1876.
 - c. A raft of inventions by Thomas Edison, including the phonograph (1877), the electric light (1879), and the motion picture camera (1889).
 - d. The perfection of the use of radio waves by Guglielmo Marconi in 1895.
 - B. The manufacture and marketing of these inventions were facilitated by ever greater amounts of liquid capital.
 - C. This period saw the rise of great multinational corporations, such as Standard Oil, Woolworth's, Armstrong-Whitworth, Singer, and Westinghouse.
 - D. Total productivity trebled during this period.
 - E. But in the short run, that increase did not translate into economic stability.
 1. Beginning with a massive worldwide depression in 1873, the period saw periodic boom and bust cycles, mainly due to overproduction.
 2. During gluts, prices and wages fell, resulting in increased unemployment and bitter strikes.
- II. For the most part, however, the developments of the second Industrial Revolution made people's lives better.
 - A. Agriculture was revolutionized by mechanical reapers and threshers and refrigeration. Rail transport enabled fresh food to be brought to the cities. By 1850, famine was a thing of the past in developed countries.
 - B. As we have seen, advances in medicine, hygiene, and sanitation also made inroads into cholera, tuberculosis, smallpox, typhus, and typhoid, leading to longer life spans.
 - C. During the 19th century, the population of Europe grew from 190 million to 423 million.
 1. Millions of European migrants swelled the populations of North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.
 2. In Europe, millions moved to cities seeking economic opportunities.
 - D. What was life like for the new urban dwellers?
 1. The mid-19th century saw a great rebuilding of the capital cities of Europe. These cities were now filled with parks and green space, along with wider streets.
 2. Great buildings were erected, sometimes, as with the government ministries built in London and Berlin, to express the power of the state. The 19th century was also a great age for the construction of public museums, opera houses, and department stores.

3. Street lighting enhanced the safety of the urban environment.
 4. Perhaps even more important was modern plumbing. European cities began to tackle sewage disposal, and water filtration was seen as a civic responsibility. By the end of the century, running water in taps, backyard outhouses, and flush toilets in the homes of the wealthy were commonplace.
 5. Also by the end of the century, Western Europe was crisscrossed with rail lines, making it possible to ship goods long distance and travel into the country.
- III.** New technology resulted in the growth of bureaucracy; it was now possible for governments to monitor, police, and educate the masses.
- A.** The 19th century saw the first systematic censuses in Britain, France, and the United States, all of which facilitated government planning.
 - B.** Income taxes for non-military purposes were first adopted in the mid-19th century. [**Correction:** the lecture incorrectly stated, “In 1860, Sweden introduced the first income tax.” Income taxes actually appeared in more than one country, though not in Sweden, before 1860.]
 - C.** Governments contributed to an increasing professionalization of society by establishing state schools.
 1. In 1847, Piedmont-Sardinia established a state education system, which it extended to Italy in 1861.
 2. During the period 1879–1881, the French minister of education began a reform program that included free, compulsory, secular, and coeducational schools for each village.
 3. In Britain, the Education Act of 1870 mandated the creation of public schools.
 - D.** At the same time, British economic growth was slowing down.
 1. Britain’s gross national product (GNP) 1820–1850 grew 3.5 percent; during the period 1870–1914, by 2.2 percent.
 2. In 1870, Britain produced half of the world’s steel; by 1880, Britain produced one-third; and by 1902, one-seventh.
 3. In 1870, Britain controlled 41 percent of the world’s trade; by 1914, 30 percent.
 - E.** Britain began to slow down just as industrial Germany and the United States were growing by leaps and bounds.
 1. The GNPs of Germany and the United States increased nearly 5 percent a year during this period.
 2. Germany surpassed Britain in steel production in 1893; by 1914, it was making twice as much.
 3. By 1914, Germany and the United States handled nearly as much trade as the British.
 4. Finally, most of the life-changing inventions noted earlier in this lecture were American.
 - F.** This apparent shift in Britain’s economic position versus the rest of the world, especially Germany’s, helps to explain some of the international tensions described in the previous lecture.
 - G.** Britain began to decline relative to Germany and the United States, in part because other countries were bound to catch up sometime.
 - H.** But the British also made crucial errors.
 1. British science education lagged behind Germany, especially in engineering.
 2. British factory owners often failed to reinvest in their firms to keep their factories and research and development operations up to date.
 3. They also relied too much on the British Empire as a protected market where they could always dump inferior, obsolescent products.
 4. They grew overextended militarily and began to pour more and more of their research, national capital, and energy into an arms race first with, first, France, then, after 1871, with Germany.
- IV.** These arms races were another long-term cause of the Great War.
- A.** Historians debate whether arms races are necessarily causes for war, but building an arsenal does seem to make war more possible and more thinkable.
 - B.** An arms race also implies a certain amount of provocation, almost forcing competitors to see each other as hostile and to begin to cast about for allies.
 - C.** This is why Bismarck, in particular, was adamant that Germany should never build a large navy—precisely because it would upset the British and cause them to look for support.
 1. Britain was a naval power whose traditional rival was France.

2. The British had been supreme at sea since Nelson's victory at Trafalgar in 1805.
 3. Throughout the 19th century, Britain had pursued a policy of "splendid isolation" toward Europe, concentrating on its empire and building a Royal Navy that was bigger than any two navies combined.
 4. Germany was a land power whose traditional rivals were France and Russia.
 5. Prussia, then Germany, had traditionally poured wealth into the army.
- D. In the 1890s, a new kaiser, Wilhelm II (1888–1918), dismissed Bismarck and began to build a navy.
- E. This action naturally alarmed the British, who wondered why a land power in Central Europe needed warships.
1. In 1906, the British produced a new, faster, heavier gunned battleship called H.M.S. *Dreadnought*.
 2. When the Germans responded in kind, the naval race escalated to a new level.
- F. Dreadnought-type battleships became the ICBMs of their day. National wealth and prestige were measured in the number of dreadnoughts a nation had.
1. By 1914, the British had built 21 dreadnought battleships to form the Grand Fleet.
 2. The Germans had built 14, forming the backbone of the High Seas Fleet.
 3. Both navies now trained incessantly for what the Germans referred to as "*der Tag*"—a second Trafalgar in which one side or the other would establish naval supremacy once and for all.
- G. In fact, by 1914, the great powers were stockpiling not just battleships but ammunition, artillery, rifles, machine guns, and men to build vast armies.
- V. Indeed, as the 20th century dawned, it began to seem inevitable that, after nearly a century of peace, Europe would once again explode into war.
- A. The only hope to prevent the explosion and preserve the peace in Europe was a system of alliances originally established by Otto von Bismarck for this purpose.
 - B. Thanks to the machinations of his kaiser, that alliance system would instead provide the final spark necessary to light the fuse.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 24, section III; chapter 25, sections I–II.

A. S. Milward and S. B. Saul, *The Development of the Economies of Continental Europe, 1850–1914*.

M. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980*.

R. K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why was it the Germans, not the French, who became the great continental industrial power?
2. Why, exactly, did nations pour so much money and effort into having dreadnought battleships?

Lecture Thirty-Two

The Alliance System—1872–1914

Scope: In theory, the one thing preventing nationalistic and economic tensions from exploding into full-scale European war was the Alliance System, a series of interlocking treaties devised by Otto von Bismarck to ease tensions over the Balkans. But, by the first years of the 20th century, Britain, France, and Russia felt sufficiently threatened by Germany, Austria, and Italy's Triple Alliance to form the Triple Entente. By dividing Europe into two interconnected armed camps, the Alliance System ensured that nearly any international incident had the potential to start a war. As a result, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Bosnian-Serb terrorist in the late summer of 1914 led to a chain reaction of accusation and mobilization that resulted in the First World War.

Outline

- I. The Alliance System dated back to the 1870s and was, essentially, the creation of Otto von Bismarck.
 - A. To understand his rationale, it is necessary to turn back the clock from the tensions of the 1890s and 1910s, to the days after Germany's unification in 1871.
 1. After the unification of Germany in 1871, Bismarck saw Germany as a "satiated power," that is, a country with no further territorial ambitions.
 2. Bismarck knew that the only real threat to Germany was a vengeful France.
 3. The cornerstone of German foreign policy under Bismarck was to make sure that France had no friends.
 4. Bismarck achieved this goal for 20 years.
 - a. He formed the Triple Alliance with Italy and Austria in 1882.
 - b. He refrained from building a navy to avoid threatening the British.
 - c. He established the Three Emperors' League.
 - B. The Three Emperors' League was built on Bismarck's lenient peace with Austria in 1866.
 1. The Austrians felt that their chief rival in Eastern Europe was Russia.
 - a. Austria wanted to hang onto its Eastern and Slavic territories.
 - b. Russia assumed the role of "protector" of the Slavic peoples and Orthodox faith.
 2. Bismarck used his prestige and good reputation with the Austrians to act as a go-between, engineering the Three Emperors' League in 1872.
 3. Thanks to Bismarck's diplomacy, a series of crises in the Balkans was "solved," usually in favor of the Austrians.
- II. Kaiser Wilhelm II, who succeeded to the German throne in 1888, was a swaggering, impulsive braggart.
 - A. Wilhelm pursued an expansive foreign policy.
 1. In 1890, Wilhelm fired Bismarck.
 2. He then launched a tariff war against Russia.
 3. In 1892, he reaffirmed the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy but left Russia out in the cold.
 - B. Russia in the 1890s was just as lonely as France.
 1. Wilhelm was not worried by the isolation because France was a revolutionary republic and Russia, an absolutist autocracy.
 2. But in January 1894, France and Russia swallowed their differences and formed a defensive alliance.
 3. Similarly, Great Britain, feeling the pressure from the naval race and the German economy, began to cast about for alliances.
 - a. In 1902, the British signed an alliance with Japan.
 - b. In 1904, Britain signed the Entente Cordiale with France, promising mutual assistance if either was attacked,
 - c. In 1907, Britain, France, and Russia signed the Triple Entente, enlarging the circle of mutual assistance.
 4. Wilhelm had engineered a diplomatic revolution.

- C. Still, a general European war was not inevitable.
 1. These alliances were defensive and would not come into effect unless one country was attacked.
 2. But this system ensured that if any country was attacked, all powers would have to join in.
 3. All this powder keg needed was a spark.
- III.** That spark came from the Balkans in the summer of 1914, when Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife, Sophie, paid a state visit to Sarajevo, the provincial capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- A. Bosnia-Herzegovina and its neighbors, Serbia and Croatia, had long formed an area of tension in the Balkans.
 1. For centuries, these lands were ruled by the Ottoman Empire.
 2. Bosnia was home to a bewildering array of ethnic and religious groups, in particular, Catholic Croats, Sunni Muslim Slavs, and Orthodox Christian Serbs.
 3. During the 19th century, the Bosnian Muslim nobility repeatedly rebelled against the Ottoman Empire when it had tried to enforce more direct control.
 4. An 1875 revolt caused an international crisis, leading to the occupation of Bosnia by Austria. This solution was guaranteed to be unpopular.
 - a. Bosnian Muslims revolted, though they later accommodated themselves to Austrian rule because of its relative tolerance.
 - b. Catholic Croats were happy to be part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but they wanted to be annexed by the province of Croatia, then administered from Hungary.
 - c. Bosnian Serbs were most upset of all. They wanted independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire; their dream was to join independent Serbia.
 5. Serbia agreed to this last proposition and encouraged Bosnian Serbs to reject Austrian rule and join a “Greater Serbia.”
 - a. In 1908, Austria-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in an attempt to squelch this movement.
 - b. In 1911, a group of Serbian ministers and army officers responded by forming a secret terrorist organization known as the Black Hand.
 - B. Franz Ferdinand’s visit to Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 was an attempt to defuse some of this tension.
 1. He brought a peace plan allowing Bosnia some autonomy from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
 2. But the Black Hand, with the knowledge of the Serbian government, planned his assassination.
 - C. After a failed early-morning attempt to kill Franz Ferdinand and Sophie with a bomb, they were gunned down in their touring car by an assassin named Gavrilo Princip.
- IV.** The path to war was paved by the assassination of the royal couple.
- A. Austria immediately blamed Serbia.
 1. It seemed an easy matter for Austria, with its army of 9 million men, to teach Serbia a lesson.
 2. But if Austria attacked Serbia, Russia, as protector of the Slavic peoples, would then attack Austria with its army of 13 million.
 - B. On 2 July 1914, Austria consulted its ally, Germany.
 1. If Wilhelm II had urged restraint, he might have stopped the madness.
 2. Instead, abiding by the Triple Alliance and believing that German emperors should stand up against Slavic aggression, he issued “The Blank Check,” that is, a pledge to back Austria with the German army of 13 million men and navy of 23 dreadnoughts.
 - C. The Alliance System now triggered a sequence of agreements that plunged all of Europe into war.
 1. On 23 July 1914, Austria-Hungary sent an ultimatum to Serbia demanding an Austro-Serbian commission to investigate the murder.
 2. Urged by Russia and Britain, Serbia agreed to most of the Austrian demands but with qualifications
 3. Austria-Hungary deemed the Serbian reply unsatisfactory and declared war on 28 July 1914.
 4. Russia, rushing to Serbia’s defense, mobilized its army against Austria on 29 July.
 5. Germany, in defense of Austria, declared war on Russia on 1 August.
 6. France, in defense of Russia, informed Germany that it would stand by its alliance.

7. At this point, Italy should have declared war on Russia and France, and Britain on Germany and Austria, but both hesitated.
 - a. The Italians failed to see this as their fight, eventually joining the Allies in 1915.
 - b. The British also hesitated, missing a chance to bring Wilhelm to his senses with an unequivocal threat of war.
 8. On 4 August, the Germans invaded Belgium on their way to France.
 9. The British declared war on 6 August 1915 in defense of Belgian neutrality.
 - D. The Great War had begun. By the time it was over, 11 million people would be dead and four great empires would be destroyed. The balance of power in Europe and the world would be changed forever.
- V. The most remarkable thing about the whole disaster is that people embraced the war enthusiastically in the summer of 1914.
- A. Cheering crowds filled the great public squares of all the capitals of Europe.
 - B. Thousands of young men, cheered on by thousands of young women, enlisted.
 - C. Why did the people of Europe embrace the war that would destroy so many of them and so much of their civilization?
 1. Many people seem to have felt relief that the rivalries of the past half-century would finally be settled.
 2. Thanks to the embrace of nationalism, each member of each of those cheering crowds was convinced that his or her nation, culture, and form of government was superior to, yet under attack from, all the others.
 3. Neither the government ministers, nor the generals, nor their respective peoples had any idea what a modern, 20th-century war would be like.
 - a. The last general European war had ended in 1815.
 - b. What people remembered about it was the splendid uniforms and dashing cavalry charges.
 - c. The only men with war experience had fought in colonial wars in which the enemy had no access to European technology.
 4. Finally, many Europeans thought that the war would be a noble, uplifting endeavor, distracting them from internal social strife and curing their turn-of-the-century malaise.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 27, section I.

N. Stone, *Europe Transformed, 1878–1919*.

J. Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How dependent was Bismarck's Alliance System on the skills of a single man?
2. What actions taken in 1914 might have prevented war?

Lecture Thirty-Three

Decadence & Malaise—circa 1900

Scope: The Great War was greeted by cheering crowds and floods of volunteers in all the great capitals of Europe. Why did so many young men rush so enthusiastically into the chaos of war? Many were inspired by nationalism and patriotism, but others fled a stagnant economy and a society and culture in flux. As Nietzsche and other philosophers questioned ancient beliefs about God, scientists, such as Freud and Einstein, revolutionized our understanding of the human self and the universe. Writers, artists, and musicians broke old structural and narrative conventions, and women demanded votes in the streets. As a result, many conservatives and liberals looked to the war to clarify issues one way or another.

Outline

- I. In October 1914 a young British naval officer named Rupert Brooke penned a poem called “Peace” after assisting in the evacuation of Antwerp. The poem seems to welcome war as a rite of purification.
 - A. Like so many men who joined up in 1914, Brooke would, in fact, be dead by the following spring—a victim of blood poisoning while in transit to the Mediterranean theater. Why did he, and many others, anticipate the coming war so eagerly?
 - B. As the new century dawned, Europeans faced new social problems on top of seemingly insoluble old ones; new solutions or, at least, diagnoses; a revolution in how they thought about society, the individual, the self, and sexuality and gender; and concomitant revolutions in relations between the genders and in art and culture.
 - C. Many were uncomfortable with these challenges. To them, the coming of war seemed a blessed relief, providing a clear sense of purpose, a clear moral issue, a chance to serve, and a chance to ignore the troubling new developments at home.
- II. By 1914, what was left of the *ancien régime* seemed to be crumbling everywhere.
 - A. In industrial nations, the middle class was on the rise, while old aristocracies felt increasingly threatened or marginalized.
 1. No government could make policy without the aid and advice of industrialists or financiers.
 2. Workers’ parties were gaining seats in Germany and elsewhere.
 3. The 1890s had seen a wave of anarchist violence and assassinations of heads of states.
 - B. At the same time, the problems of poverty and the claims of the working class remained very real and threatened those at the top.
 1. In 1911, the British Liberal Party introduced the People’s Budget, designed to provide national insurance for workers.
 2. When the aristocracy in the House of Lords balked at the increase in their taxes, the government introduced the Parliament Act of 1911, effectively ending the power of the Lords to stop legislation from the Commons.
 - C. The fight for gender equality and, in particular, the vote for women was also destroying old traditions.
 1. As capitalism became more systematic, and especially during periods of depression in the 1870s and 1890s, many families, even in the middle class, found that they needed two incomes.
 2. By the early years of the 20th century, women’s suffrage became a major issue in Britain, with violent public demonstrations.
 3. The war was a great relief to those who did not want to deal with these gender issues.
 4. But because World War I would be a total war, women would be enlisted in it as nurses and factory workers.
 5. When the war was over, women would demand the vote all the more insistently, and the British government would give in.
- III. The period was also marked by religious and philosophical contention.
 - A. By the late 19th century, religion seemed to be in full retreat.

1. Older monarchical states, such as Britain and Russia, still had established religions.
 2. But elsewhere, in such republics as France and new monarchies, including Germany and Italy, the Church was disestablished.
 3. Jews remained second-class citizens in most European states.
 - a. In Austria, Karl Lueger founded the Christian Social Party [**note**: not Christian Socialist Party] and got elected mayor of Vienna in 1895 on a program of anti-Semitism.
 - b. In France, a Jewish army officer named Alfred Dreyfus was accused in 1893 of sending French military secrets to the German embassy, but beginning in 1896, evidence emerged that Dreyfus had been framed by fellow officers.
 - c. Dreyfus was pardoned in 1899, and in 1905, a liberal government passed legislation to separate Church and state even more profoundly.
 4. Even where Church and state were united, there was a general waning of religious life in the 19th century.
 5. Among the middle and upper classes, religion came to be seen as irrational, barbaric, or quaint.
- B.** German philosophers, in particular, questioned the notion of God.
1. Immanuel Kant had sought to build a moral system on pure reason.
 2. Hegel and Marx argued for historical processes that, like natural ones, had nothing to do with the hand of God.
 3. Arthur Schopenhauer argued that the world was driven by either will or idea.
 4. Friedrich Nietzsche argued for the preeminence of will.
 - a. He found religion hypocritical, a series of lies purported on an unwitting and uncritical public.
 - b. He believed that, in effect, God was dead as a concept for serious discussion or as a force to give meaning to life.
 - c. Rather, he believed that real accomplishment was possible only for the *Übermensch*, or Superman, an individual of supreme will and boldness, unbound by tradition or morality.
 - d. It is easy to see why Nietzsche is often blamed for Adolf Hitler and the Nazis and the modern cult of personality.
 - e. Friedrich Nietzsche eventually went mad; at the end of the 19th century, psychologists began to probe what that meant.
- C.** Early psychology had grown out of religion and philosophy, assuming a split between mind and body, body and soul. It further assumed that the mind was the province of rationality.
1. Sigmund Freud developed the theory of the unconscious mind.
 2. According to Freud, the human mind is a constant battleground among subconscious forces.
 3. From these theories developed the modern fields of clinical psychology and psychiatry.
 4. Perhaps even more important, Freud's work led to a new understanding of the human self as driven and stymied by natural forces beyond his or her complete control.
- D.** Albert Einstein, working in Germany just after the turn of the century, equally destabilized the view that man is the master of his universe.
1. In 1905, he proposed the theory of relativity, which upset Newtonian certainties by arguing that mass could be converted into energy.
 2. This theory would eventually make possible the atomic bomb.
 3. The more immediate implication of Einstein's theory of relativity is that if the speed of light is constant, then at extreme speeds, time and space warp. They do not behave in the unchanging fashion of the Newtonian universe.
- E.** Later, Werner Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle (1927) asserted that the very act of measurement changes the thing being measured.
- F.** Niels Bohr's atomic theory revived an old Greek theory that matter is not solid but composed of atoms in constant motion.
- G.** The greatest sociologist at the turn of the century, the Frenchman Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), argued that communities were fragile sets of shared values and norms, not places.
1. When those norms broke down—for example, when an individual's economic situation forced him or her to move to a city—the result was alienation from the community, or *anomie*.

2. Durkheim saw *anomie* as very much symptomatic of modern life: It explained suicide, which is the subject of his most famous work.
- H. What all this meant to the general public at the turn of the 20th century was that nothing was certain or solid; there was no fixed point from which truth could be measured accurately.
1. Instead, everything was in constant motion and strife.
 2. Physical reminders of this included the express train, the automobile, and after 1903, the airplane.
- IV. On the cultural front, by 1914, Realism was evolving into Modernism.
- A. The writers of the late 19th century reacted to the ideas from science and philosophy and propelled them into the general consciousness.
1. Thomas Hardy addressed social problems and challenged old verities, including God's interest in humanity.
 2. Henry James depicted a ruthless world clothed in the delicate sensibilities and impeccable manners of the transatlantic rich.
 3. Oscar Wilde used his wit to smash social convention, as well as the popular notion that art exists to teach us a lesson.
 4. James Joyce, whose novels pioneered stream-of-consciousness narrative technique, attacked the verities of Irish life while exploring the internal workings of the human psyche.
 5. Marcel Proust, another deeply psychological writer, described the physical and mental life of a gentleman in the minutest detail in the 16-volume *Remembrance of Things Past*.
- B. In painting, Impressionism, as we have seen, broke from the idea that art should portray the thing itself; rather, art was increasingly about the point of view of the artist.
1. Impressionists, such as Renoir and Monet, emphasized the momentary play of light and shade.
 2. Van Gogh invested his subjects with psychological intensity, revealing a tortured inner self.
 3. Some painters, such as the Russian-born Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), went further, eventually abandoning the portrayal of natural objects and expressing their emotions through abstract forms.
 4. Pablo Picasso explored a huge variety of approaches, exploding basic conventions and showing his subjects from many angles at once.
- C. Music also broke from Romanticism into Modernism and fragmentation.
1. Wagner, the dominant composer of the 19th century after Beethoven, was also a musical revolutionary in his use of chromaticism and *leitmotifs* (themes) to represent persons, things, and even the thoughts of characters.
 2. Claude Debussy explored chromaticism further, using triads to create moods, not stories, in the musical equivalent of painting's Impressionism.
 3. Gustav Mahler wrote 10 gigantic symphonies, each with a different answer to the meaning in life, found through a different philosophy.
 4. The New Vienna School saw the logical development of the German tradition as always moving toward greater dissonance, greater freedom from tonality.
 5. In Russia, Igor Stravinsky believed in a music that was almost pure rhythm, devoid of Romantic storytelling and celebrating raw, animal energy.
- V. It could be argued that the crowds that cheered the coming of war were reacting against all of these things.
- A. Many hated this new godless, themeless, sordid view of life as an animalistic struggle for raw power and existence.
- B. The irony is, of course, that the men who marched away from this society and off to what they thought was an ennobling crusade, would actually end up proving Darwin, Marx, Nietzsche, and others right.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapters 26 and 28, section I.

H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890–1930*.

C. Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment and Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France*.

R. Wohl, *The Generation of 1914*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What factors make war thinkable?
2. As the 20th century dawned, what elements of the *ancien régime* were still in place?

Lecture Thirty-Four

The Great War Begins—1914–16

Scope: Germany had long realized that its geographic and diplomatic position would necessitate a war on two fronts. The Schlieffen Plan had been designed years before to knock France and Britain out of the war quickly to enable the German army to concentrate on Russia. But the unexpectedly rapid mobilization of Russia in 1914, combined with the determined resistance of French forces at the Battle of the Marne, resulted in the failure of the Schlieffen Plan, dooming Europe to a bloody stalemate. The new inventions of the second Industrial Revolution, in particular the machine gun, gave the defensive side all the advantages in the Great War. Because most commanders had no understanding of the new technology, they repeatedly ordered their men “over the top” into a hail of machine gun bullets. The result was a bloody stalemate in which the armies of Europe rotted in the trenches between futile attacks.

Outline

- I. The Schlieffen Plan, which had its roots in Kaiser Wilhelm II’s failed diplomacy, was the German plan to win the war quickly. (Map 34a)
 - A. Once Kaiser Wilhelm II had alienated the Russians in the 1890s, the German general staff realized that it would be fighting a two-front war.
 1. The Germans knew that the Russian military machine was antiquated and inefficient and, therefore, anticipated that it would take about six weeks to mobilize.
 2. Based on these realities, General Alfred von Schlieffen devised the Schlieffen Plan between 1891 and 1905.
 - a. Its first step would be to marshal 90 percent of the German forces on the Western Front to attack France.
 - b. Because the French would probably expect the Germans to attack along their mutual border in the Ardennes, Schlieffen ordered a feint at this point.
 - c. The main German column—34 divisions—would attack France through neutral Belgium and Luxemburg.
 - d. Once Paris surrendered, France would fall.
 - e. This fall would make possible the transfer of the German army to the Eastern Front, just in time to meet the slowly mobilized Russians.
 - f. The Russian army would prove no match for the Germans.
 - g. The kaiser would then dictate peace terms to the whole of Europe.
 - B. Immediately following the commencement of hostilities on 2 August 1914, everything seemed to go well.
 1. Belgium and Luxemburg were easily overrun by the German army.

[**Additional note from Prof. Bucholz:** In mentioning the Rape of Belgium by the German army during the lecture, I indicated that stories of German atrocities were overblown. It is true that the most outrageous stories—German soldiers using Belgian babies for bayonet practice, gouging out eyes, chopping off limbs and even women's breasts and crucifying captured soldiers—have never been substantiated. But Germany did plunder Belgian resources, German troops did fire on civilians (in part because they feared enemy troops in civilian dress known as *franc-tireurs*), and Belgians were rounded up and shipped back to the Reich to provide labor.]
 2. The German southern army cut through the Ardennes.
 3. By the end of August, German field artillery was shelling Paris.
 4. But at this point, two things went wrong:
 - a. Because the Ardennes offensive was going so well, the Germans strengthened their southern army at the expense of the northern army.
 - b. The Russians mobilized far faster than anyone anticipated and invaded Prussia, forcing the Germans to pull men from the Western Front to shore up the East.
 5. As a result, both Western offensives bogged down.
 6. On 6–9 September 1914, French and British forces stopped the German advance on Paris at the Battle of the Marne.

- II.** Within two months, the German army in the West had been forced to retreat to a front running from Switzerland to the North Sea.
- A.** Both sides dug in.
1. Over the next four years, commanders on both sides of the Western Front launched offensive after offensive, hurling millions of men against enemy lines at tremendous loss of life at Champagne, Ypres, and Artois in 1915; Verdun and the Somme in 1916; Arras, Champagne again, and Ypres again in 1917; and the Marne again, the Argonne, and Ypres again in 1918.
 2. Yet the Western Front would budge no more than 10 miles in either direction during all that time.
 3. Why?
- B.** The technology of early-20th-century warfare favored the defensive side thanks to the concrete pill box, barbed wire, and above all, the machine gun.
1. This technology was mounted at the front of an elaborate network of trenches that, over time, stretched back several miles.
 2. The two sets of trenches were separated from each other by about 300–600 yards of “open” ground, churned-up mud that had been devastated by shells and grenades and was littered with human bodies—“No Man’s Land.”
 3. Given these formidable obstacles, why did the commanders on both sides repeatedly order their men over the top?
- C.** The commanders were professional soldiers, thoroughly trained in the art of 19th-century warfare.
1. Leaders on both sides had mostly attended military academies, where they had studied the great wars and battles of the 18th and 19th centuries.
 2. If they had any experience of war at all, it was of colonial war, in which well-armed European forces had mown down tribal warriors armed with spears.
 3. Above all, most of the great commanders lacked the scientific and practical training to comprehend how the second Industrial Revolution had changed their profession.
 4. Instead, war was seen as a kind of game, a great national sporting match with rules of play that gentlemen would, of course, follow, with victory coming through team spirit and a redoubling of effort—consider “Vitaī Lampada” (1897) by Henry Newbolt (1862–1938).
- D.** The Somme Campaign of 1916 was, perhaps, the most disastrous of all the repeated offensives of the war.
1. That summer, the French, who had just taken a terrible beating from the failed German offensive at Verdun, asked the British to take some pressure off their positions by undertaking to break the German lines at the River Somme in northern France.
 2. During the last week of June 1916, the British unleashed a massive artillery bombardment.
 3. At 7:30 a.m. on 1 July 1916, a million men of the British Expeditionary Force went over the top.
 4. The British “Tommy” faced tremendous obstacles as he ran across No Man’s Land toward the enemy.
 - a. He carried a rifle and a 60-pound pack.
 - b. He had to cross 600 yards over his own side’s barbed wire, then across ground plowed into a thick soup of heavy mud by rain and shellfire.
 - c. He did so in the face of withering fire from German machine gunners.
 5. As a result, in one morning and one afternoon of fighting, the British army lost a total of 57,740 casualties and gained only an average of 100 yards across a 16-mile front.
 6. Over the next two months, the Somme offensive gained a total of 2–3 miles—at a cost of 420,000 total casualties.
 7. Sir Douglas Haig (1861–1928), far from being removed for incompetence, remained Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force to the end of the war, emerging after the war a much decorated figure who was given the title of Earl Haig by King George V in 1919.
 8. Little was learned from this fiasco. In the summer of 1917, the British tried again at Ypres, losing 31,000 on the first day and 340,000 for the whole campaign.
 9. The Germans were no more intelligent: They killed 377,000 Frenchmen at Verdun, but at the loss of 337,000 Germans!
- III.** With the failure of these various offensives, Europe settled down to a cold-blooded war of attrition in the trenches.

- A. Life in the trenches was a nightmare.
 - 1. The trenches had mud everywhere, were cold and smelly, and bred influenza, bacterial infections, and, above all, trench foot.
 - 2. Dead men and horses lay where they fell, often only a few feet away, just over the top of a trench, or actually in the trench with the soldiers.
 - 3. The constant rounds of shellfire whistling overhead, making impact only a few yards away, had a devastating psychological effect, giving rise to a new psychological condition: shellshock.
 - 4. At one point in 1917, the life expectancy of a soldier at the Western Front was two weeks, as graphically portrayed in the novel *Death of a Hero* (1929) by Richard Aldington (1892–1962).
- B. For many Europeans, World War I (the “Great War”)—not the French Revolution—represented the true end of the *ancien régime* and, indeed, of Western civilization.
 - 1. World War I was, for Europeans, their Vietnam, but because of its greater scale, it had an even more pronounced effect in Europe than Vietnam did in the United States.
 - 2. Ordinary men, not just intellectuals, ceased to believe in what they had been told, in their leaders, in their countries, even in God.
 - 3. In many ways, the remainder of the 20th century would, for Europeans, be a search for the kind of certainty and a sense of belonging and purpose lost on the Western Front between 1914 and 1918.
 - 4. This can be seen in the art produced after the war.
 - a. The writers of the Lost Generation (Eliot, Pound, Lawrence, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Yeats, Woolf, Joyce, Brecht, Kafka, and others) all depict, in one way or another, a kind of *Waste Land* (Eliot’s poem of 1923) devoid of divine purpose.
 - b. Painting became even more abstract and fragmented.
 - c. Music became more atonal and dissonant.
 - 5. For the troops in the trenches, the only relief was the occasional leave home (which, as the poet Siegfried Sassoon depicted, produced its own problems), sex with town prostitutes (subject of a famous World War I song, “Mademoiselle from Armentières”), and black humor.
- C. Quite naturally, both sides sought a way to break out of this morass and win the war away from the Western Front: in the Mediterranean, at sea, and in the East.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 27, section II.

John Keegan, *The First World War*.

J. Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell: Trench Warfare in World War I*.

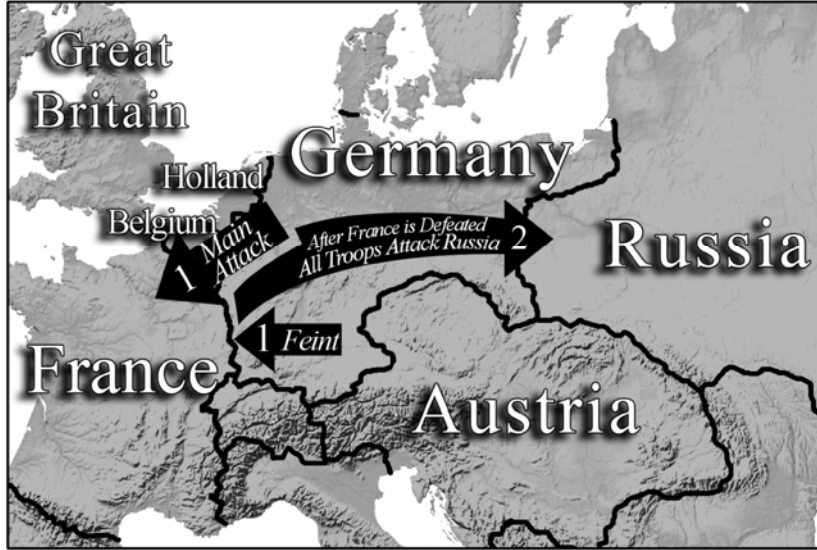
M. B. Middlebrook, *The First Day on the Somme*.

P. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Was the Schlieffen Plan sound?
- 2. Why did the commanders of the Great War continue to pursue tactics that resulted only in massive casualties? What should they have done?

Map 34a Schlieffen Plan before World War I



Lecture Thirty-Five

Breaking the Deadlock—1915–17

Scope: Both the Allies and the Central Powers sought to break the deadlock of the Great War by opening up new fronts. Britain and France tried first, with an abortive attempt to invade the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) at Gallipoli in 1915. Germany sought to break the stalemate at sea in 1915 and 1917 by starving Britain out with unrestricted submarine warfare, but the inevitable consequence of sinking merchant shipping on the Atlantic would be the deaths of heretofore neutral Americans and the entry of the U.S. into the war on the side of the Allies. The Germans had one more trick up their sleeves. In 1917, they attempted to foment revolution in Russia.

Outline

- I. By 1915, with the war deadlocked in both France and Poland, Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, devised a plan to attack Germany and Austria—the Central Powers—from the south. This would be the Dardanelles Campaign.
 - A. In the opening days of the war, Germany and Austria were joined by the Ottoman Empire (Turkey).
 1. For the Ottoman Empire, this meant allies in the fight to hang onto its Middle Eastern Empire against Russian ambitions.
 2. From the Allied point of view, the Ottoman Empire was dangerously close to the Suez Canal.
 3. As the leader of the Muslim world, the Ottoman Empire's sultan proclaimed a *jihad* against the empire's enemies.
 4. But many Arabs hoped that the British and French would free them from Ottoman domination.
 - B. Churchill's plan was to open up a third front by sending a British-French naval expedition and amphibious force into the Black Sea.
 1. This plan would knock the Ottoman Empire out of the war.
 2. It would create a supply line to Russia while taking pressure off the Eastern Front and the Suez Canal.
 3. It would enable the Allies to invade Austria and Germany through "Europe's soft underbelly."
 - C. To accomplish all this, the Allies would have to get past the gateway into the Black Sea, the Dardanelles, and, in particular, a series of forts on the Gallipoli Peninsula.
 1. Churchill advocated a naval bombardment, beginning early in 1915.
 2. But after a number of Allied ships were sunk by mines, Horatio, Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, ordered an amphibious assault on the heights of Gallipoli Peninsula.
 - D. Gallipoli was a logistical and executional disaster.
 1. The Germans supplied the Turks with machine guns, allowing them to rake the beach with a constant barrage.
 2. The Allied supply lines were long and tortuous, stretching all across the Mediterranean.
 3. Above all, the Allies had no notion of what would later be called landing craft; nor had they engaged in any amphibious training.
 4. Combined Allied casualties came to 250,000 men.
 - E. The failure of the Gallipoli campaign had wide-ranging effects.
 1. There would be no third front, at least not for a while.
 2. Russia continued to face Germany and Austria without British and French help.
 3. The Ottoman Empire's relations with the Central Powers were strengthened.
 4. In 1915, while fighting the Russians in Armenia, the Ottoman Empire decided to retaliate against Christian Armenians who fought on Russia's side. As many as 1.5 million Armenians died of disease or starvation or at the hands of Turkish soldiers.
 5. In October 1915, Bulgaria joined the Central Powers in hopes of gaining Balkan territory. The Bulgarians eventually overran the Serbs, cutting Russia off from any help via the Mediterranean.
 6. Churchill was made the scapegoat and fell from office.
 7. Australians and New Zealanders never forgot that the British sent them into the Gallipoli campaign with such poor preparation.

- II.** Both Britain and Germany had long prepared for a great naval battle to settle the mastery of the seas.
- A.** Churchill ordered an early mobilization of the Grand Fleet so that, from the very beginning of the war, German ports were blockaded.
- B.** But despite superior odds, the British did not want to risk a great fleet action, because they had nothing to gain.
- C.** This led the Germans to try to starve Britain out via unrestricted submarine warfare.
1. Britain, an archipelago, was, in 1914, heavily dependent on shipments of food, fuel, and munitions from America and the empire.
 2. The United States, though technically and militarily neutral, was happy to supply both sides. Yet with the British blockade preventing trade with Germany, American firms traded ever greater amounts of goods and loaned ever greater amounts of money to the Allies, especially Britain.
 3. This Atlantic trade became the crucial lifeline that kept Britain in the war.
 4. By the same token, the Germans could win if they could cut Britain's lifeline.
 - a. At first, the Germans tried to cut American supplies with surface raiders, but these were too easy for the Royal Navy to hunt down.
 - b. Submarines or U-boats were far more effective.
 - c. Early in the war, the German U-boat commanders tried to minimize loss of life by warning their victims to abandon ship.
 - d. This warning gave the crew time to radio the Royal Navy and sink the U-boat.
 5. In the spring of 1915, the German Admiralty announced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. All ships traveling in an area around Britain were subject to sinking.
 6. On 15 May 1915, the U-20 sighted and sank the British luxury liner R.M.S. *Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland.
 - a. Of the passengers and crew, 1,198 died, including 128 American citizens.
 - b. The Germans claimed—correctly, as it turned out—that the *Lusitania* was carrying war materiel.
 - c. Many Americans called for America to join the war.
 7. Reluctant to add the American industrial giant to its list of enemies, the Germans revoked their policy of unrestricted submarine warfare.
 8. As a result, Germany's U-boat offensive stalled, and Britain continued to be supplied from America.
- D.** This led the Germans to attempt another surface-ship action.
1. On 31 May 1916, the British and German fleets met while out on patrol off the Jutland Peninsula, Denmark.
 2. Involving 250 ships and 100,000 men, Jutland was the largest naval battle in history up to that time.
 - a. At first, everything went according to the German plan. The German battlecruisers lured those of the British into battle and, in quick succession, dispatched three ships.
 - b. But instead of the Germans trapping the small British squadron, the main German battlefleet was drawn into the range of the whole British Grand Fleet.
 - c. Moreover, the British commander, Sir John Jellicoe, had crossed the German Admiral Reinhard Scheer's T: He was facing the German Fleet broadsides to bows.
 - d. At this point, knowing that he was outnumbered and just minutes from destruction, Scheer ordered his destroyers and torpedo boats to run interference against the combined firepower of the Royal Navy, while the High Seas Fleet retreated behind a smokescreen.
 - e. Instead of giving chase, Admiral Jellicoe turned his ships away from the German torpedoes, thus allowing the High Seas Fleet to escape.
 - f. Both commanders seem to have felt that, in the end, their primary mission was not so much to engage and defeat the enemy as to bring their expensive battlewagons back intact.
 3. Though the Germans claimed victory, the kaiser's High Seas Fleet spent most of the rest of the war in harbor.
- E.** Thanks to the British blockade, the German situation grew desperate by early 1917.
1. Germany was carrying a number of weaker allies, including the Austrians and the Turks.
 2. Further, in 1916, Arab peoples began a revolt against the Ottoman Empire, which had ruled them for centuries. The British finally had their third front.

- a. Lawrence of Arabia organized and led the Arabs. They entered Damascus in triumph—ahead of the British—in 1918.
 - b. To open this third front, Lawrence had promised the Arab peoples national self-determination—independence—after the war.
 - c. But in Palestine, this would conflict with the Balfour Declaration of 1917, a British promise to support a national homeland for the Jews.
 - d. Here, as in so many other places, World War I set the course for the rest of the century.
 - 3. The German army was being worn down by superior numbers in the East and West.
 - 4. At home, Germany was running out of fuel oil and food stuffs.
 - 5. Something had to be done quickly or Germany would lose the war. Early in 1917, the German government decided on two terrific gambles.
 - F. First, the German Admiralty reinstated unrestricted submarine warfare.
 - 1. They knew that, sooner or later, an American ship would be sunk, and American lives would be lost.
 - 2. They gambled that they could sink enough ships to starve Britain out before the Americans declared war.
 - 3. On February 3, the United States broke diplomatic relations with Germany after the sinking of an American ship, the S.S. *Housatonic* [**note**: not the “U.S.S. Housatonic,” as incorrectly stated in lecture], without warning.
 - 4. This strategy almost worked. By April 1917, the U-boats were sinking 600,000 tons of shipping per month. British domestic food stocks were down to six weeks.
 - 5. But then, two things happened:
 - a. In April 1917, America entered the war, partly because German U-boats had attacked American ships. In addition, the Americans learned via the Zimmerman telegram that Germany had offered Mexico the prizes of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas if it joined in a war against the United States.
 - b. In May, the British and American navies implemented a convoy system, and U-boat losses began to rise.
 - 6. The U.S. Army—inexperienced but fresh—was gearing up to join the fray.
 - G. The first German gamble had failed, but the kaiser still had one last card up his sleeve: If he could end the war in Russia before the Americans mobilized, perhaps he could concentrate all his resources on breaking open the Western Front.
- III.** The Russian strategy in World War I was the same as against Napoleon: Give ground, retreat into the vast expanses of Mother Russia, and wait for the German and Austrian armies to freeze or burn themselves out.
- A. Because of the backwardness of Russian industry, though, many of the Russian troops had no rifles, bullets, uniforms, or food.
 - B. Luckily for Russia, the Germans concentrated on the Western Front, but in the spring of 1915, the Germans launched a successful offensive in southern Poland.
 - C. Stymied in Poland, in 1916 the Russians launched an offensive against Austria.
 - 1. The Austrians were weakened because they had had to divert troops to the Italian frontier in the south.
 - 2. The Russians broke through and gained 60 miles, but their offensive stalled when the Russian railway system was unable to bring more troops up to the front.
 - 3. Still, this offensive diverted German troops away from Verdun.
 - D. With both sides so evenly matched, World War I was a zero-sum game.
 - 1. Troops massed for a decisive offensive on one front meant that their army would be too weak to maintain another front.
 - 2. The only way to break the deadlock would be to bring in a big ally, such as the United States, or eliminate one, such as Russia. This would be the next German strategy.
 - E. By 1917, the Russian war effort was in chaos.
 - 1. In that year, more than a million men deserted.
 - 2. Civilians at home suffered food shortages, workers went on strike, and peasants began to seize the holdings of their landlords.

3. In March 1917 (February by the Russian calendar), a series of street demonstrations broke out in Petrograd.
 - a. Regular troops refused to fire on the starving demonstrators.
 - b. Revolt spread through the countryside, and mutiny, through the army.
 - c. On 12 March, Russia's legislature, the Duma, established a provisional government.
 - d. On 15 March, Czar Nicholas II abdicated.
 - e. From this point, real power rested with the defense minister, Alexander Kerensky.
 - i. He was a moderate democrat who passed a series of reforms.
 - ii. He fatally, though, decided to continue the war.
4. The position of the Kerensky government worsened daily as it and the war grew more and more unpopular.
5. Russia was ripe for a more violent revolution.
6. Germany was only too happy to help by putting the exiled Vladimir Lenin on a train for Russia.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 27, section II.

A. Moorehead, *Gallipoli*.

R. K. Massie, *Castles of Steel: Britain, Germany, and the Winning of the Great War at Sea*.

Questions to Consider:

1. If Churchill's southern Europe strategy had succeeded, how would it have changed the course of 20th-century history?
2. Why was the British blockade of Germany more successful than the German blockade of Britain?

Lecture Thirty-Six

The Russian Revolution—1917–22

Scope: In 1917, Russia, the most backward and repressive regime in Europe, generally lacking in heavy industry and modern transportation, terribly overmatched in the war, suffering from food shortages and mass desertions of its army, experienced the overthrow of, first, the czar, then of a republican provisional government in favor of a communist regime led by Vladimir Lenin. That regime sued for peace with Germany and established the world's first communist government.

Outline

- I. The roots of the Russian Revolution go back into the 19th century and before.
 - A. Russia, in 1917, was the largest state on Earth, a vast, multiethnic empire. (Map 36a)
 1. Radiating from the heartland of Muscovy, inhabited by ethnic Russians, were a variety of peoples conquered from the Middle Ages to the 19th century.
 - a. To the east lay Siberia, populated by Russians but also by Kazakhs, Buryats, Tuvinians, and Yakuts.
 - b. To the south lived Ukrainians, Georgians, and Armenians.
 - c. To the west were Poles.
 - d. To the north were Finns, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians.
 2. The Russian Empire was prone to the same ethnic and nationalistic tensions that we have seen in the rest of Europe, especially in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
 3. It also faced the problem of maintaining authority over vast distances.
 4. In the 19th century, it did so by harsh repression.
 - B. In the eyes of contemporary observers, Russia was the most conservative and economically backward of the major European states.
 1. Its social structure was that of a traditional *ancien régime*.
 - a. The czar ruled autocratically as second only to God.
 - b. Great aristocrats owned most of the land.
 - c. That land was worked for them by the peasants, who formed 80 percent of the Russian population.
 - i. Those peasants had been serfs prior to the 1860s.
 - ii. After being granted their freedom in 1866, they remained miserably poor.
 - d. There was a small urban elite of factory owners, professionals, and intellectuals.
 - e. Subordinate to them were urban workers (10 percent of the population), who were poorly paid but mostly literate and increasingly politicized.
 2. Russia's economy was overwhelmingly agricultural; apart from the Ottoman Empire, it was the slowest major European power to industrialize.
 - C. Russia had been trying to Westernize and modernize since at least the time of Peter the Great, but its leaders rejected liberalism and nationalism.
 1. Following the Decembrist Revolt of 1825, Czar Nicholas I (1825–1855) created a state police with tight censorship and strict control of university life.
 2. Mid-19th-century writers and students reacted by forming secret liberal groups urging reform of the czarist state.
 - a. The Populists wanted to free the serfs and improve the lot of peasants.
 - b. Anarchists opposed the idea of all government.
 - c. Socialists also wanted revolution, but they split into two groups.
 - i. The Socialist Revolutionary Party (founded in 1901), concentrated on improving the lot of the peasants.
 - ii. Marxists formed the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) in 1898 to politicize urban workers.
 - d. By 1903, Socialists had split further into two factions.

- i. Bolsheviks (from the Russian word for “majority”), led by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, favored a more centralized and disciplined party.
 - ii. Mensheviks (from the Russian word for “minority”) were more loosely organized and included intellectual moderates.
 - e. In 1905, the Constitutional Democrats, or Cadets, were formed as a moderate liberal party.
 - 3. Alexander II (1855–1881) met these groups halfway, easing censorship, freeing the serfs, and creating local representative bodies called *zemstvos*; his reward was to be assassinated by anarchists in 1881.
 - 4. His successors, Alexander III (1881–1894) and Nicholas II (1894–1917), turned their backs on reform and imposed a series of repressive measures.
 - a. Nationalist movements were crushed in Poland, the Ukraine, and Finland.
 - b. Religious minorities were repressed, including Roman Catholics in Poland, Protestants in the Baltic States, and Jews throughout the empire.
 - c. The power of the *zemstvos* was curtailed.
 - d. Popular education was discouraged.
 - e. The press was heavily censored.
 - f. A secret police informed on the population.
 - g. Political dissidents were imprisoned or driven into exile.
 - h. Industrialization was encouraged, but working conditions were poor and trade unions were outlawed.
- II. The reign of Nicholas II saw increasing tension over these measures, as well as several crises of foreign policy.
- A. In 1904–1905, Russia lost an ill-advised war against Japan.
 - B. Russia’s defeat led, indirectly, to the Revolution of 1905.
 - 1. On Sunday, 22 January 1905, a peaceful crowd seeking to petition the czar for better conditions was fired on; about 100 demonstrators were killed at the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg.
 - 2. This led to a general strike that forced the government to concede creation of a weak legislature, the Duma, and some civil liberties, including the right of assembly.
 - 3. At this point, workers began to form elective councils, called *soviets*, in major cities.
 - C. But during the period 1905–1914, the government reasserted itself and went back on some of its promises.
 - 1. Workers’ organizations and ethnic groups were suppressed.
 - 2. Thousands of revolutionaries were sent to prison or exiled, the latter including Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky.
 - D. In 1914, Nicholas II plunged Russia into World War I, which was popular at first, even among the radical groups. But by 1917, the nation had experienced 7.5 million casualties, and famine threatened the large cities.
- III. The October Revolution was precipitated by Russia’s misery in World War I.
- A. As we have seen, the war was disastrous for Russia.
 - B. In February (March) 1917, following the breakdown of order in Petrograd (the name of St. Petersburg during 1914–1924), Nicholas II abdicated.
 - 1. The new provisional government was a liberal coalition, eventually dominated by Alexander Kerensky.
 - 2. The end of czarist repression meant that all sorts of radical groups could come out of the woodwork.
 - 3. The *soviets* of workers and soldiers also reactivated.
 - 4. By the end of February, the Petrograd soviets had united into one, thus forming an alternative source of power to the government.
 - C. In the spring of 1917, the Germans, sensing an opportunity, rounded up Lenin and Trotsky and other exiled Russian dissidents and put them on a train for Russia.
 - 1. Lenin immediately began to give a series of fiery speeches for peace and against the provisional government.
 - 2. He was joined by Leon Trotsky, who brought over many Mensheviks.
 - 3. The Bolsheviks also attracted dispirited soldiers, alienated workers, and students.

4. In the countryside, peasants begin to form *soviets* of their own, in some cases, seizing land from their landlords.
5. Suppressed nationalities also grew restive.
- D. On all of these issues, the Kerensky government was a disappointment.
 1. Kerensky wanted to continue the war.
 2. He refused land reform.
 3. He included industrialists in the cabinet.
 4. He offered nothing to suppressed nationalities except to fight for Mother Russia.
- E. Still, most people were not radicalized; they were attracted to a moderate socialist platform, not the international communism of the Bolsheviks.
- F. By the summer of 1917, the government was already in crisis, facing coups on all sides.
 1. In June, the first Congress of Soviets met and immediately backed massive antiwar demonstrations.
 2. The Bolsheviks called for the overthrow of the government, which responded with repression. Trotsky was arrested, and Lenin went into hiding.
 3. In August (September), the conservative General Kornilov turned against the government with an army. Kerensky reversed himself, appealing to radical leaders, such as Lenin, to defend the February Revolution against Kornilov.
 - a. To do so, he gave them arms.
 - b. The Bolsheviks and their allies did a good job, amassing 25,000 followers to defend the city and convincing Kornilov's troops to join them.
 - c. The coup was suppressed, and the Kerensky government was saved.
 - d. But in arming the radicals, legitimizing the Bolsheviks, and turning law and order over to them, Kerensky had made a devil's bargain, and the country was ripe for a real revolution.
- G. On 10 October, Lenin urged the Bolsheviks to seize power. Trotsky formed a Military Revolutionary Committee to make plans.
- H. On the morning of 25–26 October (5–6 November by the Western calendar) 1917, Bolshevik forces occupied strategic points in Petrograd.
 1. At 9:00 PM, the cruiser *Aurora* fired on a meeting of the provisional government at the Winter Palace.
 2. The palace was stormed, and the members of the provisional government were arrested.
 3. On 26 October (6 November), the All-Russian Congress of Soviets handed over power to the Soviet Council of People's Commissars, with Lenin as chairman.

IV. Russia was immediately declared a Soviet Republic.

- A. At first, the new state was a true multiparty state, with representatives from the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, and the Revolutionary Socialists.
- B. But by the end of the year, Lenin and the Bolsheviks—increasingly called Communists—used the excuse that the revolution was threatened by counterrevolutionaries to begin to seize control.
 1. Freedom of the press was curtailed.
 2. The Liberal Cadets were outlawed.
 3. Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries were purged from the government.
 4. Lenin established the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution, Speculation, and Sabotage, or CHEKA: a secret police to root out enemies of the revolution. (CHEKA would be the parent of the later NKVD and the KGB.)
 5. The Russian royal family was executed in Siberia in 1918.
- C. From early 1918, Lenin and his followers consolidated their power and pursued four main goals:
 1. The seizure of land by the peasants.
 2. The seizure of the factories by the workers.
 3. An immediate peace.
 4. The exportation of international communism.
- D. The results of these policies, collectively known as Lenin's *war communism*, were disastrous.
 1. Land reform, or collectivization, led to peasant revolts and starvation as the old food distribution system was disrupted.

2. Workers put in charge of the factories lacked appropriate experience.
 3. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, finalized in March 1918, forced Russia to cede Poland and much of western Russia, containing one-fourth of its European territory, one-third of its heavy industry, and one-half of its coal and iron.
 4. Russia's former allies (Britain, France, and the United States), afraid of revolution, blockaded Russia, exacerbating the food crisis, and sent troops to support counterrevolution.
 5. The communist regime responded by organizing the Red Army and launching the Red Terror, by which thousands of opposition figures were executed.
- V. The Russian Revolution had tremendous long-term significance for European history; its immediate impact was to free German forces on the Eastern Front for one final battle in the west.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 26, section II; chapter 28, section II.

R. K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*.

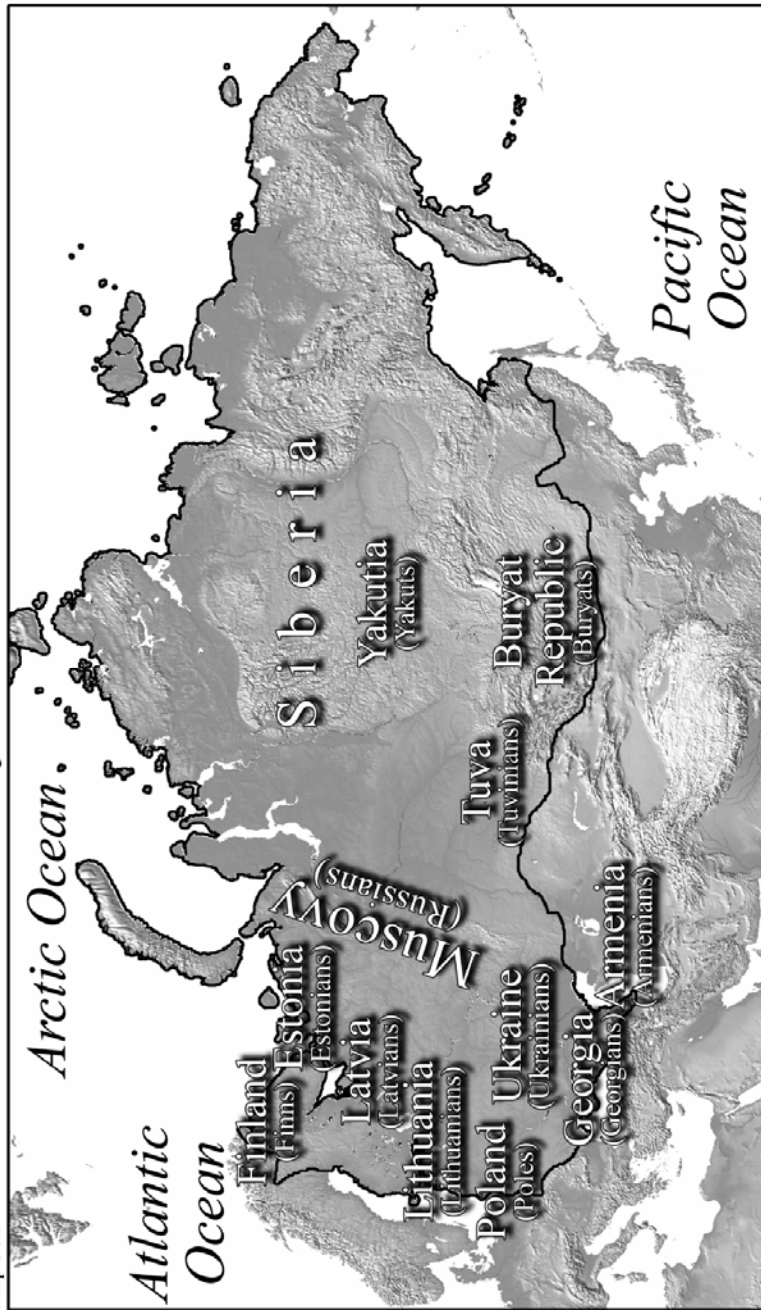
S. Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*.

Questions to Consider:

1. To what extent were Russia's problems a result of the personalities and policies of its czars; to what extent were the problems deeper than that?
2. Might the moderate Kerensky government have succeeded if he had pulled Russia out of the war?

Russian Territory and Ethnicities ca. 1900

Map 36a



Biographical Notes

Adolphus, Gustavus (1594–1632): King of Sweden (1611–1632) who made Sweden a major power and, like Prussian rulers, created an efficient, absolutist, Protestant state that was geared for war and blocked Habsburg ambitions in the Thirty Years' War.

Alexander I (1777–1825): Czar of Russia (1801–1825) who led Russia during the Napoleonic Wars and originated the idea for the Holy Alliance (1819).

Alexander II (1818–1881): Liberal, reforming czar of Russia (1855–1881) who freed the serfs (1861) and reorganized the government and military but was nevertheless assassinated by anarchists.

Alexander III (1845–1894): Czar of Russia (1881–1884); cancelled his father's plans for a more representative government, persecuted non-Orthodox minorities, and sought to impose Russian nationalism on non-Russians.

Anjou, Phillipe, Duke of (1683–1746): Grandson of Louis XIV. His decision to accept the Spanish crown in 1700 led to the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714). King Philip V (Felipe V) of Spain (1700–1745).

Anne (1665–1714): Last Stuart queen of Great Britain (1702–1714), her selection of the duke of Marlborough to command her forces in the War of the Spanish Succession produced military victories, while her selection of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, to negotiate the Treaty of Utrecht established British commercial superiority.

Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans (1561–1626): English government official and philosopher; author of *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), *Novum Organum* (1620), and *The New Atlantis* (1627), he articulated the concept later known as the scientific method.

Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770–1826): German composer, often credited with propelling music into the Romantic age, a democrat and critic of Napoleon.

Bentham, Jeremy (1748–1832): Utilitarian philosopher, author of *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1798).

Bismarck, Otto von (1815–1898): Chancellor of, first, Prussia (1862–1871), then Germany (1871–1890), architect of German unification, master diplomat, often credited with inventing *Realpolitik* but also with maintaining the peace of Europe in the 1870s and 1880s.

Blake, William (1757–1827): Visionary Romantic poet, critiqued industrial life in such poems as *Jerusalem* (1808).

Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon. See **Napoleon III.**

Bonaparte, Napoleon (1769–1821): French general, consul of France (1799–1804), emperor (1804–1815); a brilliant battlefield tactician, he sought, through military conquest, to unify Europe under his rule. Though a product of the revolution, his rule could be harsh and authoritarian. After his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815, he was sent into exile at St. Helena.

Brezhnev, Leonid (1906–1982): Premier of the Soviet Union (1965–1982), he presided over a period of internal stagnation but made some accommodation with the West in the Cold War.

Burke, Edmund (1729–1797): Irish statesman and author of *The Philosophical Inquiry into Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756) and *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1792). He was a harsh critic of the excesses of the French Revolution. Often credited as a founding father of conservatism.

Calvin, John (1509–1564): Protestant reformer who became the virtual ruler of Geneva; articulated the idea of predestination, that is, that one's personal salvation has already been determined affirmatively or negatively by an all-knowing God.

Carlos II (1661–1700): Last Habsburg king of Spain (1665–1700), he suffered from numerous physical infirmities. His decision to offer the entire Spanish Empire to Louis Phillipe, Duke of Anjou, helped precipitate the War of the Spanish Succession.

Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount (1769–1822): British statesman and diplomat, architect of the final coalition against Napoleon, and one of the principal framers of the Congress of Vienna.

Catherine the Great (1729–1796): Czar of Russia from 1762–1796, she embraced reform early in her reign, but following Pugachev’s Rebellion (1773–1774), she strengthened the power of landowners over their serfs.

Cavour, Count Camillo di (1810–1861): Prime minister of Piedmont-Sardinia and architect of its modernization and, therefore, of the unification of Italy.

Charles I (1600–1649): King of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1625–1649); his personality and policies helped to precipitate the British Civil Wars of 1637–1660. He was tried and executed on the charge of treason against the people of England in January 1649.

Charles II (1630–1685): King of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1660–1685); he pursued some elements of absolutism but never singlemindedly.

Charles V (1500–1558): Holy Roman Emperor (1519–1556); as Charles I, king of Spain (1506–1556), he spent most of his reign combating, unsuccessfully, the Protestant Reformation and its embrace by many of the princes of the empire. He also spent many years fighting France for control of Italy. Abdicated his thrones in 1556.

Charles VI (1685–1740): Holy Roman Emperor (1711–1740) who in the War of the Spanish Succession sought to become king of Spain and thereby recreate the empire of Charles V. Arranged the Pragmatic Sanction allowing succession by his daughter Maria Theresa.

Charles VII (1403–1461): King of France (1422–1461) who restored the authority of the French monarchy following the Hundred Years’ War.

Charles IX (1550–1574): King of France (1560–1574) who accepted the advice of his mother to massacre Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572.

Charles X (1757–1836): King of France (1824–1830); attempted to restore elements of the *Ancien Régime* and was forced to abdicate by the July Revolution of 1830.

Charles Albert (1748–1849): King of Sardinia (1831–1849), whose resistance against the Austrians helped inspire the Italian movement for national independence.

Churchill, John, Duke of Marlborough. See **Marlborough, Duke of.**

Churchill, Sir Winston Spencer (1874–1965): Journalist, soldier, statesman, and prime minister of Great Britain (1940–1945, 1951–1955). After an adventurous early career, Churchill served as First Lord of the Admiralty (1911–1915). The failure of the Gallipoli campaign led to a period alternating between minor government posts and the political wilderness, until his reappointment to the Admiralty early in 1939. Most famously led Britain in World War II; his record in labor and Irish affairs is more checkered and controversial. Winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1953.

Clemenceau, Georges (1841–1929): Prime minister of France (1917–1920) who pressed tirelessly for victory over Germany in WWI and rejected moderate treatment of Germany after the war ended.

Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (1619–1683): Advisor to Louis XIV from 1665 whose fiscal and military reforms facilitated France’s wars.

Colón, Cristóbal (1451–1506): Italian explorer in the service of Spain who made the European discovery of the New World in October 1492. Thinking that he had landed in Asia, he dubbed the natives “Indians.” Made three subsequent voyages to the Americas.

Copernicus, Nicholas (1473–1544): Polish astronomer who wrote *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies* (1543), which posited a Sun-centered system.

Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658): Puritan gentleman who became the most successful general of the British Civil Wars, then Lord Protector of England (1653–1658). His regime was well governed and successful, but his sanction of the slaughter of surrendered combatants and civilians in the Irish campaign in 1648 contributed to continuing Anglo-Irish bitterness.

Darwin, Charles (1809–1882): British biologist and author of *The Origin of Species* (1859), which posited the theory of evolution accomplished by natural selection, and *The Descent of Man* (1879), which argued that humans

had evolved from primitive primates. His ideas were soon embraced by scientists, but they continue to be controversial among lay people.

Descartes, Rene (1596–1650): Philosopher, scientist, and mathematician who made advances in optics, systematized the study of curves, and devised the alphabetical system for unknown variables (a, b, c, x, y, z, etc.) as well as the system of superscripts for powers.

de Gaulle, Charles (1890–1970): A soldier in World War I, leader of the Free French forces in World War II, and president of France 1958–1969. He famously maintained French independence from its British and American allies in the postwar period.

Dickens, Charles (1812–1870): British novelist, author of *Oliver Twist* (1838) and *Hard Times* (1854), among many other works; famous for his colorful descriptions of life at all levels of Victorian society but especially the poor.

Diderot, Denis (1713–1784): French *philosophe*, compiler of the *Encyclopedia* (1751–1766).

Dostoevsky, Feodor (1821–1881): Russian novelist, author of *Crime and Punishment* (1866) and *The Brothers Karamazov* (1879–1880), among many other works; his novels combine a cosmological vision with searing psychological insight.

Edison, Thomas (1847–1931): American inventor, responsible for more than 1,000 patents, including ones for the electric light, the phonograph, the stock ticker, and important work on motion-picture technology.

Eichmann, Adolf (1906–1962): German soldier, SS man, and war criminal, responsible for carrying out Hitler’s “Final Solution” from 1941. After the war, he fled to South America, where he was apprehended in 1960 by Israeli agents; subsequently tried and executed for his crimes against humanity.

Einstein, Albert (1879–1955): German physicist responsible for the special and general theories of relativity and, with them, a new paradigm in physics. Fled Germany in 1933. In 1939, wrote to President Roosevelt to urge, successfully, that the United States develop an atomic bomb.

Eisenhower, Dwight David (1890–1969): Soldier, statesman, and president of the United States (1953–1961). Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (1943–1945); successfully coordinated Allied cooperation in the defeat of Germany. As president, he led the United States and the free world in a crucial period of the Cold War.

Eliot, Thomas Stearns (1888–1965): American-born, British-naturalized poet, author of *The Waste Land* (1922) and other poems that eschewed conventional narrative or lyric voice in favor of psychological monologue. One of the founders of modern 20th-century poetry.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603): Queen of England and Ireland (1558–1603); she ruled successfully during a period of religious and political strife, establishing a compromise settlement for the Church of England and presiding over the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the Catholic Irish rebels in 1603.

Engels, Friedrich (also Frederick) (1820–1895): Son of a middle-class factory owner, he was shocked at conditions in Manchester and wrote *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845). Subsequently Karl Marx’s writing partner.

Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736): Prince and allied general during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714) and Marlborough’s partner in the victory at Blenheim; he subsequently drove the French out of Italy.

Ferdinand V of Castile (or II of Aragon) (1452–1516): King of Spain 1479–1516 (jointly with Isabella, 1479–1504). He completed the conquest of Granada and the unification of Spain and sponsored Columbus’s voyages but also invited the Inquisition to enter Spain (1480) and persecuted and eventually expelled Muslims and Jews.

Fleury, André-Hercule de, Cardinal (1653–1743): Statesman, tutor to Louis XV, and eventual *de facto* prime minister of France (1726–1743), he pursued a policy of peace with Britain.

Francis I (1494–1547): King of France (1515–1547), he pursued a series of wars against England and the Holy Roman Empire. A great patron of the arts and letters who encouraged the Renaissance in France.

Francis II (1544–1560): King of France (1559–1560); married Mary Stuart, queen of Scots in 1558, was dominated by her anti-Protestant advisors, and provoked Huguenots to mobilize.

Franco, Francisco (1892–1975). Soldier, Spanish fascist leader, and dictator (1939–1975). Though he presided over a repressive regime, his decision to designate the Bourbon Juan Carlos as his successor in 1969 facilitated a transition to constitutional monarchy and democracy.

Frank, Anne (1929–1945): German-born author. Her family, which was Jewish, fled to the Netherlands in the 1930s. After the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands in 1941, the Franks hid in a secret room in a warehouse, where they were discovered by the Gestapo in August 1944 and sent to concentration camps. Anne died at Bergen-Belsen in 1945. Her father survived and published her diary, translated into English as *The Diary of a Young Girl*, in 1947.

Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914): Statesman and heir to the Austrian throne, he was assassinated in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Gavrilo Princip, a Serb nationalist terrorist. The assassination precipitated World War I.

Franz-Josef (1830–1916): Austrian emperor (1848–1916) and king of Hungary (1867–1916). He put down the Revolution of 1848 in the empire and suppressed the Italian nationalist movement in 1849. Presided over Austria's successful participation in the war against Denmark in 1864 but also Austria's defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1866. Tensions in the Balkans led to frequent clashes with Russia during his reign, culminating in the assassination of his nephew Franz Ferdinand and entry into war in 1914. Domestically, his rule evolved from autocracy to grudging constitutionalism.

Frederick II (the Great) (1712–1786): King of Prussia (1740–1786) and author. After a difficult apprenticeship at the hands of his father, Frederick launched the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740 and subsequently involved Prussia in the Seven Years' War in 1756 and the partition of Poland in 1772, both of which increased Prussian holdings. Domestically, a reformer, encouraging agriculture, industry, and literature.

Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939): Physician, psychiatrist, father of psychotherapy, originator of the concept of the unconscious mind, and author of numerous works, including *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930).

Galilei, Galileo (1564–1642): Scholar, scientist, and professor at the University of Padua, he was one of the first to turn a telescope to the heavens. His *Dialogues on the Two Chief Systems of the World* (1632) was condemned by the Roman Catholic Church, and he was confined to house arrest.

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807–1882): Italian nationalist patriot leader, his defeat of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and subsequent acknowledgement of Victor Emanuel II as king of Italy in 1861 led to the unification of Italy.

Goebbels, Josef (1897–1945): Nazi propaganda minister.

Goering, Hermann (1893–1946): Aviator; a flying ace in World War I, Goering organized the Gestapo and then the Luftwaffe for Hitler. Famous for his lavish lifestyle. Convicted of crimes against humanity at Nuremberg in 1946, he committed suicide before he could be hanged.

Goethe, Johan Wolfgang von (1749–1832): Author, one of the seminal figures in the birth of German Romanticism, he wrote *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) and both parts of *Faust* (1808, 1832).

Gorbachev, Mikhail (b. 1931): Statesman, secretary general of the Communist Party (1985–1991), and president of the Soviet Union (1988–1991); launched a reform (*perestroika*) of Russian communism and worked with U.S. President Reagan to ease nuclear tensions. When *perestroika* and *glasnost* ("openness") led to increasing dissent and freedom in Warsaw Pact countries, Gorbachev's decision not to apply military force did much to facilitate the end of Russian and communist domination. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990.

Gutenberg, Johannes (?1400–1468): Generally acknowledged as the inventor of the printing press, his production of the first printed Bible is a landmark in the history of communications.

Henry "the Navigator" (1394–1460): Prince of Portugal who established a naval academy at Sagres that trained European explorers of Africa.

Henry IV (1553–1610): King of Navarre (1572–1589) and leader of the French Huguenots during the Wars of Religion, king of France (1589–1610). Henry had to defend his throne against the Catholic League and Philip II until 1596, despite his conversion to Catholicism in 1593. He pursued absolutism, encouraging industry and reorganizing the finances of France. Granted toleration to the Huguenots with the Edict of Nantes of 1598. He was assassinated in 1610.

Henry VIII (1491–1547): King of England (1509–1547) and Ireland (1540–1547); he assumed the leadership of the Church of England and married Anne Boleyn in 1533 after the papacy refused his request of a divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Spent the rest of his reign vacillating in religion, wedding and sometimes beheading four more queens, and wrecking the royal finances in a series of fruitless wars with France and Scotland.

Hume, David (1711–1776): A leading exponent of the Scottish Enlightenment; his works include *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–1740), *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748), an eight-volume *History of England* (1754–1762), and *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (written in the 1750s but so controversial that they were suppressed until 1779).

Himmler, Heinrich (1900–1945): Nazi politician, head of Hitler’s SS.

Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945): Soldier, leader of the Nazi Party, German dictator (1933–1945), instigator of the Holocaust and World War II in Europe.

Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679): English philosopher and author of *Leviathan* (1651), which argues that human nature is driven by passions, that human beings in their natural state compete viciously for the necessities of life, and that the only way to eliminate that competition is to form an irreversible contract with an absolute ruler.

Hugo, Victor (1802–1885): French Romantic novelist, author of, among many other works, *Les Misérables* (1862). His writings were banned and he was exiled during the rule of Napoleon III.

Ibsen, Henrik (1828–1906): Norwegian playwright, author of, among many other works, *A Doll’s House* (1879); his works explore the psychological tensions and tragedies of everyday life.

Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556): Soldier, Roman Catholic clergyman, and saint. He was wounded as a young man at the siege of Pamplona in 1521; experienced a religious conversion that led him to found the Society of Jesus, an order of priests with military discipline to preach, teach, and combat Protestantism.

Isabella I (1451–1504): Queen of Castille (1474–1504) and Spain (jointly with Ferdinand, 1479–1504). With Ferdinand, she completed the conquest of Granada and the unification of Spain and sponsored Columbus’s voyages, but the pair also invited the Inquisition to enter Spain (1480) and persecuted and eventually expelled Muslims and Jews.

James I (1566–1625): King of Scotland (1567–1625), first Stuart king of England (1603–1625); he ruled faction-ridden Scotland successfully before assuming the English throne. In England, he pursued a pacifistic foreign policy but had difficulty with Parliament, in part because of his financial extravagance.

James II (1636–1685): King of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1685–1688). He attempted to secure toleration for Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, which precipitated the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689.

Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826): Landowner, statesman, author of the Declaration of Independence (1776), governor of Virginia (1779–1781), president of the United States (1801–1809). His authorization of the Louisiana Purchase doubled the size of the United States.

Joseph II (1741–1790): Holy Roman Emperor (1765–1790), regent of Austria (1765–1780), and emperor of Austria (1780–1790). He pursued a series of reforms, including an Edict of Toleration (1781); dissolved the contemplative monasteries to endow hospitals; freed the serfs; and decreed the use of German throughout the empire in official documents.

Joyce, James (1882–1941): Irish novelist and proponent of stream-of-consciousness narrative in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), *Ulysses* (1922), and *Finnegan’s Wake* (1928–1937).

Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804): German moral philosopher, author of *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), *Metaphysics of Ethics* (1797), *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788), and *Perpetual Peace* (1795).

Kennedy, John Fitzgerald (1917–1963): Seaman, statesman, and president of the United States (1961–1963). Kennedy launched the space program, supported civil rights for American blacks, managed to avoid nuclear war in the Cuban Missile Crisis, and worked out the Test Ban Treaty with the Soviets. He was assassinated in 1963.

Kepler, Johannes (1571–1630): German astronomer who perfected the Copernican system by arguing that the planets revolved around the Sun elliptically.

Keynes, John Maynard (1883–1946): English economist, diplomat, and author, most notably, of *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1933–1935).

Khrushchev, Nikita (1894–1971): General secretary of the Communist Party (1953–1964) and premier of the Soviet Union (1958–1964). He famously criticized Stalinist terror in 1956. In foreign policy, he alternated between bellicosity and “peaceful coexistence” with the West. Deposed in a coup in 1964.

Koch, Robert (1843–1910): German physician and bacteriologist, he was the first to isolate the bacilli for anthrax, tuberculosis, and Asiatic cholera; awarded the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine in 1905.

Kohl, Helmut (b. 1930): German statesman, chancellor of West Germany (1982–1990) and Germany (1990–1998). Reduced government spending, supported NATO and European integration, and managed the unification of Germany skillfully.

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich (1870–1924): Premier of the Soviet Union (1917–1924). Bolshevik leader who spent much of his youth in prison or exile. Upon his return to Russia in 1917, he organized, first the Bolsheviks, then a revolution that toppled the provisional government of Alexander Kerensky. His War Communism (1917–1921) was an economic and social disaster, but the New Economic Policy (1921–1924), which slowed collectivization and restrained international communism, was relatively successful.

Leopold II (1835–1909): King of Belgium (1865–1909), he sponsored African exploration (1879–1884), was the proprietor of the Congo Free State (1884–1908), and presided over terrible abuse of native populations.

Lloyd-George, David (1863–1945): Prime minister of Great Britain (1916–1922) during and after World War I who privately agreed with Woodrow Wilson’s call for moderate treatment of defeated Germany but rejected moderation in the Treaty of Versailles.

Locke, John (1632–1704): British philosopher; his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) argued for the importance of environment over inherent characteristics in human development. The *Second Treatise on Government* (1690) argued that humans form both a social and a civil contract to escape the state of nature and that the latter can be broken when a ruler fails to protect life, liberty, and property.

Louis Philippe (1773–1850): Duke of Valois, duke of Chartres, duke of Orléans; king of France (1830–1848). He came to power as a result of the Revolution of 1830 and left it as a result of the Revolution of 1848. In between, he began as a democrat and a liberal but grew unpopular as he began to restore royal power.

Louis XI (1423–1483): King of France (1461–1483). Louis XI enhanced his power by reducing that of his nobles, especially the dukes of Burgundy.

Louis XIV (1638–1715): King of France (1643–1715), known as the “Sun King.” The nation was administered for Louis XIV by Jules, Cardinal Mazarin, and the *Frondeurs* until he declared himself of age in 1661. Thereafter, he enhanced royal power, built Versailles, and pursued an aggressive foreign policy aimed at securing control of the Spanish throne and empire. After several successful wars, his ambitions were halted and his regime was nearly bankrupted by the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714).

Louis XV (1710–1774): King of France (1715–1774), but prior to 1723, during his minority, the kingdom was administered by the duke of Orleans as regent. During his reign, France fought several expensive wars, culminating in spiraling debt and military disaster at the end of the Seven Years’ War in 1763.

Louis XVI (1754–1793): King of France (1774–1793); he inherited massive debts and military defeat from Louis XV, to which his ministers responded with reform. Supported the United States in the American Revolutionary War, but this further saddled the government with crippling debt. Called the Estates General in 1789, thus setting in motion the French Revolution. His hesitation over the revolution, culminating in his attempt to flee after the new constitution of 1791, discredited him. Tried in December 1792, convicted, and executed on a charge of treason in January 1793.

Luther, Martin (1483–1546): Augustinian priest and religious reformer; Luther was a professor at the University of Wittenberg when he wrote his 95 Theses against the sale of indulgences. He was excommunicated (1520) and refused to recant at the Diet of Worms (1521); thereafter, he translated the Bible into German and produced other writings elaborating his theology.

Machiavelli, Niccolò (1469–1527): Italian writer on politics, author of *Il Principe* (*The Prince*, 1532).

Malthus, Thomas (1766–1834): British political economist, his *Essay on Population* (1798) argued that the world's population was bound to outrun its food supply and that charity and medicine only exacerbated the problem.

Maria Theresa (1717–1780): Archduchess of Austria, queen of Hungary and Bohemia, succeeded to imperial dominions (1740–1780). She reformed Austrian finances and military and encouraged trade. Facing the War of the Austrian Succession upon her accession in 1740, her foreign policy was largely unsuccessful, resulting in the loss of Silesia to Frederick the Great.

Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of (1650–1722): British soldier and statesman, captain-general of Queen Anne's forces in the War of the Spanish Succession. Beginning with Blenheim (1704), he won a series of decisive victories against Louis XIV, thus destroying the myth of French invincibility and ensuring British superiority in Europe and beyond for a generation.

Marshall, George C. (1880–1959): American soldier and statesman, U.S. Army chief of staff in World War II; he organized the massive American mobilization, then the relief plan implemented to restore the European economies that bears his name, beginning in 1947. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953.

Marx, Karl (1818–1883): German philosopher, architect of international communism in a series of works beginning with the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and culminating in *Das Kapital* (1883). Marx argued that the material conditions of life in any society lay the foundation for its political, social, and cultural organization; that history is the story of class struggle; and that the working class could win that struggle only by seizing the means of production through revolution, though vague on how this would produce a classless society. His ideas had a powerful influence for the next century.

Matthias Corvinus, Matthias I, later nicknamed Matthias the Just (1443–1490): Hungarian king who ruled strongly from 1458 to 1490, initially under the guidance of a regent from Italy and for a long time with a fascination for the Italian Renaissance. He died without a legitimate heir, and the strong state he built collapsed back into feudalism.

Mazarin, Jules, Cardinal (1602–1661). Chief minister to Louis XIV from 1643; his efforts to raise funds for the war against Spain provoked the last major revolt against French absolutism before the Revolution (the Fronde of 1649–1652). The defeat of that revolt allowed him to strengthen the king's provincial administrators (*intendants*) and prepare the way for an even more effective generation of ministers, led by Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

Mendel, Gregor (1822–1884): Augustinian monk and botanist who, through experiments on peas, discovered Mendel's law about heredity and its transmission through genes.

Metternich, Klemens von (1773–1859): Austrian diplomat, one of the architects of the Congress of Vienna and the next 30 years of conservative reaction in Europe. He fell from power during the Revolutions of 1848.

Mill, John Stuart (1806–1873): British philosopher and member of Parliament, the author of *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), *On Liberty* (1859), *On Representative Government* (1861), and *On the Subjection of Women* (1869). Began as a Utilitarian liberal, but came to articulate a new, more interventionist style of liberalism.

Milošević, Slobodan (1941–2006): Serbian politician, president of Serbia (1988–1997) and reorganized Yugoslavia (1997–1999); a determined nationalist, his plans for a "Greater Serbia" led to the policies of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992–1994 and in Kosovo in 1998–1999. Subsequently tried for crimes against humanity.

Montagu, Charles, later Earl and Marquis of Halifax (1661–1715): Whig politician, chancellor of the exchequer under William III, and architect of the financial revolution, by which Britain creatively funded its national debt; he raised vast sums of money that paid for the Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession.

Montaigne, Michel de (1533–1592): Humanist author whose *Essays* advocated rational reforms.

Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de (1689–1755): French *philosophe* of the Enlightenment, author the *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), in which he argued that the most effective forms of government divided power so that each branch could check and balance the others.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756–1791): Austrian composer of, among many other great works, *The Marriage of Figaro* (1785–1786), *Don Giovanni* (1787), and the *Magic Flute* (1790–1791).

Mussolini, Benito (1883–1945): Italian fascist leader and dictator of Italy (1922–1943), one of Hitler’s principal allies in World War II.

Napoleon III, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (1808–1873): President of France (1848–1852), emperor of France (1852–1870). Though viewed initially as a liberal, even as president, he sought to enhance his authority. As emperor, he combined enlightened social policies and extensive public works with an aggressive and expansionist foreign policy. Deposed after bungling into and losing the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871).

Nelson, Horatio, Lord (1758–1805): British admiral, victor at the Battles of the Nile (1798), Copenhagen (1801), and Trafalgar (1805), where he was wounded mortally. These victories limited Napoleon’s ambitions and established British naval supremacy for a century.

Newton, Sir Isaac (1642–1727): British scientist who posited the theory of gravity, three laws of motion, and in the *Principia Mathematica* (1687), a complete cosmological system.

Nicholas I (1796–1855): Czar of Russia (1825–1855); came to power via suppression of the Decembrist uprising and immediately founded a Third Section within the imperial chancery that functioned as secret police against political enemies. Always an autocrat who relied upon an inner circle of military men, he became even more authoritarian after the European revolutions of 1848, and he died during the unsuccessful Crimean War (1853–1855) against the Ottomans, French, and British.

Nicholas II (1868–1918): Czar of Russia (1894–1917); he continued the repressive measures of Alexander III and involved Russia in the disastrous Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and World War I. Abdicated in 1917 and was executed by order of the Communist government in 1918.

Nietzsche, Friedrich (1844–1900): German philosopher; posited the notion that God is dead as a meaningful philosophical concept and that true action is only possible by a Superman above traditional moral laws. His works included *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (1883–1885), *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886), *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887), *Ecce Homo* (1908), and *The Will to Power* (1901).

Nixon, Richard (1913–1994). President of the United States (1969–1974); Nixon maintained and extended American involvement in Southeast Asia, pursued detente with the Soviet Union and communist China, and continued liberal social programs. Forced to resign in 1974 after implication in a series of covert unconstitutional acts, including the cover-up for the Watergate break-in.

Owen, Robert (1771–1858): British Utopian socialist who urged factory owners, in *A New View of Society* (1813), to organize communities in which workers would be provided good working and living conditions, as well as a share in company profits. Many such communities were set up, but all eventually failed.

Oxford, Robert Harley, First Earl of (1661–1724): English statesman, architect of the Treaty of Utrecht. Impeached for Utrecht in the next reign, he was acquitted and retired to amass one of the great book and manuscript collections in England, which later formed the basis for the British Museum.

Pankhurst, Emmeline (1858–1928): British feminist who helped found the Women’s Franchise League (1889) and the Women’s Social and Political Union (1903). She advocated militancy, even violence, to achieve votes for women and was jailed repeatedly.

Pasteur, Louis (1822–1895): French bacteriologist and professor of chemistry who first posited the idea of bacteria, microorganisms that grow in organic compounds and can cause disease. Pasteur developed inoculations for anthrax and rabies.

Peter the Great (1672–1725): Czar of Russia (1682–1725); a great modernizer and reformer; suppressed the rebellion of the *streletsy* guard (1698); won the Great Northern War against Sweden (1700–1721), resulting in the acquisition of Livonia, Estonia, and parts of Karelia; and established St. Petersburg (1703).

Philippe, Duke of Anjou. See **Anjou, Philippe, Duke of.**

Philippe II, Duke of Orléans (1674–1723). Regent to Louis XV from 1715 to 1723; introduced polysynody in a failed effort to return power to the nobles.

Phillip II (1527–1598): King of Naples and Sicily (1554–1598) and Spain (1556–1598); ruler of vast European and New World holdings. He drove the Turks out of the Mediterranean at Lepanto (1571); imposed the Inquisition on the Netherlands, precipitating the Dutch revolt (1567); launched the failed Spanish Armada (1588); and supported the Catholic League against Henry IV of France (1580). His attempts to stamp out Protestantism wherever he found it bankrupted Spain and led to that country’s slow decline in power.

Picasso, Pablo (1881–1973): Spanish painter, famed for his evolution through a variety of experimental styles, including his Blue Period (1901–1904), Cubism (1909–1925), and Surrealism (1925).

Pitt, William, the Elder; from 1766, Earl of Chatham (1708–1778): British statesman, prime minister (1756–1761, 1766–1768); effective war minister during the Seven Years’ War; opponent of the attempt to tax the American colonies.

Reagan, Ronald (1911–2004): President of the United States (1981–1989). Reagan’s administration marked a turn toward conservative fiscal and social policy in the United States, while he pursued a massive defense build-up designed to oppose the Soviet Union around the globe. Though an ardent Cold Warrior, he negotiated important agreements with Mikhail Gorbachev’s regime to scale back nuclear weapons.

Ricardo, David (1772–1823): British political economist, formulator of the “Iron Law of Wages” in his *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817).

Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal (1585–1642): French clergyman and statesman, virtual ruler of France under Louis XIII (1610–1643). He laid the foundations for absolutism by reducing the power of the French barons and tightening the organization of government. He also encouraged trade, industry, and overseas expansion and pursued an aggressive foreign policy, culminating in French participation in the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648).

Robespierre, Maximilien (1758–1794): Radical French politician, leader of the Jacobins during the French Revolution, virtual ruler of France (1793–1794). He defended France against foreign enemies and pursued egalitarian social legislation, but he was also the principal architect of the Reign of Terror. Eventually, his own supporters turned on him, leading to his execution in July 1794.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778): Swiss *philosophe*, author of the *Discourses* (1750, 1755), *Emile* (1762), *Social Contract* (1762), and *Confessions* (1782–1789), in which he argued for the primacy of emotion over reason and for small states governed by the general will.

Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905–1980): French existentialist philosopher and novelist; author, among many other works, of *Being and Nothingness* (1943) and *Nausea* (1949). Refused the Nobel Prize for literature in 1964.

Schuman, Robert (1886–1963). Foreign minister of France whose plan for European economic and military unity resulted in the European Coal and Steel Community (1952), which later become the European Economic Community (1958).

Shakespeare, William (1564–1623): English playwright, author of, among many great works, *Richard III* (1593), *Hamlet* (1601), *Macbeth* (1606), and *King Lear* (1606) .

Smith, Adam (1723–1790): British political economist, author of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), which argued against government interference in natural economic processes.

Sobieski, Jan III (1629–1696): Elective king of Poland (1674–1696) whose armies broke the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 and whose reign marked a brief revival of Polish power.

Stalin, Josef (1879–1953): Secretary general of the Communist Party (1922–1953) and virtual dictator of the Soviet Union (1924–1953). As victor of a power struggle with Leon Trotsky, Stalin maintained his power through terror, pursuing his enemies in a series of purges into gulags or death. In foreign policy, he urged the West to stand up to Hitler but, when rebuffed, signed a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. Taken by surprise by Hitler’s invasion in 1941, Stalin led the Soviet Union in World War II, then imposed communist regimes on occupied Eastern Europe.

Stravinsky, Igor (1882–1970): Russian composer of, among other works, the revolutionary ballets *The Firebird* (1909–1910), *Petrushka* (1910–1911), and *The Rite of Spring* (1913).

Sully, Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of (1560–1641). Huguenot financial and political advisor to Henry of Bourbon before and throughout his reign as King Henry IV (1589–1610); credited with policies generating a surplus in the French treasury and a return to economic prosperity.

Talleyrand, Count Charles Maurice de, Prince de Bénévent (1754–1838): French statesman and diplomat, bishop of Autun (1789–1791); active in the French Revolution, served in the governments of Napoleon I and Louis XVIII.

Thatcher, Margaret, Baroness (b. 1925): British politician, prime minister (1979–1990); she cut government spending and social programs, privatized industry, and pursued a strongly pro-American, anti-communist foreign policy. She became known as the “Iron Lady” for her unswerving determination in struggles against labor unions and in prosecuting the Falklands War of 1982.

Tito, Josip (1892–1980): Yugoslavian soldier and statesman, president of Yugoslavia (1953–1980); he organized partisan resistance to the Nazis during World War II. After the war, he led a decentralized communist regime independent of Moscow.

Toland, John (1670–1722). Catholic-born convert to Anglicanism whose *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696) became a classic of Deism.

Tolstoy, Leo (1828–1910): Russian novelist, author of *War and Peace* (1865–1869), *Anna Karenina* (1875–1877), and *The Death of Ivan Ilyich* (1888).

Trotsky, Leon (1879–1940): Russian Communist leader, negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) and organized the Red Army. After Lenin’s death, Trotsky lost to Josef Stalin in a struggle for control of the party (1924–1926); he was exiled abroad and murdered in 1940, almost certainly on Stalin’s orders.

Van Gogh, Vincent (1853–1890): Dutch painter whose innovative work reveals deep personal psychological struggle, even torment.

Verdi, Giuseppe (1813–1901): Italian opera composer of, among many other works, *Rigoletto* (1851), *La Traviata* (1853), and *Otello* (1887).

Victor Emanuel II (1820–1878): King of Piedmont-Sardinia (1849–1861), king of Italy (1861–1878). He followed the advice of Count Camillo di Cavour in challenging Austria (1859–1861). His forces later took Rome (1870), which became the Italian capital.

Victor Emanuel III (1869–1947): king of Italy (1900–1946). Accepted both Liberal cabinets and the Fascist seizure of power; ordered Mussolini’s arrest in 1943, and himself abdicated three years later in an effort to influence a 1946 plebiscite that instead abolished the Italian monarchy.

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet) (1694–1778): French *philosophe*, author of, among many other works, *Letters on England* (1734) and *Candide* (1759). His relentlessly critical and satirical tone, especially against government and Church corruption, superstition, and religious bigotry, led to his banishment from France.

Wagner, Richard (1813–1883): German composer of vast, psychologically complex operas, such as *Tristan and Isolde* (1865); *Die Meistersinger von Nuernberg* (1868); and *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (1876).

Wallenberg, Raoul (1912–c. 1947): Swedish diplomat who saved 95,000 Jews by providing them with Swedish passports; disappeared in 1945 when the Red Army took Budapest. The Soviets claimed that he died in their custody in 1947, but doubts remain as to his final fate.

Walpole, Sir Robert (1676–1745): British statesman, prime minister (1720–1742). He maintained his power by pursuing peace abroad, keeping taxes low at home, and running a political spoils system in which members of Parliament were rewarded for loyalty with titles, government jobs, pensions, and so on.

Watt, James (1736–1819): Scottish engineer and inventor; he perfected the Newcomen steam engine by attaching a condenser and a fly-wheel, which made possible rapid circular motion necessary to run large factory equipment.

Wellesley, Arthur, Duke of Wellington (1769–1852). British army commander in the Napoleonic wars who held on at Waterloo (1815) until Prussian reinforcements under Blücher joined Wellington’s troops to defeat Napoleon.

Wilhelm I (1797–1888): King of Prussia (1861–1871), Kaiser of Germany (1871–1888); his support of Bismarck led to the unification of Germany, but his reign saw a continuous struggle with the forces of liberalism.

Wilhelm II (1859–1941): Kaiser of Germany (1888–1918), his diplomatic missteps and decision to build a navy alienated the Russians and the British and facilitated the outbreak of World War I. Abdicated in November 1918 as Germany lost the war.

William of Orange, William the Silent (1533–1584). Leader of the Netherlands' revolt against Spain, first stadholder, and grandfather of King William III of England.

William of Orange, William III (1650–1702): Stadholder of the Netherlands (1672–1702), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1689–1702; in co-rule with Mary II during 1689-1694). William spent nearly his entire life opposing the ambitions of Louis XIV; he engineered the Grand Alliance and defeated Louis in the Nine Years' War.

Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924): President of the United States (1913–1921); reelected in 1916 on the grounds that he kept the United States out of World War I. His Fourteen Points were only partly fulfilled by the peace settlement of Versailles. While campaigning for ratification of the treaty in October 1919, he suffered a stroke that incapacitated him for the remainder of his term.

Wollstonecraft, Mary (1759–1797): British feminist, often considered the mother of modern feminism, author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792).

Wordsworth, William (1770–1850): British Romantic poet, co-author of the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798).

Yeltsin, Boris (b. 1931): Russian statesman, first president of the Russian Federation (1991–2000). His courageous stand against a communist coup in 1991 ensured the continued democratization of Eastern Europe, but as president, he faced great difficulty in attempting to implement free-market reforms. His harsh handling of the Chechnya revolt failed to crush it, leaving a legacy of lasting bitterness.

Zola, Émile (1840–1902): Liberal French author who embraced Realism in writing about peasant and working-class life in such novels as *Nana* (1880), *Women's Paradise* (1883), and *Germinal* (1885); he was active in politics, especially in the campaign to free Alfred Dreyfus.

**Foundations of
Western Civilization II:
A History of the
Modern Western World
Part IV
Professor Robert Bucholz**



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Robert Bucholz was born March 17, 1958, in Los Angeles, California. He received his undergraduate education in history at Cornell University, where he also earned his letter in cross-country and track. He graduated in 1980, magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, whereupon he received a Keasbey Memorial Scholarship for study at Oxford University. At Oxford, Bucholz studied under G. V. Bennett and P. G. M. Dickson. He took his doctorate in modern history from Oxford in March 1988. He taught at Cornell, UCLA Extension, Cal State Long Beach, and Loyola-Marymount Universities before joining the faculty in history at Loyola University of Chicago in 1988. He currently holds the rank of professor.

At Loyola, Dr. Bucholz teaches both halves of the Western Civilization survey, as well as upper division courses in Early Modern (Tudor-Stuart) England, English Social History, and Early Modern London. He has received several awards for his teaching, most notably, in 1994, in the first year of its presentation, the Sujack Award for Teaching Excellence, the College of Arts and Sciences' highest such award. He was also the Honors Program Faculty Member of the Year in 1998 and 1999.

Dr. Bucholz's primary research interest is the English court and royal household for the period from 1660 into the 19th century. He is the author of *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, 1993); with Sir John Sainty, KCB, *Officials of the Royal Household, 1660–1837*, 2 vols. (Institute of Historical Research, London, 1997–1998); and, with Professor Newton Key of Eastern Illinois University, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714: A Narrative History* (Blackwell, 2003). He is the project director of the Database of Court Officers, which will contain the career facts of every person who served in the British royal household from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 to the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. The database was launched online by Loyola University in 2005.

In 1997, Dr. Bucholz was named Prince of Wales Foundation Scholar for Architecture in America, which led, in turn, to his being invited to speak on the etiquette of the public rooms and the experience of going to court in the 17th and 18th centuries to Royal Collection Studies at Windsor Castle in September of that year. (Dr. Bucholz's week-long stay at Windsor coincided with the death and funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales.) This talk was repeated in 2000 and published in 2001 in *The Court Historian*. Dr. Bucholz's work has been solicited and commented upon by HRH, the Prince of Wales.

Dr. Bucholz is past president of the Midwest Conference on British Studies and the organizer of the Center for Renaissance Studies/Society for Court Studies Seminar on Courts, Households, and Lineages at the Newberry Library, Chicago. Dr. Bucholz is occasionally asked to comment on British history and the activities of the British royal family to the Chicago media, most notably "Chicago Tonight" with John Calloway and "Extension 720" with Milt Rosenberg.

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A History of the Modern Western World
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Foundations of Western Civilization II: A History of the Modern Western World

Scope:

Wherever we come from, whatever we believe, however we make a living, Americans are all, to a greater or lesser extent, inhabitants of a land shaped by the last five centuries of Western history and culture. Over those five centuries, the Western world has seen a profound transformation. How did the decentralized agrarian princedoms of medieval Europe become great industrial nation-states? How was the power of disease and superstition dealt a blow by Western science and technology? How and why did absolutism yield to democratic liberalism? Why did Europe produce two great antagonistic economic systems, capitalism and communism? How did Westerners conquer half the world, then lose it? Why did the Western world erupt into two world wars, then a cold war in which Europe found itself the prize between two superpowers? To what extent have Europeans learned to work together for their common good; to what extent do they remain divided by history and culture? Overall, has their legacy to the wider world been positive or negative?

This course will explore the ideas, events, and characters that molded Western political, social, religious, intellectual, cultural, scientific, technological, and economic history during the tumultuous period between the 16th and 20th centuries. The course begins by explaining the geographical, philosophical, political, religious, and economic background to the modern Western world. It then examines, in turn, the crisis of the 17th century, absolutism and constitutionalism, the wars of the 18th century, the Enlightenment, the French and American Revolutions and the spread of liberal ideals, nationalism, the Industrial Revolution, socialism, imperialism, the Russian Revolution, two world wars, communism, fascism, de-colonization, the collapse of the Soviet bloc, democratization, and globalization and other issues confronting contemporary Western society. Frequent reference to contemporary philosophy, literature, the arts, and biography will help us define these explosive centuries and understand how we are their heirs.

Lecture Thirty-Seven

The End of the War—1917–22

Scope: Having won the war in the east in 1917, the Germans sought to bring the full weight of their military to bear in the west in the following year. The *Kaiserschlacht* offensive nearly took Paris before the German tide was stemmed by fresh American troops and German exhaustion. By the late summer of 1918, Germany faced food and fuel shortages and agreed to an armistice to begin on 11 November 1918. The ensuing peace conference assembled at Versailles in 1919 was convened amid much optimism that the West had learned its lesson and would never again fight a general war. But the leaders of France and Britain outmaneuvered American President Wilson in securing severe penalties on Germany, which would weaken the German economy and breed tremendous resentment. The treaty did better with the issues of nationalism and liberalism, establishing independent democratic republics where there had been empires. The treaty also established the League of Nations, which was designed to provide a peaceful opportunity for nations to resolve their differences.

Outline

- I. Following Brest-Litovsk, the Germans transferred the bulk of their eastern army to the west for an all-out assault on the Allied lines. This would be *Kaiserschlacht*, the “kaiser’s battle.”
 - A. The three months that it took to work out the peace had enabled the Allies to get fresh American troops under General John Pershing (1860–1948) to the front.
 - B. In fact, the German plan, devised by General Erich Ludendorff (1865–1937), was to aim right for those troops, stationed in the Argonne Forest.
 - C. The campaign began with an artillery barrage in late March 1918.
 1. The German troops broke through the Allied lines and came within 50 miles of Paris.
 2. The American forces before Paris stiffened and held.
 3. By late May, the German offensive had stalled.
- II. The Allied counteroffensive began on 18 July 1918.
 - A. The exhausted Germans soon fell back, giving up 8 miles on 8 August, a day that would be known as *Schwarztage* (*Schwartzter Tag*), the “Black Day.”
 - B. By late September 1918, German losses were a million men in six months.
 1. Morale was low; desertion was mounting.
 2. At home, the population suffered food shortages.
 3. Communists, demanding an end to the war, attracted large crowds.
 4. Nationalist groups in the Austro-Hungarian Empire rose up and began to form armies of their own.
 5. When ordered on one last suicidal sortie, the Imperial German Navy mutinied.
 - C. By early November, the command structure of the German and Austrian Empires began to fall apart.
 1. On 7 November, revolts broke out in Bavaria.
 2. On 9 November, Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated and fled to the Netherlands.
 3. Two days later, Kaiser Karl, the last Austro-Hungarian emperor, gave up his constitutional powers.
- III. The German and Austrian provisional governments immediately sued the Allies for an armistice.
 - A. The armistice was agreed to begin at 11 AM on 11 November 1918.
 - B. The Great War had involved 34 nations at its height.
 1. Eleven million soldiers had died.
 2. Four great empires fell: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire.
 3. Europeans lost faith in authority and even, perhaps, in God.
 - C. The Great War clearly changed the balance of power.
 1. The United States was now a world power of the first rank.
 2. The Soviet Union clearly had the potential to be one, as well.

3. Out of the old empires, numerous independent nation-states, many of them democracies, would be created, including Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and from 1922, a semi-independent Ireland.
 4. After 1918, Germany and Austria would also be democracies.
- D. Many of these changes were enacted or confirmed at the peace conference that assembled at Versailles in 1919.
- IV. The Versailles Conference was convened not only to put Europe back together but also to find a way to prevent future wars.
- A. Despite—or perhaps because of—the terrible experience of the war, the Versailles conference convened amid great optimism.
1. There was a widespread conviction that the Allied leaders had a plan to make war a thing of the past: President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points.
 2. Wilson had drawn up the Fourteen Points in January 1918 to bring Germany to the negotiating table and establish a basis for a permanent peace.
 3. The Fourteen Points was a rational and moderate attempt to reduce or eliminate many of the tensions that had led to the war initially, in part by not blaming one side or the other for the conflict.
 - a. The 1st point was open covenants of peace; that is, there were to be no more secret treaties, à la Bismarck and Napoleon III.
 - b. The 2nd point was freedom of the seas, no more unrestricted warfare or even blockades.
 - c. The 3rd point was that there would be no tariff barriers among nations.
 - d. The 4th point was disarmament “to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety,” and the 5th called for the impartial arbitration of colonial disputes.
 - e. The 6th through 13th points addressed individual issues in Europe, including self-determination for Russia and Belgium, the withdrawal of German troops from France, and so on.
 - f. Finally, the 14th point was the proposal of the formation of a general association of nations.
 4. Georges Clemenceau, president of France, and, to a lesser extent, David Lloyd-George, prime minister of Great Britain, were not interested in rational or moderate treatment of Germany.
 - a. The French still harbored bitter and humiliating memories from their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871.
 - b. A good third of France had been occupied and turned into wasteland by the imperial German army.
 - c. Britain had nearly been starved out by the U-boats of the imperial German navy.
 - d. Both politicians promised their respective peoples a harsh peace.
 5. In the end, Wilson, the idealist, was outmaneuvered by Clemenceau and Lloyd George, the realists.
 6. Germany was not invited to be part of the negotiations at Versailles. Germany diplomats would be summoned only to accept or reject the final document. Germany later charged that the Treaty of Versailles was a *diktat*—a “dictated peace.”
- B. The territorial settlement was mainly intended to weaken Germany and strengthen its neighbors to prevent future wars. (Map 37a, Map 37b)
1. Germany lost significant amounts of territory, in part to give neighbors a buffer.
 - a. Alsace-Lorraine reverted to France.
 - b. The Rhineland, including the Saar Valley, heart of the German coal industry, was to be demilitarized for 15 years, and the French were allowed to exploit its coal deposits.
 - c. Much of East Prussia went to help form Poland, though Danzig (Gdansk) remained in German hands—a sore point for both sides.
 - d. In effect, Germany lost 13 percent of its population, 15 percent of its coal, 50 percent of its iron ore, and 20 percent of its iron and steel industry.
 - e. Its overseas possessions were distributed to Britain, Japan, and the United States.
 2. Later treaties broke up the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, awarded territory to Poland and Italy, and confirmed the independent existence of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia (lumping together Czechs and Slovaks), and Yugoslavia (Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims).
 3. Bulgaria lost territory on the Aegean.
 4. The Ottoman Empire lost all its overseas possessions.

- a. Lawrence of Arabia had promised self-determination to Arabs in Palestine, Iraq, and Syria who rebelled against the Ottoman Empire.
 - b. But Versailles made Iraq and Palestine protectorates of Great Britain and Syria a protectorate of France.
- 5. The territorial settlement of Versailles and associated treaties only partly fulfilled the goals set for it by the Fourteen Points.
 - a. Old, defeated empires were broken up.
 - b. Victorious empires (Britain, France) were strengthened.
 - c. Some peoples (Poles, Baltic peoples) achieved statehood.
 - d. Other peoples were lumped together in uneasy states: Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.
- 6. The old principle of balance of power outweighed the newer one of national self-determination.
- 7. Germany and the Soviet Union had to be counterbalanced, even if that meant lumping together Czechs and Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims.
- 8. Imperialism remained very much alive.
- C. The military settlement was mainly intended to “de-fang” Germany, rather than to disarm the whole world.
 - 1. The Rhineland was to be occupied by Allied troops for 15 years.
 - 2. The German army was to be reduced to 100,000 men.
 - 3. Germany was forbidden to have an air force.
 - 4. The German navy was forbidden to have U-boats.
- D. The economic provisions of Versailles were likewise intended to stifle German militarism but also to punish and avenge.
 - 1. Germany’s coal was to be shipped to France.
 - 2. Germany’s merchant ships, foreign assets, and patents were awarded to the Allies.
 - 3. Germany was to pay an indemnity of \$5 billion and reparations of \$32 billion to the Allies, by which the Allies hoped to pay off their war debt.
- E. The War Guilt Clause, Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty, was the ultimate humiliation; it blamed Germany for “causing all the loss and damage...of the war imposed upon them [the Allies] by the aggression of Germany and her Allies.”
 - 1. The assignment of national blame for war was something new in diplomacy.
 - 2. In fact, although Germany clearly bore a heavy responsibility, all the great powers had some share in starting the war.
 - 3. The War Guilt Clause would only exacerbate German resentment of the *diktat* of Versailles.
- F. Versailles was, at best, an incomplete solution to the problems that had led to the Great War.
 - 1. It largely ignored what had happened in Russia, establishing a policy among Western governments of simply shunning the new communist regime.
 - 2. It only partly solved the problem of nationalism and did not address colonialism.
 - 3. The economic provisions of the treaty were unworkable.
- V. The League of Nations was the one real glimmer of hope to emerge from the Versailles Conference.
 - A. It was chartered in 1919 “to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security.”
 - B. It had four specific functions: international disarmament, arbitration of international disputes, economic sanctions against aggression, and treaty revision.
 - C. But it suffered from two fundamental flaws.
 - 1. The charter contained no provision for the use of military force against recalcitrant aggressor nations.
 - 2. Three major powers were not members: Russia was not invited to join; Germany was excluded; and the United States chose not to join.
 - a. Wilson campaigned hard to convince Congress to ratify the Versailles Treaty and the league charter.
 - b. But Republican senators and congressmen opposed further involvement in European affairs.
 - D. The league first convened in Geneva on November 5, 1920.
 - 1. The first matter on the agenda was international disarmament.

- a. In naval disarmament conferences held in 1921 and 1936, the British, Americans, and Japanese agreed to a ratio of 5:5:3 in capital ships.
- b. The naval conferences also agreed on a moratorium on building new ships until 1931, but they did not address submarines or aircraft.
- c. A 1932 conference on military disarmament could not identify a reasonable formula for determining a country's land force needs.
- 2. The second matter on the agenda was arbitration of international disputes.
 - a. This was accomplished with some success when the countries were small and relatively powerless, but larger and more powerful countries tended to simply ignore the international community.
 - b. The only recourse for the league was economic sanctions, which were applied unevenly and failed to solve international disagreements.
- 3. Finally, the League of Nations offered the possibility of treaty revision, which was used to ease the German situation somewhat in the 1920s and 1930s.
- E. The League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles have been viewed as failures, but the treaty enabled the reconstruction of Europe.
 - 1. Further, the League of Nations brought about naval disarmament, attacked international traffic in narcotics and prostitution, assisted war refugees, and addressed health and labor conditions.
 - 2. The league also brought Germany and the Soviet Union back into the brotherhood of nations and set a precedent for global cooperation.
 - 3. Both the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, however, would be overwhelmed by the economic, social, and political tensions of the 1920s and 1930s.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 27, sections III–IV.

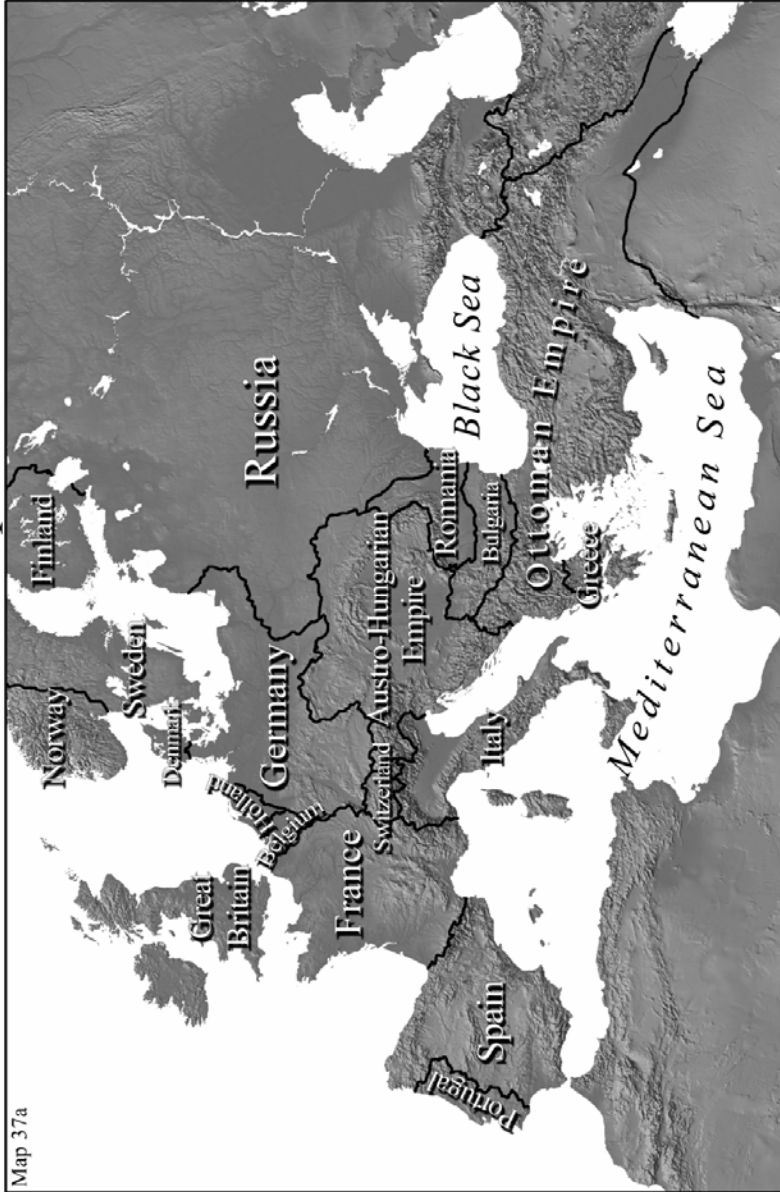
J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*.

A. Sharp, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking in Paris, 1919*.

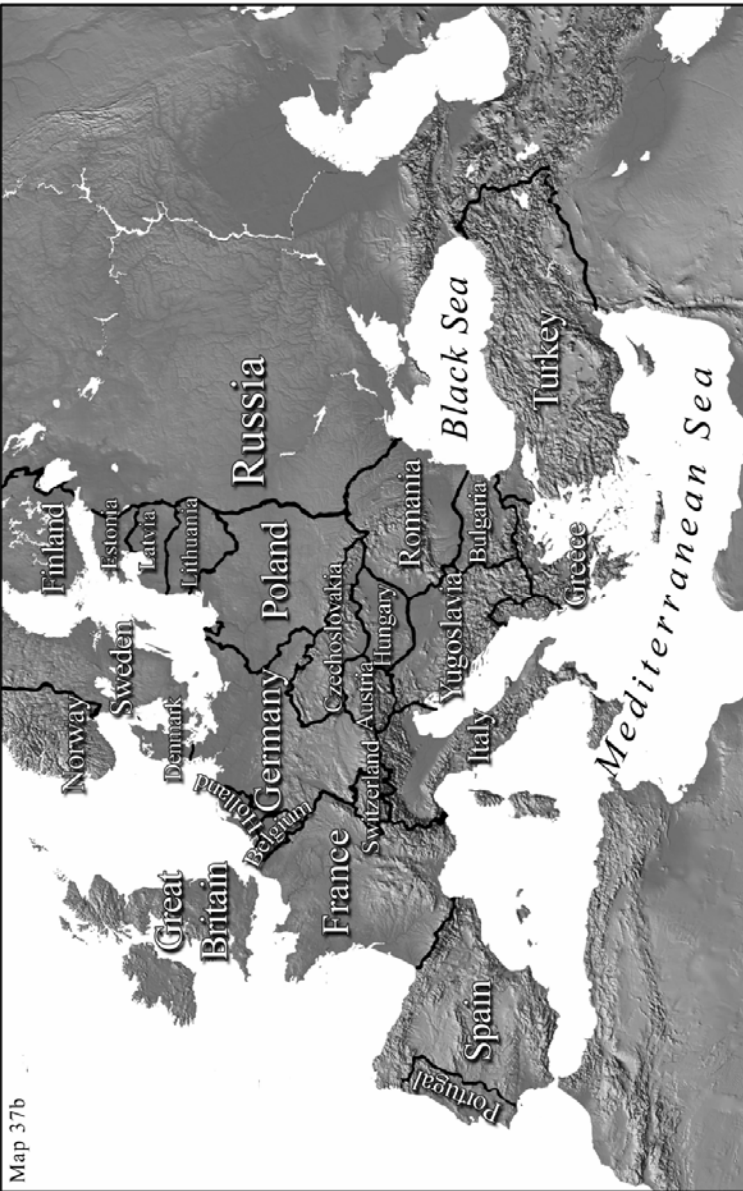
Questions to Consider:

- 1. How should Germany have been dealt with after World War I?
- 2. Why did the United States opt out of the League of Nations?

Political Boundaries in Europe before World War I



Boundaries in Europe after World War I (Treaty of Versailles, 1919)



Lecture Thirty-Eight

Recovery & Depression in the West—1919–36

Scope: The world economy never fully recovered from the Great War. This left the United States as both Europe's creditor and the world's wealthiest nation. Therefore, the collapse of the American stock market in 1929 had a disastrous ripple effect, as American banks called in European loans. Unemployment in Western Europe was more than 30 percent; in Germany, crippled by massive war reparations, more than 65 percent. This helps to explain why the peoples of Europe began to question democracy and, in the case of Italy and Germany, embrace fascist regimes. In other countries, the communist alternative was appealing, because the Soviet Union was left largely untouched by the Great Depression.

Outline

- I. The European situation in 1919–1920 was challenging to anyone who expected to turn the clock back to 1914.
 - A. Vast armies and navies had to be demobilized and their personnel returned to peacetime life.
 1. Many servicemen returned physically and/or psychologically broken.
 2. They returned to economies unable to employ them and sometimes to wives and sweethearts who had abandoned them.
 3. Most of the new democracies in Europe began to build welfare states to look after these men.
 4. Most recognized the public service of women in the war by granting them the vote; the major exception was France.
 5. War had changed the culture.
 - a. We have spoken of the Lost Generation of writers who rejected the old pieties.
 - b. Women continued to work outside of the home, began to wear more masculine clothing, and initiated a sexual revolution.
 - B. The process of demilitarization and economic recovery was complicated by the worst pandemic in history, the so-called Spanish flu of 1918, which killed, perhaps, 20–50 million people.
 - C. All Western economies faced great challenges in recovering from the war.
 1. Germany, which had begun the conflict as the industrial powerhouse of Central Europe, was devastated by the war and by the Versailles peace settlement. The Weimar Republic was further challenged by the need to negotiate between extremist parties of the right and left.
 2. Britain had entered the war as the greatest manufacturing and trading nation on Earth, but one that had been slowing down, its factories increasingly obsolete.
 - a. The war destroyed one-third of Britain's shipping, nearly 8 million tons.
 - b. Resources and investments had been diverted from growth industries, such as automobile manufacture and production of electronic goods, toward war production.
 - c. Britain owed a war debt of \$4 billion to the United States.
 3. French industry was in the same situation.
 - a. Worse, French agriculture—proportionally more important to the French economy—was devastated by the fact that most of the Western Front had been on French soil.
 - b. France also owed a huge war debt of \$3.5 billion to the United States.
 4. Eastern Europe never had much industry to begin with, and its farmland was also torn up by war.
 - a. In addition, there was political and social upheaval as old regimes fell in the last days of the war and were replaced by democracies or revolutionary republics.
 - b. The land situation was in turmoil as peasants often seized estates from their landlords.
 5. The Soviet Union, also devastated by war and political turmoil, was perceived as a dangerous, unstable neighbor by democracies new and old and was treated as a pariah, economically and diplomatically.
 - a. The Soviet Union was refused development loans and trade.
 - b. This contributed to a sense of self-reliance, isolation, and paranoia.
 6. Among the Western powers, only the United States came out of the war in better shape than when it went in.

- a. The two-and-a-half years of peace prior to entry into war allowed the United States a tremendous advantage in the production of peacetime products.
 - b. Short mobilization meant a shorter interval to return to what Republican politicians called “normalcy.”
 - c. The Republican administration of the 1920s avoided “foreign entanglements” and military spending, keeping taxes low.
 - d. Above all, the United States was the creditor for the huge wartime expenditures of Europe, to the tune of about \$10 billion.
- II.** The reparations problem dominated European politics and economics in the 1920s.
- A.** The British, French, and other Allies were in no position to pay their debt any time soon. At Versailles and afterwards, the British asked the United States for an overall cancellation of debt, but Calvin Coolidge was unmoved.
 - B.** America’s insistence on payment caused the Allies to demand money from Germany.
 - 1. Much of German industry, though, had been confiscated.
 - 2. By 1923, Germany began to default on its reparations payments.
 - 3. The French army was ordered into the Ruhr to seize its coal deposits.
 - 4. The new democratic German government printed more money to pay the reparations.
 - 5. This rendered the mark nearly valueless. By the end of 1923, its exchange rate was 4.2 trillion DM to the dollar. [**Correction:** lecture incorrectly referred to the German currency during this period as “Deutschmarks,” a name that was not adopted until 1947.]
 - 6. This situation, in turn, ruined anyone on a fixed income and explains why many lost faith in the Weimar Republic.
 - C.** In 1924, a more moderate coalition government came to power in France and agreed to back off.
 - D.** Beginning in 1924 with the Dawes Plan, America restructured German debt and, in 1932, forgave it at the Lausanne Conference. The 1925 Locarno Pact, sponsored by the League of Nations, returned Germany to the international community.
 - E.** But Germans would long remember the humiliation of 1923 and what it seemed to say about democracy, the French, and other issues on the worldwide stage.
- III.** Despite the crisis, Europe showed signs of economic recovery in the 1920s.
- A.** The recovery, though, was gradual, mostly in industrial countries, mostly in Western Europe, and mostly spurred by American loans. A few of its positive aspects included the following:
 - 1. Britain, France, Germany, and the Netherlands began to rebuild their industries with American capital.
 - 2. Simultaneously, the Soviet Union, under Stalin, launched a series of Five-Year Plans. By 1940, the Soviet Union was one of the top five industrial nations on Earth. Stalin’s regime also touted full employment, free medical care, public education, and other social services, but as we now know, these would come at a terrible price.
 - 3. Italy’s industry recovered slowly, but Mussolini was able to increase food production.
 - B.** The 1920s economic recovery also had negative aspects.
 - 1. Apart from Italy, the recovery was confined mostly to industry. Even here, European industry had lost many overseas markets to the Americans during the war, and old industries faced decline.
 - 2. Agriculture recovered far more slowly than industry.
 - a. In the Soviet Union, collectivization was a disaster.
 - b. In the rest of the world, agriculture, where not devastated directly by the war, had expanded its capacity in order to feed the troops. After the war, it suffered from overproduction and agricultural depression.
 - 3. Because most of the world was still primarily agricultural, most people could not afford industrial goods. Given that industrial workers were also poorly paid, demand did not match industrial output.
 - 4. To spur demand, people were encouraged to abandon old traditions, such as saving their money and postponing pleasure.

- a. The key here was modern advertising, which used many of the same propaganda techniques previously used to generate support for the war.
 - b. Many American and Western European workers responded by purchasing industrial goods on credit, resulting in a period of increased mass consumption in the West.
 - c. In cities, nightlife developed; this, combined with newfound freedom for women, led to the 20th century's first sexual revolution.
 - d. But this high living was built on a shaky foundation.
5. Much of the prosperity of the 1920s was built on a chain of credit; if any link in the chain failed, the consequences would be ruinous.
- a. Neither American nor European workers were being paid enough to keep up with their bills.
 - b. If individuals defaulted, the companies that made the consumer goods they bought would have cash-flow problems.
 - c. If that happened, the companies would be unable to keep up with their bank loans.
 - d. If that happened, banks would have to call in other loans—or fail. This was crucial because loans from American banks propped up European prosperity.
 - e. If American banks called in their European loans or failed, the ripple effect across Western Europe would be devastating.

IV. The causes of the Great Depression have been endlessly debated, but the general consensus follows the outline above.

- A. What, then, did the New York Stock Market have to do with it?
 - 1. The one group that had done well after the war was the wealthy. They benefited from low taxes and poured the extra money into investments—stock.
 - 2. This buying spree led to artificial inflation of stock values, which led to a boom market by 1928.
 - 3. Companies, banks, even ordinary folks bought stocks “on margin,” that is, with money borrowed against the eventual yield.
 - 4. In the fall of 1929, the U.S. government, worried about the “bubble,” attempted to regulate speculation.
 - 5. This move forced brokers to demand more payment from investors; when they defaulted, stock prices began to plummet.
- B. On 24 October 1929—Black Thursday—the market collapsed as 20 million shares were sold in a panic; \$40 billion was lost in three months.
 - 1. American banks began to call in loans to companies.
 - 2. Companies then demanded payment for past goods.
 - 3. Workers, though, were unable to pay, in part because companies began laying them off to reduce debt.
 - 4. Thus began a cycle of defaulting in which individuals, companies, and banks went under.
- C. The effects took some time to reach Europe. For example, U.S. credit did not fully dry up until 1931.
 - 1. In May 1931, Austria's largest bank collapsed, marking the official beginning of the Depression in Europe.
 - 2. In July 1931, the first German bank suspended payments.
- D. The effects on European economies were staggering.
 - 1. European trade sank to 35 percent of its pre-1929 level.
 - 2. Prices dropped by more than half.
 - 3. Production declined by one-third.
 - 4. Overall unemployment rose in many industrial countries to one-quarter of the labor force. World unemployment rose to 11 percent of the world labor force.
 - 5. Different countries in Europe were affected differently.
 - a. The Soviet Union was barely affected because it had not been admitted to the Western economic system.
 - i. In 1934, when Western Europe was in the grip of the Depression, the Soviet Union was producing twice the manufactured goods as it had done in 1929.

- ii. This explains why so many Europeans and Americans flirted with communism in the 1930s. Communism seemed to be working, while democratic capitalism seemed to be choking on its own greed.
 - b. By 1932, unemployment in Britain was at more than 20 percent; in France, it was 14 percent; and in the Netherlands, 27 percent.
 - c. Germany suffered the worst.
 - i. It had never fully recovered from the great inflation of 1923.
 - ii. By 1932, industrial production dropped 40 percent from what it had been in 1929.
 - iii. By 1933, unemployment was running at about 36 percent.
- E. Perhaps even more than in America, the Great Depression produced tremendous social and political upheaval in Europe.
 - 1. Workers—either terminated or subject to reduced wages—took to the streets in strikes and protests across the continent.
 - 2. Never before had Europe seemed so ripe for revolution.
 - a. Communist writers, bankrolled by the Soviet Union, labeled this the inevitable death-knell of capitalism, long ago predicted by Karl Marx.
 - b. Conservatives urged their governments to crack down hard on recalcitrant workers.
- V. In fact, there was a split in how the countries of Western Europe reacted to the crisis of the Great Depression.
 - A. In Western Europe, the democracies were shaken by political movements of the left and right (that is, communism and fascism) but survived.
 - B. In Eastern and Southern Europe, which did not have long democratic traditions, those movements won out, establishing totalitarian states.
 - C. We'll close this lecture by looking at the Western democracies; we'll turn to the totalitarian states in subsequent lectures.
 - 1. In the United States, the Hoover administration believed that the market and economy would correct themselves, but U.S. unemployment climbed to 38 percent by 1932, shantytowns of homeless sprang up, and dust-bowl conditions drove farmers off the land in Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas.
 - 2. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in a landslide in 1932, on the promise that he would do something about the Depression, but historians still debate the effectiveness of his New Deal programs.
 - 3. Britain, led by the conservative governments of Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain, chose a different road to recovery.
 - a. At first, instead of sweeping social legislation and public works programs, the government tried to cure the Depression by cutting back spending to reduce government debt.
 - b. But when the situation did not improve, after 1933, the government changed course, increasing benefits, launching public works programs, and instituting a program of rearmament.
 - 4. The French governments of the 1920s and 1930s tended to be weak, multi-party coalitions, but economically, France had been relatively prosperous in the 1920s.
 - a. When the Depression hit, German reparations payments dried up, and class and party tensions resurfaced.
 - b. In 1936, left-wing parties buried their differences and formed the Popular Front, which secured France's first Socialist government, under Leon Blum. Blum enacted sweeping reforms and was a hero to workers, but bankers and businessmen on the right refused to cooperate.
 - c. In April 1938, the Blum government fell and was replaced by another weak coalition, led by Édouard Daladier. It would be this government that would lead France into World War II.
- VI. By 1937–1938, it was clear that the great democracies of the West and, with them, capitalism had largely survived the challenge of the Great Depression. But the largest states in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe had already embraced alternatives to democratic capitalism. We will turn to those alternatives in the next lecture.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 28, section V.

G. Kolata, *Flu: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the Search for the Virus That Caused It*.
C. P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929–1939*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Should the United States have forgiven its foreign debt sooner? At all?
2. Did government action have any effect on the recovery from the Depression?

Lecture Thirty-Nine

Totalitarian Russia—1918–39

Scope: Lenin's early experiments with forced collectivization at home and international revolution abroad were disastrous for the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy and even worse for its people. After a brief period of retrenchment, Lenin died in 1924, leading to a vicious power struggle that resulted in the rise of Josef Stalin. On the surface, the Soviet constitution provided ample freedoms within a federal system, but in reality, Stalin ruled as autocratically and arbitrarily as any czar. Millions died because of his various purges, treason trials, and the sheer inefficiency of the Soviet system. Stalin's ruthless methods did make Russia into an industrial power, but his attempts to get the West to pay attention to him were rebuffed.

Outline

- I. In contrast to the Western democracies we discussed in the last lecture, the major countries of Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe embraced totalitarian regimes before World War II.
 - A. A totalitarian regime is even more repressive of dissent than an absolute monarchy or an autocracy. It involves the use or threat of force to ensure total loyalty; monitoring of public and, where possible, private life; the use of modern technology and propaganda techniques; and socialism and nationalism as an integral part of the state's ideology. Finally, a totalitarian state can be of the left or the right.
 - B. The Soviet Union was the grandfather of all totalitarian states.
- II. Immediately after the Russian Revolution, there was an initial period of coalition.
 - A. The disastrous Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, though, broke the coalition.
 1. The Left Social Revolutionary Party denounced the treaty and departed the Council of People's Commissars.
 2. Extreme members launched a series of assassination attempts in the hope of reigniting the war.
 3. The Bolsheviks responded with the Red Terror, eliminating political opponents. The new Russia was well on its way to becoming a one-party state.
 - B. In July 1918, the Congress of Soviets approved the first constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR).
 1. Lenin and his Bolsheviks became the dominant force in the new government.
 2. Lenin's attempt to communize the country quickly with forced collectivization—his *war communism*—was a disaster.
 - a. The Russian economy, already crippled by war, became totally disrupted.
 - b. The harvests of 1920–1921 were terrible.
 - c. The Soviet state was denied foreign loans.
 - d. Civil war broke out when the “White Russians,” that is, Ukrainians, supported by Germans, Poles, and Allied troops, marched on Moscow in 1919.
 - e. Foreign powers, including Britain, the United States, and Japan, invaded the Soviet Union.
 - f. In response, Leon Trotsky organized the Red Army.
 - g. The Treaty of Riga, ending the war, awarded the western Ukraine and Belorussia to Poland.
 - h. In 1920–1921, the Soviet Union also accepted the de facto independence of Finland, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.
- III. Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP) was a slowing down of communization, developed in response to the failures of war communism, beginning in March 1921.
 - A. It called for a partial return to prewar capitalism.
 - B. It called off the dogs of international revolution.
 - C. The NEP was, by and large, successful.
 1. By 1928, production had recovered to prewar levels.
 2. Food became plentiful again.
 3. Wages rose slightly.

4. The West began to restore diplomatic relations.
 5. This situation led to a bitter internal debate about the pace of communization.
- D. In 1922, Lenin suffered a paralytic stroke, which incapacitated him; he died in 1924.
- IV. Lenin's death led to a power struggle for control of the party and state.
- A. The frontrunner was Trotsky, an intellectual, a close associate of Lenin, and the organizer of the Red Army.
 - B. His challenger, Josef Stalin, was less important in Lenin's universe but had the advantage of being a secretary—from 1922, General Secretary—of the Communist Party.
 1. In 1925, Stalin forced Trotsky's resignation as minister of war and banished him to Siberia.
 2. In 1929, Stalin banished Trotsky abroad, where the latter continued to write against Stalin.
 3. In 1940, Trotsky was murdered in Mexico, almost certainly by Stalin's agents.
 - C. This initiated a series of purges of potential rivals and opposition figures known as the Sabotage Trials (1928–1933) and the Treason Trials (1934–1938).
 1. Tens of thousands, including two-thirds of the party leadership, half of the army high command, and nearly every important communist left over from the 1917 revolution, were arrested, “tried,” and executed or sent into exile or the gulag.
 2. The purges and gulag created a whole genre of literature, including Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, Solzhenitsyn's *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, and Shalamov's *Kolyma Tales*.
 3. In 1937–1938, the NKVD, under Nikolay Yezhov, arrested several million people. Perhaps 1 million were shot. Possibly 2 million died in the camps.
 - D. Stalin also established a vast propaganda machine to produce and censor the arts and the press.
- V. The final Soviet constitution, sometimes called the Stalin Constitution, took until 1936 to work out.
- A. On the surface, it was a loose federal system with important elements of democracy.
 1. The Soviet Union consisted of 16 republics in a federal union.
 2. Its legislature was the Supreme Soviet, consisting of two chambers.
 3. When not in session, the Soviet's functions were taken over by a Presidium of 27.
 4. Above that, a Council of the People's Commissars was appointed by the Supreme Soviet.
 5. Below that, there were many regional and local *soviets*, giving the impression of devolved power.
 6. All *soviets* were elected by universal suffrage.
 7. A Bill of Rights and Freedoms seemed to guarantee the same.
 - B. But those rights and freedoms were always to be interpreted for the good of the workers, that is, the Worker's State—the Soviet Union.
 1. Suffrage was fairly pointless because there was only one legal party: the party of the workers—the Communist Party.
 2. In effect, the whole superstructure of the Stalin Constitution was an empty shell, because choice was limited to the Party.
 3. The muscles and sinews of the Soviet State were those of the Communist Party, whose general secretary was, of course, Stalin.
- VI. Even an absolutist state can allow for some dissent, but a party, by definition, is made up of individuals committed to a single point of view.
- A. At bottom, the party consisted of small cells, whose job was to enforce conformity and party discipline in the localities.
 - B. At the bottom of the top sat the All Union Party Conference.
 - C. Members of the conference chose the Central Committee, the party's chief policy-making organ.
 - D. The Central Committee, in turn, chose the Politburo, the party's executive and highest constitutional authority.
 - E. In practice, the Politburo was dominated by the general secretary, that is, Stalin.
- VII. Stalin's domestic policy concentrated on overall economic growth and the enforcement of loyalty.

- A. A series of Five-Year Plans was designed to catapult Russian industry into modern times by pouring national resources into the development of steel, coal, heavy machinery, and railways—at the sacrifice of much else.
- B. The forced collectivization of agriculture was much less successful, breeding resentment and a famine in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan in 1932–1935 that killed 5–7 million.
- C. The intended social welfare policies of the Soviet state were progressive.
 - 1. They guaranteed full employment.
 - 2. The state provided free medical care, housing, and education.
 - 3. The state also encouraged gender equality by providing birth control and abortion. By 1937, 35 percent of the labor force was female.
- D. Communists, liberals, and labor activists in the West looked upon all this with envy, but in fact, medical care and housing were provided at rudimentary levels.
 - 1. Whole families were crowded into one room, and few houses had running water, electricity, or central heating.
 - 2. In the mid-1930s, advances in gender equality were rolled back, and abortion and homosexuality were criminalized.
 - 3. Education by the Soviet state was, for most, just as much indoctrination as education.
- E. To unite the populace, religion, persecuted under Lenin, was now grudgingly tolerated, especially the Russian Orthodox Church.
- F. The welfare policies of the Soviet state were bought at a terrific price: physical and mental dislocation; strict regimentation, unquestioning obedience, and constant fear; and famine, starvation, and death.

VIII. Most of the world viewed the Soviet Union as a rogue nation and a menace.

- A. But the Soviet Union was too big and too valuable as a potential market and ally to ignore forever.
 - 1. In 1922, Germany and the Soviet Union signed the Treaty of Rapallo.
 - 2. Gradually, other Western nations recognized the Soviet government, culminating in recognition by the United States in 1933.
 - 3. In 1934, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations.
- B. In fact, during the 1930s, from the Soviet point of view, it was the Soviet Union that was surrounded by enemies.
 - 1. In 1931, Manchuria was invaded by Japan, creating border tensions that erupted into fighting in 1938.
 - 2. Though initially supportive of Hitler as an ally against the liberal West, Stalin grew increasingly fearful of *Der Führer's* anti-communist rhetoric and military buildup.
 - 3. By the mid-1930s, Stalin urged a grand alliance against Mussolini, Hitler, and Japan and pestered the League of Nations to take action.
 - 4. In 1938, he offered to defend Czechoslovakia when Hitler demanded the Sudetenland and asked the British and French to do the same.
- C. But the Western democracies feared Stalin's international revolutionary communism more than they feared Mussolini's fascism or Hitler's Nazism.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 29, section IV.

R. Service, *A History of Twentieth Century Russia*.

S. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism. Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Would a quicker engagement by the West have tempered the excesses of Stalinist Russia?
- 2. Why were Western liberals and socialists blind to the atrocities of the Soviet system?

Lecture Forty

Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany—1922–36

Scope: The disillusionment with democracy and, later, capitalism that arose in Europe following the Great War and the Great Depression made alternatives seem reasonable. For many veterans, workers, and members of the middle class, fascism, with its appeals to patriotism, family, and muscular Christianity, was far more attractive than communism. In Italy, Benito Mussolini seized power in 1922; in Germany, Adolf Hitler, in 1933. Both leaders created states that boasted full employment, absolute conformity, and aggressive foreign policies in order to maintain the first two factors.

Outline

- I. Fascism was a less consistent, less coherent ideology than communism.
 - A. Communism has a coherent, rational ideology devised by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.
 - B. Fascism is a hodgepodge of ideas, forged in the heat of political battles by party leaders who rose up from the street.
 1. The word *fascist* goes back to the Italian word for bundles, *fasci*, which in turn harks back to the *fascies*, bundles of rods carried before a Roman consul to symbolize his power.
 2. Though some of Mussolini's and Hitler's ideas can be traced back to Machiavelli, Rousseau, Carlyle, or Nietzsche, the emphasis in fascism is not on thought but "groupthink" emotion and action, especially fighting. Mussolini's motto was "Believe, obey, fight."
 3. Fascism asserted that rampant individualism had made the West weak. The focus of fascism was on the group, the people, the *Volk*.
 4. Another attraction of fascism was that it seemed to emphasize traditional values, including patriotism, the family, religion, loyalty, obedience, unity, and stability.
 5. These factors explain why fascism would seem far less threatening to members of the upper and middle class than communism.
- II. Italy became the first fascist state in the 1920s.
 - A. Italy had lost a million men on the Austrian Front in World War I yet had little to show for it at Versailles.
 1. Italy emerged from the war in bad economic shape, made worse by the worldwide agricultural depression of the 1920s.
 2. In the first elections after the war, Socialists made huge electoral gains, frightening the middle-class industrialists and conservative Catholics.
 - B. In March 1919, Benito Mussolini formed the *Fascisti*, or Blackshirts.
 1. In 1919–1922, the Blackshirts and Communists waged street warfare against each other in major cities.
 2. In late October 1922, Mussolini launched the March on Rome, resulting in his ascent to the premiership.
 3. He spent the next few years consolidating his power.
 - a. In 1923, the Italian parliament decreed that any party receiving 50 percent of the vote got two-thirds of the seats, effectively turning the Italian parliament into a rubber stamp.
 - b. In 1924, Mussolini suspended the constitution and assumed full dictatorial powers.
 - c. In 1926, he outlawed all political opposition.
 - C. The structure of the fascist state was formalized in 1928.
 1. As in the Soviet Union, the Italian constitution was technically democratic but outlawed real choice.
 2. The Fascist Party was the real power in the state.
 3. Its leader, Il Duce—Mussolini—appointed to all positions in the party and state.
 4. Fascist education and youth organizations indoctrinated the young.
 5. Press, radio, and films were strictly censored to conform to the party ideology.
 6. In 1929, the Vatican signed the Fourth Lateran Treaty.

- a. The treaty created the political state of Vatican City, guaranteeing full sovereignty for the pope. Roman Catholicism was recognized as the official religion of Italy.
 - b. In return, Mussolini received the support of the Church.
- D. One reason for Mussolini's success in the 1920s is that he could claim an improved economy.
- 1. The party strictly controlled different sectors of the economy, but capitalism was preserved.
 - a. In 1934, industry was organized into 22 guilds under a national Council of Corporations.
 - b. The council prohibited construction of new factories or expansion of old ones without government consent.
 - c. The state reorganized the iron and steel industries and launched public works projects and a massive rearmament.
 - d. Unions and the right to strike were abolished.
 - 2. Mussolini reduced government expenditure while raising taxes.
 - 3. But the Depression of the 1930s hit Italy hard, and Mussolini's response was largely ineffective.
- E. To get the Italian people to forget their economic troubles, Il Duce launched an aggressive foreign policy meant to revive the glories of Rome.
- 1. Like Stalin, he was at first concerned about the revival of German power under Hitler.
 - 2. But Hitler supported Italy's 1935 invasion of Ethiopia, while the British and French opposed it.
 - 3. In 1936, Mussolini joined Hitler in sending troops to assist Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War.
 - 4. Also in 1936, he signed an alliance with Hitler to form the Rome-Berlin Axis.
 - 5. Subsequently, Italy withdrew from the League of Nations and banned Jews from civil and military employment.
 - 6. In 1938, Mussolini backed Hitler's negotiations for the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia.
 - 7. In 1939, while Hitler dismembered Czechoslovakia, Mussolini invaded Albania.

III. Adolf Hitler closely studied Mussolini's rise to power.

- A. We are already familiar with the situation in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s.
- 1. Defeat in World War I and the harshness of the Versailles Treaty had left the Germans demoralized and bitter.
 - 2. The inflation of 1923 and the Depression of the 1930s had left them desperate.
 - 3. The relatively weak Weimar government had left many Germans doubtful about democracy.
 - 4. As a result, the Communist Party grew in the 1920s.
 - 5. This alarmed conservatives, monarchists, industrialists, and the middle class in general.
 - 6. Thus, there was room in Germany for an alternative to weak democracy and godless communism.
- B. Adolf Hitler had spent his formative years studying art and imbibing anti-Semitic ideas in Vienna.
- 1. He enlisted in the German army in World War I and was twice decorated for bravery.
 - 2. After the war, Hitler joined the National Socialist German Workers Party and then became the *führer* ("leader") of the party—the Nazis.
 - 3. On 8 November 1923, at the height of the crisis over inflation, Hitler attempted a coup in Munich—the Beer-Hall Putsch.
 - 4. He was arrested and sent to prison; during his sentence, he wrote *Mein Kampf*, detailing a plan to create a European empire.
- C. The Nazi program is mostly to be found in *Mein Kampf*.
- 1. It argues that all history is the story of race conflict.
 - a. According to Hitler, Aryan Germans are the true master race, destined to win this war.
 - b. They had a chance to do so in World War I but were, in this reading of history, stabbed in the back by Jews, their natural enemies.
 - c. Because the conflict among races for land and power was eternal, Germany had to prepare for the next phase.
 - d. Only a strong dictatorship could save Germany from economic malaise, racial degeneration, and the danger of being overrun by its neighbors.
 - 2. Upon detailed examination, Nazi ideology is riddled with contradictions.
 - a. For example, Hitler promised to encourage a healthy German middle class yet also to nationalize all industry.

- b. He promised to give workers a share of the profits of industry and give jobs held by Jews to Aryans.
 - c. He also promised land reform, easy mortgages for peasants, and “living room” (*lebensraum*) for an increasing German population.
 - d. Austria was to be incorporated into a greater Germany.
 - e. National honor was to be restored by a repudiation of the Versailles Treaty.
 - f. This would allow for a military buildup, which would facilitate Hitler’s expansionist policies and encourage industry.
 - g. Hitler rejected democracy as weak and Jews and communists as degenerate and treacherous.
3. Nazism may have been contradictory, but it was successful because of the combined traditions of the German past: a European tradition of anti-Semitism, a Prussian tradition of militarism, and an East European tradition of authoritarianism.
 4. The German present was characterized by the humiliation of Versailles, economic disaster, and a lack of confidence in the Weimar regime.
 5. Add to these factors Hitler’s political savvy. He easily resumed control of the party on his release in 1926 and persuaded business leaders and the right-wing press to back him.
 6. Even so, in 1927, there were only 40,000 Nazis in Germany.
- D.** Hitler’s rise to power was made possible by the Great Depression.
1. In 1929–1933, millions of unemployed Germans barely existed on meager government welfare payments.
 2. This increased the popularity of extreme parties of the right and left. By the elections of 1932, the Nazis had 38 percent of the vote, making them the largest single party bloc in Germany.
 3. On 30 January 1933, President Paul von Hindenburg asked Hitler to become chancellor and form a government.
 4. Hitler called an election for March 1933 as a plebiscite on the new regime.
 - a. He used the interval, and the excuse of a mysterious fire at the Reichstag, to suppress other parties and civil liberties.
 - b. In response to the fire, President von Hindenburg and Chancellor Hitler suspended civil liberties under a constitutional provision. Free expression of opinion, freedom of the press, the right of assembly and association, the right to privacy, protection against unlawful search and seizure, and individual property rights were all swept away.
 - c. A supplemental decree made the Storm Troopers (SA) and Special Security Forces (SS) federal police agencies.
 - d. On election day, Nazi Storm Troopers engaged in physical intimidation and ballot-box stuffing.
 - e. Still, Nazi candidates garnered only 44 percent of the vote.
 5. On 30 June 1934, the Night of the Long Knives, political opponents were arrested or killed.
 6. The Reichstag outlawed all other political parties and gave Hitler full dictatorial powers for four years.
 7. When von Hindenburg died in August 1934, Hitler proclaimed himself *Führer* and Imperial Chancellor (*Reichskanzler*) of the new regime—the Third Reich.
- E.** Thereafter, like the Soviet Union and Italy, Germany was a democracy in name only.
1. The Führer made laws and issued orders.
 2. The Reichstag met occasionally to approve the Führer’s plans.
 3. Occasional plebiscites—overseen by storm troopers—were held to secure wider approval for Nazi policies.
 4. To foster popular approval, Joseph Goebbels presided over a vast propaganda machine.
 5. The press, books, films, art, and music were all strictly censored.
 6. Führer worship was organized in mass rallies, mostly famously at Nuremberg.
 7. Children were indoctrinated by mandatory enrollment from the age of 10 in the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls.
 8. The economy was planned by the state; labor unions were replaced by the National Labor Front—an arm of the party.
 9. Protestant and Catholic Churches mostly cooperated, their activities coordinated by the government.
 10. As in Stalin’s Russia and Mussolini’s Italy, these measures seemed to work. Unemployment fell from 6 million to 2 million by 1935.

- F. For those democrats, academics, or clergy who would not conform, they could join Jews, gypsies, homosexuals, Communists, Jehovah's Witnesses, professional criminals, and prostitutes in concentration camps.
1. The law was reformed to place the rights of the state over those of the individual.
 2. The Gestapo was established under Hermann Goering to ferret out enemies of the state.
 3. Individuals from "undesirable" groups were sent to concentration camps, first established in 1933 as a deterrent. Originally, the camps were detention camps; then, they became work camps and finally, after 1941, death camps.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 28, sections II, IV.

G. L. Mosse, *The Fascist Revolution*.

P. Morgan, *Italian Fascism, 1919–1945*.

W. S. Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930–1935*.

K. P. Fischer, *Nazi Germany: A New History*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why were Western conservatives blind to the atrocities of the fascist system?
2. Were Hitler's ideas new, or were they a natural extension of any part of previous European thought or experience?

Lecture Forty-One

The Holocaust—1933–45

Scope: In 1941, Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime embarked on the extermination of the Jews, Slavs, homosexuals, and other “undesirable” groups in Europe. Hitler’s program capitalized on longstanding European anti-Semitism and other prejudices. Starting in 1933, Hitler enforced conformity against protesting Christians, gays, intellectuals, and above all, Jews, first through boycotts, then discriminatory legislation, then forced relocation to work camps, and finally, after the beginning of the European war, to death camps. The resultant Holocaust killed at least 6 million people, possibly many more. This lecture concludes with a meditation on the meaning of this crime and its implications for the concept of Western civilization.

Outline

- I. The first point to make about the Holocaust is that it did not spring full blown from the mind of Adolf Hitler or even from the state of the German soul in 1933; its roots go back well before the beginning of this course.
 - A. Anti-Semitism had a long and virulent history in the West.
 1. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the Church preached that the Jews had sinned doubly, by refusing to follow Christ and by killing him.
 - a. Therefore, they should be converted, forcibly if necessary.
 - b. If they refused conversion, then they should be humiliated and made to wear distinctive clothing or symbols.
 - c. Martin Luther’s *On the Jews and Their Lies* perpetuated these ideas among the Protestant community, especially in Germany.
 - d. The Church did not officially encourage the killing of Jews, but many people seem to have assumed that it did so.
 - e. In popular European folklore, Jews consorted with the devil, abducting and sacrificing Christian children in their religious observances: the Blood Libel.
 2. States often simply expelled Jews, for example, England in the 13th century, France in the 14th century, and Spain in the 15th century.
 3. Where Jews were not expelled, they were often banned from certain professions and required to live in ghettos.
 - a. Because they were not subject to the Church’s ban on usury, they often played an important part in the economic life of medieval and Renaissance cities.
 - b. This could lead to wealth for Jews but also to profound jealousy and resentment among Christians.
 - c. This often led, in turn, to popular violence against Jews.
 - B. At the beginning of the 20th century, anti-Semitism was considered a perfectly respectable attitude in many circles.
 1. It is true that Jews had been emancipated and granted full civil rights in most European countries during the 19th century.
 2. But their newfound prominence was combined with old stereotypes to give new life to anti-Semitism.
 3. Thus, the anti-Semitism that Hitler picked up on the streets of Vienna was neither new nor exclusively German.
 - C. Hitler gave it a new, more effective voice.
 1. He did so by linking it to German nationalism and the famous “stab-in-the-back” charge that Jewish bankers had plotted Germany’s downfall in World War I.
 2. He also draped it in racial pseudo-science.
 3. Hitler was not alone in noticing that many of the leaders of the successful communist revolution in Russia were Jews.
 4. Members of the middle class on both sides of the Atlantic frequently associated Judaism and communism. An American example is Henry Ford, who believed that the “International Jew” was the greatest threat to the Anglo-Saxon race.

- II.** In fact, there were only about 600,000 Jews in Germany—about 1 percent of the population—in 1933.
- A.** Immediately upon taking power, the Nazis encouraged anti-Semitic terror.
1. On 1 April 1933, the government announced a boycott of Jewish businesses. On 7 April, Jews were formally excluded from civil service jobs.
 2. In 1934, the government imposed strict quotas on Jews at universities.
 3. In 1935, the Nuremberg Laws deprived Jews of German citizenship and forbade them to marry non-Jews.
 4. In 1938, Jews were banned from the practice of medicine and law and forced to register their property with the government—later confiscated and sold to Aryans.
 5. On 9 November 1938, the murder of a German diplomat in Paris by a Polish Jew led to a wave of “spontaneous” riots against Jews and Jewish property: *Kristallnacht*.
 6. Henceforward, for their “protection,” Jews were forced to live in ghettos and wear stars of David.
- B.** It was at this point that many Jews and other persecuted groups decided that there was no life left for them in Germany.
1. In fact, 66 percent of German Jews had left the country by 1938; 60 percent of those who stayed behind had already lost their jobs.
 2. Emigration was difficult, in part because other nations had strict quotas on the number of Jewish refugees they would accept. Once the war started, the United States allowed only 21,000 refugees into the country from 1941–1945.
- C.** For those who failed to make it out of Germany or were living in countries soon to be absorbed into the Third Reich, the odds were not good.
1. Soon after the start of the war in 1939, German leaders began to contemplate a “final solution” to the “Jewish problem” in Germany and the conquered territories.
 - a. At first, they considered deportation to reservations in conquered territories.
 - b. However, after Hitler’s invasion of Russia in the spring of 1941, mobile SS units called *Einsatzgruppen* (“action squads”) were ordered to shoot Russian Jews in front of mass graves dug by the Jews themselves.
 - c. The killings were soon extended to Jews in Poland and Serbia; by the spring of 1942, Jews in slave labor camps began to be exterminated, accounting for 1 million dead.
 2. In 1941, Hitler decided on the “final solution,” that is, the extermination of all Jews and other inferior groups in the conquered nations; Slavs were to be enslaved.
 - a. Under the supervision of Adolf Eichmann, Jews and other undesirable groups were rounded up by the SS or the cooperative regimes of conquered nations.
 - b. Countries allied with Germany, including Italy and Hungary, were also supposed to round up their Jews, but they did so only sporadically.
 - c. There were Jewish resistance movements, generally not supported by local non-Jewish populations.
 - d. In Belgium, France, and Germany, some clergy protested, and Jews received assistance to flee or hide in the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark.
 - e. Israel has recognized some 18,000 Righteous Among the Nations who assisted Jews, including the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, Japanese diplomat Chiune Sugihara, and German industrialist Oskar Schindler.
 3. Deportation happened in stages. First, Jews were sent to ghettos; then the ghettos were cleared out. In some cases, the Jewish leadership of the ghetto knew what was happening; they gave up some among them to save others.
 4. Also sent to the camps were political opponents and clergy who preached against the deportations, communists, Jehovah’s Witnesses, gypsies, German male homosexuals, the mentally retarded, and those with severe illnesses.
 5. They were sent by railcar to camps in Germany (Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau) and Poland (Sobibor, Treblinka, Auschwitz-Birkenau).
 6. In addition to the death camps, many German companies used slave labor to keep German industry going.

- III.** Concentration camps had actually been created as early as 1933 to detain political prisoners and deter political opposition.
- A.** Upon disembarking from the train, a German officer determined an individual's immediate fate.
 1. The elderly and children were exterminated immediately.
 2. The young and able-bodied were separated by sex and sent to work for the German war machine.
 - B.** Clothing and rations were inadequate; those who grew sick or weak were generally put to death.
 1. At first, the Germans used firing squads, but this was slow and cumbersome.
 2. In the fall of 1942, they introduced cyanide gas produced from Zyklon-B, a pesticide.
 3. Using specially constructed gas chambers masquerading as showers, the commanders of Auschwitz could murder 6,000 persons a day.
- IV.** By liberation in 1945, at least 6 million Jews (including 1.5 million children), 3.5 million Soviet soldiers, and 1.5 million Poles had been slaughtered.
- A.** The U.S. and U.K. intelligence services knew what was happening by 1941.
 - B.** There was some reluctance in government circles to believe in the slaughter, but even after it became obvious, for allegedly strategic reasons, the Allies refused to bomb the rail lines.
- V.** As we know, there are those in our society who would deny that the Holocaust occurred.
- A.** In fact, the sheer weight of evidence as to the existence and scale of the Holocaust is monumental.
 1. The Nazis were exceptional record keepers. The *Einsatzgruppen*, for example, made regular reports to Hitler.
 2. We also have eyewitness accounts of victims and survivors, including *The Diary of Anne Frank* and *Elie Weisel's Night*.
 3. We have the eyewitness accounts of Allied soldiers who liberated the camps in 1945 and have never forgotten the sickening sights and smells.
 4. Finally, we have the newsreel footage shot at the time. This is especially important because, as you know, the generation of World War II and the Holocaust is dying off, and soon, no one will be alive to bear eyewitness.
 - B.** The historical record is mountainous and clear as to what happened: At least 11 million people died. To deny this fact or minimize it is to be either a villain or a fool.
 - C.** The denial of the uniqueness of the Holocaust is more subtle and challenging.
 1. It is true, of course, that human beings have been subject to mass brutality before and since the *Fuhrerwunsch* ("Führer's wish") of 1941.
 2. In this course alone, we have seen civilization fail in the Inquisition, the Thirty Years' War, the Atlantic slave trade, the gradual near extinction of the American Indian, the Armenian genocide of 1915, and Stalin's purges and the purblind stupidity that caused repeated mass starvation in the Soviet Union.
 3. After the Holocaust, we've witnessed the Japanese rape of Nanjing; the vicious regime of Pol Pot in Cambodia; a thousand atrocities perpetrated in the Middle East; ethnic cleansing in Croatia, Krajina, Bosnia, and Kosovo; the Rwandan genocide of 1994; the Darfur genocide of the turn of the 21st century; international terrorism; and so on and so on.
 4. What is unique about the Holocaust, however, is that never before had an entire people—including its children—been earmarked for systematic extermination, regardless of citizenship, by a national government.
 - D.** The obvious question is: Why did the Holocaust happen? Why did the nation of Beethoven and Brahms, Goethe and Schiller, Kant and Hegel opt to turn the world into a charnel house?
 1. Some might say that the answer can be found in those figures from German history that I didn't cite: Martin Luther, Richard Wagner, Friedrich Nietzsche—nationalists and anti-Semites all. But every culture has great figures with great flaws and blind-spots.
 2. I can't fully explain the Holocaust, but I do know that civilization is fragile.
 - a. We have seen it fail repeatedly in this course.
 - b. It fails because it is not so durable as a building or a book, fragile as those things are.

- c. Civilization is an act and a conscious choice that we make—or do not make—every day. That choice is made in the ways in which we treat others, especially those who are different from ourselves.
 - d. In other words, the Holocaust did not begin in a pulpit or a podium. It began at the dinner table; in the line waiting for the bus; in what people taught their children in the home and in the classroom.
 - e. Which means that civilization is always being fostered or stifled, always in need of defense...and that is a lesson for us all.
- VI.** The intelligent historiography on the Holocaust—as opposed to that which questions its existence—has argued recently about the responsibility of the German people.
- A. In 1945 and subsequently, many Germans claimed that they had no idea what was happening.
 - B. In 1996, Daniel John Goldhagen argued in *Hitler's Willing Executioners* that a wide swath of the German people had to have known; many had to have participated willingly, even enthusiastically, in the process of mass murder on such a grand scale.
 - C. Against this, it might be pointed out that missing neighbors would be most noticeable in cities; country folk who did not live near the camps might never have known.
 - D. Other countries also participated, often willingly.
 - E. We might deduce that many Germans suspected that something was going on but may not have wanted to know the whole truth. They had jobs and could put food on the table again—largely because Hitler was rearming.

Supplementary Reading:

C. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942*.

R. Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Was the Holocaust an outcome or a rejection of the Western tradition?
2. Could it happen again?

Lecture Forty-Two

The Failure of Diplomacy—1935–39

Scope: The first act of aggression leading to World War II was the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Following its invasion of the rest of northern China in 1937, Japan joined the Axis powers. Following his rise to power in 1933, Adolf Hitler repudiated the Versailles Treaty, rearmed Germany, and demanded *lebensraum*—living space—for the German people. As he marched into the Rhineland, Austria, and eventually, Czechoslovakia, the Western powers, in particular Britain and France, sought to appease him, both out of genuine remorse over the excesses of Versailles and because neither state had the economic health to rearm. A few leaders—Stalin in the Soviet Union and Churchill out of power in Britain—warned of the danger, but Hitler’s true intentions became widely apparent only with his conquest of the Czechs early in 1939. Still, the West spurned Soviet help, leading Stalin to sign a non-aggression pact with Hitler in August 1939. This reassured Hitler that his eastern flank would be protected—and doomed Poland.

Outline

- I. It has been argued that the 1920s and 1930s were a brief truce between two halves of one conflict, but I believe that the issues fought over in the two world wars were significantly different.
 - A. Like all European wars, they were both about balance of power, but where the first war was fought among monarchies and republics whose regimes seemed to be stable, the second was fought over ideology as well: totalitarianism versus democracy, communism versus fascism versus democracy, racialism versus equality.
 - B. Put another way, it could be argued that the diplomats at Versailles had done such a poor job that the second war became a life-and-death struggle for civilization itself—for all the good that civilization had accomplished up to 1939.
- II. The first military action of the 1930s was the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931.
 - A. Japan had been forced to accept contact with the West in the mid-19th century.
 1. This led to a powerful anti-Western feeling in 19th-century Japan.
 2. This led, in turn, to a coup and civil war, which established the Meiji dynasty on the imperial throne in 1868–1869.
 3. The new government abolished feudalism and established the emperor’s central authority, modeling its structure on that of imperial Germany.
 4. The new dynasty imported European advisors to facilitate a modernization campaign.
 5. The new Japanese state embraced imperialism in the 19th century to join in competition with the West, to spread the benefits of Japanese civilization to the rest of Asia, and to protect its western flank. These goals explain a series of conflicts and acquisitions.
 - a. In 1894, the Japanese won the First Sino-Japanese War, resulting in the takeover of Taiwan and forcing free trade with China.
 - b. Because this threatened Russian interests in Asia, it eventually led to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905.
 - c. As a result of Japan’s victory in this war, it was granted the Liaodong Peninsula at the southern tip of Manchuria.
 - d. In 1907, Japan deposed the ruler of Korea and began an incursion that resulted in its annexation (as the province of Chosen) by 1910.
 - e. Japan fought on the Allied side in World War I and acquired the Marshall, Caroline, and Marianas Islands.
 6. By 1920, Japan was a major industrial and military power.
 - B. In the 1920s and 1930s, Japan experienced social and economic unrest not unlike the West.
 1. The 1920s saw a collapse of prosperity aggravated by the Kyoto earthquake of 1923.
 2. The Depression hit Japan hard, as it did the West, and many people lost their faith in democratic capitalism.
 3. This loss of faith strengthened right-wing groups.

- a. In 1932, Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was assassinated.
 - b. Henceforward, Japan was ruled by a coalition of radical nationalists, militarists, and imperialists in the name of Emperor Hirohito.
 - C. This government concluded that Japan could compete with Western countries only by subduing its neighbors and seizing their raw materials.
 - 1. The Japanese also feared the rise of a strong nationalist Chinese movement that called for the ouster of imperialist powers, including Japan, from China.
 - 2. Japan feared the rise of the Chinese communist movement, which they believed would ally with the Soviet Union and overrun Asia.
 - 3. Some saw expansion into China as a way to cure Japan's economic troubles by awarding its farmland to Japanese peasants and seizing its raw materials.
 - 4. In September 1931, the Japanese forces occupying Korea invaded Manchuria, creating a puppet state.
 - D. This action was condemned by the League of Nations and the United States, but no military assistance was offered to China.
 - 1. Japan left the league in 1933.
 - 2. It signed an anticommunist pact with Germany in 1936 and with Italy in 1937.
 - E. Throughout the 1930s, tension remained high on the new Sino-Japanese border.
 - 1. In 1937, Japan launched a strike and seized Beijing, Shanghai, and the capital at Nanjing.
 - 2. Japanese atrocities in Nanjing, in particular, shocked the world.
 - 3. By the end of 1938, Japan controlled most of northern China.
 - 4. The Chinese nationalist leader, Chiang Kai-shek, had retreated to the mountains in the south.
 - 5. Nationalists and communists launched a guerilla war that the Japanese would never be able to suppress.
 - F. It could be argued that this is the real start of World War II, but both then and later, it has been relegated to the footnotes of history.
- III.** Hitler had made clear in *Mein Kampf* that he would repudiate the Treaty of Versailles, rearm, and restore German greatness.
- A. In October 1933, Germany withdrew from the League of Nations and the Paris disarmament conference.
 - B. In March 1935, Hitler publicly repudiated the disarmament provisions of Versailles and announced plans for a rejuvenated army, air force, and navy.
 - 1. In fact, Germany had been rearming in secret for years.
 - 2. To forestall criticism, Hitler signed treaties with Poland and Britain.
 - 3. At this point, the French, seeing the writing on the wall, made overtures to their old ally, Russia.
- IV.** The first European blood spilled by German arms would flow in Spain, where civil war broke out in 1936–1939.
- A. Spain was a poor, weak constitutional monarchy at the beginning of the 20th century and had remained neutral in World War I.
 - B. Demand for the products of Spanish agriculture and manufacturing in Europe during the war led to a boom. The boom and inflation led workers and soldiers to demand higher wages.
 - C. In September of 1923, General Primo de Rivera led a military coup. His regime was not particularly brutal, and in 1929, he resigned.
 - D. At this point, the monarchy should have been a focus for loyalty, but it was resented by the right for having given in to dictatorship and by the left for its conservatism.
 - E. In 1931, the Spanish people elected a Republican government supported initially by all sides. The government pursued progressive policies at first, but for many, especially those on the right, the new freedoms were too much too soon. Spain entered a period of disunity.
 - F. Beginning in July 1936, a rebellion broke out between the Fascist Nationalists under Francisco Franco and Republican Loyalists.
 - 1. Left-leaning sympathizers from around the world flocked to Spain to fight for the Republicans.

2. Stalin sent troops and materiel. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy responded with land, air, and naval support for Franco, allowing the Nazis to test their new weapons and military techniques.
 3. In the end, Franco's forces triumphed; in the aftermath of the war, he executed 37,000 and imprisoned thousands more.
- G. Franco's victory, along with the accession of right-wing governments in Austria, Hungary, Romania, and Portugal, rendered most of Southern and Central Europe fascist or quasi-fascist by 1939.
- V. As with the disarmament provisions, Hitler argued that the territorial provisions of Versailles were unfair, that an expanding German population needed *lebensraum*, which had been denied by Versailles.
- A. On 7 March 1936, Hitler's army marched into the Rhineland.
1. This march was very risky: Hitler's forces were still tiny and poorly equipped.
 2. The French, though, would not act without British help and the British, under the coalition cabinets of Ramsay MacDonald and Stanley Baldwin [**note**: not, as incorrectly stated in lecture, "Neville Chamberlain," who did not become British prime minister until May 1937], offered none.
- B. Why did the British pursue and the French accept a policy of appeasement toward Hitler in the mid- to late 1930s?
1. The memory of the Great War was so terrible that Europeans were determined to avoid repeating it.
 2. In the wake of the Depression, Britain and France did not have the funds to rearm.
 3. By the mid-1930s, revisionist historians had discredited the Versailles settlement, leading to guilt and a sense that Germany had a right to even the score.
 4. Finally, to many in Europe, and as bad as Hitler and the Nazis were, they represented an alternative to and a bulwark against Stalin and communism.
 5. The few politicians and observers who saw through Hitler, most notably Winston Churchill, were out of power in the 1930s.
- C. Thus, when German troops marched into Austria in March 1938, leading to its annexation (the *Anschluss*) to the Reich, Britain and France stood by.
1. Austria's postwar history was similar to Germany's.
 - a. At the close of World War I, the Austrian military had collapsed on all fronts.
 - b. The Austro-Hungarian Empire broke up as formerly subject peoples declared their independence and established republics.
 - c. Austria's weak governments coped unsuccessfully with economic turmoil, culminating in the Depression.
 - d. As in Germany, this produced a powerful socialist party and a growing Nazi party.
 2. In 1933, the right-wing premier, Engelbert Dollfuss, dissolved parliament, abolished civil rights, and began to rule by decree. He was assassinated in July.
 3. In 1935, the new prime minister, Kurt von Schuschnigg, sought Italian support to maintain independence, but he soon tentatively agreed to annexation by Germany.
 4. In 1938, Schuschnigg seemed to reverse course, calling for a plebiscite to determine the question.
 5. Hitler ordered troops across the border on 12 March 1938, and Austria became *Ostmark*, the newest state of the German Reich.
 6. Hitler justified the annexation by saying that he was merely correcting Bismarck's mistake in 1871 when he unified Germany and left Austria out. The rest of the world viewed the annexation as an internal German matter.
- D. Similarly, later in 1938, when Hitler demanded autonomy for the 3.5 million Germans living in Czechoslovakia in an area known as the Sudetenland, the British and French were receptive.
1. Neville Chamberlain of England, Édouard Daladier of France, and Mussolini of Italy agreed to talks with Hitler, during which the Czechs had little voice over what happened to their own country.
 2. At first, Hitler demanded autonomy only for the Sudeten Germans.
 3. When Hitler saw how tractable the British and French were, he demanded the territory's surrender to Germany.
 4. On 29–30 September, over the protests of the Czechs, Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini agreed to transfer part of Czechoslovakia to Germany.

5. On 15 March 1939, the German army crossed the newly drawn Czech border and absorbed the rest of Czechoslovakia.
 6. Now, the British and French began to realize what they were up against.
- VI.** Following this naked aggression, the British and French began to prepare for war.
- A. Both countries launched emergency rearmament drives.
 - B. In March 1939, Britain promised to guarantee Polish security; in April, Britain and France offered the same to Greece and Rumania.
 - C. On 23 August 1939, Nazi Germany and Communist Russia countered by announcing a nonaggression pact.
 1. This pact guaranteed that should war come, Germany would not have to fight on two fronts.
 2. It gave the Soviet Union the friend it had been seeking for so long—in what had once been its most hated enemy.
 3. Finally, in a secret clause, the two dictators agreed to carve Europe into spheres of influence, beginning with Poland.
- VII.** As early as April 1939, Hitler had instructed the German general staff to prepare for war with Poland.
- A. At 4:45 AM on 1 September 1939, following a manufactured border incident, the guns of the German battleship *Schleswig-Holstein* fired on Polish shore batteries at Gdansk.
 - B. The Luftwaffe launched massive strikes on communications and airfields while German tanks rolled across the border.
 - C. World War II in Europe had begun.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 28, section V.

D. C. Watt, *How the War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War, 1938–1939*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the alternatives to appeasement between 1933 and 1939?
2. What would have been the long-term consequences for Western history if Britain and France had allied with the Soviet Union against Hitler in the 1930s?

Lecture Forty-Three

World War II—1939–42

Scope: World War II began in Europe with Hitler’s blitzkrieg invasion of Poland. After a period of relative calm, Germany eventually conquered Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Only the British held out, thwarting invasion when the RAF defeated the Luftwaffe in the Battle of Britain in the fall of 1940. The following spring, Hitler invaded his erstwhile ally, the Soviet Union. After initial successes, his armies bogged down in the winter of 1941–1942. In the meantime, the United States joined the war in December 1941 after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and Hitler’s decision to declare war on the States.

Outline

- I. Hitler envisioned a “Spartan” state as the culmination of his many wars of conquest.
 - A. Its inhabitants would be supported by land and work taken from its neighbors, and their lives would be utterly dedicated to the state that had given them their land and bread. The state, in turn, would be dedicated to the art and practice of war.
 - B. Britain and France represented a more Athenian solution to the problem of civilization. They were relatively free and open societies supported, in large part, by international trade; they were democracies (except in the colonies); and they were relatively disorganized and unwarlike in the late 1930s—but now roused to action.
- II. The Polish Campaign surprised the world with its effectiveness.
 - A. The Germans, determined to avoid the morass of World War I, combined new technology and techniques to invent *Blitzkrieg* (“lightning war”).
 - 1. First, the Luftwaffe bombed strategic points (railyards, airfields) and supply lines.
 - 2. Then, the tanks moved in *en masse*, supported by infantry.
 - 3. The Poles fought bravely, but with few tanks and their air force largely knocked out of the war, they had to rely on cavalry for reconnaissance and movement.
 - B. On 17 September, the Soviets, not to be left behind, declared war on Poland and began to roll westward.
 - 1. By the end of September, Poland was wiped off the map.
 - 2. The Germans took western Poland, and the Russians took eastern Poland, along with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.
 - C. On 30 November, the Soviets, worried about the approach to Leningrad, launched an attack on neutral Finland. The Soviets gradually wore the Finns down, and the treaty of March 1940, ending the Russo-Finnish War, forced Finland to cede the territory the Russians wanted.
- III. The period from September 1939 to April 1940 is often called the “Phony War,” because both sides settled into their fortifications and launched no major offensives.
 - A. Hitler hoped the British and French would back down, allowing him to get away with naked aggression one more time. But the Allies would negotiate only if Hitler withdrew from Poland; failing that, the war was on.
 - B. The British concentrated on establishing another naval blockade of Germany, while the Germans launched their U-boats again.
 - C. The French, drawing the wrong lesson from the previous war, dug in behind the Maginot Line, a string of elaborate, modern fortifications on the Franco-German border.
 - D. The Phony War ended on 9 April 1940, when Hitler, worried about the blockade of iron shipments from Norway, invaded that country and Denmark.
 - 1. The Royal Navy attempted to intervene but suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Luftwaffe.
 - 2. The disaster led to Chamberlain’s resignation and the appointment of Sir Winston Churchill as prime minister on 10 May.

- IV.** On that same day, Hitler invaded the Netherlands, Belgium, and France.
- A.** As in 1870 and 1914, the French expected an attack on the border in the teeth of the Maginot Line.
 - B.** Instead, the Germans went around the Maginot Line to the north, attacking through the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Ardennes Forest.
 1. German paratroopers secured strategic bridges and airfields.
 2. The Luftwaffe bombed Rotterdam to inspire terror.
 3. Next, the tanks and infantry rolled west, trapping the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) at Dunkirk, then south through the French army.
 4. Mussolini, who had planned a later entry into the war, decided to join in to see what territory he could get.
 - C.** On 21 June 1940, French Premier Henri-Philippe Pétain, the hero of Verdun, signed the Treaty of Compiègne.
 1. Germany was to occupy three-fifths of France, including most of the port cities.
 2. Southern France would remain a dependent ally, its capital at Vichy.
 - D.** Pétain, the Vichy regime, and his conservative National Revolution remain controversial to this day.
 1. Pétain claimed that he urged French cooperation with the Germans to save what was left of France, to avoid being treated as Poland had been.
 2. In fact, Pétain and conservative politicians looked upon the new arrangement as a way to settle scores with politicians on the left who had been running France in the 1930s.
 3. Pétain’s new “National Revolution” would put an end to socialism and atheism and revive traditional values. The “liberty, fraternity, equality” model of France’s first revolution would be replaced with “work, family, country”—all in cooperation with the Third Reich.
 4. Since the war, there has been a great debate about how much the French collaborated and how much they resisted the Germans.
 5. Revisionist historians have argued that the Vichy regime was widely supported, but more recent, post-revisionist historiography has stressed that Vichy was never popular and the Resistance received a good deal of tacit support.
 6. We must ask ourselves: What would we have done if our country were occupied by a crushingly victorious foreign power?
 - E.** In the meantime, the British evacuated Dunkirk on 27 May–4 June, saving their army but losing most of its equipment.
- V.** The Battle of Britain began in the summer of 1940.
- A.** Operation Sea Lion, Hitler’s plan to invade Britain, called for an amphibious assault by the German army.
 1. As in 1803–1805, British naval superiority, in particular control of the Channel, stood in the invader’s way.
 2. But Hermann Goering promised Hitler that he could protect the invading troops by securing command of the air.
 3. Before Sea Lion could become operational, the Luftwaffe would have to wrest air superiority from the Royal Air Force, in what came to be known as the Battle of Britain.
 - B.** At first, all went the Germans’ way.
 1. The Luftwaffe had more than 1,300 bombers and nearly 1,000 fighter planes against the RAF’s nearly 700 fighters.
 2. Beginning in August, the Luftwaffe launched a series of raids against airfields, munitions factories, and radar installations that began to destroy Britain’s air-defense network.
 3. By 1 September, the Germans had destroyed 338 British planes and the RAF was losing 10 percent of its pilots a week.
 - C.** Churchill ordered a massive bombing raid on Berlin for the night of 25–26 August 1940 and continued raids thereafter.
 1. Churchill had little hope of doing serious damage to the capital.
 2. Rather, he hoped to trick Hitler, who had previously pledged not to bomb British cities, into retaliating against London.

3. If Hitler attacked London every night, the RAF would know exactly where the Germans were headed.
 4. The airfields and factories would also be spared.
 - a. On 7 September 1940, the Luftwaffe attacked the London docks to terrible effect.
 - b. The Germans lost 52 fighters, destroying only 26.
- D.** From early September to the summer of 1941, the people of London were subjected to the blitz.
1. Many were forced to spend night after night in air-raid shelters and tube stations, only to find that their houses, even whole neighborhoods, had been destroyed overnight. By June 1941, 500,000 homes had been destroyed, and 43,000 civilians had been killed.
 2. The single-minded regularity of German attacks, though, meant that the RAF could muster large formations in response.
 3. Because the airfields and factories were spared, new planes came on line.
- E.** By October 1940, Operation Sea Lion was called off.
- F.** Hitler had other campaigns to fight.
1. The war at sea heated up: If the British could not be bombed into submission, perhaps the U-boats could starve them out.
 2. With the fall of France in May 1940, the Germans gained Atlantic ports, allowing their U-boats and surface raiders to range from the Arctic Circle to the South Atlantic and the Mediterranean to the Jersey shore and the Gulf of Mexico.
 3. The British responded with convoys, and from mid-1941, those convoys included American vessels.
 4. The Germans countered with the wolf-pack, groups of U-boats, attacking at night, coordinated from Berlin.
 5. A key development in 1941 was the daring British capture of a German U-boat containing an Enigma code book, enabling the Allies to monitor U-boat activity.
 6. In September 1941, Roosevelt authorized U.S. warships to fire on Axis vessels. In October, the U.S.S. *Reuben James* was sunk by a U-boat while escorting a convoy, with a loss of 115 sailors. This was crucial in turning the tide of U.S. public opinion toward war.
- G.** Meanwhile, in September 1940, Mussolini put pressure on the British by advancing from Libya to attack the British Empire in Egypt; the next month, he also attacked Greece.
1. The British responded successfully, driving the Italians back in Africa in early 1941 and establishing airbases in Greece.
 2. This development caused Hitler to turn his gaze toward the south of Europe. He began to work out alliances with Hungary and Romania in the fall of 1940 and Bulgaria in March 1941.
- H.** In April 1941, Hitler launched an invasion of Greece and Yugoslavia, mainly to secure airfields within range of his oilfields at Ploesti, Romania.
- I.** That year, Hitler also found himself having to bail out Mussolini in Africa, whose Italian forces had failed in their attempt to take Egypt from the British.
- VI.** Hitler hoped to secure Russia's vast agricultural potential and Caucasian oil reserves to supply the Reich; its population would be enslaved.
- A.** Hitler ordered his general staff to begin planning Operation Barbarossa in the summer of 1940.
- B.** Stalin was taken completely by surprise by the invasion of 3 million men on 22 June 1941.
- C.** Once again, the Germans advanced quickly along three routes (north, central, and south).
1. Leningrad was encircled and Kiev was besieged by the northern and southern prongs, respectively, in September.
 2. The Army Group Center reached the gates of Moscow in November.
 3. In the south, the Germans were welcomed by many Ukrainians as liberators from Stalinist tyranny.
 4. But, stupidly, the Germans imposed an even more brutal occupation.
 5. Moreover, like Napoleon, Hitler had not outfitted his armies with winter uniforms.
 - a. In December 1941, the Moscow offensive ground to a halt.
 - b. Stalin ordered a successful counterattack along the entire Eastern Front.
- VII.** In the meantime, the Japanese had entered the fray.

- A. The United States had condemned Japanese aggression in China by interdicting shipments of oil and steel. When the Japanese pushed further, the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands froze Japanese assets in their banks.
- B. The Japanese war machine would slowly strangle if it did not reverse this situation.
 - 1. The Japanese high command began to plan to extend the war and Japanese conquest by capturing Dutch and British imperial possessions in Burma, Malaya, and the East Indies.
 - 2. To neutralize the U.S. Pacific Fleet, the Japanese devised a plan to attack it in its base at Pearl Harbor.
- C. On the morning of 7 December (8 December in Japan and the Far East), the Japanese launched surprise attacks against the United States and Great Britain.
 - 1. The Japanese Fleet Air Arm attacked the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor.
 - 2. The Japanese army attacked the Philippines, Burma, Malaya, Borneo, and Hong Kong.
 - 3. Both attacks were devastating.
 - a. Every American battleship in the Pacific was sunk or disabled.
 - b. Within days, the Japanese had conquered Hong Kong.
 - c. Within weeks, they would overwhelm Singapore and the Philippines.
 - 4. The British and Americans issued immediate declarations of war on Japan.
 - 5. In a foolhardy move, Hitler declared war on the United States on 11 December.
- D. The whole world was at war, with civilization itself at stake in the year 1942.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 29, section I.

J. Keegan, *The Second World War*.

J. Campbell, ed., *The Experience of World War II*.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. Why did the Germans and the French learn such contrasting lessons from World War I?
- 2. Why did Hitler declare war on the United States?

Lecture Forty-Four

World War II—1942–45

Scope: From 1942, the sheer size of the Soviet Union and its army, combined with the industrial might of the United States, guaranteed an Allied victory. But much life would be lost as the British, American, and Free French forces, compelled by their Russian allies, opened new fronts in North Africa in 1942, Italy in 1943, and Normandy in 1944. Despite last-ditch German offensives at Kursk in 1943 and the Bulge in 1944, the combination of Allied strategic bombing and naval blockade, along with the defeat of the German U-boats, starved Germany of fuel oil and manufactures. After Hitler's suicide, the Germans sued for peace in May 1945.

Outline

- I. The situation at the beginning of 1942 was dire for the Allies.
 - A. Hitler had conquered nearly all of mainland Europe, from Arctic Norway in the north to North Africa in the south, from the gates of Moscow in the east to the Atlantic wall in the west.
 1. His armies threatened to seize the Russian capital, the Ukrainian oilfields, and the Suez Canal.
 2. His navy threatened to starve out Great Britain through the U-boat war.
 - B. In the Far East, Japan's empire stretched from Manchuria in the northwest, south through Indochina to Borneo and New Guinea, then by May 1942, across the Pacific to the Philippines.
 1. The Allies had lost valuable naval bases and sources of rubber and oil.
 2. Australia and Hawaii were now under threat by the Japanese war machine.
- II. In 1941, in the war in the Pacific, the Allies had agreed to concentrate on the defeat of Germany, but the more immediate threat to America and Australia was Japan.
 - A. In the spring of 1942, Admiral Yamamoto planned to take southern New Guinea and Midway Island.
 1. The idea was to capture valuable bases.
 2. Yamamoto also wanted to destroy the American aircraft carriers that had escaped him at Pearl Harbor.
 - B. In early May, Japanese and American forces fought to a tactical standoff at the Battle of the Coral Sea.
 - C. In early June, Yamamoto launched his strike on Midway Island.
 1. Japanese aircraft pounded the island.
 2. In part because the Americans could read the Japanese code, American carrier planes caught the main Japanese fleet without any fighter planes in the air.
 3. The Japanese lost four carriers and much of the cream of their pilot force.
 - D. From this point, the Americans were able to begin to roll back the Japanese advance by mounting amphibious assaults on Japanese-held islands, supported by carrier-based aircraft. (Map 44a)
 1. The process began in the Solomon Islands at Guadalcanal in early August 1942.
 - a. The key to Guadalcanal was which side could supply its forces by sea and by air.
 - b. A series of bloody naval battles was eventually won by the U.S. fleet.
 - c. It was not until early 1943 that the island was declared secure.
 2. In November 1943, the United States moved on the central Pacific, landing in the Gilbert Islands at Makin and Tarawa.
 3. In March 1944, it was on to the Marshalls at Eniwetok (Enewetok) and Kwajalein.
 4. By the summer of 1944, a combined U.S. and Australian force had driven the Japanese out of New Guinea.
 5. U.S. forces landed at Saipan in the Marianas in June, Guam by August.
 - a. In the course of this operation, U.S. pilots destroyed what was left of Japanese naval aviation at the Marianas Turkey Shoot.
 - b. The taking of these islands provided bases from which B-29s could launch a strategic bombing campaign against Japan.
 6. In the fall, Allied forces launched invasions of the Carolinas and the Philippines.

7. The Battle of Leyte Gulf on 23–25 October, the largest naval battle in history, finished off the Imperial Japanese Navy, largely because the Americans had air supremacy.
- III. In June 1942, in Stalingrad and on the Russian Front, Hitler launched another eastern offensive to capture the Caucasian oilfields.
 - A. By early September, the German Sixth Army had reached Stalingrad on the Volga, where it was tied up in house-to-house fighting.
 - B. In November, the Red Army cut the German supply lines and surrounded Stalingrad.
 - C. Frozen and starving, the Sixth Army surrendered in January 1943, ending Hitler’s Caucasian offensive.
 - D. Hitler tried one last summer offensive in July 1943. The result was the greatest tank battle in history at Kursk, which the Russians won by July 12.
 - E. From this point on, the Soviets took the offensive. In the north, they liberated Leningrad, which had been under siege for 506 days, and in the south, the Germans and Romanians were ousted from most of Russia by May.
 - F. Stalin now put pressure on his Allies to open a second front.
 - IV. The Allies did their best to supply the Russian war machine by sending convoys along the Arctic Circle to Murmansk, but those convoys were easy prey for the wolf-packs.
 - A. Germany’s attempts to starve out Britain also grew more intense between 1941 and 1943.
 1. Even before the American entry, the U.S. Navy had assisted the Royal Navy in convoying ships across the Atlantic.
 2. Once America entered, German Admiral Karl Doenitz sent U-boats to attack the East Coast of the United States.
 3. Finding no blackouts or other defensive measures, the Germans sank 78 Allied ships in two months.
 - B. The merchant seamen in the war were very much in the line of fire, and they were often treated as draft-dodgers at home. Yet without them, Britain would have starved and the U.S.S.R. would have gone without American-made materiel that helped make victory possible.
 - C. The battle of the Atlantic reached its height between July 1942 and June 1943.
 1. The U-boats sank 712 ships in March 1943 alone.
 2. But convoys, knowledge of the German codes, and new technology worked in the Allies’ favor.
 3. In 1943, the United States developed hunter/killer task forces built around small aircraft carriers that could hunt and sink U-boats.
 - a. In May 1943 alone, 41 U-boats were sunk, one-quarter of the German navy’s operational strength!
 - b. By 1945, the U-boats had sunk 14.4 million tons of shipping, but the Germans had lost 821 boats.
 - c. German U-boat crews had the highest casualty rate of any service in the war at 63 percent.
 - V. Beginning in 1943, in the war in the air, the Allies launched round-the-clock strategic bombing of German military and industrial targets and cities.
 - A. These raids were intended to cripple German industry, transportation, and communication networks; to discredit the Nazi regime; and to demoralize the German populace.
 - B. The British, having been unsuccessful in daytime raids on Germany, concentrated on night bombing of cities. [**Additional note:** recent scholarship has suggested that the death toll from the firebombing of Dresden may have been around 35,000, rather than the “80,000” stated in lecture.]
 - C. The Americans, confident in the durability of the B-17 Flying Fortress and the accuracy of the Norden bombsight, made daylight raids on specific industrial targets. Hitler responded with new weapons aimed at London.
 - D. Strategic bombing undoubtedly had some effect on German industry.
 1. In 1944, iron and steel production fell by half.
 2. Still, under the Nazi munitions minister, Albert Speer, German industry produced ever greater amounts of materiel into 1945. In fact, as the war ended, the Germans were running out of gas, not weapons.

3. German morale was affected by the bombing in that ordinary Germans lost faith in the regime's ability to keep them safe, but they did not cease to function.
 - E. The loss of civilian life was tremendous, estimated by the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey at 305,000 killed and 780,000 wounded, with 20 percent of German housing stock destroyed.
 - F. In Japan, a score of cities was firebombed, killing 330,000 according to the Strategic Bombing Survey.
 - G. The Allied bombing campaign remains highly controversial. It represented the Allies' abandonment of the principle that noncombatants should be spared and their embrace of the notion of total war.
- VI.** In 1942, the Allies agreed that the way to open up the second front that Stalin so desperately wanted was to chase Rommel out of North Africa.
- A. In August 1942, Rommel's Afrika Korps had been stopped in their drive for the Suez Canal by British General Montgomery's forces at El-Alamein.
 - B. As Montgomery chased the Afrika Corps westward a combined American and British force landed in Morocco in November.
 - C. After a seesaw campaign, the German forces in Africa surrendered in May 1943.
- VII.** In Italy, the Allies invaded Sicily in July 1943 and the Italian mainland in September.
- A. Mussolini's government fell in July, and Italy formally passed into the Allied column.
 - B. The Germans mounted a tenacious resistance that made the Italian Front one of the bloodiest of the war.
- VIII.** In France, the Nazis had poured extensive resources into creating *Festung Europa* ("Fortress Europe"), an Atlantic wall of fortifications under Rommel's command that would throw the Allied invasion force into the sea.
- A. The Allies, though, had also been preparing.
 1. They had been pouring American and Canadian troops into Britain.
 2. They had invented efficient landing craft, as well as artificial docking stations, called *mulberries*, to facilitate the unloading of troops and men in the first crucial hours after the invasion.
 3. They also mounted a campaign of disinformation, involving spies, fake radio broadcasts, and even a dummy army, to convince the Germans that the invasion would come at the Pas de Calais, not Normandy, as planned.
 - B. On the morning of 6 June, after receiving a favorable weather report, the Supreme Allied Commander, General Dwight Eisenhower, gave the order to launch Operation Overlord.
 1. Over night, paratroopers dropped behind enemy lines to cut communications.
 2. American, British, and Canadian troops numbering 150,000 landed along five beaches, the most difficult being the American landing at Omaha Beach.
 3. After a day of hard fighting, Allied troops scaled the cliffs at Normandy.
 - C. Once the Allied forces broke out of the Normandy pocket in late July 1944, the German army had no choice but to retreat.
 1. On 25 August, American and Free French forces under Charles de Gaulle liberated Paris.
 2. By late 1944, the Allies were outrunning their supply lines.
 - D. In December 1944, Hitler launched his last great offensive in the west, a plan to split the Allied forces by driving through the Ardennes to Antwerp.
 1. To neutralize Allied air superiority, the Germans waited for winter storms, which kept Allied planes on the ground.
 2. They infiltrated the American lines with spies who spoke English and were dressed as American soldiers to give false directions.
 3. Beginning on 16 December, the German offensive barreled forward, creating a vast bulge in the Allied lines.
 4. The American troops held at St. Vith and Bastogne, though, preventing the Germans from reaching important fuel supplies.
 5. Once the German offensive ran out of gas, it was possible for the Allies to resume their drive for the Rhine, which they crossed in March.

- IX.** As the end of the war approached, the three great Allied leaders met at Yalta in February.
- A.** At Yalta, postwar dispositions were arranged, including the recognition that the Soviet Union would effectively control Eastern Europe.
 1. Critics have long denounced this arrangement as, in effect, subjecting millions of people to Soviet repression and dividing Europe by an iron curtain.
 2. It is difficult to see what else the Allies could have done given the Soviet sacrifice of 22 million of its citizens and the fact that the Russians already occupied those territories.
 - B.** By the spring of 1945, the German war machine was defunct.
 1. The Allies began to liberate prisoner-of-war and concentration camps.
 2. In late April, the Russians reached Berlin, much of it reduced to rubble by Allied bombing.
 - a. On 30 April 1945, Adolf Hitler and many in his circle committed suicide in a bunker beneath the Reichschancellory (*Reichskanzlei*).
 - b. Soviet troops found the bodies and cremated them.
 3. The Red Army, after years of seeing their country pillaged, went on a rampage, raping thousands of German women.
 4. On the orders of Admiral Karl Doenitz, Hitler's designated successor, General Alfred Jodl surrendered all German forces on 7 May 1945.
 - C.** The war in the Pacific raged on over the summer. (Map 44a)
 1. The assaults on Iwo Jima and Okinawa were spectacularly bloody.
 2. American bombers pounded the Japanese mainland in anticipation of invasion.
 3. In early August, the Americans dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing more than 100,000 people immediately and well over twice that number by radiation poisoning over time.
- X.** The dropping of the atomic bombs opened a new age—and has been controversial ever since.
- A.** President Truman and some historians have argued that the dropping of the bomb was necessary.
 1. Japan showed no signs of surrender and was arming its populace for a fight to the death.
 2. Official government estimates of the cost of invasion range from 20,000 to 800,000 fatalities on the Allied side, with many more Japanese civilian casualties.
 3. Quick action was necessary, because Japanese commanders of prison camps were planning to execute their prisoners.
 - B.** Against this, other historians have argued that there is evidence that the bombs were not dropped to bring the war to a quick conclusion.
 1. Both the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the postwar Strategic Bombing Survey argued that Japan was on the point of surrender, if not collapse.
 2. Many American commanders, including General Eisenhower, saw no need for the weapon.
 3. Rather, the United States was eager to use the bomb to intimidate the Soviets.
 - C.** There is a vast literature on this question, and I am not a sufficient expert to solve the controversy for you, but a few points seem clear.
 1. There is no question that the bomb hastened the end of the war, but whether the war would have lasted much longer, whether Japan would have fought on, can never be known.
 2. If the bomb did save the lives of American soldiers, it did so at the expense of Japanese women, children, and old men.
 - D.** The bomb's immediate effect was to convince Emperor Hirohito that further resistance was futile: He ordered the surrender of Japanese forces on 14 August 1945. The final peace treaty was signed aboard the battleship U.S.S. *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on 2 September 1945.
 - E.** The war cost 61 million lives, including 36 million civilians, and \$1 trillion in 61 countries.
 - F.** When the war ended and the peace conferences began, for the first time that we have seen in this course, the men who would decide the future of Western Europe were not Western Europeans.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 29, section II.

G. L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: Global History of World War II*.

M. J. A. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Was an Allied victory in World War II inevitable after 1941?
2. What were the consequences for the West of President Truman's decision to drop the atomic bombs on Japan?



Lecture Forty-Five

American Hegemony, Soviet Challenge—1945–75

Scope: The defeat of the Axis forces in World War II, combined with the devastation of once-mighty European states, left the United States the undisputed leader of the West and the Soviet Union the master of the East. The Soviets soon established puppet communist regimes in most of Eastern Europe. The Americans used their leadership and wealth to establish democracies in Germany and Italy and to restore the Western European economies through the Marshall Plan. Although often seen as an act of supreme generosity, these actions also revived Western European power in the face of the threat from the Soviet Union. The two late-20th-century superpowers threatened each other with nuclear arsenals and took advantage of the demise of colonialism by fighting proxy wars for dominance around the globe.

Outline

- I. It can be argued that the Allied victory in World War II saved what was best in Western civilization while seeming to discredit much of the worst.
 - A. This does not mean, however, that all the questions raised by the war had been answered.
 1. If World War II discredited offensive war, has it not ever since lent legitimacy to the notion of defensive war?
 2. If it discredited appeasement, have we not been groping ever since to find a diplomatic middle ground between acquiescence and all-out war with the world's dictators?
 3. If it discredited fascism, was not the other European political and social extreme, communism, legitimized by Stalin's elevation to the "Big Three" and victory in the Great Patriotic War?
 4. Indeed, if authoritarianism, the cult of personality, militarism, uncritical nationalism, and anti-Semitism were discredited in the West, had not all but the last been the means to victory in the East?
 - B. A great struggle remained in the aftermath of the war, this time, between democratic capitalism and communism.
 1. This helps to explain why some Western commanders, notably American General George S. Patton, urged that the Western Allies not stop at the Elbe but continue on through Germany and attack the Soviets.
 2. That suggestion was not taken seriously, but another general's plan, that of George C. Marshal, for economic assistance to war-torn Europe can be seen as a subtler way of winning that area for democratic capitalism.
 - C. As all this implies, within a few years of the war, the victorious Alliance, Europe, and the world divided into two opposing camps, fighting a life-and-death struggle with propaganda and materiel, as well as bullets, a sequel to World War II known as the Cold War.
 - D. Finally, if World War II settled anything, it was the rise to preeminence of the two great superpowers who would be the principal combatants in the Cold War.
- II. Obviously, the end of World War II left much unfinished business.
 - A. Much of Europe, China, and Japan were devastated.
 1. Whole cities had been leveled by successive bombing campaigns.
 2. Armies of refugees found themselves displaced.
 3. Local governments broke down as the defeated regimes crumbled.
 - B. The Allies turned from occupiers to administrators and judges. Germany was divided into four zones, corresponding to the British, the French, the Americans, and the Russians. (Map 45a)
 - C. The highest level Nazis were put on trial at Nuremberg for crimes against humanity.
 1. The trials were controversial at the time: Never before had the leaders of a sovereign state been put on trial for their actions while in power.
 2. Despite objections, it was felt that Nazi crimes were so blatant, heinous, and widespread that the trials were justified.
 - a. A panel of high-level judges representing all the major victorious powers was named.

- b. Prosecution and defense counsel were appointed by the Allies.
 - c. In the most famous trials, about two dozen high-level Nazis were indicted on October 18, 1945 for crimes against humanity, specifically the deliberate instigation of wars; genocide; and the murder, enslavement, and mistreatment of political opponents, religious groups, prisoners of war, and inhabitants of occupied countries.
 - d. All but Albert Speer, Hitler's munitions minister, pled not guilty, arguing, "*Ordnung ist Ordnung*": They were just following orders.
 - e. Most defendants were sentenced to hang; some received prison sentences.
 - f. Subsequently, 10 other trials were held of about 185 other individuals.
3. Similar trials took place in Japan in 1946–1948, which was given a new constitutional monarchy by General Douglas MacArthur.
 4. There were numerous other tribunals, often military, in formerly occupied countries, and Nazi war criminals continued to be hunted down to the turn of the 21st century.
 5. But many war criminals escaped or were smuggled out of the country, often to South America, where authoritarian regimes found old Nazis congenial and even useful as they established their militaries. Others were "de-Nazified" by the Western Allies and quietly allowed to resume their lives in Germany.
 6. Why was this allowed to occur?
 - a. In the eyes of the Western Allied occupiers, their administrative competence, conservative mindset, and support were needed to run war-torn Germany and prevent it from going communist.
 - b. Further, high-level Nazi scientists were cherry-picked by both sides in the hope of giving a boost to their weapons programs.
 7. On the other hand, it must be said that, under Allied tutelage, the German people did a far better job of confronting their past than have other former Axis countries or their collaborators.
 - a. In the Western zones, the Allied occupying powers mounted an anti-Nazi propaganda campaign.
 - b. German citizens were relentlessly taught the evils of Nazism, authoritarianism, and militarism.
 - c. Beginning with the Luxemburg Agreement of 1952, the West German government provided financial aid to Israel and compensation and restitution to Holocaust victims.

III. World War II destroyed the old balance of power.

- A. Formerly great empires, especially Britain, were exhausted, leaving two major players: the United States and the Soviet Union.
- B. Following the war, these two great powers began to come into conflict.
 1. Marxism-Leninism called for the violent overthrow of capitalist regimes and their replacement by secular communist states.
 2. The Americans, British, and French assumed that the Soviet Union wanted to take the continent.
 3. After the fall of China to communism in 1949, the West felt threatened by two vast communist powers, willing to use any means to spread international revolution.
- C. From the Soviet point of view, though, it was the West and Western-style capitalist countries that surrounded the Soviet Union.
 1. In the Soviets' view, General George C. Marshall's plan to rebuild Europe, announced in 1947, was an American plot to reduce Western Europe to economic dependence on the United States.
 - a. Billions in food and reconstruction money poured in.
 - b. This act was rightly portrayed in the United States as an unprecedented act of generosity; certainly that is how it was sold.
 - c. This act, though, was also part of a politico-economic strategy.
 - i. American manufacturers looked to a revitalized Europe as a market for their goods.
 - ii. The British and American governments worried that a devastated Europe would be ripe for communist revolution or conquest.
 2. The Soviets feared that the Marshall Plan would make Europe into a dependent colony of the American economic empire.
 3. Stalin initially tolerated coalition governments and multiparty states in his zone of influence but cracked down in 1947–1948 when Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland expressed interest in participating in the Marshall Plan.

4. Stalin's ultimate goal does not seem to have been world domination. Rather, he wanted a buffer of friendly powers against the West. Thus, the Soviets crushed democratic movements in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

IV. The key period of mutual misunderstanding and paranoid reaction was 1947–1948.

- A. In 1947, a conservative Greek monarchy, supported by the British, was under attack by communist insurgents. The Americans stepped in with \$400 million in aid.
- B. But the most important source of tension was Germany.
 1. In May 1947, the United States, Britain, and later, France fused their German zones of occupation into an economic union.
 2. The Americans, in particular, wanted Western Germany firmly in the American column, as opposed to a nonaligned but united Germany.
 3. In May 1952, Stalin proposed four-power talks about Germany: He wanted to prevent a revitalized Germany from moving into the Western column. Those talks were rejected by the West.
- C. In June 1947, as we have seen, the Americans proposed the European Recovery Program, a.k.a. the Marshall Plan.
 1. In February 1948, the Soviets authorized a communist coup in Czechoslovakia.
 2. At this point, the Western Allies signed the Brussels Defense Pact—a precursor to NATO. The Russians responded by leaving the Allied Control Council for German Affairs in Berlin.
 3. In March 1948, talks began in London—boycotted by the Soviets—to create a West German state; its formation was announced in June, with its own currency.
 4. When the Allies sought to introduce that currency to Berlin, which was an island within the Soviet zone, the Soviets closed off access to the city.
- D. The United States responded with the Berlin airlift, which provided 8,000 tons of provisions a day for 324 days.
- E. By 1949, the nations of Western Europe had joined the United States in a defensive alliance called NATO, while those in the Soviet bloc formed the Warsaw Pact in 1955.
- F. Spies on both sides infiltrated each other's camps.
 1. The British secret service was compromised.
 2. In the 1950s, a "Red Scare" swept across the United States, which was based on evidence that later proved true in part, but was highly exaggerated.
- G. Western fears that the vast Red Army would roll across Europe were tempered by the fact the Americans had a working atomic bomb.
 1. Western strategy was to use the bomb, if necessary, to hold back the Red Army.
 2. But in 1949, the Soviets tested their first atomic bomb.
 3. By the early 1950s, both sides had developed hydrogen bombs and maintained vast air forces to deliver them to the other side.
 4. The British and French also developed nuclear arsenals in the 1950s; the Chinese, in the 1960s.
 5. By the late 1950s, the bombers were superseded by intercontinental ballistic missiles, capable of being launched from land or sea.
 6. Given that any one of these weapons could devastate an entire city, it soon became clear that the use of even one of these weapons would bring an overwhelming response.
 7. Thus was born MAD: mutually assured destruction.
 - a. Both sides were fully aware that the use of nuclear weapons would bring annihilation.
 - b. The Soviets pledged never to provoke such an attack by a first strike, but the Americans retained first-strike capability because they saw this as the only counterweight to the size of the Red Army.
 - c. In the 1960s, President Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev agreed to a ban on testing of nuclear weapons, followed by a series of nonproliferation treaties to prevent these weapons from falling into yet more hands.
 8. As with the arms race of the late 19th century, both sides spent enormous amounts of national treasure on the building of weapons that they could not use, hence the term *Cold War*.
 9. In fact, the demise of European empires gave the two superpowers the opportunity to fight each other by proxy, as each side tried to convert the world to its way of life.

- V. World War II was the death knell for most of the great European empires.
- A. Tied up in Europe, the great European powers had virtually conceded their empires to the enemy. The Japanese, in particular, claimed that theirs was a war to liberate Asia and the Pacific from Western conquerors.
 - B. The great nations of Europe emerged from the war exhausted, in no position to stand in the way of independence movements.
 - C. In many cases, European nations had enlisted colonial peoples in the fight against the Axis by promising to visit the issue of independence.
 - D. By educating native elites at such institutions as Oxford, the colonial powers had exposed them to the great intellectual heritage of the West, which emphasized freedom, equality, human rights, and national self-determination.
 - E. For other natives, communism, with its cry for revolution, seemed a better route to national self-determination.
 - F. The transition from colony to independence was piecemeal and sometimes violent.
 1. It began in 1947 with the withdrawal of Great Britain from India.
 2. By the 1960s, most British colonies had achieved independence, often peacefully, and willingly participated in a Commonwealth united by weak ties to the United Kingdom.
 3. The French and Dutch tried to hold onto their colonies, leading to bloody insurrections in Vietnam, Algiers, Indonesia, and New Guinea in the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.
 4. Indonesia achieved full independence from the Dutch in 1949.
 - G. Even where de-colonialization was accepted by the colonizing country, violence often broke out among native populations.
 1. Old tribal loyalties resurfaced.
 2. Conflict arose between democrats and communists.
 - H. Thus, the two superpowers and China became involved in areas far from home in an attempt to sway the new regimes to one side or the other.
 1. The process began in Korea in the early 1950s, when United Nations forces opposed a Chinese-backed North Korean invasion of the south.
 2. The process continued in the 1960s as the United States and Australia took over for the French in opposing a communist movement in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.
 - a. It became American policy to oppose revolution, to oppose nationalist movements, to oppose even democracy where there was a chance that a country might go communist.
 - b. From the 1950s to the 1980s, the United States often backed ruthless, murderous dictators, as long as they were not communists.
 3. Similar proxy fights, often backed by the American CIA or the Soviet KGB, were fought all through the 1950s and 1960s in South America, Africa, and the Middle East.
 - I. The British and French failure, in the face of U.S. and Soviet opposition, to retake the Suez Canal from Egypt in 1956–1957 demonstrated that the days of Western European hegemony were over.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 29, sections III–IV; chapter 30, section I.

J. L. Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*.

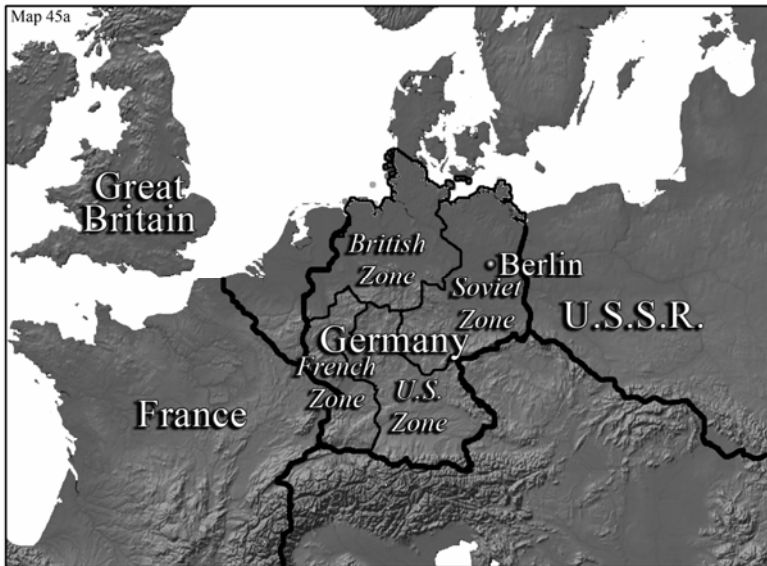
M. Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945–1963*.

M. E. Chamberlain, *Decolonization: The Fall of the European Empires*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Was the Cold War inevitable?
2. Was MAD a good thing or a bad thing?

Occupation of Germany after World War Two



Though within the Soviet zone, Berlin remained the capital and was itself split into four zones.

Lecture Forty-Six

Rebuilding Europe—1945–85

Scope: Following World War II, the great nations of Europe divested themselves of overseas colonies and ambitions, accommodated themselves to a precarious existence between the superpowers, and concentrated on rebuilding their economies, for the most part along socialist lines. In the Eastern bloc, communism was imposed by force; in the West, returning soldiers and sailors wanted no part of the old hierarchical systems, embracing a democratic socialism that nationalized industry and provided free education and “cradle-to-grave” healthcare. As the Cold War heated up in the 1980s, the Soviet system began to show signs of strain.

Outline

- I. The situation at the end of World War II was dire for most countries.
 - A. Germany and much of Eastern Europe were devastated.
 - B. Nearly every country in Europe had to reestablish a working government.
 - C. Economies were in a shambles.
 - D. Refugees flooded roads and detention camps, as did demobilized or surrendered soldiers.
 1. Former prisoners, concentration-camp victims, and Axis soldiers spent months, even years in such camps.
 2. There was a mass emigration of millions of Germans who fled East Prussia, now Poland, ahead of the Red Army or were expelled from the Sudetenland and other areas occupied by the Reich.
 3. Jews, many from families broken by the Holocaust, tried to flee to Palestine or America.
 - a. The British, concerned about the Arab reaction (mainly because of oil), tried to stem the flood to Palestine by interdicting ships and interning refugees in camps.
 - b. By 1948, radical Jewish terrorism drove the British out of Palestine, and the United Nations offered a plan to divide the region into a two states, Israel for the Jews and Jordan for the Palestinians, with Jerusalem an international city.
 - c. The Arab rejection of this plan resulted in a bloody war for Israel’s independence in 1948–1949 and the displacement of more than 700,000 Arabs, laying the ground for the next half-century of resentment and bloodshed.
- II. Socialism was embraced in the East and West, but the latter variety remained democratic.
 - A. As we have seen, the countries of Eastern Europe were forced to accept communist regimes after the war.
 1. Land and property were confiscated by the state, and economic policy for the whole Eastern bloc was coordinated by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).
 2. The Soviets retarded economic development by insisting that satellites pay massive reparations.
 3. Eastern bloc countries established welfare states with centrally planned economies providing minimal levels of healthcare and education, as well as guaranteed full employment for their citizens.
 4. Following on the heels of World War II, this created a sense of dependence on the state that became almost an article of faith in the East, but a countervailing sense that the state was an overwhelming entity with no concern for the individual bred cynicism as well.
 - B. In Western Europe, the democracies also embraced socialism.
 1. The industrial nations of Western Europe had a long history of wide disparities of wealth that had been exacerbated by the Depression.
 2. The Depression had convinced many Europeans that untrammelled capitalism did not work, while planned economies had won the war.
 3. Thus, in Britain, France, and elsewhere, people voted overwhelmingly in 1945–1947 to return governments that would construct welfare states.
 - C. Building the welfare state was made difficult by the fact that goods were in short supply.
 1. Rationing continued in some European countries into the early 1950s.

2. Thanks in part to the Marshall Plan and rearmament, prosperity gradually came to Western Europe in the 1950s and 1960s.
 3. West Germany, in particular, recovered.
 - a. The German government and people attempted to confront the Nazi past.
 - b. German industry reassumed a leadership position under Ludwig Erhard's "social market economy."
 4. The presence of U.S. troops allowed the governments of Western Europe to keep defense expenditures low and pour money into social programs.
 5. The Marshall Plan, followed by the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, established the precedent of European states working together economically.
 6. In 1957, the European Economic Community (EEC), or Common Market, established a free-trade area within Europe.
 - a. Charles de Gaulle, French premier and president (1958–1969), was one of the principle architects of the EEC. He had a vision of a loose federated Europe, stretching from Russia to the Atlantic Ocean, independent of the superpowers.
 - b. At the same time that he wanted a stronger Europe, de Gaulle also wanted something contradictory—to maintain French independence.
 7. In 1967, the Common Market joined with the European Steel and Coal Community and the European Atomic Energy Commission to form the European Community, or EC.
 8. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the EC concentrated on economic integration and continued to add members. By the 1970s, the EC was the world's largest trading unit.
- D.** The material conditions of life improved in Western Europe, but the oil crisis of 1973 and the recession of the early 1980s were major setbacks. European governments on the right and left began to cut social programs.

III. In the early 1970s, the Western and Communist powers sought to thaw the Cold War in a process called *détente*.

- A.** In 1972, U.S. President Richard Nixon opened relations with China and signed an anti-ballistic missile treaty with the Brezhnev government in the Soviet Union.
- B.** Subsequently, the superpowers considered limiting the number of nuclear weapons at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).
- C.** This moment of sanity fell apart at the end of the 1970s with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
- D.** Beginning around 1980, the Western democracies experienced a move back to conservative social and economic policy under Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom, Ronald Reagan in the United States, and Helmut Kohl in Germany.
 1. To some extent, this move was a reaction to a reheated Cold War after 1979.
 2. It also marked a serious questioning of the sustainability of the welfare state.
 3. In Britain, especially, national transportation and utility companies were privatized, failing industries were allowed to die, and government spending and benefits were cut.
 4. This activity led to a prosperity that was mainly enjoyed by those at the top and middle of the social pyramid; those who lost jobs in heavy industry experienced a painful adjustment.
- E.** Everywhere, unemployment bred discontent.
- F.** Radical and separatist movements sometimes resorted to terrorism.
 1. Beginning in 1968, Basque nationalists have waged a campaign for independence from Spain.
 2. Also in 1968, the "troubles" erupted in Northern Ireland, leading a revived Irish Republican Army to begin a terror campaign to drive the British out.
 3. In Germany and Italy, terrorist organizations favored communism and/or the establishment of a Palestinian state.
 4. From the 1980s, conservative groups embraced xenophobia, opposed immigration, and sought to win at the ballot box.

IV. Cultural change was made both possible and inevitable by the material conditions created in postwar Europe.

- A. The war and the Holocaust, combined with the historical record of state churches, did much to further weaken the hold of institutional religion on people's lives.
 - B. Booming scientific discovery seemed to offer an alternative worldview.
 - 1. Better nutrition and the discovery of vaccines for such diseases as polio increased life expectancy.
 - 2. Following the launching of the first satellite, Sputnik, the Soviets and the West engaged in expensive scientific competition.
 - 3. Technology continued to advance, making existing products (automobiles, communication technology) better, while creating new ones, including the personal computer.
 - C. Existentialism, first associated with Søren Kierkegaard, emphasized the idea that man was alone in the universe, free but alienated from society.
 - 1. In philosophy, the movement was led by Jean-Paul Sartre; in literature, by Albert Camus.
 - 2. Related to existentialism were structuralist and deconstructionist movements in academia that questioned the traditional primacy of empirical fact.
 - D. Feminism increasingly questioned old gender roles.
 - E. Europe experienced a continuing sexual revolution.
 - F. While mass culture was manufactured in the West by multinational companies, Eastern bloc arts remained strictly controlled by the state.
- V. Western Europe saw an anti-American backlash.
- A. The generation that grew up thinking of Americans as allies and liberators began to give way in the 1980s to one that saw them as just another imperialist power.
 - 1. In the 1960s, a growing youth culture, particularly among university students, produced a counterculture on both sides of the Atlantic that questioned old assumptions about nationalism and patriotism.
 - 2. The Vietnam War and American involvement in Central and South America and the Middle East in the 1960s–1980s caused many Europeans to see American foreign policy as self-serving and hypocritical.
 - B. This view would eventually lead to a growing sense that European and American interests were not identical.
- VI. The decline of the Soviet Union was unexpected in the West.
- A. The first hints of change in the Soviet Union came after the death of Stalin in 1953 in Nikita Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" of 1956, which attacked Stalin and his "cult of personality."
 - B. Nikita Khrushchev, general secretary from 1953 and Soviet premier from 1958 to 1964, was a bundle of contradictions.
 - 1. He crushed a Hungarian attempt to create a more open society by sending in the tanks in 1956: The death toll has been put as high as 20,000.
 - 2. He promised to surpass the Western standard of living by 1980, but the Soviet economy continued to perform miserably.
 - 3. He alternated between confrontation and peaceful coexistence with the West.
 - a. He built the Berlin Wall.
 - b. He allied with Syria, Egypt, and India.
 - c. He placed missiles in Cuba but stood down in 1962.
 - d. He worked out test-ban treaties with President Kennedy in 1963.
 - C. In October 1964, Khrushchev was overthrown in a coup by hardliners led by Leonid Brezhnev.
 - 1. At home and in satellite countries, Brezhnev clamped down on criticism and dissidents, crushing the Prague Spring of 1968.
 - 2. In the 1970s, he pursued détente but abandoned it at the end of that decade.
 - 3. The Soviet Union was losing its grip as satellite countries began to pursue their own forms of communism.
 - a. Other Eastern bloc economies found ways to trade with the West and were leaving the Soviets behind.

- b. Increasingly, neither Bucharest nor Belgrade listened to Moscow.
- 4. Above all, the Soviet economy stagnated.
- 5. By the time of Brezhnev's death in 1982, it was evident to some in high Soviet circles that repressive policies at home and aggressive confrontation with the United States abroad were not sustainable.
- D. The failure to defeat the Muslim insurgents in Afghanistan showed chinks in the Soviet military system.
- E. Simultaneously, in the 1980s, the Reagan defense buildup put increasing pressure on the Soviets to keep up.
 - 1. Over the objections of U.S. liberals who wanted a more conciliatory policy, President Reagan proposed and Congress authorized massive military spending. Included was money for research on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a plan to create a shield of antimissile devices around the United States and its allies to make a first strike impossible.
 - 2. President Reagan's public announcement about SDI on 23 March 1983 was hopelessly premature: The science and technology simply did not exist, but the Soviets did not know that.
 - 3. Reagan's bold rhetoric added to the sense of growing tension. Critics have argued that his comments increased Kremlin paranoia, creating a mindset that led to such incidents as the shooting down of a Korean airliner that strayed into Soviet airspace in September 1983.
 - 4. But it must be said that overall, Reagan's rhetoric was no harsher than that of the Soviets with regard to democratic capitalism and its imperialistic American sponsors.
 - 5. Reagan's defense buildup was a form of brinkmanship, but it would never have been enough to undermine the Soviet state.
 - 6. In the end, only a Soviet leader could end the Cold War—or the Soviet Union itself.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 29, section IV; chapter 30, sections II–V.

W. Laqueur, *Europe in Our Time: A History, 1945–1992*.

G. Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why were Europeans so much readier than Americans to accept socialism?
2. Did the Soviet system fail because of its own internal contradictions or because of pressure from the West?

Lecture Forty-Seven

The New Europe—1985–2001

Scope: Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to reform the political and economic structures of the Soviet Union ended in revolutions against totalitarian rule throughout the Eastern bloc. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the nations of Eastern Europe embraced democratic and capitalistic reforms, and some sought to join the European Union (EU). The EU has been successful economically and culturally, but the idea that it might form the basis for a United States of Europe was cast in doubt by a new Balkans crisis, which seemed to reaffirm American leadership. As the course closes, Europe faces many challenges, not least the condition of Russia, rising immigration from non-European societies, the threat of international terrorism, and the future of its relationship to the United States.

Outline

- I. After the brief regimes of Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko, Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet premier in 1985.
 - A. A committed communist, Gorbachev nevertheless saw that the current Soviet system was unsustainable.
 - B. He launched a major reform (*perestroika*), designed to save communism by making it more open (*glasnost*).
 1. Political prisoners were released.
 2. Free expression and freedom of assembly were allowed.
 3. Political parties other than the Communist Party were permitted.
 - C. Gorbachev also began to work with the Reagan administration to ease the international situation, especially in the area of nuclear weapons.
 1. Gorbachev was the first Soviet leader to realize that the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc could never be secure if the United States and Western bloc were not.
 2. In 1987, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to the IMF treaty, eliminating nuclear weapons deployed in the 1970s.
 3. In 1988, Gorbachev proposed a massive reduction of conventional forces and ordered Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.
 - D. *Perestroika* faced insurmountable obstacles in an economy organized around an arms race and one that had trained its citizens to rely on the government for their economic well-being.
 - E. *Glasnost* allowed oppositions to develop in previously one-party states in the Eastern bloc.
 - F. Crucially, in 1989, Gorbachev did not crack down when, first, the Warsaw Pact, then the Soviet Union itself, began to break up. Rather, he announced that the Brezhnev doctrine—the use of force to keep satellite states in line with the Soviet Union—was dead. It was replaced by the principle that former satellites could now go their own way.
 - G. Admittedly, this remarkable year did not begin well: On 9 April, Soviet troops fired on and killed 20 peaceful demonstrators in Tbilisi Square, Georgia.
 1. But beginning on 2 May, Hungarians trying to emigrate to the West were allowed through. Throughout the summer and fall, the satellite states experienced newfound freedoms: In Poland, the trade union Solidarity won an election and joined a coalition government; in November, the Berlin Wall came down.
 2. The only massive bloodshed occurred in Romania, where Nicolae Ceaușescu ordered the massacre of 4,000 protestors on 17 December. A few days later, he was deposed, and he and his wife were executed.
 3. In the Soviet Union itself, on 7 February 1990, the Central Committee of the Communist Party agreed to give up its monopoly on power.
 - H. Gorbachev tried to turn himself into a democratically elected leader and hold onto a federal system with the constituent republics of the former Soviet Union, but these republics wanted independence.
 1. Early in 1991, the three Baltic republics—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—seceded.

2. On 7–8 December 1991, the leaders of Russia, Belarus, and the Ukraine announced their independence and, with it, the formal end of the Soviet Union.
 3. As an afterthought, Gorbachev resigned as the first and last president of the Soviet Union on Christmas Day.
- I. Russia, under President Boris Yeltsin, persuaded most of the former constituent republics to form the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) [**Note:** in lecture, CIS was incorrectly referred to as the “Council” of Independent States].
- II. The breakup of the Eastern bloc changed the balance of power and raised questions around the world.
 - A. How far and how fast could or should the countries of the Eastern bloc embrace democracy and capitalism? How far and how fast should they be integrated into the West? What would be the roles of Russia and the United States in the new Europe and the world? Finally, what was Europe’s role in a world that was no longer bipolar?
 - B. Following the breakup of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union, democracy flourished in Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, and the Baltic states.
 - C. Czechoslovakia broke peacefully into two democracies: the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Yugoslavia also broke up but more violently.
 - D. East and West Germany were reunited, with serious material and psychological disruptions on both sides.
 1. East Germans experienced housing shortages; hundreds of thousands lost their jobs; crime rose and, with it, a sense of disorientation as the East German press disappeared overnight.
 2. West Germans resented the economic burdens of integration, including higher taxes and budget cuts in their own social services to take care of the East Germans.
 3. But the good news was that in 1994, the last Russian and American troops left Berlin, officially closing the books on World War II.
 - E. Democracy had more difficulty in Romania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, the Ukraine, and Russia. Following an attempted communist restoration in 1991, Russian democracy continued to struggle against corruption, poverty, and gang warfare.
 - F. Russia remained a great nuclear power, as did the Ukraine, but because of their dire economic situation, their respective nuclear arsenals suffered from poor maintenance and security and demoralized troops.
 - III. As for Russia’s economy, Yeltsin opted for a quick embrace of capitalism, which caused much hardship. Despite massive Western loans, inflation wiped out salaries and savings, and healthcare and social services collapsed.
 - A. Other Eastern bloc countries suffered similarly at first.
 1. Across the East, price controls and subsidies were abolished.
 2. Food and fuel costs skyrocketed. Obsolete state factories and businesses closed, producing 15 percent unemployment.
 3. Overall economic activity plunged by one-third.
 4. Some electorates turned back to communist parties, but there was no revival of totalitarianism.
 - B. By 1995, the situation was looking up.
 - C. Against Russia’s wishes, some former Soviet allies, including Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, sought to join NATO in 1999.
 - D. Others have joined the European Economic Community, which changed its name in 1994 to the European Union, or EU.
 - IV. If the Cold War was really over, who had won?
 - A. Democratic capitalism appeared to have triumphed decisively over communism.
 1. There remained a few holdouts, including China, North Korea, and Cuba.
 2. Communist parties remained active in most European countries and elsewhere.
 3. In Europe and the former Commonwealth countries, democratic capitalism was tempered by socialism.

4. Throughout the 1990s, as economies began to boom, in part because of free trade, in part because of the Internet, European workers received greater benefits and more vacation time than their American counterparts as a result of this socialist slant.
- B. This situation raises another question: If communism lost, what won? Democracy, certainly, and capitalism, but what kind of capitalism?
 1. In the United States, free-market capitalism has produced an affluent society but one that increasingly complains of overwork and a growing disparity between rich and poor.
 2. Perhaps it's appropriate to say that while totalitarian communism clearly lost to democracy as a political system, the jury is still out on what complementary socioeconomic system will eventually be declared the winner.
 - C. Although the end of the Soviet threat was good news in the capitals of Europe, it also presented a difficulty: How could Europe "count" if there was no longer a second superpower competing for its loyalty?
 1. Would those states call for withdrawal of U.S. troops and, if so, would they have to spend money on their own defense?
 2. Would the EU assume collective political and foreign policy authority as a counterweight to the United States?
 - D. The coalition organized by President George Bush against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990–1991 included many European nations.
 1. Victory in the Persian Gulf War, followed by sanctions on Iraq, demonstrated that Europe could follow an American lead in areas beyond its shores in pursuit of common interests.
 2. But could Europe solve an international problem without American help? The opportunity to do so came in the early 1990s in the Balkans.
- V. In 1991–1992, a new Balkans crisis arose.
- A. In 1918, the kingdom of Yugoslavia had been created out of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia.
 - B. Following World War II, Marshal Tito had re-created Yugoslavia as a communist state. Taking an independent line from Moscow, Yugoslavia traded with the West, which put it in a perfect position to capitalize on the events of the late 20th century. Tito died in 1980, and the six constituent republics of Yugoslavia began to angle for independence and territory.
 - C. In 1992, the republic of Serbia, headed by Slobodan Milošević, proclaimed a new Yugoslavia, including Montenegro, and began to encourage Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia to bring those states under Serb control.
 - D. Bloody civil war broke out among Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croatians, and Bosnian Muslims. Local minorities were often forced out of their homes, banished, or killed in a process referred to as "ethnic cleansing."
 - E. At first, European reaction was weak condemnation. Europe seemed incapable of acting in concert to end the violence.
 1. As in the 1930s, the last war had made Europeans understandably gun-shy.
 2. Western Europe also feared the reaction of Russia, which had resumed its traditional role as the protector of the Serbs.
 3. Finally, despite increasing economic integration, there was little experience of European-wide military cooperation.
 - F. Ethnic cleansing was condemned by the United Nations, which sent peacekeeping forces. Periodic ceasefires were negotiated, then violated, and UN safe havens were repeatedly attacked.
 - G. It was not until the United States, under President Bill Clinton, involved itself that any results were achieved.
 1. Clinton's government pressured the Serbs with economic sanctions endorsed by the EU.
 2. By 1995, a NATO bombing campaign married to a Croatian offensive drove the Serbs back.
 3. That year, Milošević signaled his willingness to cooperate.

4. The United States brokered the Dayton Accords, which imposed an uneasy peace supervised by NATO forces in Bosnia.
- H.** The resultant shaky peace was broken in 1999 when Milošević sought to crush a movement for autonomy among Islamic ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.
1. Russia paralyzed the United Nations by threatening to veto any Security Council action against Serbia.
 2. NATO, led by the United States, launched a massive and controversial bombing campaign against Serbia.
 3. This campaign halted the bloodshed and brought the Milošević regime down.
 4. NATO peacekeeping forces remained in Kosovo through the end of the century.
- I.** The European failure to solve, or even to act decisively, in the Balkans crisis suggests that Europe has a long way to go to achieve a federal union.
- VI.** Still, as the 20th century came to a close, there was much optimism about the future of Europe.
- A.** The West had enjoyed unprecedented prosperity in the 1990s: If the fall of the Soviet Union marked the end of history, then the extended prosperity of the 1990s possibly marked the end of economics or, at least, of boom-and-bust cycles.
- B.** Multinational European corporations, such as Airbus, taking advantage of free trade within Europe and supported by generous government subsidies, began to compete seriously with American industrial giants, such as Boeing.
- C.** Eastern Europe was moving rapidly toward integration with the West, both economically and politically.
- D.** The Internet, e-mail, and similar developments were breaking down communication barriers and providing greater individual freedom of expression.
- E.** Relatively open borders, generous welfare states, and the prosperity of the 1990s had attracted huge numbers of immigrants to Europe, many of them from the Middle East.
- F.** The EU expanded to 25 countries, and in 1993, its member states signed the Treaty of Maastricht, setting the goals of one currency and political unity.
1. In reaction to Kosovo, at the Helsinki summit of 1999, members pledged to create a rapid-reaction force to supplement the U.S. peacekeeping mission.
 2. There was increased cooperation in law enforcement.
 3. The EU also began to draw up a constitution, to be approved by referenda in all constituent countries.
- G.** Finally, European-American diplomacy operated consensually and, for the most part, smoothly.
- H.** Most of these hopes, though, had corresponding fears.
1. As the century turned, the Western economies suffered a downturn when Internet stocks were found to be overvalued.
 - a. The resultant need for government spending cuts raised the question of whether the European welfare states could be sustained any longer.
 - b. Calls for greater European involvement in global peacekeeping implied greater and more expensive defense establishments.
 2. Subsidies for European agriculture and industry threatened to provoke trade war with the United States.
 3. While Eastern Europe moved politically, socially, and culturally “West,” Russia cast about for its new role.
 - a. Russian democracy often seemed to be held hostage to rival gangs and special interests.
 - b. The election of former KGB agent Vladimir Putin as president in 2000 raised the question of whether Russia had truly abandoned its autocratic past.
 - c. Russia’s poorly maintained nuclear arsenal represented a potentially destabilizing force.
 - d. In 1985, rebels in the predominantly Muslim province of Chechnya sought to break away.
 - i. This led the Russian government to pursue harsh reprisals.
 - ii. That led, in turn, to Chechnyan acts of terrorism in Russia itself.
 4. The Internet was found to be vulnerable to computer hacking, which might paralyze economic and defense systems.

5. Some of Europe's recent immigrants, especially those from Islamic states in the Middle East, rejected Western culture as decadent and profane. A tiny fringe from this group has been sympathetic to Osama bin Laden's call for a worldwide anti-Western *jihad* .
6. The possibility of integration into a European Union was rejected by nationalists in many countries.
7. Europeans continued to feel as if they were junior partners in their alliance with the United States.

VII. Whatever threats there were to European security at the end of our course, they came, for the most part, from outside.

- A. Europeans finally seem to have learned to get along with each other without armed conflict.
- B. Most European states guaranteed a full array of civil rights while providing the highest standards of living in the world.
- C. Is it possible that modern Europeans have finally become fully civilized?

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, chapter 30, section III.

R. J. Guttman, ed., *Europe in the New Century: Visions of an Emerging Superpower*.

T. Judah, *Kosovo: War and Revenge*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What are the chances for a United States of Europe?
2. Why did the rest of Europe fail to solve the latest Balkans crisis?

Lecture Forty-Eight

The Meaning of Western Civilization

Scope: At the dawn of the 21st century, the European legacy of democracy, capitalism, and relative freedom for the individual was challenged by movements both internal and external. The rise of fundamentalism in religion, international terrorism, tensions over immigration, and integration into a global economy all threaten to undo the achievements of the previous five centuries. At this point, it might be worthwhile to assess what Europe has given to the world, for good or ill, and how European ideals are likely to stand up in the new millennium.

Outline

- I. The new millennium has already seen both triumph and tension.
 - A. As the millennium dawned, Western ideals seemed triumphant across the globe, politically and culturally.
 1. Western democracy seemed to be on the march, not only in Eastern Europe but around the world.
 2. Western capitalism seemed to have the potential to raise everyone's standard of living—in Europe and beyond.
 3. Western technology linked the globe and promised to break down cultural barriers.
 - B. But Western ideas were coming under fire from many sides.
 1. As Malthus predicted, the world's population continued to grow, yet its resources remain finite.
 - a. The West consumes a disproportionate amount of those resources and produces corresponding waste.
 - b. Europe has generally been more willing than the United States to try to limit its consumption.
 2. Within the West, the economic downturn at the millennium discredited the notion that prosperity was inevitable and irreversible.
 - a. The European welfare state seemed under threat from new economic realities.
 - b. At the same time, the American system of a less regulated capitalism with smaller government programs was highly unattractive to Europeans seeking a balance between home and work, work and play.
 3. The peoples of the Middle East and Africa had not uniformly embraced democratic capitalism.
 - a. In the Islamic world, in particular, Western attitudes and institutions have often been portrayed as decadent.
 - b. In its extreme form, that resentment has culminated in a terrorist *jihad* against many features of modern Western life.
 - c. Whatever else the horrific events of 9/11 and its aftermath may mean, they indicate that the West's values render it offensive to some and vulnerable to attack.
 - d. Though there has not been violence on a similar scale against Western values among African, Asian, or South American peoples, resentment of those values exists in all these places, with the potential to be harnessed.
 - e. As a result, historians and political scientists have come to wonder if the next wave of world conflict will not be a religious war, or a class war, or a race war but a virulent combination of all three—the *clash of civilizations*.
 4. The West itself is not united either. After an initial period of solidarity, the American response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, in particular the invasion of Iraq in 2003, fractured old alliances.
 - a. The seeming failure of the United Nations to enforce its own resolutions further discredited that body in American eyes.
 - b. France and Germany led a “coalition of the unwilling” that emphasized diplomatic engagement over armed force.
 - c. The United States initially found more cooperative allies in former Eastern bloc countries, Italy, and Spain.
 - C. This raised, once more, the question of Europe's unity and role in a world dominated by a single superpower and reinforced the suggestion that Europe—led by the French—might act as a counterweight to American power.

1. Lost in all the rhetoric was any kind of historical perspective, which might yield two remarkable facts:
 - a. Historically, allies do not feel honor bound to support each other in every endeavor, as the United States proved when it refused to support France and Britain at Suez in 1956.
 - b. The German refusal to participate marked a historic triumph of postwar Western policy toward Germany: Once the most militaristic state in Europe, Germany had become a pacifist nation.
 2. But in part for that very reason, the idea that a united Europe might prove a counterweight to the power of the United States has a long way to go.
 - a. In the spring of 2005, both France and the Netherlands rejected and Britain tabled a new European constitution that would have gone far toward creating a United States of Europe.
 - b. This suggests that nationalism remains strong in Europe.
 3. The good news is that “big state nationalism,” at any rate, tends now to produce arguments over national cuisine and who gets the Olympics, rather than clashes over national borders and wars of conquest.
 4. If Western Europeans were paralyzed over the recent exception in Balkans, it was, perhaps, because such ethnic conflicts seemed so odd in the context of recent European history.
 5. Still, as other institutional loyalties fade, identification with one’s own nation’s culture, language, political institutions, and autonomy remain strong.
- D.** The book on Western civilization at the close of this course is that it faces some challenges.
- II.** We now come to the question of what the past 500 years of Western history have meant.
- A.** In this course, we have seen the inhabitants of Europe change fundamentally—but not completely.
 1. After years of struggle, Europeans shattered the Great Chain of Being and the assumptions behind it, exchanging the status of subjects for citizens, yet Europeans continue to value hierarchy and status.
 2. Europeans profited from commercial, financial, and industrial revolutions, but these left in their wake many victims of exploitation, including African slaves and urban workers.
 3. Europeans sought to exploit half the world through imperialism but eventually recognized the illogic of that exploitation with Western ideals of freedom, equality, and self-determination.
 4. Europeans have, in their history, embraced hierarchy, intolerance, racism, sexism, totalitarianism, and greed but also liberalism, Romanticism, feminism, socialism, Realism, and democracy in an attempt to build something better.
 5. They gave birth to, then learned to accommodate themselves somewhat to, different Western civilizations in the Americas and Oceania.
 6. Their experiments with a one-Europe government—whether by Charles V, Louis XIV, Napoleon, Hitler, or the EU—have largely failed.
 7. But they seem to have succeeded in restraining nationalistic impulses to the point where another general European war seems unthinkable at the dawn of a new millennium.
 8. Above all, Europeans have produced a culture capable of examining its past, renouncing its sins, and seeking to repair the damage.
 - B.** What is unclear, though, is whether Western civilization can live with and survive the continuing challenge of non-Western civilizations.
 - C.** If this is to happen, we will all need to embrace that part of the Western heritage that has long emphasized freedom of the intellect, the dignity of the individual, rationality, skepticism, and the notion that other peoples and cultures have value in their own right.
 - D.** In the midst of defending these principles, we could easily become the mirror image of their enemies—our enemies—and revert to an unthinking submission to authority, intolerance, superstition, and suspicion in an attempt to find something comforting to believe in. If the experience of the last 500 years has taught us anything, however, it is that those solutions are temporary and, in the long run, destructive.
- III.** The meaning of civilization itself is, I believe, to be found in a few simple principles.
- A.** War is a terrible thing. You had better be sure you know what you are doing when you engage in it.
 - B.** Certainty is a wonderful thing when deployed in defense of the defenseless and downtrodden; at all other times, it is suspect.
 - C.** Power does not last—even superpower; art and culture do.

- D. Cruelty and generosity last, too.
- E. Most people never got to be kings or queens, dukes or duchesses. Most people were underdogs, caught up in vast historical forces beyond their control.
 - 1. We should, I think, resist the temptation to think that we are somehow different, immune from the political, social, economic, or cultural tidal waves of history.
 - 2. We should not laugh at our predecessors, even at their most ridiculous, for someday we, too, will look ridiculous to our successors.
 - 3. We should spare a thought for the underdog.
- F. Finally, as I proposed in the lecture on the Holocaust, this course should remind us that civilization is fragile; it has broken repeatedly.
 - 1. It is not a building, or a book, or a law.
 - 2. It is a conscious act of respect and consideration.
 - 3. That act grows out of what we learn, what we teach our children.
- G. The final lesson of civilization and its history is contained in the following inscription from a bench at my alma mater, Cornell:

To those who shall sit here rejoicing,
 To those who shall sit here in mourning,
 Sympathy and Greeting;
 So have we done in our time.

- 1. Greeting, because history is a sort of greeting from past generations to the present.
 - a. Such a greeting says: We lived, we loved, we struggled, as you do now.
 - b. Listen to us: you might learn something...
 - i. What happens when people think that their religion, their political system, or their culture is the superior or only way.
 - ii. What happens when people pursue material wealth at the expense of all else.
 - iii. What happens when people become drunk with nationalism or the desire for vengeance.
 - iv. What happens when people choose order or security over freedom.
 - v. What happens when they embrace new knowledge, remain open to new ideas, and fight for justice.
 - vi. And what happens when they do not.
- 2. Sympathy, because if you pick up anything at all from the history of civilization, it should be a kind of sympathy for all those human beings who have gone before.
 - a. History should, in particular, give you a strong sense of justice and injustice, if only by exposing you to all the best and worst that human beings have done for and to each other.
 - b. Sympathy as taught by history, though, also implies a kind of humility; a realization that we, in the West, do not have all the answers, that other cultures have much to offer, that other people have reasons for what they do.
 - c. Having sympathy does not mean automatic approval of the actions of those others. This is not an argument for relativism, cultural or otherwise.
 - d. It is, simply, an argument for thought and learning and caution, for, in effect, civilization.
 - e. The resort to force, even in defense of civilization, is always on some level a failure of civilization, always a failure of sympathy.
 - f. It seems to me that that realization, that openness to the ideas and experiences of others, is perhaps the highest manifestation of Western culture.

Supplementary Reading:

Chambers, Epilogue.

Questions to Consider:

- 1. What is the future of the West?
- 2. What is the future of the Western Alliance?

Bibliography

The primary recommended reading for this course can be accomplished with the second volume of any one of a number of commercially available histories of Western civilization, mostly available as textbooks for university courses. One reliable and readable text is M. B. Chambers, B. Hanawalt, T. Rabb, I. Woloch, and R. Grew, *The Western Experience*, vol. 2, 8th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002). For an alternative perspective (both to most Western civilization texts and to that of this course), written from the point of view of Eastern Europe, try chapters 7–12 of N. Davies, *Europe: A History* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998).

Essential Readings

Brewer, J. S. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (reprint edition), 1990. Explains how Britain financed and won the “Second Hundred Years War” against France by balancing taxation against borrowing, state power against freedom.

Elliott, J. H. *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (reprint edition), 1992. Concentrates on how the latter affected the former, challenging European assumptions about geography, theology, and human nature.

Fischer, K. P. *Nazi Germany: A New History*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1996. An up-to-date survey emphasizing that the Nazis enjoyed broad-based support in their rise to power.

Fussell, P. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press (25th anniversary edition), 2000. A classic; examines the continuing cultural legacy of World War I, mostly in British literature to argue that the war really marks the beginning of the modern world.

Heilbroner, R. *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*. New York: Touchstone (7th rev. ed.), 1999. The classic, eminently readable account of the development of modern economics through biographical sketches of its great practitioners.

Service, R. *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999. Panoramic survey by one of the leading historians of the Soviet Union demonstrates that seven decades of Soviet rule continue to influence Russia today.

Supplementary Readings

Abrams, M. H. *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971. A classic exposition of the Romantic sensibility which sets out to explain our modern conception of the artist as a lonely trailblazer—the lamp of the title.

Allen, W. S. *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930–1935*. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1965. Revealing study, based on documentary evidence and interviews, of the Nazi takeover of one German town, Northeim, Hanover.

Alter, P. *Nationalism*. London: E. Arnold, 1989. Concise account covering the last 200 years, organized by type of nationalism (*risorgimento* nationalism, reform nationalism and integral nationalism) rather than by country). Explains well how nationalism can be adapted to a variety of situations and other ideologies of the left or right.

Anderson, F. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. A now standard account with special emphasis on how the British victory created the situation that led to the crises that concluded in American independence. The war also proved a disaster for Native Americans, as they could no longer play Britain and France against each other.

Ashton, T. S. *The Industrial Revolution, 1760–1830*. New York: Oxford University Press (reprint edition), 1998. A classic account which emphasizes the positive results of the revolution for technology and living standards.

Avineri, S. *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (new edition), 1970. A comprehensive and clear introduction which strikes a balance between Marx's disciples and detractors.

Bailyn, B. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press (enlarged edition), 1992. Eminently readable, classic account which traces how Locke and many others helped shape the world-view of the Founding Fathers.

Beales, D. *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*. Harlow, Essex, UK: Longman Group United Kingdom, 1982. A brief, critical introductory survey which traces the role of Italian nationalist movements (political, cultural and religious) in the creation of the Italian state.

Bergeron, L. *France under Napoleon*. Trans. by R. R. Palmer. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981. A social history of Napoleon's France which examines Napoleon's domestic policy and its effect on ordinary people, attempting to sort out what echoed past policies, what was new, and what lasted after the Empire fell.

Biagioli, M. *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (reprint edition), 1994. A brilliant exposition of the political context of Galileo's work which argues that he was driven as much by courtly ambition and patronage opportunities as by the desire to know.

Blanning, T. C. W. *The French Revolutionary Wars, 1787–1802*. London: Hodder Arnold, 1996. Concise but comprehensive account argues that it was these wars, not the revolution itself, which destroyed the Ancien Régime, spawned the Terror and Napoleon and engendered the modern world.

Bonney, R. *The European Dynastic States, 1494–1660*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. A standard and comprehensive overview of the rise of the modern state, relating this theme to the Reformation, the Wars of Religion, expanding capitalist economies and overseas empires.

Briggs, A. *The Age of Improvement, 1783–1867*, 2nd ed. New York: Longman, 1999. An exuberant history of Britain during the Industrial Revolution which argues that a strong economy enabled the British middle class to demand reform and power.

Browning, C. *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. Detailed exposition of the gradual evolution of Nazi policy from discrimination to expulsion to extermination, in large part in response to the exigencies of war and, throughout, with the personal involvement of the *Führer*.

Bucholz, R. and Key, N. *Early Modern England 1485–1714: A Narrative History*. Malden, MA: 2003. Written primarily for an American audience, this narrative of the history of Tudor and Stuart England relates political developments to social and cultural history.

Burke, P. *The Italian Renaissance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (revised edition), 1986. The standard modern survey attempts to explain why the Renaissance began in Italian cities; and how it changed the status of artists.

Campbell, J., ed. *The Experience of World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Well-illustrated compilation by sixteen scholars relies on eyewitness accounts to explain the daily life of the soldier, conditions in prisoner-of-war camps, and the experience of the home front.

Chamberlain, M. E. *Decolonization: The Fall of the European Empires*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999. A standard account now updated to take into account the end of the Cold War and subsequent developments.

Cipolla, C. M., ed. *The Industrial Revolution, 1700–1914*. London: Collins/Fontana Books, 1973. A collection of essays addressing a variety of interpretations and aspects of industrialization.

Doyle, W. *The Old European Order, 1660–1800*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Standard and comprehensive, this book emphasizes economic and social structures and changes, as opposed to the narrative of events.

Egret, J. *The French Pre-Revolution, 1787–1788*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978. How the *Ancien Régime* fell apart.

Ellis, J. *Eye-Deep in Hell: Trench Warfare in World War I*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press (reprint edition), 1989. Graphic account of the soldiers' experience, not just in battle, but in the daily grind of waiting for it; well illustrated.

Evans, R. J. *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation in Europe, America and Australia*. London: Croom Helm, 1979. One of the few studies comparing the experience of more than one country.

Ferguson, N. *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*. New York: Basic Books, 2003. Controversial, tends to take a positive view of empire, emphasizing benefits such as the free movement of goods and rule of law over abuses such as the exploitation of native peoples and devastation of their cultures. Attempts to draw lessons for today's great imperial power, the United States.

Fieldhouse, D. K. *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1982. A comprehensive study going beyond the history of a single empire.

Fitzpatrick, S. *Everyday Stalinism. Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. A sequel to her *Stalin's Peasants* (1994), this book uses eyewitness accounts of ordinary people to relate the experience of urban life in the Soviet Union during the 1930s.

———. *The Russian Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press (2nd reissued edition), 2001. Accessible introduction that emphasizes 1) social conditions on the eve of the Revolution; and 2) that that event was not really complete until Stalin consolidated his power and created the world's first true totalitarian state.

Gaddis, J. L. *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. New York: Oxford University Press (reprint edition), 1998. Informed by revelations from Soviet and Eastern bloc archives, it argues that the Cold War was unavoidable given the policies and predilections of Josef Stalin.

Gay, P. *The Enlightenment, an Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism*. Magnolia, MA: Peter Smith Publisher, 1996. A standard, magisterial work. which traces the development of Enlightenment thought on reform to the educations of the *philosophes*.

Ginzburg, C. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press (reprint edition), 1992. Uses the transcript of a single trial of the Inquisition to reconstruct the worldview of a 16th-century villager.

Gutmann, M. *Toward the Modern Economy: Early Industry in Europe, 1500–1800*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988. Covers the whole continent, not just Britain.

Guttman, R. J., ed. *Europe in the New Century: Visions of an Emerging Superpower*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001. A series of essays by leading European politicians and journalists, examining the continent's challenges at the beginning of the new century.

Hale, J. *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*. New York: Scribner (reprint edition), 1995. The standard overview, arranged thematically, rather than chronologically, it emphasizes the decline of Christendom and its replacement with Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Hampson, N. *Social History of the French Revolution*. London: Routledge, 1987. Lucid and concise.

———. *A Cultural History of the Enlightenment*. New York: Penguin, 1977. A general history.

Hatton, R. N. *Europe in the Age of Louis XIV*. New York: Harcourt Brace College and School Division, 1969. A collection of essays taking a panoramic view of the reign.

Henderson, W. O. *The Industrialization of Europe, 1780–1914*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969. Standard account of the second Industrial Revolution.

Herlihy, D. *Women, Family and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays, 1978–1991*. New York: Berghahn Books, 1995. A sweeping overview, arranged thematically, of social life at the start of our course.

Hilberg, R. *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945*. New York: Harper Paperbacks, 1993. Written for the general reader, this series of essays is by the dean of Holocaust historians.

Himmelfarb, G. *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Publisher (reprint edition), 1996. This critical analysis explains the precursors of Darwin's thought and explains its implications for the wider culture.

Hobsbawm, E. J. *The Age of Revolution: Europe, 1789 to 1848*. New York: New American Library, 1964. The classic Marxist account of the period from the French Revolution, through the Industrial Revolution, to those of 1848.

Howard, M. *The Franco-Prussian War*. London: Routledge (2nd rev. ed.), 2001. A lucid masterpiece, providing vivid combat narrative while placing the war in its larger diplomatic, political and societal context.

Hughes, H. Stuart. *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890–1930*. New York: Octagon Books, 1976. A masterful intellectual history which deals with all aspects of turn-of-the century European thought.

Joll, J. *The Origins of the First World War*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 2000. Comprehensive, clear, and balanced, addressing both strategic visions and popular opinion.

Jones, J. R. *Marlborough*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. A concise and up-to-date treatment taking into account historiographical developments since the publication of Churchill's magisterial biography of his ancestor.

Judah, T. *Kosovo: War and Revenge*. 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002. An up-to-date, standard account, written by a journalist based in Belgrade during 1990-95, which traces the conflict back to its Medieval roots and explodes propaganda on both sides.

Keegan, J. *The First World War*. London: Vintage, 2000. Lucid and readable, explaining both origins and the experience of war itself with psychological insight into both leaders and led.

———. *The Second World War*. New York and London: Penguin, 2005. Well-written yet detailed one-volume survey with many illustrations; tends to concentrate on the war in Europe.

Kiernan, V. G. *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse, 1815–1960*. United Kingdom: Alan Sutton Publishing, Ltd., 1998. A standard account.

Kindleberger, C. P. *The World in Depression, 1929–1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press (revised and enlarged edition), 1986. Global in scope, this book argues that the causes of the Depression were largely structural, in particular a disastrous reliance on the gold standard, and that, despite the various efforts of governments, full recovery did not occur until the massive spending on armaments prompted by World War II.

Kishlansky, M. *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603–1714*. New York and London: Penguin, 1997. Bold and lively, the most up-to-date synthesis of the Stuart period, notably gives the later half of the period its due.

Kissinger, H. *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812–22*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973. Written by Nixon's future secretary of state, sympathetic to the conservative framers of the 1815 settlement.

Kittelson, J. M. *Luther the Reformer: The Story of the Man and His Career*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 2003. The standard introduction to Luther's life and theology.

Kolata, G. *Flu: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the Search for the Virus That Caused It*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999. A panoramic view that deals clearly with the science, politics, and cultural implications of the great pandemic.

Laqueur, W. *Europe in Our Time: A History, 1945–1992*. New York: Penguin Books (reprint edition), 1993. Comprehensive, authoritative, and balanced, it places particular emphasis on economic, social and cultural developments on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Lindemann, A. S. *A History of European Socialism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983. Traces the movement from the Utopians to the Marxists.

Lovejoy, A. O. *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005. A classic, tracing the idea back to ancient times.

MacCulloch, D. *The Reformation: A History*. New York: Viking Adult, 2004. An award-winning reassessment which covers popular attitudes as well as the actions and thought of leading players, it argues that the Medieval Catholic Church was not as ineffective and corrupt as later reformers portrayed it to be.

Markham, F. *Napoleon*. New York: Signet Books (reissue edition), 1988. Still the standard biography, really a life-and-times which places Napoleon and his achievements in a European context, rather than an in-depth psychological study.

Massie, R. K. *Castles of Steel: Britain, Germany, and the Winning of the Great War at Sea*. New York: Random House, 2003. The sequel to *Dreadnought*; carries the story through World War I in the same accessible style.

———. *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War*. New York: Ballantine Books (reprint edition), 1992. Reads like a novel but tends to view the naval race as a clash of personalities among great men; other historians would argue that it was more complicated than that.

———. *Nicholas and Alexandra*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2000. Novelistic account of the Russian Revolution; provides a sympathetic portrayal of the doomed royal family, but in concentrating on the personalities at the top, it skims over the real grievances of the Russian people.

Mattingly, G. *The Armada*. Boston: Mariner Books, 1974. Panoramic treatment of the diplomatic, military, and naval situation; reads like a novel; superceded in detail by more recent work, but no one has equaled its sweep.

Middlebrook, M. B. *The First Day on the Somme*. United Kingdom: Pen and Sword Books, 2003. This gripping account of military disaster is based on first person narratives, which are liberally quoted.

Middlekauff, R. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. A balanced treatment of the period from the Seven Years' War to the framing of the Constitution, but the centerpiece is a detailed and vivid narrative of the War of Independence.

Milward, A. S., and S. B. Saul. *The Development of the Economies of Continental Europe, 1850–1914*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1977. Economic history on a grand scale, the standard work on the Second Industrial Revolution.

Moorehead, A. *Gallipoli*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2002. Gripping account written from the Allied point of view argues that Churchill's initial plan was sound; the disaster lay in its execution.

Morgan, P. *Italian Fascism, 1915–1945*. 2nd ed. New York and United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. A standard introduction that focuses on the actual working of the Mussolini state and its day-to-day impact on its citizens.

Mosse, G. L. *The Fascist Revolution*. New York: H. Fertig, 1999. A set of essays concentrating on the origins of fascism in nationalism, anti-Semitism, and so forth.

Palmer, R. *Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (reprint edition), 1970. A classic, written for non-specialists, which explains Jacobin motivations and thought as well as how the Committee on Public Safety actually worked.

Parker, G. *The Thirty Years' War*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 1997. The standard work.

Parry, J. H. *Trade and Dominion: The European Oversea Empires in the Eighteenth Century*. Charleston, SC: Phoenix Press, 2001. A classic by the greatest historian of early modern Europe's overseas empires.

Pflanze, O. *Bismarck and the Development of Germany: The Period of Unification, 1815–1871*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971. Wide-ranging, definitive treatment which serves as a history of nineteenth century Germany as well as of Bismarck himself. This book roots the tragedies of Germany's 20th century in its 19th century past.

Rearick, C. *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment and Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press (reprint edition), 1988. Concentrates on the positive aspects of turn-of-the-century culture, focusing on popular culture, leisure, and a growing antagonism towards a traditional ethic of work.

Riasnovsky, N. V. *The Emergence of Romanticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. A comprehensive European-wide survey that argues that Romanticism is a unique product of the West, rooted in Christian theology. The book also traces the close relationship between Romanticism and Nationalism.

Rice, E. F., Jr. *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559*. 2nd ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994. A very readable short survey which weaves together the rise of the state, the Reformation, the development of print culture and economic, social and cultural life for people of all ranks.

Scammell, G. V. *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion, c. 1400–1715*. London: Routledge, 1989. A standard account of the Age of Discovery which strikes a good balance between celebration and indictment of European expansion.

Schama, S. *An Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. London: Vintage, 1997. A sweeping interpretation of Dutch culture in the 17th century which highlights the tension between Calvinism and the material wealth that this culture came to enjoy so suddenly.

Shapin, S. *The Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. A brief but challenging overview which emphasizes the shifting world-views which made the Scientific Revolution possible and productive, rather than a blow-by-blow chronology of discoveries.

Sharp, A. *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking in Paris, 1919*. New York: St. Martins Press, 1991. The best modern overview concentrates on the problem of Germany and the European settlement, but also covers colonial issues, the Middle-Eastern settlement and Wilson's proposal for a League of Nations.

Sherwin, M. J. A. *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*. New York: Random House, 1975. Balanced account, aware of all sides of the question, but concentrating on the political/diplomatic rather than the scientific or ethical issues.

Stokes, G. *The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Based in part on interviews with participants, this dramatic and wide-ranging book traces the decay and collapse of Communism from the days of the Prague Spring of 1968.

Stone, N. *Europe Transformed, 1878–1919*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999. A critical and comprehensive survey of a complex period that concentrates on politics but takes economic, social and cultural developments into account.

Trachtenberg, M. *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945–1963*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999. An up-to-date and original overview which argues that a divided, non-nuclear and de-militarized Germany was the key to the stable East/West relations that had been achieved by the early 1960s.

Watt, D. C. *How the War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War, 1938–1939*. New York: Pantheon, 1989. A detailed narrative concentrating on Hitler's plans for German aggression and the successive attempts of the other great powers to fathom and restrain them.

Weigley, R. F. *The Age of Battles: The Quest for Decisive Warfare from Breitenfeld to Waterloo*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991. Traditional military history in the best sense, this book places decisive battles in their political and economic contexts, but argues that they were often less decisive than their planners envisioned.

Weinberg, G. L. *A World at Arms: Global History of World War II*. 2nd ed. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Balanced and comprehensive, integrates political and economic issues with military factors from a global perspective.

Wiener, M. *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980*. 2nd ed. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Brilliant analysis integrating economic, social and cultural factors explaining why England lost its competitive edge.

Winter, J. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (reprint edition), 1998. A comprehensive account of the cultural legacy of the Great War and, in particular, how whole nations coped with the immense grief and dislocation brought by the war.

Wohl, R. *The Generation of 1914*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981. Posits a generation gap that exacerbated tensions leading to the conflict. The book goes on to argue that the experience and legacy of war was very different depending on when during the conflict one turned old enough to fight (ages 17 to 18).

Internet Resources:

General: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/> The BBC History web-page is an excellent portal into the history of the West and especially strong on industrialization.

General: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html> Provides numerous primary texts.

Louis XIV: <http://www.louis-xiv.de/louisold/louisxiv.html>

The French Revolution: <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/> Includes 250 text documents)

The Industrial Revolution: <http://members.aol.com/TeacherNet/Industrial.html>

World War I: <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/FWW.htm> Excellent potted biographies of leaders, narratives of events, etc.

World War II: <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/2WW.htm> The same as for WWI.